A New Edition.

FOX'S
BOOK OF MARTYRS,

Containing Copious & Authentic Accounts of the
LIVES, SUFFERINGS & DEATHS of the
PROTESTANT MARTYRS

in the Reign of QUEEN MARY the First.

To which will be Added

The Lives and Persecutions of the PRIMITIVE MARTYRS
from the Birth of Christ to the time of Queen Mary.

Originally Composed by the Rev'd. JOHN FOX, M.A.
Now Revised & Corrected by a MINISTER of the GOSPEL.

Including many Additional Articles, and various Accounts of Singular Judgments against Persecutors, from the earliest Ages of the World to the present time.

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But one of the Soldiers with a Spear pierced his Side, and forthwith came forth Blood and Water. John 19:34.
FOX'S
ORIGINAL AND COMPLETE
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OR, AN
UNIVERSAL HISTORY OF MARTYRDOM.
CONTAINING
FULL, COPIOUS, AND AUTHENTIC ACCOUNTS OF THE
Lives and Sufferings, together with the Actions, Characters, Examinations, Trials, Religious Principles,
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GLORIOUS PROTESTANT MARTYRS,
DURING THE REIGN OF
QUEEN MARY THE FIRST.
TO WHICH WILL BE ADDED,
A Genuine, Circumstantial, Full and Universal History of the Lives, Persecutions, Tortures and Deaths of the
Primitive Martyrs,
of CHURCH OF CHRIST, IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD, by Papists, Pagans, Jews, Turks, and Others, from the BIRTH of our
BLESSED SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST to the REIGN of QUEEN MARY.

THE WHOLE ORIGINALLY COMPOSED

By the Rev. JOHN FOX, M.A.
Formerly of Magdalen College, Oxford.

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RECOMMENDATIONS OF THIS WORK.

TO THE PRINTER AND PUBLISHER.

SIR,

It was a saying of the famous Dr. South, that “Popery is not only the worst religion, but the greatest evil that can possibly come into any Country.” The contents of the following sheets furnish us with ample proof of this. The Acts and Monuments of the Christian Martyrs, written by John Fox, a man of rare and excellent endowments, both natural and acquired, I most heartily recommend to persons of both sexes, and of every condition in life. As the author lived at the time when the bloody scenes herein related were exhibited, and his integrity, learning, and piety, are equalled by few, (by none exceeded) the credibility of his testimony can be called in question only by those, whose interest or principles lead them to oppose and promote the cause of Popery.

Lock Chapel.

MARTIN MADAN.

SIR,

It gives me unspeakable pleasure, to find, that you design to re-publish Fox’s Martyrology; which I consider as a faithful and judicious Compendium of the most valuable Ecclesiastical History extant in our Language. We live at a time, when the Generosity of professed Protestants appear to have lost Sight of those grand and essential Principles, to which the Church of England was reformed, and in defence of which her Martyrs bled.

Religious Ignorance, and a general Unknowledge about Divine things; together with the most profane Disregard and a Growing Disregard of Moral Virtue, are the reigning Characteristics of the present Age.

In a Country thus circumstanced, POPERY (ever on the watch for Advantages) will, and must, and does, gain continual Ground. Ignorance, Inhumanity, and Licentiousness naturally terminate in Superstition, as their ultimate Refuge, and Rome too often reaps, what Profundity and Immodesty have sown.

To them too dangerous a Torrent; no means are more likely (under God), than the re-publication of such a Work as this; a Work eminently calculated to display, and to guard us against the Principles and the Spirit of Popery—to perpetuate the holy Lives, and faithful Testimonies and the triumphant Deaths, of those evangelical Martyrs, who refuted Error, even unto Blood—to exalt the Standard of Christ—to exhibit the Loving-kindness of the Holy Grove, who gave such Grace and Power unto Men; and to stand as the best commentary on those insinuatible Truths, which (through the good Hand of God upon us) still continue to shine in the Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies, of our Established Church.

I with this Performance much Success, in the Name of the Lord. May its Diffusion be very extensive, and its Usefulness very great. May it prove mighty, through God, to make the Protestant Churches in general, and our own National Church in particular, Remember from Whence They Are Fallen; for them up to Doctrinal and Practical Reformation; and bring them back to their First Principles, and to their First Works! With this Prayer, breathed from the innmost of my Heart,

I remain, Sir,

Your affectionate Well-wisher,

AUGUSTUS MONTAGUE TOPLADY.

SIR,

I am glad to hear you propose re-printing FOX’s BOOK OF MARTYRS: it will, no doubt, be received with great acceptance, and very cheerfully encouraged by all who have any sense of the excellence and glory of that religion, for which the noble worthies of which it speaks, suffered and died. It has ever been esteemed one of the most invaluable treasures of human production: it is its own best recommendation; and it need only be known in order to be admired by all who are happily possessed of the power and spirit of the religion of the blessed Jesus. I pray God it may be the means of interesting the highly-favoured number;

And am,

Your humble Servant,

CHARLES DE COETLOGON.

SIR,

As I think the BOOK OF MARTYRS should be in every body’s hands, it gives me pleasure to hear of its being re-publishing. I trust it will be the means of reviving that spirit of genuine Christianity which inspired the noble Martyrs in those hands, and of uniting the hearts of God’s children in those decisive times, to the support of their one common cause, and in love to one another.

If you think my name can in the least promote the reading of that valuable work, you are welcome to make use of it;

And I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

JOHN TROTTER.

SIR,

The BOOK OF MARTYRS was well calculated to serve the Protestant cause, against the Superstition and Cruelty of the Church of Rome. The Editor deserves the thanks of all serious Protestants, for his labour in making so valuable a book easily attainable.

A book wherein the doctrines of Scripture are clearly represented, and the power of truth exemplified. I cannot but think it speaks its own worth, to every honest and dispassionate reader. I am sure, if it needed any recommendation, it should not want that of

Your humble servant,

JAMES WEBB.
RECOMMENDATIONS.

SIR,

Hearty join in Recommending FOX's BOOK of MARTYRS to the perusal of every Protestant family and English readers.

_Eagle-Street, Red-Lion-Square._

ANDREW GIFFORD.

SIR,

The exceeding great value I entertain for the Doctrines of the Reformation makes me esteem the present general departure from them, a circumstance not a little to be lamented: I therefore most heartily concur with the other respectable Gentlemen, whose names you have given me, in Recommending the BOOK OF MARTYRS; in which not only the characters of the best of men are most excellently set forth, but also those noble principles which enabled them with such uncommon patience to bear the utmost barbarity which tyranny and Popery could invent.

Such merciful sentiments, pregnant with every consequence fatal to the good of mankind, can never be too well known by all lawfully opposed, or held in sufficient detestation by the generous mind. And although the mild hand of genuine Christianity would soon use the weapons of perfection against the baleful error; yet as the very principles of Popery are totally incompatible even with our national as well as religious good, a most strict and guarded crimson is the utmost that even mercy itself must confine the delvers.

'Tis therefore, Sir, a well-timed deed once more to bring to light the horrid scenes exhibited by that bloody tribunal, formerly erected in these kingdoms, that we may learn, ere it be too late, to tremble at the least encroachment of sentiments, only calculated to enslave us in time, and deceive us for eternity.

I am, Sir,

Your friend and servant,

ROWLAND HILL.

SIR,

T is a clear and undeniable truth, amongst all real Protestants, "That Popery is the grand corruption of Christianity," and this truth may be clearly demonstrated in every view, and in all the parts of Christianity, viz. its doctrines, worship, laws, morals, and tempers. What doctrine has Popery not corrupted? What branch of worship has Popery not perverted and defiled? What law of God has Popery not trampled on and defiled?

But on reading this BOOK OF MARTYRS, which strikes us with a peculiar terror and amazement is, the cruel and bloody spirit of Popery. The very effence of the Christian temper are, Love, and Justice, carried to the most noble elevations and excretions. The effence of the spirit and temper of Popery are, Uncharitableness, Cruelty, Bitterness, Injuriousness, and Blood; it breathes the very spirit of Hell itself. Nothing can be more lively picture of the cruel devils and the outrageous damned, than Popery: nothing ever did approach nearer to the resemblance of the lost spirits in hell, than Popery.

No book in the world is so well adapted to display the cruel and bloody-thirsty spirit of Popery in the most striking light as the BOOK OF MARTYRS: and this part especially is suited to an English Reader; he is not here led up to the times of Necho, of Diocletian, or to the martyrdom of Polycarp, Ignatius, Cyprian; but he is shown the bloody tragedies acted in his own country, and upon his own countrymen: here you see that great and amiable servant of God, lord Cobham, hung up, by the waiiot, over a dreadful fire, and roasted alive! Here you see an Hooper burned at Gloucester, in so cruel a manner, that his ribs fly open, and you behold his heart beating with life, in the midst of flames.—Here you see that neither the accurate learning of a Ridley, the godly simplicity of a Latimer, nor the distinguished benevolence of a Cranmer, can be any protection from the outrageous fury of Popery.

English Reader, what think you of Popery? Is it a lovely religion? Is it greatly desirable to make a man wise, and good and happy? If it be, let us embrace it! let us bid it welcome into England, let us throw off our Protestantism, and embrace this blessed system, which our reformers despised and abhorred.

If the old scheme of Popery, which was in vogue for a thousand years in England, be better calculated to make the nation wise and happy than the doctrine of the Protestants, let us go back to our holy mother, from whom we have so lately revolted.

Protestant dissenters, shun up your conventicles, and return to the popish chapel with tears of repentance and sorrow, for your ungrateful apathy; beg pardon for your foul revolt, and reconcile yourself to the bosom of the holy church.

To members of the established church of England, what do you think of Popery? Do you think it more preferable to the Protestant system displayed in your Articles, your Homilies, and your Liturgy? If so, join in a petition to the rulers of your church, to abolish and destroy your present principles of Christianity.

But on the other hand, as the true religion of Jesus Christ, contained in the sacred Scriptures, and refined from all the corruptions of Popery, is, most surely, the contrivance of infinite Wisdom, and the gift of infinite Love; let us study to understand it; let us heartily love it, and use the most wise and just means for its propagation, which God has put in our power, and let us leave it pure and not corrupted to our dear posterity.

I am, Sir,

Your sincere friend and servant,

JOHN RYLAND.

SIR,

HISTORY being calculated to catch the Attention of Persons of all ranks, many, who cannot without some Reluctance sit down to read other tedious Publications, will, we trust, easily be prevailed upon to read that useful and interesting HISTORY contained in FOX's BOOK OF MARTYRS; and as the attentive Perusal of it cannot fail being followed with good Effect, I therefore feel a peculiar Pleasure in Recommending the same to sober, sensible and religious Persons of every Description.

May the great Head of the Church, Jesus Christ, bless this and every laudable Endeavour to promote the Cause of God and Truth, and also to counteract that intolerant Spirit of Popish Superstition, Idolatry, Bigotry, and Cruelty, which has so long exercised its Tyranny in the World; but which is now, through Divine Mercy, on the Decline, and will be, it is to be hoped, soon extinguished from the Earth. To this end, may the glorious Sun of Righteousness remove the moral Darkness from the Minds of Men, as the natural Sun, when risen, dispels the gloomy Shades of Night.

_3ew-in-Street Chapel_,

_LONDON._

T. PRIESTLEY,

Author of the Evangelical Explanation of the Bible.
PREFACE.

WE can with Truth affirm, that the ACTS and MONUMENTS of the GLORIOUS PROTESTANT MARTYRS is a Work WORTHY of a PLACE in the HEARTS as well as LIBRARIES of ALL serious CHRISTIANS. FOX's COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS has been long Recommended by Protestant Divines of every Denomination; and among the public Testimonies which have appeared, from Time to Time, in favour of this valuable Work, are the Names of a Toplady, a Whitfield, a Wesley, a Madan, a Hill, a Ryland, and many other Ministers of the Gospel, too numerous here to mention.

The Lives and Sufferings of the Holy Martyrs may be considered, by every candid Person, as a strong preceptive Evidence for the Truth of the Christian Religion; for it is impossible that so many Thousands, of both Sexes, of all Ranks and Professions, rich and poor, learned and simple, should at such distant Times and Places, have conspired, as it were, against their own Lives, to establish a Faith, of whose Truth they were not fully convinced. The greatest Enemies to Christianity cannot deny but that there have been Thousands, among the Sufferers for the Truth of Christ's Doctrine, who were very competent Judges of the Degree of Evidence offered in support of it, and sufficiently Independent to be influenced either by Rewards or Threats. Many of them were also sufficiently learned to inquire into the Stability of the Scripture Proofs brought to prove Jesus Christ to be actually the expected Saviour of Mankind, which entirely sets aside the Adversary's Pleas against some few, who they say were ignorant, weak People, who took their Faith upon the Credit of others. We know, on the contrary, from the following History, that Men of the strongest Sense, and brightest Parts, were Converts to Christianity; and having once believed from Conviction, arising from a fair Examination of its internal and external Evidence, were too honest and impartial to deny what they had openly professed to believe.

There is a wide Difference between an intemperate, misguided Zeal, which rushes into Perils without sufficient Reason, and that calm and steady Courage which meets Danger with Temper, when unavoidable. Our Saviour himself gave an Example of this prudential Conduct, by oftentimes retiring from imminent Danger; and he gave it is charge to the first Men whom he called, 'Whence shall we buy Bread?' So that the Holy Martyrs, those brave Men, who unavoidably sealed the Testimony of the Gospel with their Blood, following their Blessed Master's Advice, cannot be ranked with rash and hot-headed Zealots.

The Progress of Papery has so greatly increased of late, that there is now an absolute Necessity for using every Effort to suppress such dangerous and contagious Principles, and to exert ourselves, and carry into Execution every Means that can be concerted for promoting the Cause of Protestantism; and surely nothing can be a better Means to rem the Torrent of Papery, than a Publication of the following Work.

From the Tenets of the Holy Martyrs we may acquire the Principles of the Christian Religion, from their Morals we may learn how to live, from their Fortitude how to suffer, and from their Deaths how to die.

Let us therefore take Example, in various stations of Life, from the Integrity and Resolution of these departed Brethren in Christ; and as a noble Conduct is praise-worthy, let us be ready, in whatever Sense our Lord requires a Sacrifice, to go and do likewise.

We think it needless here to give a tedious Detail of all the Particulars, which will be contained in this Important Undertaking; but it may be necessary to observe to our Readers, that this Work will not (like several imperfect Publications on the Subject) be a trifling Summary of mere Names—not an inaccurate Index or Life-leis Arrangement—not a crude indigested Compendium—but a Full and COMPLETE EDITION of FOX's BOOK of MARTYRS, including the CHRISTIAN MARTYROLOGY, from the most early Age of Persecution to the present Time; and containing a Display, and fuller Account than has hitherto been published in any Book of the Kind, of the Lives, Religious Principles, Cruel Persecutions, Sufferings, Tortures, and Triumphant Deaths, of all those faithful Christians and godly Martyrs, whose Conspicacy was tried for the Truth of the Gospel, and who have sealed their Faith in our most Holy Religion with their Blood.

This Work is well calculated to serve the PROTESTANT CAUSE. It will teach us how to conquer Sin, our grand Persecutor; to make our Appetites and Passions Martyrs to our Duty, and hence we may learn, that there is not any Thing so difficult, but we may overcome through Divine Help. We have the same Caule, the same Lord and Master on our Side, the same Recompense of Reward to encourage us; and hence to great a Cloud of Witnesses, let us press forward, and the fame Heaven will be our Portion for ever.

Let PROTESTANT FAMILIES Read, Value, and Recommend the Book of Martyrs to their Friends and Connections; which, next to the Bible, is a most valuable Treasure; for herein you will find exhibited not only the Characters of the best Men, but those noble Principles which enabled them to brave the severest Tortures which Popish Cruelty and Pagan Barbarity could invent. We here see those mournful Tragedies that have been acted in our own Country, upon our own Countrymen; and here, as in a Glass, we see, refined from all Corruptions of Papery, &c. that pure Religion of Jesus Christ, which we are in Duty bound to propagate, and to leave uncorrupted to our dearest Posterity.

In these MONUMENTS of our Illustrious Martyrs, we behold displayed, as they are in the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy of the established Church, those essential, fundamental Principles, to which the Church was reformed, and for which her glorious Martyrs were Burned. We here meet with a most valuable General History of the Church, and which will hence be convinced, how much it is our Duty to check, by such a Publication, the Infidelity and Immoralities of the present Age.

No. 1.
vi. Mr. FOX’s ORIGINAL AND COMPLETE BOOK OF MARTYRS.

Here are presented to View those Ineffable Truths, and those Splendid Examples of Christian Fortitude, which all Protestants believe, revere, and with to imitate. That Papery is not only the Wegh Religion, but the Grotest Evil that possibly can come into any Country, is an Opinion in which we all uniformly agree, and we see it fully proved in the following Sheets.

MINISTERS of the Gospel have always Recommended the Book of Martyrs. What Doctrine has Papery not corrupted? How much of Primitive Christian Religion has Papery not perverted, and deformed? What Law of God has Papery not trampled on, and defiled? Call to Mind the Florid Scenes exhibited by her bloody Perpetrators of Cruelty. In this COMPLETE BOOK OF MARTYRS, they are faithfully related, to prevent the least In- creacions of those erroneous Sentiments, and those Human Inventions, that were artfully framed only to enslave us in Time, and deceive us for Eternity. In order therefore to perpetuate and extend the Utefulness of such an excellent Work as FOX’S BOOK OF MARTYRS, this present Edition will be handsomely printed on a Fine Paper, and New Types, and embellished with an entire new Arrangement of elegant Copper-Plates, on a larger Scale than those of any other Publication of the Kind.

When we consider the Difficulty attending the preparing and executing a Work of this Magnitude, which must go under the Inspection of so many Eyes, and pass through so many Hands, we are naturally led to crave the In- dulgence of our Readers. We shall exert our Endeavours to defer their Approbation, and may therefore re- somably hope for their Candour. Nevertheless, we must adopt an Observation of Mr. FOX in his Latin Preface, which we here have transcribed.

"Not to Caesar, not to Emperors, Kings, or Queens, not to any human Patronage, but to the Aid and Support of Divine Omnipotence we only look; to God alone, as to our best Protector, we dedicate and commend this New and IMPROVED Edition of the Book of Martyrs."

The Original of this Work, as written by Mr. FOX, who lived at the Time when the Bloody Deeds therein recorded, were transacted, and whose Testimony can be called in Question only by the Eunuchs of Rome, as it has been esteemed one of the most Valuable Treasures of human Production, so it is its own best Recommendation; and therefore we flatter ourselves this New and UNIVERSAL HISTORY of MARTYRDOM, by having the Addition of many other universal Accounts, and not least the History of the Glorious Martyrs who suffered in the Reigns of Henry VIII. and Queen Mary, but an History of the Primitive and Modern Martyrs, the Sufferings and Persecutions of the Servants of God in the most Early Ages, including those of the Antient Jews, and of our Blest Saviour and his Apostles. To which will be added (among a Variety of other additional Matter) a particular Account of the Persecutions of the Quakers, and of the WESTERN MARTYRLOGY, the Subjects of which Persecution suffered under the late Tyranny and inhuman Cruelty of Judge JEFFREYS. Also an Account of the BARTHOLOMEW MASSACRE in FRANCE, and of the GREAT PERSECUTION under LOUIS XIV. which continued till the LATE REVOLUTION in FRANCE: the whole accompanied with Original Notes, Remarks, Reflections, &c. on each Life and Cate.

Thus it is evident, and surely must appear plain to all, that we propose a FULL and COMPLETE EDITION of FOX’S MARTYRLOGHY, with ADDITIONS and great IMPROVEMENTS, faithfully collected from several Excellent Writers. Many very accurate accounts, that have been hitherto not sufficiently known to the Public, have been received from all Christian Protestants and English Readers? A Work which impartially traces Persecution from its Origin, points out the first Beginning of Martyrdom, and carefully follows it Steps to the LATEST PERIOD. May God give his Blessing to this, so it may prove, with his Assistance, the Means of preventing our REFORMED CHURCH from falling into gross Errors; and likewise teach all Christians to fix a greater Value upon true Religion, whose Doctrines and Constitution are so exactly agreeable to those of the REFORMERS and MARTYRS.

Having said thus much concerning the general Subjects of the COMPLETE BOOK OF MARTYRS, permit us to add a few Words on the peculiar Advantages of this Edition.

Several Works of this Kind have already been published, but not one of them on such a desirable, satisfactory, and extensive Plan, as might have been expected from the great Opportunities for Improvement. Some have been greatly objected to, an Account of the Badness of the Paper, the Improvements of the Paper, and the contemptible Consequences of the Cuts, which are executed in so deplorable a Manner, that they appear rather at a Burside than as an Embellishment. Others have been imperfect in several Respects, especially because they relate to particular Ages and Periods; Such as are of a general Nature, are confused in the Method, and inelegant in the Execution: Some of them particularly have given great Difficulties, after presenting great Things, they prove to be little more than mere Abominations, with a Lif or Index of Names, &c. and not one of them brings down the Martyrlogy completely to the present Time. To remedy these Defects, against which the Public is so long complained, the Publisher has been solicited to publish the present Work, which, by the laborious Care and Study of several Years, is now perfectly revised, corrected, digested, and improved, with very considerable ADDITIONS. Here is the History of Martyrdom tracted from the FIRST AGES OF THE WORLD, to the PRESENT PERIOD; their Excruciating Sufferings and Torments are described with great Accuracy; all the Narratives are related with an agreeable Simplicity and Candour; a tedious Prolifer is carefully avoided; old, obsolete, and modern Expressions in the Style, are exchanged for such as may at this Time be cogit understood; and an Elegancy of Expression has been carefully studied, in order to enforce the Power of Precept by the Beauties of Language.

Mr. JOHN FOX’S COMPLETE BOOK OF MARTYRS has hitherto been a very Scarce, Dear, and Voluminous Work; but this New and COMPLETE EDITION, by Means of a close and peculiar Mode of Printing, will be published in only One Hundred Numbers, that, by this Accommodation, all Kinds of People may be embosed, through the Weekly Mode of Publication, by one or more Numbers at a time, to purchase it.

The Large Copper-Plates to this Work (every Number of which will contain 1, 2, 3, 4, or more Subjects elegantly engraved on Copper) are executed with such inimitable Skill, that their Effects will at once give Pain and Pleasure; for while the Heart contemplates the Sufferings of the Martyrs, the Eye will be led to admire the Magnificence of the Artists. If there be considerable Additions and Improvements proposed, the Publisher by a Note of Landmarks to deliver the Occasional gratis. Our Letter-Press, in the Size of the Pages, is also much larger and wider, and of Condye enables us to include a much greater Quantity of Matter than any similar Works printed in a smaller size, or in a less Quant- ity of Numbers, which is likewise another ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATION of THIS WORK in Preference to any other. So that even those who may be already appalled of imperfect or incomplete Books of this Kind, will not withhold the most laudable, and necessary Acquisition by the circumspection of this NEW and COMPLETE EDITION of FOX’S BOOK OF MARTYRS, with considerable ADDITIONS and great IMPROVEMENTS.

PAUL WRIGHT, Editor.
HENRY VII.

Being elected King, he was crowned Oct. 30, 1483— and died at Richmond, April 22, 1509.
He was born Oct. 12, 1537 — Crowned on Sunday, Feb. 5, 1547 — Died of a Consumption at Greenwich July 6, 1553. — And was succeeded, according to his will, by his cousin Lady Jane Grey, who being soon after deposed, was beheaded with her husband and father, by order of Mary I., Feb. 12, 1554.
In whose Reign the Protestants were so cruelly Burnt and Persecuted.

She was Proclaimed July 19, 1553—Died Nov. 17, 1558.
Queen 
ELIZABETH.

THE NEW AND COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS, 
OR, AN Universal History of Martyrdom: BEING FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS, 
Revised and Corrected, with Additions and great Improvements.

BOOK I. 
CONTAINING A NEW, COPIOUS, COMPLETE, and UNIVERSAL HISTORY of the LIVES, ACTS, MONUMENTS, TRIALS, PERSECUTIONS, SUFFERINGS, and TRIUMPHANT DEATHS, of the PROTESTANT MARTYRS; During the REIGN of MARY the FIRST, commonly called on Account of her Sanguinary and Persecuting Spirit, BLOODY QUEEN MARY.

INTRODUCTION:
Being A PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE, giving an ACCOUNT of the PRINCIPAL ERRORS, RITES, CEREMONIES, and SUPERSTITION PRACTICES, of the ROMISH CHURCH,

BEFORE we enter upon those bloody tragedies that were acted in England, during the tyrannical reign of queen Mary, we think it necessary, especially for the information of the younger part of our readers, to give an account of the main errors, superstitious ceremonies, and human inventions, of the Romish church; in abhorrence of which, the first Reformers and blest Martyrs, who made the sacred scriptures their sole guide, separated from that church, and, renouncing popish idolatry, even unto death, sealed the sacred truths of the everlasting gospel with their precious blood. To attempt a formal refutation of the various absurdities belonging to the Roman Catholic religion, would be foreign to the design of this work, and afford little entertainment; we shall however select those that are most material, and prove that they are mere effects of human invention, by contravening them with passages taken from the word of God, the only true rule by which we can possibly judge in all matters of revealed religion. The Romish church affirms, that out of her communion there is no salvation; yet they receive, profess, and teach, as the true catholic faith, the following franges, unscriptural, and human maxims, tenets, and carnal observances.

TRAITIONS.] The church of Rome, having deprived the laity of the Bible, substitutes in its stead apotopical and ecclesiastical traditions; and obliges her disciples to admit for truth whatever she teaches them.

But what do the holy scriptures say? "Why do ye transgress the commandment of God by your traditions? Matt. xv. 3, 9, &c. They also command us "to call no man master (in spiritual concerns); to try the spirits; and to beware of false teachers."

Prayers and Divine Service in Latin.] The Roman Catholics will not interpret the scriptures, otherwise than according to the sense of holy Mother Church, and the pretended unanimous consent of the fathers; they affirm, that the scriptures ought not to be read publicly, nor indifferently by all; and that the common people may be ensnared by gross ignorance, they perform public worship in an unknown tongue, contrary to the rule laid down by the apostle, "That all things should be done to edification." St. Paul says, "If I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is not fruitful." And, writing to Timothy, he reminds him, that "from a child hast thou known the scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith, which is in Christ Jesus."

Seven Sacraments.] Two only were instituted by Christ, to which the Romish church has added five more, making in all seven, necessary to salvation, namely, the Eucharist, Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Matrimony. To these two which Christ instituted, the has added a mixture of her own inventions; for in the sacrament of baptism, the 7es 7, oil, or spittle; and in the sacrament of
INTRODUCTION.

the Lord's supper, the laity have only the bread administered to them; and even that not after the manner ordained by Christ, who broke the bread and gave it to his disciples; instead of which, the church of Rome administers not bread, but a wafer, and that broken, but not put whole by the priest into the mouths of the communicants. These wafers are smaller than those made for the priests, who, with them, drink the sacramental wine alone, to which the rest of the communion are to be added; which is a doctrine of our blessed Lord, who said, "Drink ye all of this," &c. Matt. xxvi. 27.

The Mass.] Roman Catholics believe it to be a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice, and therefore call it the Investiture of the Almighty. As the Mass of Christ was a full and complete sacrifice, "in which he hath, by one offering, perfected for ever for them that are sanctified. He himself is a priest for ever; who being raised from the dead, dieth no more; and who, through the eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot to God." See St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, Chap. ix. and x. It was on account of this gross absurdity, and the irreligious application of it, that our first reformers suffered, and so many were put to death in the reign of Mary the Bloody.

P.C.

[STATUTORY.] Roman Catholics protest that, in the mass holy sacrament of the Lord's supper, there is really and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of Christ; and that the whole substance of the bread is turned into his body, and likewise into the wine into his blood, which conversion, so contradictory to our senses, they call Transubstantiation, but at the same time they affirm, that under either kind or species only, one whole, entire Christ, and the true sacrament is received; that is, why are those words, "This is my body," to be taken in a literal sense, any more than those concerning the cup? Our Saviour says, "I am the true vine; I am the door." St. Paul says, "Our fathers drank of the rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ." And writing to the Corinthians, he affirms that he had fed them with milk. Can these passages be taken literally? Why then must we be forced to interpret our Saviour's words in a literal sense, when the meaning is both clearer, and more natural, when taken in a figurative one? "Take, eat; this is my body. Drink; this is my blood," &c. This is the real point of all these Roman Catholic arguments; in which, as in a prison, after death, those souls, by the prayers of the faithful, are purged, which in this life could not be fully cleansed; no, not by the blood of Christ; and notwithstanding it is alluded in the scriptures, that "if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness," 1 John i. 9. This place of purgatory is in the power of the pope, who dispenses the indulgence, and directs the treaty of his merits, by which the pains are mitigated, and the delinquents absolved. For the souls of the faithful, in this idea of purgation, his mass and friars say masses, all of whom must be paid for their trouble; because, No penny, no pater-noster; by which bubble the church of Rome amasses great wealth.

INJURIOUS AND CREATURE-WORSHIP.] In all the Roman worship, the blessed virgin is a principal object of adoration. She is called Queen of Heaven, Lady of the world, the only Hope of sinners, Queen of angels, Patroness of men, Advocate for sinners, Mother of mercy, and the Star of the sea, under the power of a mother, to command her Son. In some prayers, they invoke God to bring them to heaven by the merits and mediation of the Virgin Mary and all her saints, and that they may enjoy perpetual favours both of body and mind. The most curious instance of this might be imagined by a papist, that the sacred writings were full of encomiums on this pretended mother of God; whereas, on the contrary, we do not find Christ in any part of scripture called the Son of Mary; nor that he at any time called her mother; and when the woman cried, "Blessed art thou that barest me, and the paps that thou hast suckled," "Ye shall return our Lord; rather blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it." Nor does our Saviour own any relation but that of a disciple; for when his mother and brethren stood without, desiring to speak with him, Jesus answered, "Who are my mother and my brethren?" and from the number of his disciples, his faith, "Behold my mother and my brethren; for whosoever shall do the will of my Father who is in heaven, the same is my brother, sister, and mother." "Now the like brain are also their prayers to other saints and angels; whereas the act of feasting at the table of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and transfer his offices to others; though the Scriptures expressly affirm, there is but one mediator between God and man, who is sufficiently able to deliver and save, to the uttermost, all who by faith come unto him. Nor must we omit under this head the idolatry of the mass, in the elevation of the hoft, to which the poor deluded people kneel down, and which they, whatever their artful priests pretend to the contrary, solemnly adore and worship, according to an express commandment of their creed, and in the command of one of their popes, who enjoins them to say a part of the hoft to be worshipped, in Lateria, whereby the second commandment is infringed, which the Roman church have endeavoured as much as possible to suppref, and in many of their little manuals, they leave it quite out.

PAPAL SOVEREIGNTY.] This is politically supported by a pretended Infallibility; Auricular Confession, founded upon the priest's power to forgive sins; Indulgences; Pretended Relic's: Penance; Pardons; Strings of Beads for Ave-Marys and Pater-nomens; Celibacy; Absolution of Sins; Merits and Works of Supererogation; Restrictions upon Monks and Monasteries; Religious Vows and Orders; Four Elements; decorated Images; Insemination; Holy Water, or (as Mr. Fox in the preface to his third volume more properly calls it) Conjuratory Water; Christening of Beasts; hallowed Flowers, and Bones; Agnus Dei; Oblations; Confecrations; with a variety of other devices, tricks, and impositions, to which may be added certain.

LUDICROUS FORMS AND CEREMONIES.] At the feast of Christmas, in commemoration of the nativity of our blessed Lord, Roman Catholics have exhibited in their churches a cradle, with an image of an infant in it, which is rocked with great feeding devotion, and on Good-Friday they have the figure of our Saviour on the cross, and then they perform the service which they call Tenebrae. In the latter, there is certain burning of their candles, of which they extinguish one by one, hereby celebrating the darkness at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion; after which the body is taken down from the cross and put into a sepulchre, and men stand to watch it; with more of the same childlike mummery that might be related, as if the Son of God came down from heaven to furnish men with a subject for dramatic representation.

STRANGE AND CRUEL MAXIMS.] Papists, hold that heretics (for so they call the Protestants) may not be touched with a maim, or kindred the same.

By the here of the father, the child is freed from all obligations of natural obedience.

When a christian king becomes an heretic, his subjects are forthwith freed from allegiance.

It is most lawful for christians to tolerate any king, who draweth his subj ects into heresy.

They ought to endeavour to depose him, and set up another in his place.

They ought to expel him the kingdom as the enemy of Christ. This is the undoubted judgment of the most learned, and the most disputers deny it.

Faith is not to be kept with heretics, and papists may have a dispensation, for the breach of oaths, or any secret practices against them, for the good of the Roman church; and it is lawful to torture, burn their bodies, and otherwise to treat them, as they think fit, for the good of their souls.

Now the above scheme of popery, if duly attended to, will convince every unprejudiced mind, that a mixture of
of paganism and Judaism, abstinence and idolatry, run throughout the whole, and that it is a crafty design to establish a dominion over the confidences, persons, and properties, of its deluded professors; yet all these false doctrines, and irreligious practices, the wretched flames of papal tyranny are obliged to swallow down; and to doubt of one single iota is, according to the priests, damnable; for, says a Roman Catholic, at the close of his creed,

I acknowledge the Holy Catholic and Apostolical Roman church to be the mother and mistress of all churches; and I promise and swear true obedience to the pope of Rome who is Christ's vicar, and successor to St. Peter, the prince of the apostles.

I also, without doubt, receive and profess all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred councils and councils, especially by the holy synod of Treves; and all things contrary to them, with all heresies, condemned, rejected, and cursed by the church, I likewise reject, condemn, and curse.

Thus, my power, that the frame shall be taught, held, and professed by all under me, and whose acts shall belong to me in my office to help me God, and the holy Evangelists.

Having thus given an account of the notorious corruptions and abuses on which the Romish church has introduced into her complex system of absurdities and idolatries, we proceed to give a full and faithful display of the intolerant, cruel, and dreadful bloody spirit of popery, as exemplified in the persecutions, sufferings, and martyrdoms, of the people, kings, confessors, and now bleeding martyrs. Our general design is, to open the eyes of the lukewarm, to confirm weak and unlearned Christians in their most holy faith, and to guard all who profess the faith of Christ, from the stratagems of those, who seek to draw them from the simplicity and truth of the everlasting gospel; and we submit the whole to the judgment of the candid reader, imploring that divine blessing, which is necessary to crown our labours, and every spiritual attempt, with such success, as may redound to the glory of God, and the eternal welfare of all our fellow Christians.

C H A P. I.

The A C C E S S I O N of QUEEN MARY, and the various ALTERATIONS in RELIGION, TROUBLES in the STATE, and PERSECUTIONS in the CHURCH, that happened in ENGLAND, after her CORONATION, and in the FIRST YEAR OF Her REIGN.

The Roman Catholics affect, (and what will they not say to colour over their inhuman practices, and bloody deeds?) "That all those who suffered death, during the reign of Queen Mary, had been adjudged guilty of high treason, in conformity to the laws and statutes, and by the sentence of the then queen, lady Jane Gray's title to the crown." To disprove this is no difficult matter, seeing every one, conversant in history, must know, that those who are tried on the statute of the 25th of Edward I. Chap. 26, are to be hanged and quartered; but with what difference can even a Papist affirm, that ever a man in England was burned for high treason? We admit that some few suffered death in the ordinary way of procès at common law, for their adherence to lady Jane; but none of those were burned. Why, if they were traitors, take them before the bishops, who have no power to judge in criminal cases? Nay, allowing the bishops to have had power to judge, yet their own bloody statute did not give them power to execute; otherwise, why were they obliged to consent to the change? For he accused persons who were heretics, before they could obtain a warrant for his execution? The proceedings against the martyrs are still extant, and they were carried on directly according to the forms prescribed by their own statute. We thought it necessary to premise this much, that our British youth may not be led away by pious imitations; for if they will but consider, they will be convinced, that the popish assertion is false. There was not one of those who were burned in England, ever accused of high treason, much less their being adjudged guilty of the same.

And this should teach young persons to value a history of transactions in their own country, particularly of their Blessed Martyrs, in order that they may be able to detect the falsehood advanced by Romish priests, and their numerous emissaries. Having said thus much, by way of caution, we shall, without further preface, enter upon the narrative; which, as we have promised, shall be a New and Complete History of the Acts and Monuments of the English Martyrs.

During the time that king Edward VI. was afflicted by a long illness, a marriage was provided, concluded, and solemnized in the month of May, between the lord Guildford, son to the duke of Northumberland, and the lady Jane, daughter of the duke of Suffolk; whose mother, being then alive, was daughter to Mary, king Henry's second sister, who was first married to the French king, and afterwards to Charles, duke of Suffolk. The marriage being consummated, and the king growing every day worse, he was prevailed upon to effect it, by his last will and testament, his two sisters, being Mary and Elizabeth, and gave his son to lady Jane the duke of Suffolk's daughter.

To this order subcribed all the king's council, and the chief of the nobility, the lord mayor and city of London, and almost all the judges and principal lawyers of the realm, except judge Hales of Kent, a true protestant, and upright judge, who, having given his consent to the lady Mary's being queen, would upon no account therefore subscribe to the lady Jane. How he was rewarded for his integrity by Mary, will be seen in the sequel. But the objections made by others in the realm against lady Mary's reigning were, because they feared she would marry with a foreigner, and by that means entangle the crown; and it was generally believed, that she would bring in the pope, and quite alter the religion upon which the king's reign was established. But the marriage was not long after this, through the violence of his ill fate, that most hopeful prince, Edward VI. departed this life; immediately after whose death, lady Jane Gray was, by the consent of the nobility, proclaimed queen, in London and other popular cities, and was there acknowledged and called.

There was little difference in age between this young lady and king Edward; but as to learning and knowledge of the languages, she perhaps was equal, but not superior to him, having had the advantage of a man of most excellent learning for her tutor; and had her fortune been equal to her fine wit and education, no doubt she would have been comparable, not only to the most eminent among women, but even to some of the University who had taken several degrees there in the schools.

In the mean time, while those things were upon the anvil, and working in London, lady Mary, having received advice of the brother's death, wrote to the lords of the council in the like manner following.
The LADY MARY’s LETTER TO THE LORDS of the COUNCIL, about the CROWN upon her BROTHER’S DECEASE.

My Lords,

We greet you well, and have received sure advertisement, that our dearest brother the king, our late sovereign lord, is dead. And now we trust to be unto our heart, he ever knew, to whose will and pleasure we must and do humbly submit us and our wills. But in this late hour we are sorry, after this majesty’s departure and death, concerning the crown and government of this realm of England, with the title of France, and all things thereto belonging, what hath been provided by act of parliament, and the testament and last will and testament of our dearest father, besides other circumstancias advancing our right, you know, the realm, and the whole world knoweth, the rolls and records appear for the king our dearest father, and the king our fad brother, and the subjects of this state; so that we verily trust, that there is no good true subject that is, or would be ignorant thereof, and of part of we have of ourselves caused, and deemed, our aid and strengthen us, shall cause our right and title in this behalf to be published and proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this ao weighty matter formerly caused, that our fad brother dying upon Thursday at night last past, we hitherto had no knowledge from you thereon, yet we consider your wisdoms and prudence to be such, that in regal reigns, among your purposes, and well weighed this present cafe with your effects, with your own estate, the commonwealth and all our honours, we shall in your wisdoms and prudence, and with all the things learned, and take things not to the worst; and that ye will, like noblemen, work the better. Nevertheless, we are not ignorant of your confidence for your promises, for our preferences and interests, nor of the great hands and provisions forcible, wherewith he be assembled and prepared by, whom, and to what end, God and you know, and nature cannot but fear every evil. But be it that you do not have our good will, or other things of the like, moved you thereunto, yet doubt you not, my lords, but we can take all these doings in gracious part, being also right good, and even so much like that from the hearts blooded and vengeance against all that can or will intend the fame, trusting also affore you will take and accept this grace and virtue in good part as appertaining, and that we take with all the care it may be on the people we are subjects and friends and which, in this our just and right cause, God, in whom our whole alliance is, shall fend us. Wherefore, my lords, we require you, that you did charge your ways of your allegiance which you owe to God and us, and none other, for our honour and the surety of our person only employ yourselves in your affairs, upon receipt hereof, cause our right and title to the crown and government of this realm to be proclaimed in our city of London and other places, as to your wisdom shall seem good, and as to this cafe appertaining, not fail. For the truth is that the word is, as it is, signed with our hand, shall be your sufficient warrant on this behalf.

"Given under our signet, at our manor of Kenning-hall, the 9th of July, 1553."

To this Letter of the Lady Mary the Lords of the Council returned the following Answer.

The LORDS ANSWER TO THE LADY MARY's LETTER.

MADAM, we have received your letters, the 9th of this instant, declaring your supposed titles which you judge yourself to have to the imperial crown of this realm, and all the dominions thereto belonging. For answer whereof, this is to advize you, that it is our opinion as our sovereign lord queen Jane is, after the death of our sovereign lord king Edward VI, a prince of most noble memory, invested and poffessed with the just and right title to the imperial crown of this realm, not only by the letters patent of the laws of this realm, but also by our late sovereign lord’s letters patent, signed with his own hand and sealed with the great seal of England, in presence of the most part of the parliament, and declaration of both his true allegiance and swearing to the same: we must therefore, as of most bound duty and allegiance, offer unto that said grace, and to none other, except we are adviz’d thereunto by our superiors subject to government by express writs and informations. Wherefore you cannot do us wrong, but, for the quiet of both the realm and you also, to advertise you, that, if you do any such proceedings, you will thereby defeat the king of famous memory, king Henry VIII. and the lady Katherine, your mother, was necessary to be had by the everlasting laws and decrees of God, and the ecclesiastical laws, and by the most part of the noble and learned universities of Christendom, and confirmed also by the fundry acts of parliament remaining yet in their force, and thereby you justly made illegitimate, and unheritable to the crown imperial of this realm, and the titles, and dominions, and possessions of the same, you will then all consider thereof, and of divers other causes lawful to be alleged for the same, and for the just inheritance of the right line, and godly order taken by the late king our sovereign lord Edward VI. from them their true faith and allegiance due unto his grace: affirming you, that if you will for yourselves quiet and obedient (as you ought), you shall find us all and ready to do you any service that we with duty may, and that we will give you your just due, and the common state of this realm, wherein you may be brotherly, and to your self, and them. And thus we bid you most heartily well to proceed.

From the Tower of London, in this 9th of July, 1553.

"Your ladyship’s friends, shewing your own obedient subject, Thomas Cauterbury R. Rich
The Duke of Win- Darcy
chester
John Bedford Cheynen
Win. Northampton R. Cotton
Tho. Ely Chancellor John Gates
Northumberland W. Peter
Henry Suffolk W. Cecil
Henry Arundell John Cheke
Shrewbury John Maffen
Pembroke Edward North
Caherlough J. Bowes.

All these persons, except the Duke of Northumber- land, and Sir John Gates, were afterwards by a special or general pardon discharged.

Lady Mary, after having received the above answer, and perceiving thereby the lords’ minds, made haste privately out of London, relying chiefly upon the good will of her companions, and not regarding any further of secret advertisements from some of the nobles. While the council heard of her sudden departure, and refused concurrence, and perceiving that things went not according to their late expectations, they gathered speedily a body of troops together, and fixed upon the duke of Suffolk for their leader, but afterwards, as changing their mind, they thought it best to let the duke of Suffolk keep the Tower where lord Guildford and lady Jane then lodged, and to send the Duke of Northumberland, with several other lords and gentlemen. In which expedition, notwithstanding the guarantees were very unwilling to march at first, yet, through the persuasion and importunity of the lord treasurer Cholmeley, and others, they were at length induced to affile the duke, and to set forward with him.

These things thus agreed upon, the duke marched from the Tower, after having visited his friend, having both his times and journey prefirred him by the council, that he might not do any thing but upon warrant. In the mean time, lady Mary, fatigued with travelling up and down, and considering where to fix most for her advantage, withdrew at length into the quarters of Edward St. John, where, on account of his having subdued the rebels in her brother’s reign, the under-foot the name of Northumberland was very much esteemed; and procuring to herself aid and assistance, on every side, as the could, kept herself close for a time within Fotheringham castle.

At this place first referred to her the men of Suffolk, who being among the number of the most zealous reformers, promised her their support, but with this stipulation, that Mary should not attempt to alter that religion which, by laws and orders publicly enabled, and although her brother’s king Edward’s days, and which had been generally received by both divers other grave and faine perfonages, affumig and fnufficing to frame: we must therefore, as of most bound duty and allegiance, offer unto that said grace, and to none other, except we are adviz’d thereunto by our superiors subject to government by express writs and informations. Wherefore we can no lefs do, but, for the quiet of both the realm and you also, to advertise you, that, if you do any such proceedings, you will thereby defeat the king of famous memory, king Henry VIII. and the lady Katherine, your mother, was necessary to be had by the everlasting laws and decrees of God, and the ecclesiastical laws, and by the most part of the noble and learned universities of Christendom, and confirmed also by the fundry acts of parliament remaining yet in their force, and thereby you justly made illegitimate, and unheritable to the crown imperial of this realm, and the titles, and dominions, and possessions of the same, you will then all consider thereof, and of divers other causes lawful to be alleged for the same, and for the just inheritance of
and all lady Jane's adherents. In consideration where-
of, when the Suffolk protestants afterwards reminded
their most gracious queen Mary of her promise, he
made them the following severe and ungrateful reply:
"For arguing with me about it, I say to you: if you
defy our rule, your head, you shall one day well perceive,
that members must obey their head, and not look to be
ruler over the fame." And with a view of striking great-
er terror into others, a certain gentleman, near Windham
side, named Dobbe, for adverting her by a humble petition
of Jane's, was punished with flaying, three times
in the pillory. Many others were likewise impris-
ioned, for having delivered her books and publications,
collected out of the scriptures, thereby exhorting her to
continue in the true reformed religion then established.
But the most signal instance of her displeasure was
having his warrant under the broad seal, proceeded
on his march; but his short journeys, affixed him by com-
mission, and the tedious delays in his route, added an in-
creasing strength to lady Mary's cause, especially as, at
this time, the hearts of the people began to be much
inclined to her; which, when the council at London
perceived, and understood how the common people be-
gan to withdraw from them to her, as did also several
of the nobility, they with equal measures, and
proclaimed for queen Mary, eldest daughter to
Jane. Lord Grey, on the 10th of July, king Edward dying without issue. As to the duke of
Northumberland, he was left de jure and forlorn at
Cambridge. Upon this he proclaimed Mary queen;
yet this piece of policy did him no service; for he was
arrested, as turn to the specific form of his sentence, and the card
of Huntington, with a few others; who were all sent
to the Tower, as traitors to the crown.

Thus was lady Mary feasted on the throne of England,
who, to a disagreeable person and weak mind, had unif-
ited bigotry, superstition, and crueltv. She seems to
have inherited more of her mother's, than her father's
qualities. Henry was fiery, rough, and ungovernable:
but Catherine, with a severe and implacable rancour
against protestants, affirmed the character of a fiant.
It was the fame with her daughter Mary, as appears
from a letter in her own hand writing, now in the Brit-
thish Museum. In this letter, which is addresed to bi-
shop Gardiner, she declares her fixed intention of burn-
ing every protestant; and it contains an intimation,
that, as soon as circumstances would permit, the would
refuse that the would decline taking
from the convents. This was the strongest influence
of her weakness that she could feel; for the convents
had been demolished, except a few of their churches;
and the rents were in the hands of the first nobility, who,
+ than part with them, would have overturned the go-
vernment, both in church and state. Gardiner,
bigotry cannot accord. That narrowness of spirit, which
always ditinguishes a weak mind from one that has
been enlarged by education, pervaded all the actions
of this prince. Unaccustomed with the constitution of
their church, and a due to superstition, Mary engaged
to domineer over the rights of private judgment, and
to trample on the privileges of mankind.

No sooner had this queen, by the Suffolk protestants,
the sward of authority put into her hand, than the began
to employ it against the house of
of lady Jane Grey. This devoted victim remained with
her husband, lord Guildford, almost five months in the
Tower, waiting her pleasure. But the duke of Nor-
thumberland, within a month after his confinement
there, was convened, brought to the scaffold, and be-
headed, notwithstanding the distress and distress of
if he would but renounce his religion, and hear mass;
which he not only did, but also exhorted the people to
return to the Catholic faith. The papists immediately
published and spread abroad his recantation; but the
duke, with a most determined spirit, in his often,
did ambition, died unpitied; nay, he was inflamed on
the scaffold by those who remembered in what manner
he had acted to their beloved Somerset. It may be pro-
ter to observe, this duke of Northumberland was not
of the great Percy family, which at that time was under
No. 1.
mayors, justices of peace, bailiffs, constables, and all other officers and ministers, diligently to give to the observing and exercising of her highness's grace and pleasure, and to apprehend all such as shall wilfully or otherwise, in committing the fame to the next jail, there to remain without bail, or bring false charges against her highness, or her privy council, of their names and deserts. For the abatement of all their offences, some further order shall be made for the example of others, according to the effect and tenor of the said 3d of Aug. A.D. 1680, in the first year of our most prosperous reign.

The Tumult at Paul's Cross, occasioned by Mr. Bourn's Scorn.

Near this period, or not long before, Mr. Bourn, a canon of St. Paul's, and who was afterwards made bishop of Bath, being appointed by Bonner, then bishop of London, to preach at Paul's Cross, he took occasion from the gospel of the day, to speak largely in justification of Bonner, who was then present, by saying, that Bonner, four years ago, had preached from the same text, and in the same place, for which he had been most cruelly and unjustly cast into that most vile dungeon the Marshalsea, where he was confined during King Edward the Sixth.

His words had such an ill effect upon his hearers, as to make considerable stir and stir in such a fort, that the mayor and aldermen were then afraid much an uproar; indeed so great was the popular ferment, that one hurled a dagger at Mr. Bourn, but who was person could not be then afterwards discerned, though he was afterwards discovered. In short, the tumult became so violent, that the preacher was silenced, broke off his discourse, and durst no more proceed in that place; for the matter of his discourse tended much to the dispariie of kind Edward, which the people could in no wise endure. Then Mr. Bradford, being in the pulpit, filled with that request of Mr. Bourn's brother, and spoke so mildly and effectually to the people, that with a few words he pacified them. Thence, he, and Mr. Rogers conducted Mr. Bourn betwixt the Grammar-school door, where they left him safe; for which prudent and humane conduct, they were both, shortly after, rewarded with long imprisonment, and at last with fire in Smithfield.

By reason of this tumult at Paul's Cross, there was an order forthwith dispatched from the lords of the council to the mayor and aldermen of London, that they should convene a common-council the next day, and thereby give every clergyman liberty to caust their children, apprentices, and other servants, to keep in their own parlich churches upon holy-days, and not to suffer their coming in the leat to violate or disturb the common peace; willing them likewise to signify to the said assembly the queen's determination uttered unto them August 12th, by her highness's letter, which was this, that notwithstanding her majesty's confidence was satisfied as to matters of religion, yet the graviticy of necessity must not compel or force the confessions of others, only hoping God through opening his word to them by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers, would go forward and direct them, as to bring in the truth of the like religion with herself. At the same time it was ordered, that every alderman should frstwad fend for the church, every parish within their liberties, and warn them not only to bear preachers, but likewise not to suffer any others to preach, or to make an open or solemn reading of the scriptures in those churches, unleas such preachers, and public readers, were freely licensed by the queen; and in order to prevent any future similar proceedings, 2 day after Mr. Bourn had been driven from his pulpit, the queen's guard came to the Cross to attend the preacher; but the people being withdrawn themselves from the sermon, it was ordered by the mayor, that the ancient of all companies should be profess'd; for the preacher should be discouraged by his small auditory.

An account of the Prohibition, Citations, and Commitments, of several Clergymen, and others, who either
either talked, or preached, against the queen's proceedings.

August, 1553. On the 6th of this month, one William Butler was committed to the Marshalsea for
privy council, for speaking against Mr. Bourn, on ac-

On the 16th, Humphry Paulden was sent to the
counter, for the like offence.

He was sent to the sheriffs of Buckingham and
and another to the bishop of Norwich, not to
for apprehending one Fisher, minister of Amer-

And the same day Mr. Bradford, Vernon, and
and committed to the Tower, because the lan-

When the Rev. Mr. Fisher of Amerham appeared before the
council; and October 7th, another letter was sent to

The Council of May I, in the usual form, at Wolfenbuttel, took place on the 1st day
and to suffer all French Protestants to pass out of this realm, except such whose names
were to be signified to them by the French ambassadors.

When the bishops, Taylor and Harley, had taken their places
among the lords, upon seeing mats begin they withdrew,

Not to end the matter, the queen's orders were

On the 24th, the Rev. John Melvin, a Scotchman,
was sent to Newgate by the council.

On the 28th, a letter was directed to the mayor of
and the corporation, for apprehending Hugh

On the 29th, John Hooper, bishop of Gloucester,
and the 31st, Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, ap-

On the 1st of this month, the two bishops, Hooper and Coverdale, appeared again before the council, when the former was committed to the Fleet, and the latter ordered to attend the lords' pleasure.

On the 2d, the Rev. Mr. Hugh Symonds attended at the council board, on account of a sermon he had preached, and was ordered to appear again on the Monday following.

On the 4th, a citation from the council was directed to Hugh Latimer, archbishop of Canterbury, com-

And about the 6th, Peter Martyr, a former deacon of Oxford, (where, for a time, he had been committed to keep
his house) and found there the archbishop of Canterbury, who offered to defend the Book of Common Prayer, both by the scriptures and the fathers, affidavit by Peter Martyr and others. But while they were in hopes of this event, the archbishop and others were imprisoned, and Peter Martyr permitted to return whence he came.

The same day a letter was sent to the mayor of Coventry, with orders to fix Hugh Symonds at liberty, if he would recant his heresy, or otherwise to detain him, and give notice thereof to the council.

On the 13th, archbishop Latimer appearing before the council, agreeable to their order of the 4th instant, he was by them sent to the Tower, attended by his fer-

On the 14th, the archbishop of Canterbury was

On the 15th, a letter was sent to the Rev. Mr. Horn, dean of Durham, requiring him to come before the
CHAP. II.

Containing a full and complete Account of a Public Theological Disputation, about the Real Presence and Transubstantiation, in (what Papists call) the Sacrament of the Altar, maintained in the Con

vocation-House, at St. Paul's, London, and appointed by the Queen's Special Command, October 16, 1553.

The Report.

WHEREAS divers and uncertain rumours be spread abroad of the disputation had in the convocation house; to the intent that all men may know the certainty of all things therein done and said, as much as the time and place that was present before me can bear away, he hath thought good, at request, thoroughly to describe what was said therein of both parties of the matters argued and had in question, and of the entrance thereof.

The First Day.

The subject for debate fixed by the Prolocutor, in his address to the Convocation. On Wednesday, October 18, in the afternoon, the prolocutor, Dr. Wotton, certified the court, it was the queen's pleasure, that the learned men thereto assembled should debate matters of religion, and for that end constitute laws, which her grace and the parliament would ratify. And because (said he) there was a book lately published, called the Catechism (which he pronounced) bearing thereon, of the other of them, and yet put forth without your consents, as I have learned, being a book very pestiferous, and full of heresies; and likewise an abominable book of Common Prayer; I thought it best, therefore, first to begin with the articles of the Catechism, concerning the sacrament of the altar, & that confirming the natural profession of Christ in the same, and also transubstantiation: wherefore, it shall be lawful, on Friday next ensuing, for all men freely to speak their confinences in these matters, that all doubts may be removed, and they fully justified therein.

The Second Day's Act.

On the 20th of October, being Friday, when it was expected they should have entered into disputation of the questions proposed, the prolocutor exhibiting two bills to the court, one for the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, and the other for constituting the catechism, that it was not published by the consent of that house, and that they did not agree thereunto, requiring all of them to subscribe to the same as he himself had done. Whereunto the whole house accordingly assented, except five, viz., the abbot of Rochester, the dean of Exeter, the archdeacon of Winchester, the rector of Herne, and archdeacon of Stow, and one more. And whilst the rest were about subscribing to these two articles, John Philpot stood up and spoke first concerning the articles of the catechism, that he thought they were deceived in the title of the catechism, for that it bore the title of the fynd before this, although it was publishing thereof several of them then present were not made privy thereto; and that because this house had granted authority to certain persons appointed by the king's majesty to make ecclesiastical laws; and whatsoever ecclesiastical laws were thereupon published by the authority of them, or the major part of them, according to a statute, in that behalf made and provided, it might well be said to be done by the consent of the fynd of London, notwithstanding such as were members of this house now had no notice thereof before its promulgation. And therefore in this point he thought the publisher thereof had not in the least flandered the house, as they by their former actions were designed to devouring to persuade the whole, since they had one fyndodal authority for imposing them to make such spiritual laws, as they thought convenient and necessary.

And moreover he said, that as to the article of the natural presence in the sacrament, it was both contrary to reason and learning, and likewise very prejudicial to truth, for men to be moved to subscribe before the matter was thoroughly examined and discussed. But when he saw his allegations were to no purpose, being like a man astonished at so many ancient learned men being purposely assembled to maintain old traditions, preferable to the truth of God's holy word, he made it his request to the prolocutor, that whereas on that side there were present to many learned men, as the like were not to be found again in the whole realm, and that on the other side, of those that had not subscribed there were not above five or six, and they far inferior to them both in age and learning; in order, therefore, that there might be an equality of persons concerned in this disputation, he defined that the prolocutor would intercede with the lords, that some of those men that were learned, and occasioned the publishing of the catechism aforesaid, might be admitted into the house to sue their learning that moved them to set forth the same, and that Dr. Ridley, to go on with Rogers, with two or three more, might have the liberty of being present at this disputation, and associating with them.

This request was thought reasonable, and was therefore proposed to the bishops, who returned this answer: That he was out of their power to call such persons to the house, and that he was under the impression, but they said, they would petition the council in that behalf, that in case any of them were absent that ought to be of the house, they were for being admitted as they desired. After this, they minding to have entered into disputation, there came a gentleman with a message from the lord great master and the earl of Devonshire, to the prolocutor, that the lord great master and the earl of Devonshire would be present at the disputation, and therefore he deferred the time till Monday, at one o'clock in the afternoon.

The Third Day's Debate.

At the time appointed, being Monday, October 23d, in the presence of many ears, lords, knights, and several gentlemen, both of the court and city, the prolocutor made a protestation, that the members of that house had appointed this public disputation, not to call the truth in question, but to precise what they had received, or subscribe, except five or six, but that gainayers, and heretics, might be resolved respecting their doubts, by their arguments, which they supposed would be sufficiently convincing to bring them over to their opinion.

The prolocutor then demanded of Mr. Hadon, whether he would reason against the questions that had been proposed; and Mr. Hadon replied, he would not, because they could not have such learned coadjutors as they desired. To which Mr. Emlar added, that they had done too much prejudice already to the truth by their subfusciring before the subjects to be debated were discussed, nor would it avail much to reason in defence of the true religion, against which they were now fully determined. Mr. Wotton then, turning to Mr. Cheyne, desired to know, whether he (who believed with them the real presence) would propose his doubts concerning transubstantiation. Mr. Cheyne answered, that he had no more to say, for my doubts were resolved, that move me to disbelieve transubstantiation.

"The first of these arose from what St. Paul writes to the Corinthians, who, speaking of the body and blood of Christ, calls it bread after consecration."

The second from a passage out of Originum who, speaking of the sacrament, faith, that the material part thereof goeth down to the element of water."

"The third is out of Theodoret, who, speaking of the sacramental elements, after consecration, affirmeth, that they go not out of their former substance, form, and shape. These, among several others, are the doubts I require to be resolved."

Then the prolocutor having appointed Dr. More to answer, he began with oberving, that the facsim
The Disputation about the Real Presence continued.

man was so closely pressed, that he began to stagger; which Philpot perceiving took in this manner, "Well
manner Moreman: you have no answer ready at present, consider of one, if you can conveniently, against
our next meeting." At these words the procurator was exceedingly offended and troubled, telling him, that he should not brag there, but be fully answered. To which Philpot returned, "It is the doctor affirms, that the accidents of the bread and wine, for instance, for fruits, nuts, etc., (that is) not out of their accidental substance and shape.

After this, Mr. Cheynay sat down, and Mr. Elmar, who could not endure to hear so weak and childish an answer to so grave an authority, arose, declaring, that Moreman's answer to Theodorist was only an illusion, or mere subtile erasure, contrary to Theodorist's meaning; for if the Greek word, that signifies substance, should, in the passage quoted, be taken for accident, then it was a superfluous word, especially, where there are two names, Christ and Chrift, and the accidents of the bread; and he proved out of the same author, by divers allegations, that the Greek word that signifies substance in Theodorist, could not be so generally taken in that place; but Moreman still affirmed, that the Greek word that signifies substance, may be used in a metaphorical sense. To whose objection, since he could obtain no better proof, Elmar gave place.

Upon which, Mr. John Philpot stood up, and said, he could make it appear, from the whole subject matter, in the place alleged, and from the fable Theodorist uses, for proving his purposes, that Moreman's explanation of the Greek word for substance, could by no means be taken in the sense he would interpret it: for, he observed, Theodorist was in that place arguing against the heretic Eutyches, who denied two natures of substance to remain in Christ as one person, and that his humanity, after the accomplishment of the mystery of our salvation, ascending into heaven, and being joined to the divinity, was absorbed thereby; so that, according to his opinion, Christ was no more but of one substance, or one substance only; against which opinion Theodorist writeth, and by the filiation of the sacrament, prove the contrary against that heretic; for like as in the sacrament of the body of Christ, after the consecration, there is the substance of Christ's humanity, with the presence of grace, and, therefore, not being absorbed by the humanity of Christ, but by divine operation joined thereto, even so, in the person of Christ, being now in heaven, of whom this sacrament is a representation, there being two several substances, his humanity and divinity, united in one hypostasis or person, which in Christ the humanity not being absorbed by the conjunction of the divinity, but remaining in its former substance: and Theodorist's filiation, continued Mr. Philpot, would prove nothing, if the substance of the sacramental bread remained not as it did before; the heretic therefore, according to Dr. Moreman's interpretation, would have a strong argument to support his error, and to prove himself an orthodox christian, might say to Theodorist thus: Like as you Theodorist, if thou wert of Dr. Moreman's mind, dost say that, after the end of the sacrament, in the sacrament, the substance of the bread is changed into the human body of Christ, coming thereunto, so that in the sacrament there is but one substance of the humanity alone, and not the substance of bread as it was before; even so, likewise, may I affirm and conclude from thine own fable, that the substance of the bread is changed into the power of God into heaven, and joined to divinity, was absorbed, and turned into one substance with the divinity; so that there remaineth but one divine substance in Christ, no more than in the sacramental signs of the Lord's Supper: and which by the consecration, doth remain as more than one substance, according to your belief and confession. In attempting to answer this, Dr. More-
Therefore if St. Augustine allowed no other presence of Christ born on earth, but only his divine person, and that his humanity was in heaven, we ought to confess and believe the same. But if we put a third presence of Christ, that is, corporally to be present always in the sacrament, we are led inevitably to your suppositions, whereof St. Augustine maketh no mention in all his works, you seem to judge that which St. Augustine did never comprehend.

Why, said Watson, does not St. Augustine, in the place I alluded, make mention how St. Stephen, being in this world, saw Christ after his ascension? It is true, said Philpot, but he saw Christ, as the scripture faith, in the heavens, being open, standing at the right hand of God the Father: at which Watson was silent.

The dean proceeded to support his argument, and, to this end, read out of a book of annotations by various authorities, to which Moreman, who was appointed to answer him, made no direct answer, but defined him to frame an argument, saying, the dean had recited many doctors' words, but had not made one argument. Thus challenged, the dean made the following argument from the institution of the sacrament: "Do this in remembrance of me; and thus ye shall fulfill the word he gave." The sacrament is the remembrance of Christ: therefore, the sacrament is not only Christ; for as yet he is not come, for these words, "until he come," do plainly signify the absence of Christ's body. Then the proctor got about to fly, that these words, "until he come," were applicable to any absence of Christ on earth, by other places of scripture, where the word, "until," was made use of; but directly to the purpose he answered nothing. In fine, the dean questioned Moreman, whether Christ did eat the patch of lamb with his disciples, or not. He answered, Yes. He further demanded, whether upon instituting the sacrament, he did likewise eat the sacrament with them? Moreman answered, Yes. Then he asked what he did eat, and whether he did eat his own natural body, as they imagined it to be, or not? Which when Moreman had affirmed, then, said the dean, it is a great absurdity by you granted; and so he sat down.

Afterwards the proctor demanded of Mr. Philpot, whether he would argue against the natural presence, or not? He answered, Yes, if he would hear his argument without interruption, and assign one to answer him, and not many, which occasioned confusion, and especially to him who had but a bad memory. By this time the night approached: on which account the proctor put his question in abeyance, and appointed Mr. Philpot to begin the same the next day, concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament.

The Fourth Day's Debate.

On Wednesday, October 25th, Mr. John Philpot was prepared to enter upon the disputation, intending first, to have made an oration in Latin; which being known by the proctor, he commanded him to make no declaration or oration in Latin, but to deliver his arguments in English. This is contrary, said Philpot, to your order at the beginning of this disputation; for then you appointed that all the arguments should be made in Latin, and thereupon I have drawn and devised all my arguments in Latin; and because you Mr. Proctor, have laid herefore, openly in this house, that I had nothing, I intended to shew such learning as I have, in a brief oration, and short declaration of the questions now in controversy, thinking it to most conveniently suit in case I should speak otherwise, in my declaration than should be said with disputing, or that I was able to warrant and justify by God's word, it might the better be reformed by such as were learned of the house, so that the unlearned being present, might take it in hand. But this prevailed nothing with the proctor, who still insisted upon his former argument in English, or else to hold his peace.

Then, said Philpot, you have much disappointed me, and suddenly, to go from your former order: but I will accomplish your commandments, leaving mine oration apart, and I will come to my arguments, which, as well as to a sudden warning will serve, I will make in English. But before I bring forth any argument, I will in one word fetch what manner of presence I affirm in the sacrament, to the intent the hearers may the better understand to what end and effect mine arguments shall tend; not to deny utterly the presence of Christ in his sacrament, truly ministered according to his institution, but only to shew what grace and good things we have of this house have already subordinated unto, to be in the sacrament of the altar, contrary to the true and manifest meaning of the scriptures: that by transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine, Christ's natural body and blood, by virtue of the form, instituted by the priest, be contained and included under the forms or accidents of bread and wine. This kind of presence imagined by men, I do deny, and against this I will reason. But before he could make an end of what he was about, he was interrupted by the proctor, and commanded to defend his arguments: at whose unjust importunity Philpot being offended, and hoping to find remedy, fell down upon his knees before the ears and lords which were there present, being a great number, whereof some were of the queen's council, before which they were not suffer'd to have liberally and freely discussed arguments without interruption, which was readily granted by the lords. But the proctor making use of a point of the practice of prelates, would not condescend to it, but still cried, "Hold your peace, or else make a short argument, for by this means I can judge of your arguments without interruption, which was readily granted by the lords. Then, said Mr. Philpot, by Mr. Proctor's leave, I will speak plain English, and to be short, I say, that the sacrament of the altar, which ye reckon to be all one with the mass, once justified and abominated, but now put in full force again, is no sacrament, neither is it in the manner present in it, and this he offered to prove before the queen, the council, or before fix of the most learned men of that house, of a contrary opinion, and refused none: If, (said he) I shall not be able, by God's words, to maintain what I have affirmed, and confound those fix which shall withstand me in this point, let me be burdened with as many faggots as can be found in London, before the court-gate. This he spake with the utmost zeal and courage.

At this word the proctor, with many others, were very much offended, demanding of him, whether he knew what he said. Yes, replied Mr. Philpot, I know very well what I say, and I define that no man may be offended at it, for I speak no more than by the word of God I am able to prove; and proved be God, that the queen's grace hath granted us of this house (as our proctor hath informed us) the free liberty of declaring our opinions, agreeable to our confinements in these matters of controversy in religion; and therefore I will not herefore deny, but the dictum of our presence, grounded upon God's holy word for the truth, although some of you here present do not like it.

Then Mr. Welton, with others, taunted and reproved him, for speaking so indecently against the sacrament of the altar; to which the proctor also told him he was mad, and threatened to find him out.

Mr. Philpot hearing himself abused, and not permitted the free liberty to speak his mind, thus clamoured, calling his eyes towards heaven, O Lord! what is this world is this? The truth of this holy word cannot be spoken and endured! Nay, while he thus cried, full of sorrow, the tears were seen to trickle from his eyes.

The proctor, being moved by some that were about him, contented that he should make an argument, provided that he would brief. I will be thus, (said Philpot) as I can conveniently, and as you all shall have to pay. And, first, I will lay the foundation of my arguments upon the authority of scripture, whereas all the buildings
The Disputation about the Real Presence continued.

Ings of our faith ought to be grounded; after which, I intend to confirm the fame by the ancient fathers of the church. My first argument is drawn from the 28th chapter of St. Matthew, in which the angel says to Mary, who sought for Christ at the sepulchre, "He is risen, as thou hast been told; go tell his disciples of what I said;" which is spoken of his natural body; therefore it cannot be on earth, but in the sacrament; I will confirm this not yet more effectually, from the 16th of St. John, where Christ faith, "I came from my Father into the world, and now I leave the world and go to my Father." Which coming and going he meant of his natural body; therefore it shall take upon him again this flesh, for it is not found in the world; nor can it be in the sacrament.

But I expect here to be answered with a blind dis
dition; that he is visibly departed in his humanity, but remains invisibly in the sacrament; but that no such idle distinction can take away the force of my argu
ment, will appear from the answer which Christ's disciples returned, saying, "Now thou speakest plainly, and I believe no proverb," which words St. Cyril interpreting faith, that our Saviour spake without any am
biguity, of his invisible and his visible person, and do from this conclude, that if Christ spake plainly, and with full and in
put parable, then that obscure, dark, and imperceptible presence of Christ's natural body remaining in the sac
rament invisibly upon earth, contrary to the plain words of Christ, ought not to be allowed: for nothing can be more certain, unvaried, and infallible, than his sa

I will now give attention to your answer, and then defend to confirm what I have said by ancient writers.

Then Dr. Chedley, rectifying his argument as it was made, took upon him to answer every part thereof; for he was of the usual ways of the specious words, "That Christ is not here: and, Why seek ye the living among the dead? He answered, that these sayings pertained no
ting to the presence of Christ's natural body in the sac
rament, but that they were spake of Christ's body being in the sepulchre, when the three Marys thought him to have been in the grave itself. And therefore the angel said, Why do ye seek him that lieth, among the dead? And to the authority of St. John, where Christ faith, Now I leave the world, and go to my Father; he meant that of his ascension. And 6 likewise did Cyril, interpreting faith, that Christ ascended to his Father, and then plainly that Christ would visibly ascend into heaven; but that doth not exclude the invisible presence of his na
tural body in the sacrament. For St. Chrysostom, writing to the people of Antioch, doth affirm the same, comparing Elias and Christ together, and Elias's cloak, and his mantle, and their faith, and faith was thus laid up in the fiery chariot, he left his cloak behind him into his disciple Elias! But Christ ascending into heaven, took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him." From whence we may justly conclude, that faith is not here; because you have omitted that which was the chief point of all. For, said he, I pro
ceed further, as this. He is risen, ascended, and filleth at the right hand of God the Father, therefore, he is not remaining on earth. Neither is your answer to Cyril, by me allowed, sufficient. But I will presently re
turn to your interpretation of Cyril, and plainly declare, that the authority of Chrysostom, which is one of the chief principles that you alleged to make for your gross carnal presence in the sacrament; which being well weighed and understood, pertaineth nothing thereunto.

And the protestor flattered, that one of the chief
dilemmas in this point should be overthrown; and there
fore he recited the said authority, first in Latin, and after
wards he turned it into English, and defined all that were present to remark that laying of Chrysostom, which he thought invincible in their own side. But I will make it appear (said Philpot) by and by, that it doth make little for your purpose. And as he was de
claring his mind in this particular, the protestor inter
rupted him, as he frequently did. With which Philpot expressed no small degree of indignation, saying, Mr. Preacher, thinketh that he is in a sophistry school, where he has heard the manner is, that when the respondent perceive, that he is like to be inforced with an argument which he is not able to answer, he doth what he can, by cavilling, and dilatoriness, to drive him from the same. This laying of Philpot was ill received in the protestor's company of the pres

tents; and the protestor said, that Philpot could bring nothing to avoid that authority, but his own vain imagi

Then, said Philpot, and afterwards judge; for I will do this, in all other authorities, whether you will or not; and you shall see, I will, if I have any force, to procure, anwering the same either by sufficient

courts of jurisprudence, or else by some other witness

ty of like authority with yours, and not of my own imagnation; which if I do, I desire it to be of no credit.

As to your authority from St. Chrysostom, I have two objections against that to propose; one drawn from jurisprudence, the other from the very place of Chrysostom himself here by you adduced.

First, where hefemalea saith, that Christ ascending took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him; it is true, for the flesh Christ took, with which he was made, that which he received from the virgin Mary, and the flesh he left behind was not his natural body, but the members of his visible church; as St. Paul doth apply strictly, when he says, Eph. v. "We are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones." And if any one were to say that there was there trenteth of the sacrament, and that this interpret

cannot to properly be applied to him in that place, then I will explain St. Chrysostom another way by himself; for a few lines before these words quoted, he saith, After Christ, after his ascension, "I ascended into heaven, let us, indeed with his sacraments, his flesh in mysteries, that is, sacramentally; and that mystical flesh Christ lefteth as well with his church in the sacramento

cement of baptism, as in the sacramental bread and wine." "As many (faith St. Paul) as are baptized in Christ, have put on Christ." Hence you may perceive, that St. Chrysostom makes nothing for your gross carnal presence in the sacrament, as you wrongly interpret him.

Now in the mean time, while Mr. Philpot was speak

ing, Mr. Pic, whispering the protestor in the ear, urged him to leave the subject, that he might on longer, he would wholly overthrow their opinion of the car

sal presence, seeing he had already given one of it's main supporters such a blow. The protestor, there

therefore, said to Mr. Philpot, that he had reasoned long enough; and that he would speak of other things, which Mr. Philpot, being much displeased, said, Why, Sir, I have a dozen arguments to propose concerning this matter, and I have as yet scarce gone over the first; for being hitherto hindered, through your frequent intercisions, I have not, for confirmation, quoted any ancient writers, though I might give a great many. Well, returned the protestor, you shall speak no more now, and I command you to be silent. You perceive, said Mr. Philpot, that I am able to controvert your falsifications, and therefore you com

manded me to be silent. If you will not, I shall, either Mr. Welton, I will send you to prilons. This is not, replied Philpot, according to your promise made in this house, nor yet to your brags made: at Paul's Cross, that men should be answered in this dissipation to whatever they can say. Those of a dozen arguments you yet shall not suffer me to prosecute one. Here Mr. Pic took upon him to promise, that he should be answered another day. But Mr. Philpot, seeing he could not proceed as he designed, was justly offended thereat, and con

cluded with the following words; that all the others, who hitherto have laboured in corners, and disconsolate with God and the world, are now gathered together to suppress the sincere truth of God's holy word, and to fet forth every falsedevice, which by the Catholic doctrine of the jurisprudence are not able to maintain.
Then stood up Mr. Elmer, chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, whom Mr. Moreman took upon him to answer; but Mr. Elmer’s allegations to incumber his reply, that he desired a day to overthink them, for at that instant he was without a proper answer.

The provoker now called upon Mr. Haddon, dean of Exeter, and chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, who prosecuted Mr. Elmer’s argument. Dr. Watton, who attended him, said, and that to the fame to Dr. Watton, asked him, whether he thought that translation to be a just one, or that the printer were in fault; to which Watton replied, there may be a fault in the printer, for I am not remembered of this word. Then Mr. Haddon took out of his bocem a Greek book, wherein he pointed to the same word, which Mr. Watton could not deny. The further arguments that were made use of, we shall omit declaring, because they were mostly in Greek, as were those also of Mr. Elmer’s.

Then Mr. Pernie stood up, and argued against transubstantiation, confirming the authorities alleged by the two former speakers. When the provoker, interrupting, said, “I wonder, Mr. Pernie, at your speaking thus, for no longer than last Friday you subscribed to the conclusions which Mr. Elmer blamed the provoker, telling him, that he ought not to reprend any man, because, said he, this house be a house of free liberty for every man to speak according to his conscience, and because but yesterday he promised this liberty to any man, never having anything he had failed to the contrary.

Night now approaching, and the time being expired, the provoker, though he praised them for their learning, concluded with observing, that, all reasoning set apart, the order of Holy Church must be received, and all things ordered thereby.

The Fifth Day’s Debate.

On Friday, October 27th, the provoker opened the debate with observing, that the convention had spent two days in disputing about one father, which was Theodoret, and about one Greek word (σῖος) and now they were assembled to answer all things that could be objected, therefore they defined they would shortly propose their arguments. Upon this, Mr. Haddon, dean of Exeter, requested leave to oppose Mr. Watton, who, with Morgan and Harpsfield, were appointed to answer him. Mr. Haddon then demanded, if any substance of bread and wine, by any other consecration, should be made; to which Watton replied, by asking another question, namely, whether he thought there was a real presence of Christ’s body, or not? Mr. Haddon said, it was not agreeable to order, that one, who was appointed to be respondent for the church, should have such business as that to object, answer. Mr. Haddon then proceeded to show, from the words of Theodoret, that the substance of bread and wine remained: for his words are, “The same they were before the sacriification, which they are after.” Mr. Watton said, that Theodoret meant not the same substance, but the same efficacy. Whereas they were driven again to a discussion of the Greek word above mentioned; and Mr. Haddon proved it to mean in a faith, by it’s etymology, and by the words of Theodoret, for it said, “It is come forth from the particle σῖ, which descends to the verb ἵσσεως, and to the noun σῖος, which signifies substance. Mr. Watton said, it had not that signification only, but, in short, it well proved, it could not signify otherwise. He then asked Watton, whether the bread and wine became symbols? Watton answered, After consecration, and not before. Then Mr. Haddon raised out of his author the following syllogism (being an argument upon three propositions).

(1) Theodoret faith, that the same thing the bread and wine were, before they were symbols, the same they remain still, in nature and substance, after they are symbols.
(2) Bread and wine they were before.
(3) Therefore, bread and wine they are after.

Mr. Watton, when he could not answer, had recourse to the scheme of Fabrigare of discrediting the authority of Theodoret, by saying he had not pleased to answer on that point, because he had garbled and falsified to the real presence. Being thus addresed with an information that required an immediate reply, Mr. Chelsey, who stood by, was defied to answer him, intimating, that he was more fit, than Mr. Haddon, to dispute upon this point, because he had garbled and falsified to the real presence. Being thus addresed with an information that required an immediate reply, Mr. Chelsey applied to the house, and requested the patience of those honourable men to hear him, hoping to open the matter, that the truth should appear, and by that he was no obstinate nor stubborn man, but would be conformable to all reason and if they, by their learning, which he acknowledged to be much more than his, could answer his reasons, then he would be ruled by them, and say as they said; for he would be no author of fiction, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy mother, the church, which is the vulgate of Christ. Dr. Watton liking this very well, commended him highly, telling him, that he was a very learned and sober man, and well experienced in all good learning, and in the doctors; and, finally, a man, for his knowledge, fit to dispute in that place; I pray you hear him, quoth he. Then Mr. Chelsey defied those that were present to pray to God with him in two words, and, “Ficit veritas,” “Let truth take place, and have the victory.” He thereupon prefixed a loud voice, “Ficit veritas, Ficit veritas.”

Dr. Watton told them it was hypocritical, and that they had better say, “Ficit veritas.” “Truth hath gotten the victory.” Mr. Chelsey said again, If you will give me leave, I will begin nothing but to say, that you may truly say so. Then addressing himself particularly to Mr. Watton, he began after this manner.

You said that Mr. Haddon was not fit to dispute, because he had not granted the natural and real presence; but I say you are much likely to answer, because you take away the substance of the sacrament. Watton said, he had falsified the real presence, and should not go away from that: so fald the provoker and the other side, so that for a long time he could not have leave to proceed, till the lords declared that he should be heard. He now explained what he meant by falsifying to the real presence, for otherwise than they supposed. He then prosecuted Haddon’s argument, proving that the Greek word before disfigured was a substance, using the phrase not in the sense Mr. Haddon did; and when he had received the same anwer therefrom, he was a catholic doctor; that being proved, he further confirmed what was of the nature and substance. The finitude of Theodoret is this, Finus, as the tokens of Christ’s body and blood, after the invention of the priest, do change their names, and yet continue the same substance, for the body of Christ after his ascension, changed his name, and was called immortal, yet it had his former figure, figure, and circumference, and, to speak in one word, the same substance of his body. Therefore, it in the former part of the finitude you deny the same substance to continue, then in the latter part of the finitude, when we agree with it, I will deny the body of Christ, after his ascension, to have the former nature and substance. But that were a great absurdity; because it is also a great hereby to take away the substance of bread and wine after consecration. In answer to this, Watton was obliged to confess, that the substance of the body, in the former part of the finitude brought in by him, did signify quantity, and other accidents of the sacramental tokens which are seen, and not the very substance of the sacrament and therefore Theodoret says, Those things which are seen. For according to philosophy, the accidents of things are seen, and not the substances.

Chelsey then appealed to the nobility, and desired that they would give no credit to them in saying: for if they think as they teach, after their lardships have ridden forty miles on horseback (as your business some times may require) you shall not be able to say at night, that
that knew your horses all the day, but only the colour of them: and by this reason Christ must go to (chook), and learn of Ariosto how to speak. For when he saw Nathaniel under the fig-tree, if Ariosto had stol'd by, he would have said, No, Christ, thou didst not see him, but that he said, Then did the prophet declare that he was the Son of God, where was mentioned that he should be found by Theodoret was on the other side, where there were one of that opinion, there were an hundred on the other.

The prosecutor here perceiving that Mr. Watfon was only attacked, and after Mistress Forest's action to help him out, who said, that Theodoret did no more than what he might lawfully do; for, first, he granted the truth, and then, for fear of such as were not fully instructed in the faith, he spoke mystically: he granted the truth of calling the bread and wine other names and blood of Christ; and with he seems to give room to the fencers and reason: but that Theodoret was of the same opinion with them, will appear from his words that follow, which are the cause of what went before; therefore he says, The immortality, &c. whereby it seems, that he meant the divine nature, and not the human. Morgan was then detected in misapplying the text; for the book had not this word [for] and the Greek word did rather signify [truly] from whence it plainly appeared, that it was the beginning of a new method of reasoning that sentence rending a caule of that he had made before.

Watson now repeated what he had before said: "Suppose Theodoret be on your side, of whom we never hear in print, before two or three years ago; yet he is in one; and what with the content of the whole church:" Cheynay affirmed, that not only Theodoret was of his opinion, that the substance of bread and wine do remain, but many others also; particularly Irenæus, who, making mention of this facsimile, says thus: "Whoso the cup which is mingled with wine, and them who receiveth the bread, it is the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ, by which the substance of our flesh is nourished, and doth confest." From whence I infer, that if the thanksgiving do nourish our body, then there is some substance besides Christ's body. To this both Watson and Morgan replied, observing, that [by which], in that sentence of Irenæus, was to be referred to the next antecedent, that is, to the body and blood of Christ; and not to the wine which is in the cup, and the bread which is in hand. Cheynay said, that it was not the body of Christ which nourished our bodies; nor granting that the flesh of Christ nouriseth to immortality, yet do not make for their argument, although it might be true: no more than that answer which was made to my allegation out of St. Paul. The bread which we break, &c. with as much authority, that bread was not to be taken there, in it's proper signification, that is, not for that it was bread, but for that it had been fo; any more than the rod of Aaron was taken for a sceptre, because it had been a serpent. After this, Mr. Cheynay quoted Hesychius, and used the same reason that he did concerning the burning of symbols; and asked them, what was burnt? Mr. Watson said, we must not enquire nor ask, but if there was any faults, impute it to Christ. Then said Mr. Cheynay, whence came those ashes, if not from substance? or can any substance be burnt?

Here Mr. Harpsfield was called in to the assistance of Watson, and to hear what he could say to this matter; who began with a fair preamble about the omnipotency of God, and the weakness of human reason as to the communication of religious mysteries; and said, that whatsoever we saw, felt, or tasted, it was not convenient to trust our senses.—(The very pith and marrow of popery this.) He also related a curious legend out of St. Cyprian, how a woman saw the sacrament burning in the pyres; and thus, it Harpsfield, burneth here, and becometh ashes; but what that was burnt, he could not tell. Mr. Cheynay continued full to force them with this question:—What was that it was burnt?—it was either, said he, the substance of bread, or else the substance of the body of Christ, which was too great an absurdity to grant. At length they answered, it was a miracle; at which Mr. Cheynay finnally said, that he would then say no more.

Then Dr. Wharton, the prosecutor, asked the company, whether those men had been sufficiently heard, or not? To which certain priests said, Yes; but as to the great multitude of people, these exclaimed—No, no; they were not heard, and the clamour was too great, that it was heard almost to the end of St. Paul's; whereas Dr. Wharton, being fairly asked, answered sharply, that he asked not the judgment of the rude multitudes, but unlearned people, but such as were members of that houle. Having said this with much acrimony, he asked Mr. Haddan and his fellow-disputants, whether they would answer the next day. Mr. Haddan, Cheynay, and Elmar answered, No. Upon which the archdeacon of Winchester, Mr. Philpot, stood up, and said, they should be answered, and though all others refused to answer, yet he would not, but offered to answer them all in turns; and with whose offer the prosecutor was dissatisfied, railed at him, saying that he should go to Bedlam; to whom the archdeacon returned gravely this answer, that he desired much more to be fent thither, who behaved himself so furiously in the dispute, without any indifferent equality.

To this Dr. Wharton made no answer, but rising up addressed the house, saying, All the company here have subscrived, these men whom ye see only excepted. What their reasons are you have heard. We have answered them three days, upon promise, (which was a false affidavit, for no such promise was made,) that you should answer us again, as long as the order of dispute continued, and, if they be able to defend their doctrine, let them do so.

Then stood up Mr. Elmar, and showed how vain a man Mr. Wharton was; for he affirmed they never promised to dispute, but only to lecture to the world their confinements. For when they were required to subscribe, they refused, alledgeing, that they would shew good reasons which moved them, that they could not, agreeable to their confinements, subscribe; as they had partly done already, and were able to do more effectually. Therefore, continued he, it hath been ill called a disputatio, and they are much to blame who called it fo. We meant not to dispute, nor now intend to answer, before our arguments, which we have to propound, be fully and clearly understood; according to it, by answering, we should but incumber ourselves and profit nothing, since the matter is already decreed on, and determined, whatsoever we may prove by disputation to the contrary.

The Sixth Day's Debate.

On Monday following, O'belor the 30th, the prosecutor demanded of Mr. Philpot, whether, in the questions, before propounded, he would answer their objections or not? To whom he made this answer; that he would willingly do fo, if, according to their former determination and promises, he had first answered fully some of his arguments, of which he had a dzen, not half of the first being decided; and if they would answer but one of his arguments sufficiently, he would reply to all the objections they could bring. The prosecutor bid him think of his arguments, and it should be absolutely controverted by some of them; whereunto Morgan was appointed. Mr. Philpot then proceeded. On Wednesday last, said he, I was forced to silence before I had prosecuted half my argument, the sum of which was, that Christ's real presence was declared not only in heaven, and placed at the right hand of God the Father; wherefore, after the imagination of man, it could not be signified upon earth invisibly in the sacrament of the altar. The argument was denied by Morgan; but I showed my proof hereof, Philpot said, that this was what he had to confirm his first argument with, if they would have suffered him the other day, as he hoped they would now. He thus proceeded with his argument.

(1) One self-same nature reiected not in itself any thing that is contrary to itself.

E.
(2) But the body of Christ is an human nature, distinct from the deity, and is a proper nature of itself.
(3) Therefore it cannot receive any thing that is contrary to that nature, and that varyeth from itself.

But bodily to be present, and to be absent bodily, to be on earth, and to be in heaven, and all at one present time, and contrary to the body, is impossible.

Therefore it cannot be the human body of Christ, that the self-same body is both in heaven, and also on the earth at one instant, either visibly or invisibly. Morgan denied the first part of the argument, which Philpot supported out of Vigiliius, an ancient writer; yet still Morgan cavilled thereat, and said it was no scripture, and defined him to prove the same from scripture. Philpot delivered the fame from St. Paul, who says, that Christ is like unto us in all points, except sin. Therefore, he as one of our bodies cannot receive in itself any thing contrary to the nature of a body, as to be in St. Paul's church and at Westminster in one instant, or to be at London visibly, and at Lincoln invisibly at one time; so in like manner, the body of Christ cannot be in more places than one, which is in heaven, and consequently is not included or contained in the sacrament of the altar. But, said the prosecutor, it is not true, that Christ was like unto us in all points, since he was not conceived by the flesh, nor begotten of a woman.

Philpot replied, that Christ's conception was prophesied before the angel to be supernatural, but after he had received our nature by the operation of the Holy Ghost in the virgin's womb, he became in all points like unto us, except sin.

And I have shewn before, in the case of St. Paul, he did not plainly prove his purpose. Well, said Philpot, I perceive you answer only by cavilling, yet I am not defirute of other scriptures, though you refuse the testimony of so ancient and catholic a doctor as Vigiliius is.

St. Peter, making mention of Christ in the 3d chapter of the Acts, says, "Whom heaven must receive, until the consummation of all things," &c. which words are spoken of his humanity; and if heaven must hold Christ, then can he not be here on earth, in the sacrament, as is pretended. Morgan laughing at this, and giving no direct answer, Harpsfield, one of the bishop of London's chaplains, stood up, and demanded of Mr. Philpot, whether he would of necessity force Christ to any place, or not? Philpot returned, that he would not force Christ to any place, but what the words of the Holy Ghost teach, namely, that Christ's human body must abide in heaven until the day of judgment. To which Harpsfield replied, Do you not know that God is a omnipotent? Yes, said Philpot, but I have right weapon, the omnipresence, what he can do is not our question, but rather, what he actually doth; lie may make more worlds; but doth he therefore so? It were no good conQuest to conclude, because he may or can do this or that, therefore he doth it.

SYLLOGISTIC ARGUMENT.

Only so much is to be believed of God's omnipotency, as is in the word expressed.

That Christ's body is both in heaven, and here also really, is not expressed in the word.

Therefore it is not to be believed, that the body of Christ, being in heaven, is here in the sacrament.

Why, returned the prosecutor, then you will put Christ in prison in heaven. To which Philpot answered, Do you reckon heaven to be in prison? God grant us all to come to that prison!

After this, Harpsfield affirmed, that the Latin word scripturae, in St. Peter, (in English only) did not import, as Philpot would infer, a necessity, which might be made of man as we are.

Therefore, in the first of Timothy, where St. Paul faith, a bishop must be the husband of one wife. Here the word scripturae doth not mean necessity, but a possibilitv, that he, who never was married, might be a bishop. To which Philpot replied, His argument is not aliend to that and in comparing the scriptures we must not consider the bare words, but rather their import: and in one place quoted by him, St. Paul declares of what quantity a bishop ought to be; but in the other St. Peter refers to the place where Christ must necessarily be until the end of the world: which we ought to believe to be true. And this comparison of the Latin word, scripturae, is no more an answer to my argument, than if you were to say, that, whereas in the first place, you are to be here, which importeth such a necessity for the time, that you can no otherwise but be there; yet you would endeavour, in words, to avoid this necessity with another scripturae in another sense, as for instance, you must be a good man, you must do this and that; so much such necessity, but that you may be an evil man. Thus your reasoning is not conclusive, and by no means an answer to my argument.

The prosecutor, to help the matter out, if possible, brought up another scripturae, saying, Scripturae hiereseis effet, these multiheresies need be therefore, because of this word scripturae. Certainy, returned Philpot, it cannot otherwise be, if you will add what immediately followeth, as qui dixit, just manufacturor, meaning, that such as be the elect of God may be manifest and known. But, said the prosecutor, the time hath been that no such heresies were. I know not of any such time, said Philpot; for since the time of Abel and Cain hiereseis have been, and then began. Then said the prosecutor, Will you not now answer Mr. Moreman, and say, that there will, said Philpot, if I may have my arguments first answerd fairly, according to truth and learning. What said the prosecutor, will you never be answered? How am I answered, returned Philpot, let all here present judge and learn, and with what advantge you have trifled with me. First, to the ancient authority of Vigiliius, you have answered nothing, except denying what he faith to be scripture. Secondly, to the words of St. Peter, in the Acts, you have answered, by denying, whether you may have Christ in prison; or not? Let men now judge if this be a sufficient answer, or not. Upon this, Morgan stood up again, and asked Philpot, whether he would be ruled by the universal church, or not? Yes, said Philpot, if it be the true catholic church. And since you speak so much of the church, I would have you declare what the church is. The church, said Morgan, is diffused and dispelled throughout the whole world. That is a diffuse definition, said Philpot, for I am yet as uncertain as I was before, what was, what is, what is to be; what was grounded and founded on the word of God, as St. Paul faith unto the foundation of the apostles and prophets? What! quoth Moreman, was the scripture before the church? Yes, answered Philpot. But I will prove the contrary, said Moreman; and I will begin at the time of Christ. The church of Christ thereupon wrote the scripture written for Matthew was the first who wrote a gospel, about a dozen years after Christ: therefore, the church was before the scripture. Philpot denied his argument; and shewed it to be a fallacy, for he took the scripture to be only that which was written by men in letters; whereas in truth, all prophecy uttered by the Spirit of God, was counted to be scripture, before it was written in paper and ink, for it was written in the hearts, and graven in the minds, yes, and inspired in the meaning of the word, and of the writing of the book of Christ. The satisfaction of the angel was the scripture of Christ, or the word of God, before it was written. Moreman cried, Patre! fie! wonder that the scripture of God should be counted scripture before it was written, and affirmed, he had no knowledge who said so. To whom Philpot replied, that as to knowledge in this matter, for the trial of the truth, about the questions in controversy, he would with himself no word matched with more.
Chap. III.

Wyat's rebellion—Queen Mary's oration—Lady Jane's letters, words, and behaviour, before her execution—Bonner's instructions to the clergy of his diocese—Mary's letter to Bonner—Her articles to the ordinary—Her proclamation. A conviction among the clergy—Bonner's oration—And a conversation between Dr. Ridley and Secretary Bourne.

On the 12th of January, 1554, Dr. Crome was committed to the Fleet, for preaching without licence, on Christmas-day: and on the 21st, Thomas Wooton, Esq. was committed close prisoner to the Fleet, for matters of religion.

Early in this month the marriage of the queen was made public; but the news of this event was ill received by both the common people, and several of the nobility; and on this account, as also for religion, conspiring among themselves, raised a rebellion, wherein
I AM come unto you in mine own person, to tell you that your late noble and loving traitor, sir Thomas Wyatt, and rebelliously a number of Kentishmen have assemblyed themselves against both us and you. Their pretence (as they said at the first) was for a marriage determined for us; to which, and to that effect, ye have been quite privy. But since we have caused certain of our privy council to go again unto them, and demand the cause of this their rebellion, and it having risen unto our good counsel, that the matter of the marriage seemed to be but a Spanish cloak to cover their pretended purpose against our religion, for that they arrogantly and traitorously do demand to have the governorship of our person, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our counselors.

Now, loving subjects, what I am, ye right well know; I am your queen, to whom you are committed, when I was willed to be your marriage; the same in all things. (From having on my finger, which never lither were, nor hereafter shall be left off,) you promised your allegiance and obedience unto me, and that I am the right and true inheritor of the crown of this realm of England, I take all Christendom to witness. My father, as ye all know, paralleled the fame royal title, which now rightly is descended unto me; and to him always ye thorough your lives most faithful and loving subjects, and therefore I do not doubt, but ye will have yourselves likewise will not fail to your lawful sovereign to have the order and governance of our person, and to occupy our estate, especially being to vole a traitor as Wytis is most certainly, as he hath abjured mine ignorant subjects which be on his side, to death he intend and purpose the destruction of you, and spoil of your goods. And I say to you on the word of a queen, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loves the child, for I was the mother of any; but certainly, if a princely and government may as naturally and earnestly love his subjects, as the mother doth love the child, then affure yourselves, and guard for your lady and your lady's children, as do as carefully and tenderly and favour you. And I thus loving you, cannot but think that you as heartily and faithfully love me, and then I doubt not, but we, thall give these rebels a short and speedy overthrow.

As concerning the marriage, ye shall understand, that I entertained not the doing thereof without advice, and that by the advice of both our counselors, which I have heard and weighed the great commodities that might ensue thereof, that they not only thought it very honourable, but also expedient, both for the welfare of our person, and also of our children. And touching myself, I allure you, I am not so bent to my will, neither to precipice nor affectionate, that either for mine own pleasure, or for mine own will, I must be so defentious, as needs I would have one. For God, I thank him, to whom be the praise therefore, I have hitherto lived a virgin, and doubt not, as I have done with great care, I am able to live still. But if, as my preceptors have done declare, I must be of the praee thereof, I have hitherto lived a virgin, and doubt not, as I have done with great care, I am able to live still. But if, as my preceptors have done declare.

I know it would be to your great comfort. And certainly, if either of mine own children had lived, either by reason of any of you my commons, or to the impeachment of any part or parcel of the royal state of this realm of England, I would never continue any further, neither carry on any marriage while I live. And on the word of a queen, I promise you, that if it shall not probably appear to all the nobility and commons in the high degree of my person, that this marriage shall be for the high benefit and conformity of the whole realm, then will I abstain from marriage while I live.

And now, good faithful, pluck up your hearts, and like true men, and fight against the rebellious, and be not afraid; and fear them not; for I allure you, I fear them nothing at all. And I will leave with you my lord Howard, and my lord treasurer, who will have guarded all of those who go with him, returned to London, no blood having been shed in either side.

The duke of Suffolk having fled into Warwickshire, the earl of Northumberland was sent again against him, who entering the city of Coventry before the duke, disappointed him of his purpose. In his diftrust, the duke confided in a servant of his, in Astley park; but the traitor having betrayed him, he was apprehended, sent up to London, and committed to the Tower. In the mean time, sir Peter hearing of this, fled into France, but the other conspirators were taken; and Wyatt advanced towards London in the beginning of February. The queen, having heard of his coming, repaired to Guildhall, in the city, where she made a vehement oration against the violence and effrontery hereafter followeth, as near as out of her own mouth could be penned.

An ORATION delivered by QUEEN MARY in GUILDHALL, LONDON.

TWO days after this, on the 3d of February, lord Cobham was committed to the Tower, and sir Thomas Wyatt, lord Sudeley, and William, earl of Northumberland, was under no apprehension that way into the city, he marched with his army by Kingston, and came through the Strand to Ludgate. Returning from thence, he was opposed at Temple-bar, and there surrendered himself to sir Clement Parson, who brought him to court; and, with him, the remains of his army (for sir Francis Drake had been killed, and half of his men, had deferred him at Kingston-bridge) were also taken, and about one hundred killed. A great number of the captives were hanged; and Wyatt was executed on Tower-hill, and then quartered. His body and head were given to his friends and adherents, and taken away from thence, and great search made for the same.

On the 12th of February, the unfortunate lady Jane Gray was beheaded. Two days before her death, Mr. Feckman, otherwise Howman, was sent to her from the queen, to converse with her, and endeavour to turn her from the doctrine of Christ and the reformation to Mary's popish religion. The subsidence of their conversation is thus related.

A CONVERSATION between Mr. FECKMAN and Lady JANE GRAY, a short Time before she was beheaded.

Feckman, Madam, I lament your heavy cafe, and yet I doubt not, but that you bear out this sorrow of your's with a confant and patient mind.

Jane. You are welcome unto me, sir, if your coming be to converse with me in my sorrows. And as for my heavy cafe (I thank God,) I do little lament it, that rather I account the fame for a more manifest declaration of God's favour towards me, than ever he flewed me at any time before. And therefore there is no cause why either you, or others which bear me good will, should lament or be grieved with this my case, being a thing to profitable for my soul's health.

Feckman. I am here come to you at this present time, sent from the queen and her council, to instruct you in the true doctrine of the right faith; although I have so great a care for your soul, that I shall have, I trust, little need to travel with you much therein.

Jane. Forsooth, I heartily thank the queen's highness, which is not unmindful of her humble subject; and I hope likewise, that you no les will do your duty towards me, than I shall have, I trust, little need to travel with you much therein.

Feckman, What is then required of a christian man? Jane. That he should believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; three Persons and one God. Feckman, What is then required of the Christian man? Jane. Yes, we must love him with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourself.
fore haft thou preached the law and the will of God to others? Wherefore haft thou intrusted others to be strong in Christ, when thou thyself dost so shamefully think, and so horribly abuse the testament and law of God? Wherefore dost thou, as the best and yet most abominably baselet, not from men, but from God, and committing most heinous sacrilege, rob and Christ thy Lord of his right members, thy body and soul, and chieflyst to live miserably with flame in the world, thou dost eat, and gloriously and gluttonously to reign with Christ, in whom even death is life? What dost thou now shew thyself most weak, when indeed oughtest to be most strong? The strength of a fict is unknown before the affait, but thou yieldest thy hold before any battery be made. Oh wretched and unhappy soul! what art thou, that dost so drift in after? And what wilt thou now refit thy Maker that fashioned and framed thee? Wilt thou now forlate him that called thee from the custom-gathering among the Romish antichristians, to be an ambassador and messenger of his eternal word? He that first framed thee, and since thy birth creation and birth preferred thee, nourished and kept thee, yea, and inured thee with the spirit of knowledge (I cannot say of grace) shall he not now pollute thee? Darest thou deliver up thyself to another, being not thine own, but his? How canst thou saving knowledge, and how canst thou neglect the law of the Lord, and follow the vain traditions of men; and whereas thou hast been a public preceptor of his name, become now a defacer of his glory? Wilt thou refuse the true God, and worship the invention of man, the golden calf? Wilt thou, by Balaam, the Romish antichrist, the abominable idol, the most wicked mists? Wilt thou torment again, and tear the most precious blood of our Saviour Christ, with thy bodily and fleshly teeth? Wilt thou take upon thee to offer any sacrifice unto God for our sins, considering that Christ offered himself to God (as St. John saith) for the many, on the cross, a lively sacrifice for all for? Can neither the punishment of the Israelites (which, for their idolatry, they so oft received,) nor the terrible threatenings of the prophets, nor the curfes of God's own mouth, nor the threat to honor any other God than him? Dost thou so regard him that feared not his dear and only Son for thee, to diminishing, yes, utterly extinguishing his glory, that thou wilt attribute the praise and honor due unto him to the idols, which have mouths and speak not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not; which shall perish with them that made them? What faith the prophet Baruch, where he recited the epistle of Jeremy, written to the captive Jews? Did he not forewarn them, that in Babylon they should see gods of gold, silver, wood, and stone, borne upon men's shoulders, to call upon before the image? And what say ye not afraid of them, (faith Jeremy) nor do as others do. But when you see others worship them, say you in your hearts, It is thou, O Lord, that oughtest only to be worshiped; for as for these gods, the carpenter framed them, and polished them, yea, gilded be they, and laid over with silver and vain things, and cannot speak." He scoweth, moreover, the abuse of their dealings, how the priest took off their ornaments, and apparelled their women with; how one heldith a sceptre, another a sword in his hand, and yet can they judge in no matter, nor defend themselves, much les any other, from either battle or murder, nor yet from gnawing of worms, nor any other evil thing. These and such like words speaketh Jeremy unto them, whereby he proventh them to be vain things, and no gods. And at last he concludes thus, "Continued be all they that worship them." They were warned by Jeremy, and thou as Jeremy haft warned others, and art warned thyself by many scriptures in many places. God faith, he is a jealous God, which will have all honour, glory, and worship, given unto him in the four corners of the earth, in the name of Matthew, to Satan which tempted him, even to the same Beelzebub, the same devil which had prevailed against thee: "It is written (faith he) thou shalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only shalt serve."
The New and Complete Book of Martyrs.

_Q. Mary. A. D. 1554._

Thee and such like do prohibit thee and all christians to worship any other God, than which was before all worlds, and laid the foundations both of heaven and earth: and wilt thou honour a detestable idol, invented by Romish popes, and the abominable college of crafty cardinals? George did himself, and all that lived with him, for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleasure? But thou wilt say, thou dost it for a good intent. O fink of sin! Oh child of perdition! Dost thou dream therein of a good intent, at thee thine conscience bear thee in mind? O wilt thou offer thyself to God's threatened wrath against thee? How did Saul? who, for that he disobeied the word of the Lord for a good intent, was thrown from his worldly and temporal kingdom. Shalt thou then, that dost deface God's honour, and rob him of what he hath inherited in the eternal and heavenly kingdom? Wilt thou for a good intent defounder God, offend thy brother, and danger thy soul, for which Christ hath shed his most precious blood? Wilt thou for a good intent pluck Christ out of heaven, and make his death void, deface his triumph of his cross by offering him up daily? Dost thou, either for fear of death, or hope of life, deny and refuse thy God, who enriched thee poverty, healed thee infirmity, and yields to thee his victory, if thou couldst have kept it? Dost thou not consider, that the thief of thine soul is the enemy of thy mind, I who can (as his will is) either twice it harder to last the longer, or untwine it again to break the sooner? Dost thou not then remember the saying of David, a notable king, to teach thee a miserable wretch, in his 164th Psalm, with this children's song: 'Whoever seeketh to live his life, shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, shall find it.'

Last of all, let the lively remembrance of the last day bealways before your eyes, remembering the terror that such fail he in at that time, with the rumagates and fugitives from Christ, which fearing more by the world than by heaven, more by their life than by his that gave them life, did shrink, yes, did clean fall away from him that forsook not them: and contrariwise, the inestimable joys prepared for them, that fearing no peril, nor dreariness, death, have manfully fought, and victoriously tri- umphed in the power of faith, now to life, happiness, and salvation, through their most redeemed captain Christ, who now stretcheth out his arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your neck and kiss you, and laft of all to feal you with the dainties and delicacies of his own precious blood; which undoubtedly, if it might flame with his certain true purpose, he would not suffer to be shed again, rather than you should be left. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glory everlasting. Amen.

"Be constant, be constant, fear not for any pain; Christ hath redeemed thee, and heaven is thy gain."

LETTER

Which Lady Jane, fetch to her sister, the Lady Katherine, the Night before she suffered, written at the End of the New Testament in Greek.

Good Sister Katherine,

I have here feen you a book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly is more worth than precious stones. It is the Book (clear linker) of the law of the Lord. It is his testament and last will, which he bequeathed unto us wretches; which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy: and, if you with a good heart, canth get a taste at earnest, to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal and everlast- ing life. It shall teach you to live, and learn you to die. It shall win you more than you should have gained by the profession of your woful father's lands. For as, if God had prospered him, you would have inherited his lands; so if you apply diligently this book, seeking to direct your life after it, you shall inherit an inferior and lesser estate. The covetous shall withdraw from you, neither thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Defire with David, good father, to understand the law of the Lord. Go live thine days, that you by death may purchase eternal life. The tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life; for as soon (if God call) goeth the young as the old: and labour always to learn to die. Defy the world, deny the devil, despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sins; be not afraid of death, and yet presume not; and desire with St. Paul to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom even in death there is life. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when death cometh and striketh upon you as a thief at night, you be, with the evil servants, found sleeping; and left, for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish women, and like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then ye be cast out from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I do. Follow the steps of your master Chrisl, lay up your cross, lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him. And as touching my death, rejoice as I do, (good father) that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am anfured, that I shall, for love of a mortal body, with an immortal soul, be worthy of Christ. Oh God grant you, and find you of his grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true christian faith, from the which, (in God's name) I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for hope of life, nor for fear of death. For if you will know his truth, to lengthen your life, God will deny you, and shorten your days. And if you cleave unto him, he will prolong your days to your comfort and his glory: To which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaseth him to call you. Fare you well, good father, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you.

The BEHAVIOUR and DYING WORDS OF LADY JANE upon the SCAFFOLD.

When the mounted the scaffold, she spake to the spectators in this manner. "Good people, I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the flame. The fact against the queen's highness was unlawful, and the sentencing thereof by me; but touching the principle of the cause, I am come hither to die in the name thereof, and to do walk my hands thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you, good christians people, this day:" and therewith the wrung her hands wherein she had her book. "Then (said she) I pray you all good christians people, to bear witness that I died a traitor, not with purpose to shed again, rather than you should be left. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glory everlasting. Amen."

"Be constant, be constant, fear not for any pain; Christ hath redeemed thee, and heaven is thy gain."
QUEEN MARY'S LETTER TO BONNER, BISHOP OF LONDON.

RIGHT reverend father in God, right truly and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas hereof in the time of the late reign of our most dear brother king Edward the sixth, whole soul God pardon, divers notable crimes, execrable and faults, with sundry kinds of heresies, simony, adultery, and other enormities have been committed within this our realm, and other our dominions, the same confirming yet hitherto in like disorder since the beginning of our reign, with very great correction and reformation at all and the people both of the laity and of the clergy, and chiefly of the clergy, have been given to much insolency and ungodly rule, greatly to the displeasure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil acceptation, and to no little slander of other christian realms, and in a manner to the subversion and clean defacing of this our realm; and remembering our duty to Almighty God, to be to foresee (as much as in us may be) that all virtue and godly living shall be embraced, honored and increased; and therewith also that all vice and ungodly behavior should be banished and put away, or at the least (so nigh as might be) be bridled and kept under, that godliness and honesty might have the upper hand; understanding that every rebellion against the word of God, every sinfull heave and dishomfort, that within your diocese, as well in not exempted as exempted places, the like disorder and evil behaviour hath been done and used, like aslo to continue and increase, unless due provocation be had and made to reform the same; which earneth in very deed we do mind and intend to the uttermost all the ways we can possibly, trusting of God's furtherance and help in that behalf. For these causes and other most just considerations we moving, we send unto you certain articles of such special matters as among other things be most necessary now to be put in execution by you and your officers, extending to the end by us defined, and the reformation aforesaid: where-in ye shall be charged with our special commandment, by thence our letters, to the intent you and your officers may the more earliness and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any presumption to be noted in your part or danger to be incurred of any such our laws as by our doing of that is in the said articles contained, might any way give the penance effectual, which may be ordained and commanded in any such case. And therefore we strictly charge and command you, and your said officers, to proceed to the execution of the said articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will answer to the contrary.

ARTICLES sent from the QUEEN into the ORDINARY.

FIRST, That every bishop and his officers, with all others having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall with all speed and diligence, and all manner of ways to them possible, put in execution all such canons and ecclesiastical laws, heretofore in the time of king Henry the eighth used within this realm of England, and the dominions of the same, not being directly and expressly contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm.

Item, That no bishop, or any of his officers, or other person aforesaid, hereafter in any ecclesiastical writing, in process or other extrajudicial acts, do use to put in this clause or sentence, [supported by royal authority,]

Item, That no bishop, or any of his officers, or other person aforesaid, do hereafter exact or demand in the admission of any person to any ecclesiastical promotion, order, or office, any oath touching the primacy of the Pope, or of late in few years palled hath been accustomed and used.

Item, That every bishop and his officers, with all other persons aforesaid, have a vigilant eye, and use special diligence and foresight, that no person be admitted or received to any ecclesiastical function, benefice, or office, being a lacemaster, induced or defamed with any notable kind of heresy, or other great crime; and that the said bishop do refuse, and cause to be stayed, as much as it is in them, that benefices and ecclesiastical promotions do not notably decay, or take hindrance, by pulling or confining of uncleanable leases.

Item, That every bishop and all other persons aforesaid, do diligently travel with the repressing of heresies and notable crimes, especially in the clergy, duly correcting and publicly punishing the same.

Item, That every bishop and all other persons aforesaid, do likewise travel for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions; unlawful books, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering hatred among the people, and discord among the same. And that schools, masters, preachers, and teachers, do exercise and use their offices and duties without teaching, preaching, or setting forth any evil and corrupt doctrine, and that doing the contrary, they may be by the bishop and his said officers punished and removed.

Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, proceed summarily, and with all celerity and speed, may and shall deprive or declare deprived, and remove, according to their learning and discretion, all such persons from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, who contrary to the state of their order, and the laudable custom of the church, have married and used women as their wives, or otherwise notably and blunderly dissolved or abused themselves: requesting also, during the said process, the fruits and profits of the said benefices and ecclesiastical promotions.

Item, That the said bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married, whose wives are dead, than with other whose women do yet remain alive. And likewise such priests, as with the content of their wives or women openly in the presence of the bishop do profess to abstain, to be used more favourably. In which case, after the saying or word of the bishop, according to his discretion and will, may upon just cause and ground receive and admit them again to their former administration, so it be not in the same place, appointing G

them
them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their benefices whereof they be deprived, by direction of the said bishop or his officer, as he shall think may be for their better sustenance.

Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do forsee that they suffer not any religious man, having solemnly professed chastity, to continue with his woman or wife, but that all such persons, after deprivation of benefice or ecclesiastical promotion shall be also divvorsed every one from his said woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein.

Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do take order and direction wherein, and of the parishes wherein, the priests do want, to repair to the next purify for divine service, or to appoint for a convenient time, till other better provision may be made, one curate to serve in the room of another, divers parishes, and to allow of the labour for his labour some part of the benefice that he do serveth.

Item, That all and all manner of procecsses of the church be used and frequented, and continued after the old order of the church, in the Latin tongue.

Item, That all such holy days and fasting days be observed and kept, as were observed and kept in the latter time of king Henry the Eighth.

Item, That the laudable and honest ceremonies which were wont to be used, frequented, and observed in the church, be also hereafter frequented, used, and observed.

Item, That children be chysten by the priest, and confirmed by the bishop, as heretofore hath been accustomed and used.

Item, Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new form and fashion of orders: considering they were not ordered in very deed, the bishop of the diocese, finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that, whereunto they are accustomed and used, and then according to his discretion admit them to ministrion.

Item, That by the bishop of the diocese an uniform doctrine be set forth by Homilies, or otherwise, for the good instruction and teaching of the people: And, that the said bishop and other persons aforesaid, do compel the parsoners to come to their several churches, and there devoutly to hear divine service, as of reason they ought.

Item, That the bishops examine all schoolmasters and teachers of children, and finding them suspect in any vice, to remove them, and place catholic men in their rooms, with a special commandment to instruct their children, so as they may be able to answer the priest at the mass, as it is been accustomed.

Item, That the said bishop, and all other the persons aforesaid, have such regard, respect and consideration of and for the setting forth of the premises, with all kind of virtue, godly living, and good example, with repressing all and keeping under of vice and unrightliness, as they and every of them may be seen to favour the reformation of true religion; and also to make an honest account and reckoning of their office and duty, to the honour of God, our gracious content and profit of this kingdom, and the denominations of the same.

A like charge also, with articles, was sent from queen Mary to the lord Mayor of London, the fourth day of March, in the same year, who, upon receiving the same, directed his commandments to the aldermen. After the year and time that Bonner published his precept or charge, there came from the queen another proclamation, commanding all foreigners and strangers to depart this realm.

Upon this proclamation, not only the strangers who were received into the realm, for the sake of religion, in king Edward's time, (among whom were Peter Martyr, and John Alaco, the king of Poland's uncle) but many Englishmen also fled, some to Friesland, some to Cleveland, some into high Germany, where they were diversly divered into different companies and congregations, at Wevel, Frankfort, Baful, Zurich, Geneva, and other places; wherein, by the providence of God, near eight hundred persons were all

fattened, and entertained, with much greater kindness by strangers abroad, than they could be in their own country at home.

In the month of March likewomen, the lord Courtney, earl of Devonshire, and the queen's sister, by a political step of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, were committed to the Tower, a just supposition of their having been confessing to Wyatt's conspiracy.

Dr. Ridley having been removed from Perrynge to the Tower, being one day invited to the lord lieutenant's table, and a conference, between the lord lieutenant, the secretory Bourne, Mr. Fecknam, (the queen's commissiour,) and others, concerning the controversies in religion; the sum whereof, as penned by Dr. Ridley himself, is as follows.

A CONVERSATION that passed in the TOWER at the LORD LIEUTENANT'S TABLE, between DR. RIDLEY, SECRETARY BOURNE, and MR. FECKNAM.

Mr. Thomas Bridges said, at his brother the lord lieutenant's table, I pray you, doctors, for my information, tell me what an heretic is. Secretary Bourne said, I will tell you who is an heretic; whoo stubbornly and stifly maintaineth an untruth, he is an heretic. You mean, said I, an untruth in matters of religion, and concerning our faith. Yes, that is true, said he; and this we are agreed upon. Mr. Fecknam, whom they called major dean of Paul's, fitting at the upper end of the table, I will tell you by St. Augustine who is an heretic, "He that either for the sake of princes, or for the sake of filthy lucre, sets up or professeth wrong notions, he is an heretic." Sir, said I, I think St. Augustine added the third number, which is, "Or for the sake of vain glory." You say even true master doctor, said he, and thus far we did agree all three.

Mr. Fecknam begain again, saying, Who doth not believe what the scripture affirmeth, but will obstinately maintain the contrary, he is an heretic; as in the sacrament of the altar, Matthew doth affirm there to be Christ's body, Mark doth affirm it, Luke affirmeth it, Paul affirmeth it, and none denieth it: therefore to hold the contrary, is heresy. It is the fain body and feth that was born of the virgin; and this is confirmed by unity, antiquity, and univeruality. For none before Berrangarius did ever doubt of this, and he was an heretic, as makes a very good point. One does not use to take his own confidence, sayd he.

In truth, said the secretary, Mr. Fecknam hath spoken well. These are great matters, unity, antiquity, and universality. Do you not think so, Dr. Ridley?

Here, while I seemed unwilling to talk, one of the commissioners said, Peradventure Dr. Ridley doth agree with Mr. Fecknam, and in that case there needs not much debating of the matter.

Sir, said I, in some things I do, and shall agree with him, and in some things which he has spoked, to be plain, I do not agree with him at all. Matters, said I, ye are (as I understand) the queen's commissioners here, and if ye have commission to examine me in these matters, I shall declare unto you plainly my faith; if ye have not, then I shall pray you either to give me leave to speak my mind freely, or eile to hold my peace.

There is none here, said the secretary, that doth not favour you; and then every man believeth what he will, and he towards me, and how glad I may be of an agreement.

Taking this shew of countery for a licence to speak my sentiments freely, I thus proceeded:

To Mr. Fecknam's arguments of the manifold affirmations which he had denailed, I answered, Where is a multitude of affirmations in scripture, and where is one affirmation, all is one concerning the truth of the matters for that which any one of the evangelists spake, inspired by the Holy Ghost, was as true as that which is spoken of...
of them all. It is as true what John faith of Christ: I am the door of the sheep," as if all had said it. For it is not in scripture as in word of man, where the number is credited more than one, because it is uncertain what spirit he doth speak. And where Mr. Fecknam spake of so many, affirming, without any negation, &c., Sir, said I, all they do affirm the thing without my meaning. Now if we take their words, to leave their meaning, then do they affirm what ye take, but not what they meant. If in talk with you, I should so utter my mind in words, that ye by the fame do, and may perceive my meaning, and could, if you would, be captivated, and so many other things, and another sense, I would think ye were no gentle companions to talk with, except ye would take my words as ye perceived I did mean.

Mr. Fecknam perceiving whereunto my difcourfe tended, and the chances you can fay that shall move me to think of any other fene than as the words plainly say, "This is my body which fhall be buried for you?"

Sir, said I, even the next sentence that followed, viz. "Do this in my remembrance." And also by what reason ye fay the bread is turned into Christ's carnal body, the fame I may fay, that it is turned into this mystical body. For as that faith of it, "This is my body which fhall be buried for you?" So Paul, who fone by Christ's Spirit, by the faith of his, "We being many, are all but one bread and one body, in unfeasmath as we are partakers of one bread."

Here he called one bread, one loafe, faid the fecretary. Yes, faid I, one loaf, one bread, all is one with me. But what faith ye of the univerfity, antiquity, and unity, that Mr. Fecknam spoke of?

I allude you, faid I, I think them weighty matters, and to be considered well. As for unity, the truth is before God, I do believe it, and embrace it, to it be with verity, and join my- self to the head of Christ, and fuch as one as St. Paul fpeaketh of, faying, "One faith, one God, one baptism." And for antiquity, I am also perfuaded that to be true which Irenæus fayth, That which is first is true. In our religion Christ's faith was not truly nullified by his apoftles, and by many good men, that from the beginning did succeed next unto them; and for this controversy of the facriment, I am perfuaded that thofe old writers, which wrote before the controversy, and the impurop of the fce of Rome, do all agree, if they be well understood in this truth.

Now as for univerfity, it may have two meanings; one to underftand that to be univerfal, which from the beginning in all ages hath been allowed; another to underftand univerfity for the multitude of our age, or of any other fingular age.

No, no, faid Mr. Secretary, thefe three do always agree, and where there is one, there is all the reft: and here he and I changed many words; To be short in this matter, we did not agree.

C H A P. IV.

An AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT of a PUBLIC DISPUTATION, appointed by the QUEENS's special Command in a CONVOCATION held at Sr. MARYS'S CHURCH, in OXFORD.

ABOUT the tenth of April, Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, sometime bishop of Worcester, were conveyed as prisoners from the Tower to Windsor, and from thence to the university of Oxford, there to difpute with the divines and learned men of both the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the prefence, fubfance, and sacriifice of the facriment. The names of the university doctors, and graduates, appointed to difpute against Mr. Heath of Oxford, Mr. Wotton, proctor, Dr. Treftham, Dr. Cole, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Pte, Mr. Harpsfield, and Mr. Fecknam. Of Cambridge, Mr. Young, vice-chancellor, Mr. Glin, Dr. Seaton, Dr. Watson, Dr. Sedgwick, Dr. Atkinon, &c. The articles or questions which they difputed were these:

1. Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the facriment after the words spoken by the prefbyter, or not?

2. Whether in the facriment, after the words of confe ration, any other fubfance do remain, than the fubfance of the body and blood of Christ?

3. Whether in the mass there be a fachrifice propitiatory for the fins of the quick and the dead?

On Saturday the 7th day of April, the heads of the colleges in Cambridge being affifted, together with the confent given from hence, the fegnent Gardiner, late chancellor, were read with articles therewith annexed, that should be difputed upon at Oxford. Whereupon in the fent conflagration of the aforesaid university of Cambridge, there was granted ftrt a grace in this form, propounded by their prefbyter, "May it please you to have an inftrument made, that the doctrine of these aforesaid articles is found catholick, and confonant with the verity of the right meaning faith, and that the fame may be approved by your conftem and voices. Secondly, in the fent conflagration that grace was written, and granted, that Dr. Young be vice-chancellor, Dr. Glin, Dr. Atkinon, Dr. Sco, and Mr. Sedgwick, should go to Oxford to defend their articles against Canterbury, London, and Latimer: also to have letters to the Oxford-men, dealing with their common fiel. Item, Another grace was granted to Mr. Sedgwick to be actual doctor, being thereupon immediately

admitted. The aforesaid letters being then drawn out, the third day after, (which was the 11th day of April) were read in the aforesaid congregation house, and there fealed.

The day after, being the 12th of the fame month, the doctors of that university fent forward to Oxford, where they arrived on the 13th of April, and lodged all at the Cross-inn, with one Wakefield, sometime a servant to bishop Bonner.

Soon after their coming, Dr. Crooke prefented them with wine for their welcome; and shortly after, two of their beadles came from the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and prefented the vice-chancellor of Cambridge with a draft of apples and a gallon of wine: after whom Mr. Pte and Fecknam came next to welcome them. Then after consultation concerning the delivery of their letters, and inftrument of grace (which was in Dr. Seaton and Dr. Watson's keeping) they all went to Lincoln college to Dr. Wotton the proctor, and to Dr. Treftham, the vice-chancellor, to whom they delivered their letters, declaring what they had done touching the articles, letters, and graces. Half an hour after eight they returned to their inn again; but frift con- cluded on a procession, sermon, and conflagration, on the day following, the doctors of Cambridge to be incorporated with the university of Oxford, and that the doctors of Oxford should be incorporated with the university of Cambridge. The fame day, the three prisoners were separat, Dr. Ridley to the house of Mr. Trith, Mr. Latimer to another, and Dr. Cran- mer remained still in Bocardo, a prison in Oxford.

On Saturday, April 14, at eight o'clock, the vice- chancellor of Cambridge, with the other doctors of the fame university, repairing to Lincoln college again, found the professors above in the chapel, with a company of the hous singing mas for the dead, and carri- ed there until the end. Then having conflagrated together in the master's room, about nine they all came to the university church, called St. Mary's, where, after a short conflagration, the archbishop, the proctor, &c. of Oxford, caufed the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and the rest of the doctors of that university, to fend for their scarlet robes brought from
Cambridge, gave that Dr. Sexton and Watson borrowed of the Oxford men. By this time the regents, in the congregation-houses, had granted all the Cambridge doctors their grace, to be incorporate there; and so they went up and were immediately admitted, Dr. Ogilbymaster presenting them, and Mr. Cocker reading the statute and answer against them the oath.

That done, they all came into the quire, and there held the convocation of the university: they had mas of the Holy Ghost solemnly sung before them by a quire of Christ's church, but first the cause of the convocation was opened in English, partly by the vice-chancellor, and partly by the proctor, declaring that they were sent by the queen, and wherefore they were sent, and caused Mr. Say the regiseter openly to read the Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded, that three nomaries, Mr. Say for the convocation, a beadle of Cambridge for that university, and one Mr. White for Oxford, should truly of their doing, and then ordered the into the next, so that whole assembly might subside to the articles, except those that had subscribed before in the convocation houes at London and Cambridge; and so the vice-chancellor be, the half of the Oxford men after him, as many as could in the mass time.

Mass being done, they went in procession to Lincoln college, where they dined with the mayor of the town, one alderman, four bealettes, Mr. Say, and the Cambridge dinner that night again at St. Mary's church; and there, after a short consiluation in a chapel, all the commissiories came into the quire, and so satisfied that he should bring in Dr. Cranmer, whereof the three were put to him with a number of trusty biffmen.

The reverend archbishop, when he was brought before the commissiories, paid his respects to them with mannerly respectfulness in his hands, and said, who, notwithstanding having a footl offered him, refused to fit.

The proctor causd the articles to be read to him, and a copy to be delivered him, affixing to him to answer them the next Monday next, and charged the mayor with him again, to be had to Bocardo, where he was kept before offering moreover unto him, to name what books he would occupy, and he should have them brought to him. The archbishop was greatly commended for his moderate dealing with some matters of arts were seen to wear for him, which in judgment were contrary to him.

Then was Dr. Ridley brought in, who hearing the articles read to him, immediately replied, they were all false, and farther, that they swarm out of a bitter rod four root.

Then he was asked, whether he would dispute or no? He answered, "That as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend his truth; but he required time and books." They said he could not, and that he should dispute on Thursday, and till that time he should have books. He said it was unreasonablc that he might not have his own books and time alfo. Then they gave him the articles; and desired him to write his mind of them that night; after which, they commanded the mayor to have him to whence he came.

Laffe of all came in Mr. Latimer, with a handker-chief, and two or three caps on his head, his earplacies hanging by a string at his breads, and a fluff in his hand, and was set in a chair; for so he was suffered by the proctor. After his denial of the articles, when he had appointed Wednesday for dilputation, he allledged age, sickness, dilute and lack of books, saying, "I do not use to dispute, as to be a captain of Calix : but he would, he said, declare his mind either by writing or word, and would stand to all they could lay upon his back," complaining moreover, "That he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor yet any book but only the New Testament there in his hand, which he said, he had read over seven times deliberately, and yet could not find the same in it, nei-

der the marrow-bones nor fines of the same." At which words the commissiories were not a little offended: and Dr. Welton said, "That he would make him grant, that he had both marrow-bones and fines in the New Testament." To whom Mr. Latimer said again, "That you will never do, Mr. Doctor," and fo forth, with they put him to silence; so that when he was desirous to tell what he meant by these terms, he could not be suffered. There was to great a press and throng of people, that one of the bealettes wounded by reason thereof, and was carried into the vestry. After this, bringing home the procurator first, the Cambridge men, viz., Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Sexton, Gill, Atkinson, Scoat, Watson, and Segwick, went to the Crew-inn, and there despopped.

And this was on Saturday the 14th day of April.

At nine o'clock, on Sunday morning, Mr. Harpsfield preached at St. Mary's, the university church, where divers of the doctors, in their robes, were placed in due order of precedence. After sermon, they all dined at Magdalen college, and flapped at Lincoln college, with the procurator Dr. Welton; whither Dr. Cranmer sent his answer upon the articles, in writing.

The ARGUMENTS, REASONS, and ALLEGATIONS, used in this DISPUTATION.

O N Monday, Dr. Welton, with all the residue of the visitors, confessors, and opponents, repairing to the divinity school, each one fastened themselves in their places. Dr. Cranmer with a route of rufly bills was brought; whereof the Univorsity acused him with the mayor and aldermen fitting by him: where Dr. Welton, procurator, apparelled in a scarlet gown, after the custom of the university, began the dilputation with this oration:

"You are assembled father brethren, this day to confound the detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ in the sacrament," &c. At which words thus pronounced, unawares, by the procurator, several of the learned men there present considering, and well weighing the words by him uttered, burst out into a great laughter, as though, even in the entrance of the dilputation, he had betrayed himself and his religion, by terming the opinion of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament a detestable heresy. The rest of his oration followed in the same manner. All which, by lawful, by God's word, to call these questions into controversy: for such as doubted of the words of Christ, might well be thought to doubt both of the truth, and power of God. Whereunto Dr. Cranmer, defining leave, thus answered:

"We are assembled (said he) to discuss these doubtful controversies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the world; whereas ye think it unlawful to dilpute. It is indeed no reason that we should dilpute of that which is determined upon before the truth be tried. But if these questions be called into controversy, freely my answer then is looked for in vain." This was the sum of his answer; and this done, he prepared himself for dilputation.

Then they asked the first opponents began in this manner.

Rev. Mr. Doctor, these three conclusions are put forth unto us at present to dilpute upon:

1. In the sacrament of the altar, is the natural body of Christ, conceivable of the virgin Mary, and also his blood, prevalent really under the forms of bread and wine, by virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest.
2. There remaineth no substance of bread and wine after the consecration, nor any other substance, but the substance of Christ.
3. The lively sacrifice of the church is in the mass propitiatory, as well for the quick as the dead.

These are the arguments whereupon this our present controversy doth rest. Now to the end we might not doubt how you make the fame, you have already given us to your opinion thereof. I term it your opinion,
in that it differeth from the Catholic. Therefore, thus I argue.
Chedw. Your opinion differeth from scripture.
Therefore, you are deceived.
Cranmer. In the name of God, I deny the antecedent.
Chedw. Christ, when he instituted his last supper, spake to his disciples, "Take, eat, this is my body which shall be given for you."
But this true body was given for us:
Therefore, his true body is in the sacrament.
The right form of this argument is thus to be framed.
The name which was given for us is in the sacrament.
But his true body was given for us:
Therefore, his true body is in the sacrament.
Cranmer. His true body is truly present to them that truly receive him; but spiritually, and so it is taken in a spiritual sense.
For when he said, "This is my body," it is all one as if he had said, "This is the breaking of my body, this is the shedding of my blood."
As often as you shall do this, it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my body, and the shedding of my blood, that as truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefit promised by receiving the name worthy.
Chedw. Your opinion differeth from the church, which faith that the true body is in the sacrament.
Therefore, your opinion therein is false.
Cranmer. I say and agree with the church, that the body of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the passion of Christ is effectual.
Chedw. Christ, when he spake those words, "This is my body," spake of the substance, but not of the effect.
Cranmer. I grant he spake of the substance, and not of the effect after a long and yet it is most true that the body of Christ is effectually in the sacrament. But I deny that he is there truly present in bread, or that under the bread is his original body.
And because it were too tedious (he said) to make discourse of the whole, he delivered up there his opinion thereof to Dr. Wellton, written at large, with answers to every one of their three propositions, which he desired Dr. Wellton, sitting there on high, to read openly to the people; this he promised to do, but it is not the first promiss that such papists have broken.
But though the copy of this writing was not read by the procitorus, we have drawn out the contents thereof, which are as follow:
Dr. Cranmer's Explanation of the foregoing Conclusions, exhibited by him.
Cranmer. In the assertions of the church and of religious trifling and new-fangled novelties of words, so much as may be, are to be effectually and firmly answered.
And though the contention and broiling about words, and we must follow, so much as we may, the manner of speaking of the scripture.
In the first conclusion, if ye understand by this word [really] re thief, that is, in the true and effectually; is Christ, by the grace and efficacy of his passion, is indeed and truly present to all true and holy members.
But if ye understand by this word [really] corporali sat, that is, corporally, so that by the substitution of a natural and organic substance, the first promotion doth vary, not only from the usual phrase of scripture, but also is clean contrary to the holy word of God, and christ plenitude; both, the scripture doth testify by these words, and also the catholic church hath professed from the beginning, that Christ has left the world, and is at the right hand of the Father, till he come to judgment.
And likewise I answer to the second question; that is, that is derived from the accustomed manner and phrase of scripture.
The third conclusion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtfull and ambiguous words, and differing almost from the true speech of the first Scripture, so as the words thereof for to import no open lees, is most contumacious against our only Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, and a violating of his precious blood, which, upon the altar of the cross, is the only sacrifice and oblation for the sins of all mankind.
Chedw. By this your interpretation which you have made upon the first conclusion, this I understand, the body of Christ to be in the sacrament only by the way of participation; insomuch as we communicating thereof, do partake of the grace of Christ; so that you mean hereby only the effect thereof. But our conclusion inandeth upon the substance, and not the efficacy only, which shall appear by the testimony both of scripture, and of all the fathers a thousand years after Christ.
And first to begin with the scripture, let us consider what is written in Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. and 1 Cor. xi. Matthew faith, As they sat at supper, Jesus took bread, &c. In Mark there is the same tense, although not the same words, who also for one part of the sacrament speaketh more plainly, Jesus taking bread, &c. After the same tense also written Luke: And when Jesus had taken bread, &c. In the mouth of two or three witnesses, faith the scripture, speaketh all truth.
Here we have three witnesses together, that Christ saith, that to be his body, which was given for many; and that to be his blood which should be shed for many, whereby is declared the true efficacy, and not the efficacy alone thereof.
Therefore, it is not true that you say, there to be not the substance of his body, but the efficacy alone thereof.
Cranmer. Thus humouring upon mine answer, as though I did mean of the efficacy, and not of the substance of the body; but I mean of them both, as well of the efficacy as of the substance.
And forasmuch as all things come not readily to memory, to a man that shall speak extempore, therefore for the more ample and fuller answer in this matter, this writing here I do exhibit.
Archbishop Cranmer's Explanation delivered by him to the PROLOCUTOR in writing.

Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at the time of his Maundy, preparing himself to die for our causes, that he might redeem us from eternal death, to forgive us all our sins, and to cancel out the hand-writing that was against us; that we through ungrateful oblivion should not forget his death, therefore at the time of his holy supper did institute a perpetual memory of his death, to be celebrated among christians in bread and wine, according as it is said: Do this in remembrance of me. And so often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you shall forth the Lord's death till he come.
And this remembrance or sacrament of his holy passion, that is, of his body slain, and his blood shed, he would all christians to celebrate in bread and wine, according as he said, "Take, eat, and drink ye all of this." Therefore whosoever for man's tradition denieth the cup of Christ's blood to laymen, they manifestly militate against Christ, for he said, that all that Christ commanded to be done, and are like to those scrites and pharisees of whom the Lord spake; Ye hypocrites, ye have rejected the commandments of God for your traditions. Well did Elisha prophesy of you, saying, This people honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Without cause do they worship me, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men.
The sacrament and mytryal bread being broken and distributed after the institution of Christ, and the mytryal wine being likewise taken and received, are not only sacraments of the flesh of Christ wounded for us, and of his blood shedding, but also most certain sacraments for us, and (as a man would say) heirs of God's promises and gifts, and all the grace and benefit which we have with Christ and all his members.
Moreover they are to us members of that heavenly food and nourishment, whereby we are nourished unto eternal life, and the thirst of our burning conscience quenched, and all they, whereby the flesh of Christ is taken, and put upon us, is replenished with unfpeakable joy, and corroborated and strengthened unto all works of godliness.
"We many are (faith St. Paul) one bread, and one body,
body, all we which do participate of one bread, and one cup." And Christ faith, "Eat ye, this is my body." And, "Drink ye, this is my blood." And, "I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever." Not as your fathers did eat manna in the desart, and are dead; he that eateth me, shall also live for ever.

Thus therefore true bread and true wine remain full in the eucharist, until they be consumed of the faithful. For these must be eaten unto God's promises, making us certain of God's gifts towards us. Also Christ remaineth in them, and they in Christ which eat his flesh, and drink his blood, as Christ himself hath promised. They eat his flesh, and drink his blood for their own comfort.

Moreover, he abideth also in them which worship, who is born of water and the Spirit. And this is the true bread and true wine, which which suffered for us, which the Father hath given him. The like wife of the cup, when he said, "Drink ye, this is my blood;" meaning verily of that bread which by nature is sweet and common with us, which is taken out of the fruit of the ground, compared to the salt and the graven, and partake with us, made by man, and by his hand brought to that visible shape, being of round compass, and without all fence or line, which nourisheth the body, and strengtheneth the heart of man: of this same bread (1 Fay) and not of the salted and the graven, and the old. And others say that Christ spake these words, "Eat ye, this is my body." And likewise also of the wine, which is the creature and fruit of the vine pressed out of many clusters of grapes, and maketh man's heart merry, of the very faro vine (1 Fay) Christ spake, "Drink ye, this is my blood." And to the old doctors do call this speaking of Christ, tropical, figurative, analogical, allegorical, which they do interpret after this sort, that although the substance of bread and wine do remain, and are not taken from us, nor in any way mingled, yet was Christ changed the appellation thereof, and called the bread by the name of his flesh, and the wine by the name of his blood, not that it is so in very deed, but signified in a mystery. So that we should consider, not what they are in their own nature, but what they import to us and signify, and should understand the sacrament not carnally, but spiritually, and should attend not to the visible nature of the sacraments, neither have respect only to the outward bread and cup, thinking to see there with our eyes no other things but only bread and wine; but that lifting up our minds we should look up to the blood of Christ with our faith, should touch him with our mind, and receive him with our inward man, and that being like eagles in this life, we should fly up into heaven in our hearts, where that Lamb is refined, that head of the Lamb of our Father, which taketh away the sins of the world, who by his stripes we are made whole, by whose passion we are filled at his table, and whole blood we receiving out of his holy side, do live for ever, being made the guests of Christ, having his grace in us the grace of the true nature, and through the virtue and efficacy of his whole passion, being no less aflued and certified, that we are fed spiritually unto eternal life by Christ's flesh crucified, and by his blood-fed, the true food of the soul, which is confirmed with his body and drink in this life: and hereof this said mystical bread on the table of Christ, and the mystical wine, being administered and received after the institution of Christ, are to us memorial, a pledge, a token, a sacrament, and a fish.

And therefore is it that Christ faith not thus: This is my body, eat ye: but after he had hiddem them eat, then he said, This is my body, which shall be given for you. Wherefore we infer that Christ had fain. In eating of this bread, consider you that this bread is no common thing, but a mystical matter: neither do you attend that which is set before your bodily eyes, but what feedeth you within: consider and behold my body crucified for you, and drink my blood. Wherefore, as you upon my passion, be fed with my death, this is the true meat, this is the drink that mollitenneth, wherewith you are being truly fed, and replenished, shall live for ever. The bread and wine were to be eaten only death, and the same blasphemeth that feedeth not on this. Wherefore whosoever at this my table shall behold the sacraments, have not regard so much to them, as consider ye what I promise to you by them, which is myself to be meat for you of eternal life.

The only oblation of Christ (wherewith he offered himself to God the Father once to death, upon the altar of the crofs, for our redemption) was of such efficacy, that there is no more need of any sacrifice for the redemption of the whole world, but all the sacrifices of the heathen, which were given by the law, were of such, which they did signify and promise. Whosoever therefore shall fill the hope of his salvation in any other sacrifice, he falleth from the grace of Christ, and is contumelious against the blood of Christ. For he was without Christ for our trespasses, and was broken for our iniquities. All was therefore one as he said, for all, and for all. And every man hath turned after his own way, and the Lord hath laid all our iniquities upon him. For he hath entered once for all into the holy place by the blood of the not of goats or calves, but by his own blood; finding eternal redemption; and hath entered into heaven, to appear now in the fight of God for us, not to offer himself oftentimes (for so should he have suffered many times), but now hath he appeared once to put away sin, through his own oblation. And in the word and thought of God. And also Christ once was offered: who offering up one oblation for sins, sitteth now for ever on the right hand of God. For by one oblation hath he made perfect for ever those that are sanctified. For where is remission of sins, there is now no oblation for sin, but only sacrifice of Christ; whosoever shall seek any other sacrifice propitiatory for sin, maketh the sacrifice of Christ of no validity, force, or efficacy. For if it be sufficient to remit sins, what need is there of any other? For all are sanctified with a sacrifice, and declareth this to be insufficient. Almighty God, who passest not by us, let us cast our lot to one sacrifice of Christ, and that to him again may repay our sacrifices of thanksgiving, of praise, of confessing his name, of true amendment; of repentance, of mercy, and of reconciliation to our neighbours, and of all other good works of charity. For by such sacrifices we did declare ourselves neither ingrateful to God, nor altogether unworthy of his holy sacrifice of Christ. And thus you have out of the testimonies of holy scripture, and of the ancient doctors of the church, the true and sincere life of the Lord's holy supper, and the fruit of the true sacrifice of Christ. Which whoever through capacious or wrested interpretations, or by men's traditions, shall go about, otherwise than Christ ordained them, to alter or transformate, he shall answer to Christ in the last day, which he shall unfold, and shall then too late) that he hath no participation with the body and blood of Christ, but that out of the supper of eternal life he hath eaten and drunken eternal damnation to himself.

If this be true, we will not confound and spend the time in waftes, this your writing which you exhibit, hereafter shall be read in this place. In the mean season let us now fall to the arguments.


Therefore, I do conclude that the natural body is in the sacrament.

Cramer. To your argument I answer: If you understand
the question: it is the same body which was born of the virgin, was crucified, ascended; but tropically and by a figure. And so I say, Pasus eft corpus, is a figurative speech, speaking sacramentally, for it is a sacrament of his body.

Ogilbye. This word [body] being prædicatum, doth signify substane.

But substantia is not predicated denominatively. Therefore, it is an essential predication, and so it is his true body, and not the figure of his body.

Cromer. Substantia may be predicated denominatively in an allegory, or in a metaphor, or in a figurative locution.

Ogilbye. It is not a likely thing that Christ hath left care for his foleace of the church, as a wife houholder hath for his house in making his will or testament.

Cromer. Your reason is drawn out of the affairs of men, and not taken out of the holy scriptures.

Ogilbye. But no houholder maketh his testament after that law.

Cromer. Yes, there are many that do so. For what matter is it so to be understood and perceived? I say, Christ did use figurative speech in no place more than in his sacraments, and specially in this of his supper.

Ogilbye. No man of purpose doth use tropes in his testament, for if he do, he deceiveth them that he comprehended in his testament: therefore Christ used none here.

Cromer. Yes, he may use them well enough. You know not what tropes are.

Ogilbye. If the good man of the house hath respect that his heirs, after his departure, may live in quiet and without wrangling. But they cannot be in quiet if he do use tropes. Therefore (I say) he useth no tropes.

Cromer. I deny your minor.

Wefen. Auguffine, in his book intituled, De Unitatis Esclftica, chap. x. hath these words following:

"What a thing is this, I pray you, when the last words of one lying upon his death-bed are heard which he is ready to go to his grave, no man faith that he hath made a lye, and he is not accounted his heir which regardeth not those words. How shall we then escape God’s wrath, if either not believing, or not regarding, we shall reject the last words both of the only Son of God, and also of our Lord and Saviour, both ascending into heaven, and beholding from thence, who doth usleep those, who, observing them not, and so shall come from thence to judge all men."

The argument is thus formed:

Whosoever faith that the tefatator lyeth, is a wicked heir.

But whosoever faith that Christ spake by figures faith that he did lye. Therefore, whosoever faith that Christ here spake by figures, is a wicked heir.

Cromer. I deny the minor. As who say it is necessary, that he which used to speak by tropes and figures should lye in doing such.

Ogilbye. Your judgment is disagreeing with all churches.

Cromer. Nay, I disagree with the papistical church.

Ogilbye. This you do thro’ the ignorance of logic.

Cromer. Nay, this you say through the ignorance of the doctors.

Wefen. I will go plainly to work by scriptures.

What took he?

Cromer. Bread.

Wefen. What gave he?

Cromer. Bread.

Wefen. What brake he?

Cromer. Bread.

Wefen. What did he eat?

Cromer. Bread.

Wefen. He gave bread, therefore he gave not his body.

He gave not his body, therefore it is not his body verily, and indeed, and in truth.

Cromer. I deny the argument.
Cale. This argument holdeth, a deferatur. It is bread; therefore it is not the body. And it is such an argument, that the sectarians cannot be defied of. 

Cranmer. The like argument may be made. He is a rock; therefore, he is not Christ. 

Cale. It is not alike. 

Wilton. He gave not his body indeed: Therefore, it was not. He gave indeed. 

Cranmer. He gave his death, his passion, and the sacrament of his passion. And in very deed, setting the figure aside, formally it is not his body. 

Wilton. Why, then, the scripture is false. 

Cranmer. It is not the scripture, that is false, but the figure. 

Wilton. This faith Christyloftom, Homil. 61. and pop. Antioch. "Needful it is, dear friends, to tell you what the miracle of the mysteries is, and wherfore it is given, and what profit there is of the thing. We are one body, and members of his flesh and of his bones. We that be in the mystery, let us follow the thing which was spoken. Wherefore that we may become this thing, not only by love, but also that we may become one with that flesh indeed, that is brought to pass by this food, which he gave unto us,3 mind to chew his great good will that he hath towards us: and therefore he mixed himself with us, and united his own body with us, that we should be made as one thing together, as a body joined and annexed to the head, for this is a work of God, a great and perfect love. And the same thing, Job alfio infinishing, said of his servants, of whom he was defined above measure, incomuch that they, shewing their great desire towards him, said, Who shall give unto us to be filled with his flesh. Therefore also Christ, who so united us with a great love towards him, and to declare his desire towards us, did not only give himself to be seen of them, but also to be handled, and eaten. Parents many times give their children to others to be fed; but I do not so, faith Christ, but feed you with my own flesh, and for myself before you. I am become your brother; I took flesh and blood for you. Again, my flesh and blood, by the which I made your kinman, I deliver unto you. 

Out of which words of St. Chrysofom, I make, said 

Wilton. Nay, the body by the mouth. 

Cranmer. That I deny. 

Wilton. I prove it out of Chrysofom, writing upon the same point. "She that is a mother, thameth sometimes to play the nurse. But Christ our nurse doth not play with us. Therefore instead of meat he fedeth us with his own flesh, and in this gentleness, the chap. of Matthew, the 83d Hourly, he faith, "For it shall not be enough for him to become man, and in the mean time to be whipped; but he doth bring us into one mafs or lump with himself (as I may so call it), and maketh us his body, not by faith alone, but also in very deed. 

Cranmer. I grant we make one nature with Christ. But that to be done with the mouth I deny. 

Wilton. Chrysofom, 2 Cor. chap. xiii. Hom. 29. hath these words, "No little honour is given to our mouth, receiving the body of the Lord. 

Cranmer. Therefore I say, that Christ didth bring us into both our ears and by our eyes. With our mouth we receive the body of Christ, and eat it with our teeth, that is to say, the sacrament of the body of Christ. Wherefore I say and affirm, that it is the virtue of the sacrament is much. Therefore Chrysofom many times speaketh of sacraments no otherwise, than of Christ himself, as I could prove if I might have liberty to speak, by many places of Chrysofom, where he speaketh of the sacrament of the body of Christ. 

With which word of the sacrament of the body, &c. Dr. Cole being highly offended, denied it to be the sacrament of the body of Christ, save only of the mystical body which is the church. 

Cranmer. And why should we doubt to call it the sacrament of the body of Christ, offered upon the cross, feeding both Christ and the ancient fathers do for call it? 

Wilton. How gather you that of Chrysofom? 

Cranmer. Chrysofom declareth himself, "O miracle, O the good will of God towards us, which is fitteth above at the right hand of the Father, and is holden in men's hands as the pledge of a sacrifice, and not to feed upon, to them that are defiers of him! And that is brought to pass by no futilty or craft, but with the open and beholding eyes of all the sinners-by." 

Thus he teach Christ is fecu here on earth every day, is touchable, is here by food and drink. Our tongue is red with his blood; which no man having any judgment will fay or think to be spoken without trope or figure. 

Wilton. What miracle is it if it be not his body, and if he spake only of the sacrament, as though it were his body?
But hearken what Chrysostom faith, "I shewed forth that thing on earth unto thee, which is worthy the greatest honour. For like as in the palace of kings, neither the walls, nor the fumipteous bed, but the body of kings sitting under the cloth of estate, and royal for their bodies was shewed of all things the most excellent: so is in like manner the King's body in heaven, which is now set before us on earth. I shewed thee neither angels nor archangels, nor the heaven of heavens, but the whole Lord and Matter of all these things. Thou perceivest after what forth thou dost not only behold, but touchest, and not only touchest, but easest, that which on the earth is the greatest and chiefest thing of all other, and when thou hast received the fame, thou givest the house, wherefore cleanseth thy foul from all uncleannesss."

Upon this I conclude, that the body of Christ is shewed us upon the earth.

Cramer. What? upon the earth? He is seen here with the eyes of our mind only, with faith and spirit.

Wyclif. What is it that seemeth worthy of the highest honour on earth? Is the sacrament or the body of Christ?

Cramer. Chrysostom speaketh of the sacrament, and the body of Christ is shewed forth in the sacrament.

Wyclif. Therefore, the sacrament is worthy highest honour.

Cramer. I deny your argument.

Wyclif. That thing is shewed forth, and is now on the earth, which is worthy the highest honour. But only the body of Christ is worthy highest honour.

Therefore, the body of Christ is now on the earth.

Cramer. I answer, the body of Christ is on the earth, in the sacrament, only so as the Holy Ghost is in the water of baptism.

Wyclif. Chrysostom faith, Oferinde, "I shewed forth," which noteth a subsistence to be present.

Cramer. That is to be understood sacramentally.

Wyclif. He faileth in tera, "I shewed forth on earth," declaring the place where.

Cramer. That is to be understood figuratively.

Wyclif. He is shewed forth, and is now on the earth, &c. as before.

Cramer. Your major and conclusion are one and the same.

Wyclif. But the major is true: Therefore the conclusion is also true.

That thing is on the earth, which is worthy of highest honour.

But no figure is worthy of highest honour.

Therefore, that which is on earth is no figure.

Here Wyclif called upon Dr. Cramer, to answer one part, bidding him to repeat his words; which when he had about to do, such was the noise and uproar in the divinity school, that his mild voice could not be heard. For when he went about to declare to the people how the prolocutor did not well English the words of Chrysostom, using for offenditur in terra, "he is shewed forth on the earth," in terra, "he is on the earth," whereas Chrysostom lieth not off, nor any such word of being on the earth, but only of having, as the grace of the Holy Ghost, in baptingis offenditur, "it is shewed forth in baptism," or sometimes he did inculcate this word offenditur. Then the prolocutor stretching forth his hand, fet on the rude people to cry out at him, filling all the school with hissing, clapping of hands, and noise, calling him unlearned, unskillful, and unlearned. Which imparted and reproachful words this reverend man most patiently and meekly did abide, as one that had been inured with the sufferings of such like reproaches. And when the prolocutor, not yet satisfied with rude and unlearnedly demeanour, did urge and call upon him to answer the argument, then he defined the notary to repeat his words again.

Notary. That which is worthy most high honour, here I shewed forth to thee on earth.

The body of Christ is worthy highest honour.

Therefore, he shewed forth the body of Christ here on earth.

Cramer. That is shewed forth here on earth which may be seen, which may be touched, and which may be eaten; but these things be not true of the body of Christ.

Cramer. The major out of Chrysostom is true, meaning in the sacraments: for, in the sacrament, the true body of Christ, and not the figurative body, is set forth.

Wyclif. Shew me somewhat on earth worthy of highest honour.

Cramer. I cannot, but in the sacrament only.

Wyclif. Therefore, the sacrament is worthy highest honour.

Cramer. So it is.

Wyclif. Judges, let it be written.

Cramer. I pray you, let my answer be written likewise: I affirm that the body of Christ is shewed forth unto us. It is our faith, that feeth Christ.

Wyclif. Offende nobis, "I shewed thee," faith Chrysostom, not to thy faith.

Cramer. He speaketh figuramently.

Wyclif. Therefore Chrysostom lyeth; for he faith, "I Chrysostom do shew," but he can shew nothing sacramentally.

Chesley. By force of argument we are brought to this point, that the body of Christ is proved to be on earth, not only sacramentally, but in very deed also, by this reason, that it is worthy of highest honour. The reason is indifference, which is worthy highest honour.

Cramer. I never heard a more vain argument, and it is most vain; also it hath my answer unto it.

Chesley. Will you affirm, that it is abased which Chrysostom faith, that the body of Christ is touched? that I touch, that I touch the body of Christ in the sacrament, as Thomas touched Christ.

* Thomas touched Christ, saying, "My Lord and my God!"

Therefore, that which he touched was the Lord, the God in tera.

Cramer. I deny your argument. He touched not God, but him who was God. Neither is it found doctrine to affirm, that God is touched.

Chesley. This is because of the union; so that God is said to be touched, when Christ, who is both God and Man, is touched.

Tertullian, speaking of the resurrection of the body, faith, "Let us consider as concerning the proper form of the chryselephant, what great prerogative this vain and foul foundation of our lust and desire. All things were sufficient to it, that no soul could ever get salvation, unless he believe while it is in the flesh: so much the flesh availeth to salvation: by which the flesh it cometh, that whereas the soul is so linked unto God, it is the said flesh that causeth the soul to be linked; yet the flesh moreover is washed, that the soul may be cleansed; the flesh is mortified, that the soul may be confounded; the flesh is flogged, that the soul may be defended; the flesh is shawked by the hypophysis of hands, that the soul may be illuminated with the Spirit; the flesh doth eat the body and blood of Christ, that the soul may be fed of God." Whereupon I gather this argument.

The flesh eateth the body of Christ.

Therefore, the body of Christ is eaten with the mouth. Phoc. alio, x Cor. chapter xii. upon these words, "Is guilty of the body and blood," declareth, "That like as Judas betrayed him, and the Jews were fierce and spiteful against him, so do they dishonour him, who receiveth his body with their impure hands, and as the Jews did hold him then, do now receive him with impure mouths. And whereas he often maketh mention of the body and blood of the Lord, he declareth, that it is not finely man that is sacrificed, but even the Lord himself, being the maker of all things, hereby (as it were) making them afraid." Therefore, the body of Christ is touched with the hands.

Cramer. You vouch two authors against me upon fangry things. First, I must answer Tertullian, and then the other.

Chesley.
Cromer. They tend both to one meaning.

Cromer. Unto Tertullian I answer, (because our disputation is wandering and uncertain) that he calleth all he feth which is the sacrament. For although God works all things in us invisibly beyond man's reach, yet they are so manifest, that they may be seen and perceived of every fene. Therefore he feth for the body of Christ, and left of all the fupper of the Lord unto us, which he gave to fignify his operation in us. The feth liveth by the bread, but the foul is inwardly fed by Christ.

Wotton. Stick to those of Tertullian, "The body of Christ, That the foul may be fed." 

Cheyfe. The feth etheth the body of Christ, that the foul may be fed therewith.

Wotton. Here you see two kinds of food, of the soul and of the body.

Cromer. He ffaith, that not only the soul, but the feth also is fed.

Cromer. The foul is fed with the body of Christ, the body with the sacrament.

Cheyfe. Is the foul fed with the body of Christ, and not with the sacrament?

Cromer. Read that which followeth, and you shall perceive, that by things external, an operation internal is understood. Inwardly we eat Christ's body, and outwardly we eat the sacrament. So one thing is done externally, another inwardly. Like as in baptism, the external element, whereby the body is washed, is one; the internal element, whereby the soul is cleansed, is another.

Wotton. This disputation is taken in hand, that the truth might appeare. I perceive that I must go farther to work than I had thought. It is a common saying, against those who deny principles, we must not dispute; therefore, that we may agree of the principles, I demand, whether there be any other body of Christ, than his instrumental body?

Cromer. There is no natural body of Christ, but his organical body.

Wotton. Again, I demand, whether fene and reason ought to give place to fath?

Cromer. They ought.

Wotton. Thirdly, whether Christ be true in all his words?

Cromer. Yes, he is truth itself.

Wotton. Fourthly, whether Christ, at his supper, minded to do that which he spake, or no?

Cromer. In saying these spake, I mean he spake, but it being he made not, but made the sacrament to his disciples.

Wotton. Answere according to the truth, whether did Christ that as God and Man which he spake, when he said, "This is my body?"

Cromer. This is fophistical caviling. There is some deceit in these questions.

Wotton. I demand, whether Christ by these words wrought any thing, or no?

Cromer. He did institute the sacrament.

Wotton. But answere, whether he did work any thing?

Cromer. E. He did work in instituting the sacrament.

Wotton. Now I have you; for before you said, it was a figurative speech. But a figure worketh nothing.

Cromer. This is a figurative speech. A lyre ought to have a good memory.

Cromer. I understand your sophistry before. You by working underland converting into the body of Christ: but Christ wrought the sacrament, not in converting, but in instituting.

Wotton. Woe be to them, who make Christ a deceiver. Did he work any other thing than he spake, or the self-same thing?

Cromer. He wrought the sacrament, and by these words he fignet the effect. Like as in baptism, the fupper of the Lord, and the word of redemption upon the crobus, is visibly and truly in the sacrament by virtue of God's word spoken by the priests, &c.

Wotton. The thing signified in the sacrament, is it not the sacrament?
being taken in the sense which the schoolmen teach, and at this time the church of Rome doth defend, it is false and erroneous, and plainly contrary to the doctrine which is according to godliness.

The EXPLANATION.

How far the diversity and newness of the phrase in all this first proposition is from the words of Scripture, and that in every part almost, it is so plain and evident to any one who is but meanly exercised in holy writ, that I need not now (especially in this company of learned men) spend any time therein, except the same shall be required by my noble. 

First, there is a double sense in these words, “By virtue of God’s word,” for it is doubtful what word of God this is, whether it be that which is read in the evangelists, or in St. Paul, or in the apostle Peter, or any other. If it be that which is in the evangelists, or in St. Paul, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be known to be God’s word, and of such virtue that it should be able to work so great a matter.

Again, there is a doubt of these words, “of the priest,” whether no man may be called a priest, but he which hath authority to make a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and how it may be proved that this authority was committed of God to any man, but to Christ alone.

It is likewise doubted after what order the sacrificing priest shall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or else after the order of Melchisedec. For as far as I know, the holy scriptures doth allow both.

Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word [really], whether it be taken as the linguists term it “transfusio, denter,” that is, most generally, and so it may signify any manner of thing which becometh the body of Christ, by any means, or by which the body of Christ is to be really in the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, (as in the ordinance of the form, the flesh is given, shall be declared) or whether it be taken to signify the very same thing, having body, life, and soul, which was assumed and taken of the word of God, into the unity of person. In which sense, seeing the body of Christ is really in heaven, because of the true manner of his body, it may not be said to be here on the earth. There is yet a further doubtfulness in these words, [under the forms of bread and wine,] whether the forms be there taken to signify the only accidental and outward shews of bread and wine; or therewithal the substantial natures thereof, which are to be seen by their qualities, and perceived by the external senses.

Now the error and fallibility of the proposition, after the sense of the Roman church and schoolmen, may hereby appear, in that it affirms the bread to be transubstantiated and transformed into the body and blood of Christ; whereas it is in reality only the word of God, and that (as they say) by virtue of the word, which they have devised by a certain number of words, and cannot be found in any of the evangelists, or in St. Paul, and to them gather that Christ’s body is really contained in the sacrament of the altar.

Which position is grounded upon the foundation of the transubstantiation, which foundation is monstrous, against reason, and destroys the analogy or proportion of the sacraments: and therefore this position also, which is built upon this rotten foundation, is false, erroneous, and to be counted as a detestable heresy of the sacramentaries.

The CONFIRMATION of the aforesaid ANSWER.

There ought no doctrine to be established in the church of God, which differeth from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and drawn out with many absurdities that cannot be avoided.

But this doctrine of the first proposition is such.

Therefore, it ought not to be established and maintained in the church of God.

The major, or first part of my argument is plain; and the minor, or second part.

The doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnal presence of Christ’s body, assumed and taken of the word, in the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, and that not by virtue and grace only, but also by the whole essence and substance of the body and blood of Christ;
The ANSWER to this PROPOSITION.

I answer to this third proposition as I did to the first. And moreover I say, that being taken in such sense as the words seem to import, it is not only erroneous, but withal so much to the derogation and defacing of the death and passion of Christ, that I judge it may and must be worthy to be counted wicked and blasphemy against the most precious blood of our Saviour Christ.

The EXPLICATION.

Concerning the Romish mass which is used at this day, or the lively facsimile thereof, propitiatory and available for the sins of the quick and the dead, the holy sacrifice has not so much as one syllable.

There is ambiguity also in the name [mass,] where it signifies, and whether at this day there be any such indeed as the ancient fathers used; seeing that now there be neither Catchits or Penitentaries to be sent away.

Again, speaking the words [the lively facsimile of the church] there is doubt whether they are to be understood figuratively and sacramentally, for the sacrament of the lively sacrifice, (after which we deny it not to be in the Lord’s supper) or properly and without any figure; of the which manner there was but one only facsimile, and that once offered, namely upon the altar of the cross.

Moreover, in these words, [as well as] it may be doubted whether they be spoken in mockery, as men are wont to say in sport, of a foolish and ignorant person, that he is as well in his condition as in knowledge; being apt indeed in neither of them both.

There is also a doubt in the word [propitiatory,] whether it signify here that which taketh away fin, or that which may be made available for the taking away of fin, that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active, or in the passive signification.

ARGUMENTS confirming his ANSWER.

(1) No sacrifice ought to be done, but where the priest is meet to offer the same.

(2) All other priests are unmeet to offer propitiatory sacrifices, have only Christ.

(3) Therefore, no other priests ought to sacrifice for fin, but Christ alone. See Heb. chap. v.

The second part of my argument is thus proved.

(1) No honour in God’s church ought to be taken, where a man is not called, as Aaron was.

(2) It is a great honour in God’s church to sacrifice for fin.

(3) Therefore no other priest but Christ ought to sacrifice for fin, who only was called to that honour.

FIRST ARGUMENT.

(1) That thing is in vain, and to no effect, where there is no necessity it should be done.

(2) To offer up any more facsimile propitiatory for the quick and the dead, there is no necessity: for Christ our Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all.

(3) Therefore, to do the same in the mass is, in vain.

SECOND ARGUMENT.

(1) After that eternal redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the same.

(2) But Christ coming an high bishop, &c. found and obtained for us eternal redemption.

(3) Therefore, there needeth no more daily obligation for the sins of the quick and the dead.

THIRD ARGUMENT.

(1) All remission of sins cometh only by shedding of blood.

(2) In the mass there is no shedding of blood.

(3) Therefore, in the mass there is no remission of sins: and so it followeth also that there is no propitiatory sacrifice.

FOURTH ARGUMENT.

In the mass, the passion of Christ is not in vertity, but in a mystery representing the same: yet, even there where the Lord’s supper is duly ministered, But
offered upon the altar of the cross; that the same might continually be had in reverence by mystery, which once only, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

These are things (right worshipful Mr. Prolocutor, and ye rest of the commissioners) which I could professedly prepare, to the answering of your three propositions, being definite of all help in this forefront of time, sudden warning, and want of books. Wherefore I appeal to my first pretention, most humbly desiring the help of the fame (as much as may be) to be granted unto me. And because ye have lately given most unfruitful and cruel judgment against me, I do hereby far forth as (may) to a more indifferent and just censure and judgment of some other superior, competent, and lawful judge, and that according to the approved state of the church of England. Howbeit, I confesse, that I am ignorant what that is at this present, through the trouble and alteration of the state of the realms. But if this appeal may not be granted to me upon earth, then do I fly (even as to my only refuge and alone haven of health) to the sentences of the eternal Judge, that is, of the Almighty God, to whose most merciful justice towards us, most just mercifully, I do wholly commit myself and my cause, nothing at all despairing of the defence of mine advocate and alone Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom with the everlasting Father, and the Holy Spirit, the satisfier of us all, be now and for ever all honour and glory. Amen.

We shall now proceed to the

ARGUMENTS and ANSWERS between Dr. SMITH and BISHOP RIDLEY.

Dr. Smith. You have occasioned me to go otherwise to work with you, than I had thought to have done. Methinks, in your supplication, you did shew the testimonies of scripture concerning the ascension of Christ, to take away his presence in the sacrament, as though this were a strong argument in your favour.

Christ did ascend into heaven.

Therefore he is not in the sacrament.

Now therefore I will go about to dispute this reason of your's.

Christ's ascension is no bar to his real presence in the sacrament.

Therefore, you are deceived, whereas you do ground yourself upon those places.

Ridley. You import as though I had made a strong argument by Christ's going up into heaven. But however this argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only lay upon his ascension, but upon his abiding there also.

Smith. Christ's going up into heaven, and his abiding there, hinder not his real presence in the sacrament.

Therefore, you are deceived.

Ridley. Of Christ's real presence there may be a double understanding: if you take the real presence of Christ according to the real and corporeal subsistence which he took of the virgin, that presence being in heaven, cannot be on the earth also. But if you mean a real presence, according to some thing that appertaineth not to Christ's body, certainly the ascension and abiding in heaven hinder not at all that presence. Wherefore Christ's body after that manner is here present to us in the Lord's supper by grace I say, as Ephesians speaketh it.

Weaston. I will cut off from henceforth all equivocation and doubt. For whatsoever we speak of Christ's body, we mean that which he took of the virgin.

Ridley. Christ's ascension and abiding in heaven cannot stand with that presence.

Smith. Christ appeared corporally and really on the earth, for all his ascension and continual abode in heaven unto the day of doom.

Therefore, his ascension and abiding in heaven, are no bar to his real presence in the sacrament.

Ridley. Mr. Deacon, this argument is nothing worth, I do not straightly tie Christ up in heaven, that he may not come into the earth at his pleasure. For when he will, he may come down from heaven, and be on the earth, as it liketh him. Howbeit, I do affirm, That
it is not possible for him to be both in heaven and earth at one time.

Smith. Mark, I pray you, my masters that be here, diligently, when he be of earth, that the right hand of his Father is a bar to the real presence of his body in the sacrament. And then afterwards he fleeth from it again. Ridley. I would not have you think that I do imagine or dream upon any such manner of fitting, as these men here fit it in the school.

Smith. Therefore, it is lawful for Christ then to be here present on the earth, when he will himself.

Ridley. Yes, when he will, it is lawful indeed.

Smith. Therefore, he ascending to heaven, doth not cease from his real presence in the sacrament.

Ridley. I do not gainsay, but that it is lawful for him to appear on the earth when he will; but prove you that he will. Smith. Then your answer dependeth upon the will of Christ. I perceive: therefore, I will join again with you in that short argument.

Christ, notwithstanding he doth always abide in heaven after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth. Therefore, notwithstanding his ascension and continually fitting at the right hand of his Father, he may be really and corporally in the sacrament. Ridley. If the noticias should so record your argument, as you have framed it, you peradventure would be amazed of it hereafter.

Smith. Christ after his ascension was seen really and corporally upon the earth. Therefore, notwithstanding his ascension and abiding with his Father, he may be corporally in the sacrament.

Ridley. I grant the antecedent, but I deny the consequent.

Smith. Do you grant the antecedent? Ridley. Yes, I grant the antecedent. I am content to let you refute me so much. Because I know there be certain ancient fathers of that opinion. I am well content to let you use that proposition as true. And I will frame the argument for you.

He was seen on earth after his ascension.— Smith. Nay, nay, I will frame it myself.

Christ after his ascension was seen really and corporally on earth, albeit he do abide in heaven continually. Therefore, notwithstanding his ascension and continually abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally there. Ridley. Let us first agree about the continual fitting at the right hand of the Father.

Smith. Doth he so fit at the right hand of his Father, that he doth never forake the same? Ridley. Nay, I do not bind Christ in heaven so strictly. I see you go about to beguile me with your equivocations. Such equivocations are to distinguish. If you mean by his fitting in heaven, to reign with his Father, he may be both in heaven and also on earth. But if you understand his fitting to be after a corporal manner of fitting, to be is always permanent in heaven. For Christ to be corporal here on earth, when corporally he is resident in heaven, is clean contrary to the holy Scriptures, as Auffine faith; "The body of Christ is in heaven, but his truth is dispersed in every place." Now, if continually he abide in heaven after the manner of his corporal presence, then his perpetual abiding there foppeth or hindereth that the same corporal presence of him cannot be in the sacrament.

Therefore, we say, that Christ shall fit perpetually at the right hand of God until the consummation of the world.

Weston. I perceive you are come here to this issue, whether the body of Christ may be together both on earth and in heaven. I will tell you, that Christ in very deep respects on earth and in heaven together, and at one time, both one and the same natural Christ, after the verity and substance of his very body; therefore, &c.

Ridley. I deny the antecedent.
for he could not have been seen, unless he had ridden again.

Smith. Paul saw him as he was here convertant on earth, and not out of heaven, as you affirm.

Ridley. You run to the beginning again: that you take for granted, without which you cannot be proved.

Smith. You make delays for the purpose.

Ridley. Say not so, I pray you. Those that hear us are learned: they can tell both what you oppose, and what answer well enough, I warrant you.

Tuckam. It was seen after such feast, as that he might be heard.

Therefore, he was corporally on the earth, or else how could he be heard?

Ridley. He that found the means for Stephen to behold him in heaven, could even he could do the same for Paul, and bring to pass enough that Paul might hear him out of heaven.

Smith. As others saw him, so Paul saw him.

Ridley. Others did see him visibly and corporally on earth.

Therefore Paul saw him visibly and corporally on earth.

Ridley. I grant he was seen visibly and corporally: but yet have you not proved that he was seen on earth.

Smith. He was seen of him as of others.

But he was seen of others being on earth, and appeared visibly to them on earth. Therefore, Paul was not seen of Paul on earth.

Ridley. Your controversy is about [existens in terra] that is, "being on earth;" if [existere] "to be," he referred as unto the place, I deny that Christ after that fort was on earth. But if it be referred as to the verity of the body, then I grant it.

Smith. I protest, by that, that Christ was seen of men on earth after his ascension, is certain: for he was seen of Stephen; he was seen also of Paul. But whether he defended unto the earth, or whether he being in heaven did reveal or manifest himself fell to Paul, when Paul was wont into the third heaven, I know that some concur about it: and the scripture, as far as I have read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherefore we cannot but judge uncertainly of those things which be uncertain.

Smith. We have Egepipius and Linaeus against you, which testify that Christ appeared corporally on the earth to Peter after his ascension. "Peter overcame with the requisits and mournings of the people, which desired him to get him out of the city..." Because Nero's lying in wait for him, begin without company to convey himself away from thence: And when he was come to the gate, he feeth Christ come to meet him, and worshipping him, he said, Master, whither walk you? Christ answered, I am come again to be crucified." Hence, so the history of Peter, hath the self same story. St. Ambrose hath the same testimony, and also Abdius, scholar to the apollos, which saw Christ before his ascension into heaven. With what face therefore dare you affirm it to be a thing uncertain, which these men do manifestly witness to have been done?

Ridley. I said before that the doctors in that matter did vary.

Smith. Do you think this story is not certain, being approved by so ancient and probable authority?

Ridley. I do so think, because I take and esteem not their words for the words of scripture. And though I did grant you that story to be certain, yet it maketh not against me.

Smith. Such things as are certain, and approved of them, you do reject as things uncertain.

Ridley. The story of Lainius is not of so great authority: although I am not ignorant that Zacharius so writeth also in the story of the church. And yet I account not those men's reports so farse as the canonical scriptures. But if at any time he had to any man appeared here on the earth after his ascension, then that did not disprove my saying. For I go not about to tie Christ up in fetters, I form some do unduly report of us; but that he may be seen upon the earth according to his divine pleasure, whenever it pleaseth him. But we affirm, That it is contrary to the nature of each mind, and the true substance of his body, that he should be together and at one instant both in heaven and earth, according to his corporeal substance. And the perpetual sitting at the right hand of the
the Father, may (I grant) be taken for the stabilitie of Christ's kingdom, and his continual or everlasting equality with his Father in the glory of heaven.

Smith. Now whereas you boast that your faith is the very furbear; I answer these hereticks that it is not so, but that it doth directly strive against the faith of the old fathers. I will bring in Chrysofom to point this. "Elius receiveth the mantle as a right great inheritance. For it was indeed a right excellent inheritance, and more precious than any gold before. And a more precious than the double Elias; was both Elias above, and Elias beneath. I know well, you think that just man to be happy, and you would gladly be every one of you as he is. What will you then fly, if I shall declare unto you a certain other thing, which all we, the children of God, with the body of Christ, do receive much more that than? Elias, indeed, left his mantle to his scholar: but the Son of God, ascended, did leave here his fleshe unto us, Elias left it, putting off the fane: but Christ both left it to us, and ascended also to heaven, having it with him."

Ridley. I grant that Christ did both; that is, both took up his flesh with him ascending, and also did leave the same behind him with us, but after a two-fold manner and respect. For he took his flesh with him, and his glorie also, as a crystal stone of his body by his flesh; again, he left the same in mystery to the faithful in the supper, to be received after a spiritual communication, and by faith. Neither is the same received in the supper only, but also at other times, by hearing the gospel, and by faith. For the bread which we break is the body of the Son of Christ: and generally, unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you.

Smith. Chrysofom faith, "O miracle, O the good will of God! He that fitteth above at the sacrifice time, is contained in the hands of men. Or else as others have translated it thus, "O miracle, O the gentleness of God! He that fitteth above with the Father, is handled with the hands of all men at the very same moment of time, and doth himself deliver himself to them that are defmay to take and embrace him."

Ridley. He that fitteth thereishere present in mystery and by grace, and is holde of the godly, such as communicate him, not only sacramentally with the hand of the body, but much more wholly with the hand of the heart, and by inward drinking is received; but he is not so present with the body of the Son of God. In the Son of God the fleshe of all men. Seaton. Where is then the miracle, if he be only present through his grace and mystery only?

Ridley. Yes, there is a miracle, good sir; Christ is not idle in his sacraments. Is not the miracle great, when he is present which is wont to sustain the body, becomes food to the soul? He that receives Christ under the fleshe, under the grace, under the fleshe, is not the force of that mystery, God grant us every one of us understand his truth, and obey the same.

Smith. Chrysofom calleth it a miracle, that Christ fitteth at the right hand of God in heaven, and at the same time is held in the hands of men: not that he is handled with the hands of men: only in a mystery, and is with them through grace. Therefore while you deny that, you are altogether deceived, and stray far from the truth.

Harpsfield. The former part of Chrysofom is not to be let slip. Let me, before I begin, ask this one question of you. Is it not a great matter that Elias left his cloak or mantle, and the gift of his prophecy to his scholar? Ridley. Yes, surely, it is a great matter.

Harpsfield. Did not Elias then leave great grace! Ridley. He did so.

Harpsfield. But Christ left a far greater grace than Elias: for he could not both leave his cloak and take it with him: Christ both in his flesh.

Ridley. Sire, you make a great content to think that Christ left much greater things to us than Eliaso Elius, although he be fain to have left his double spirit with him; for that the strength and grace of the body of Christ, which Christ ascending up here left us, is the only salvation and life of all men which shall be saved: which life Christ
hath here left unto us, to be received by faith through the bearing of the word, and the right administration of the sacraments. This virtue and grace Chrysofom, after the phrase and manner of John the evangelist, calleth Christ's flesh."

Harpsfield. But Christ performed a great matter. He carried up, and left behind. You understand not the comparison. The comparison is in this, That Elias left his mantle, and carried it not with him; Christ left his flesh behind, but carried it with him also.

Ridley. True it is, and I myself did affirm no less before. Now where you seem to speak many things, indeed you bring no new things at all. Let there be a comparison between grace and grace, then Christ gave the far greater grace, when he did infect or graft us into his flesh.

Harpsfield. If you will give me leave, I will ask you this question. If Chrysofom would have meant so, that Christ left his body in the eucharist, what plainer words think you, or more evident, could he have used then these?

Ridley. These things be not of so great force, as they bear a great thew outwardly. He might also have used groffer words, if he had lifted to have uttered his mind so grossly, for he was an eloquent man. Now he speaketh that Christ is with the number of other doctors, which of mystical matters speak mystically, and of sacraments, sacramentally.

Harpsfield. The comparison lieth in this; That which was impossible to Elias, is possible with Christ.

Ridley. I grant that was possible to Christ, which was to the other impossible. Elias left his cloak: Christ both left his flesh, and took it with him.

Harpsfield. Elias left behind him, and could not take with him: Christ both left behind him, and also took with him: except you will say the comparison here made to be nothing else or no answer.

Ridley. He took up his flesh with him to heaven, and left here the communion of his flesh on earth.

Waston. You understand in the first place his flesh for very true flesh; and in the second place for grace, and communion of his flesh: and why you do not understand it in the second place also for his true flesh? I will make it evident how blockish and gross your answer is.

Ridley. These be taunts and reproaches, not becomning, as I think, the modesty of this school.

Waston. Elias left his cloak to his disciples: but the Son of God took his heaven, left his flesh. But Elias certainly left his cloak behind, and Christ likewise his flesh, and yet ascending he carried the same with him too. By which words we make this reason: Christ left his flesh to his disciples, and yet, for all that, he took the same upon him.

Therefore, your answer is not good.

Here Dr. Wetton speaking to the people in English, said unto them, Dr. Ridley answered it after this manner;

He carried his flesh into heaven, and he left here the communion of his flesh behind. Assuredly the answer is too unlearned.

Ridley. I am glad you speak in English, Sirely, I wish that all the world might understand your reasons and your answers. He left his flesh, this you understand of his flesh, and I understand the fame of grace. He carried his flesh in the heaven, and left behind the communion of his flesh unto us.

Waston. Ye judges, what think you of this answer? Judges. It is a ridiculous and very weak answer.

Ridley. Well, I take your words patiently for Christ's cause.

Waston. Wefon here cithet, "We are sprinkled with the blood of Christ."

Ridley. Mr. Doctor, it is the fame blood, but yet spiritually received, and, indeed, all the prophets were sprinkled with the same blood, but yet spiritually I say, and by grace. And whosoever they be that are not sprinkled with this blood, they cannot be partakers of the everlasting salvation.

Waston. Here (speaking again to the people) I bring Bernard unto you. "Even from the west unto the east, from
from the north unto the south, there is one and the self same Christ in many and divers places."

Ridley. This is made, that one Christ is here and in divers places. For God, according to his majesty, and according to his providence, as St. Aulfin faith, is every-where with the godly, according to his indivisible and unpeakable grace. Or else, if ye would understand according to the corporal presence, how monstruous, or huge, and giant-like a body would you then make Christ’s body to be, which would reach even from north to south, from west to east? Wofian. Nay, nay, you make a monstrous answer, and a unknown answer.

Ward. Before I come in with those reasons which I had purposed to bring against you, I am minded to come again to Mr. Doctor’s argument, by which you bring brought into the brains, seemed to doubt of Christ’s presence on the earth. To the proof of which matter I will bring nothing else, than that which was agreed upon in the catechism of the synod of London, set out not long ago by you.

Ridley. Sir, I give you to understand, before you go any further, that I did set out no catechism. Wofian. Yes, you made one subscribe to is, when you were a bishop in your ruff.

Ridley. I compelled no man to subscribe. Wofian. Yes, truly, you are the very author of that book.

Ridley. I put forth no catechism. Cole. Did you never consent to the setting out of those things which you allowed?

Ridley. I grant that I saw the book; but I deny that I gave the order to have it set forth after it was made, and I noted many things for it. So I confirmed to the book: I was not the author of it.

Judges. The catechism is so set forth, as though the whole congregation house had agreed to it. Cranmer said you made you that which you did not.

Ridley. I think fully, that he would not lay so. Ward. The catechism hath this clause: "If visibly on the earth."

Ridley. I answer, That those articles were set out, I both knowing and concerning to them. Mine own hand will testify the same, and Mr. Cranmer put his hand to them likewise, and gave them to others afterwards. Now, as for the place which you alleged out of it, that may be easily expounded, and without any inconvenience.

Ward. Christ is the power and virtue of his Father. Therefore, he was not of so little strength, that he could not bring to pass whatsoever he would himself.

Ridley. Granted.

Ward. Christ was the wisdom of the Father. Therefore, what he spoke he spoke wisely, and so as every man might understand: neither was it his mind to speak one thing instead of another.

Ridley. All this I grant.

Ward. Christ was likewise the very truth: Therefore, he made and performed indeed that which he intended to make. And likewise is it, that he doth neither deceive, nor could be deceived, nor yet would go about to deceive others.

Cranmer. Hilarus hath these words, "All God’s words or sayings are true, and neither tidy placed, nor unprofitably, but fiery, and wonderful fiery, without all doubtfulness of superfluous vanity, that there may be nothing thought to be there, which is not absolute and proper."

Ward. He is the truth of the Father: Therefore, he can neither deceive, nor yet be deceived; especially I mean when he spoke at his latter end, and his testament. Ridley. Christ is the very truth of the Father: and I perceive well to what scope you drive your reason. This is but a far fetch compass of words. If these words of Christ, "This is my body . . . which you mean, to be rightly understood, they are most true.

Ward. He took, he brake, he gave, &c. What took he?

Ridley. Bread, his body.

Ward. What brake he?

Ridley. Bread.

Ward. What gave he?

Ridley. Bread.

Ward. Gave he bread made of wheat, and material bread?

Ridley. I know not whether he gave bread of wheat; but he gave true and material bread.

Ward. I will prove the contrary by scripture.

(N) He delivered to them that which he bade them take.

(2) But he bade not them take material bread, but his own body.

(3) Therefore, he gave not material bread, but his own body.

Ridley. I deny the minor. For he bade them take his body sacramentally in material bread: and after that it was both bread which he bade them take, because the substance was bread, and it was also his body, because it was the sacrament of his body, for the sanctifying and coming of the Holy Ghost, which is always attendant to those mysteries which were instituted of Christ, and lawfully administered.

Harpsfield. What is he that so faith, By the coming unto of the Holy Spirit?

Ridley. I have Theophrastus for mine author for this manner of speaking. And here I bring him, that ye may understand that phrase not to be mine, upon Matthew xxvi. Furthermore, the said Theophrastus writing upon these words, "This is my body", thouest, that the body of the Lord is bread, which is sanctified on the altar.

Oglethorpe. That place of Theophrastus maketh openly against you. For he faith in that place, that Christ laid not this, this is the sacrifice of my mother, but my body. For, faith he, by an unpeakable operation it is transformed, although it seem to us to be bread.

Ridley. It is not a figure, that is to say, "Non tantum of figuris"; that is, "It is not only a figure of his body."

Wofian. What figure of that word [tantum] "only."

Ridley. It is not in that place, but he hath it in another, and Augustine doth so speak many times, and other doctors also.

Wofian. (Here Wofian, repeating the words of Theophrastus in English, said,) He faith it is no figure, and you say it is a figure.

And the same Theophrastus faith moreover, that the converting or turning of the bread is made into the Lord’s flesh.

That which Christ gave, we do give. But that which he gave was not a figure of his body. Therefore, we give no figure, but his body.

(Concerning the authority of Theophrastus, what he thought, and might have spoken of that author, Doctor Ridley did not then speak, nor could conveniently (as being himself afterwards declared, reporting, and writing with his own word the disputations in the prifon) because of the uproars and clamours, which were so great, and he of so many called upon, that he could not answear as he would, and what he thought touching the authority of Theophrastus, but answered simply to that which is brought out of that author in this manner.)

Ridley. I grant, the bread to be converted and turned into the flesh of Christ, not by transubstantiation, but by a sacramental conversion or turning. It is transformed, faith Theophrastus, in the same place, by a mystical benediction, and by the accession or coming of the Holy Ghost unto the flesh of Christ. He faith not, by expulsion or driving away the substance of bread, and by substituting or putting in its place the corporal substance of Christ’s flesh. And where he faith, It is not a figure of the body, we should understand that faying, as he himself doth elsewhere add, (only,) that is, it is no naked or bare figure only. For Christ is present in his mysteries, neither at any time, as Syrian faith, doth the Divine Majesty absent himself from the divine mysteries.

Wofian. You put in (only,) and that is one lye. And I tell you farther, Peter Marsys was fain to deny the author, because the place was so plain against him. But mark his words, how he faith, It is no figure, but his flesh.
Ridley. To take his words, and not his meaning, is to do injury to the author. No other rector maketh more against you; for his words are, “Turned from one element into another.” And he saith the cause why it is in form of bread, he faith, “Because we are inhuman, and abhor to eat the raw flesh, especially the flesh of man; therefore it appeareth that the body is flesh.”

Ridley. That word hath not that strenght which you seem to give it. You strain it overmuch, and yet it maketh not so much for your purpose. For the same author hath in another place, “We are transmanculated, or transformed into the body of Christ.” And for by that word, in such a meaning as you speak of, I could prove as well that we are transformed indeed into the very body of Christ.

Word. Learned doctor, thus you expound the place, “This is my body;” that is a figure of my body.

Ridley. Although I know there be some that foxiound it, yet that exposition is not fully to express the whole.

Word. My sheepe hear my voice, and follow me. But all the sheepe of Christ hear this voice, “This is my body.” And not a figure of it.

Ridley. Therefore, the voice of Christ here hath no figure.

Word. The sheepe of Christ follow the voice of Christ, unless they be seduced and deceived through ignorance.

Ridley. But the fathers took this place for no figurative speech.

Word. Yet they do all number this place among figurative and tropical speeches.

Word. Justine Martyr, in his second apology, hath this passage (which place Cranmer hath corrupted), “For we do not take this for common bread and drink, but like as Jesus Christ our Saviour incarnate by the word of God, had flesh and blood for our salvation; even so we are taught, the food wherewith our flesh and blood is nourished by alteration, when it is consecrated by the prayer of his word, to be the flesh and blood of the same Jesus incarnate.”

Dr. Cranmer hath thus translated it; “Bread, water, and wine, are not to be taken as other common meats and drinks by, but they are ordained purposely to give thanks to God, and therefore are called Eucharisties, and likewise the body and blood of Christ; and that it is lawful for none to eat and drink of them, but such as priviledges Christ, and live according to the same; and yet the same meat and drink is changed into our flesh and blood, and nouriseth our bodies.”

Ridley. O good Mr. Doctor, go sincerely to work; I know that place, and I know how it is used.

Word. God had the place again out of Justine; “Ye are taught,” &c. as above.

Ridley. O what upright dealing is this! I have the same place of Justine here copied out. You know yourself who are skilful in Greek, how the words here were removed out of the right place, and without any just cause.

Word. I stand firm upon mine argument. What say you?

Ridley. If you will that I should answer to Justine, then you must hear. I have but one tongue, I cannot answer at once to you all. So he granted Ridley gave us his very and true flesh to be eaten.

Ridley. But he never gave it to be eaten but in his last supper, and in the sacrament of the altar.

Therefore, there is the very flesh of Christ regarded as the very true flesh of Christ, after the fulness of his flesh taken in the womb of the virgin Mary, and not by grace and spirituality, I then do deny the first part of your reason. But if you understand it of the true flesh, after grace and spiritual communication, I then grant the first part, and deny the second. You give unto us truly his flesh to be eaten of all that believe in him. For he is the very and true meat of the soul, whereby we are fed unto everlasting life, according to his saying, “My flesh is meat indeed,” &c.

Word. I have defended with my hearty desire to eat this pachfal with you.” What pachfal, I pray you, defined he to eat? Did he understand by this pachfal the

Ridley. I suppose that the tithe he understand of the Judicial pachfal, and afterwards of the eucharist.

Word. Tertullian is against you, who faith, “He commandeth to eat this pachfal.”

Ridley. But the Judicial pachfal was not his, but strange from Christ.

Therefore, he meant not the Judicial pachfal.”

Ridley. The Judicial pachfal was strange from Christ, and as well as the Judicial pachfal, as of his own supper.

Tertullian may here play with an analogical sense. I know Cyprian hath these words, “He began to influence the holy eucharist, but both were Christ’s.”

Word. Augustine, in Pædætici, wrote these words, “Worship his footstool,” &c. “I ask (faith he) what is the foot-stool of his feet? and the scripture telleth me, The earth is the foot-stool of my feet. And I turn myself to Christ, because I seek him here on the earth, and find how, without impurity, the foot-stool of his feet may be worshipped to the worshiping of the name and person thereof, in that he is flesh and earth; and of the flesh of Mary he took flesh, because in the fame flesh he here walked; and he also gave the same flesh to us to be eaten unto salvation. But no man eateth that flesh, except he have worshipped before. And he that is invited, how far is the footstool of my feet to be worshipped, so that not only we sin in not worshiping, but also do sin in not worshipping the same.”

He gave to us his flesh to be eaten, the which he took of the earth, in which also he walked, &c.

Ridley. You do ascribe the place of Austin, where he faith, that Christ gave his flesh to be eaten which he took of the earth, and in which here he walked, inferring herefrom, that Christ never gave the same flesh to be eaten, but only in the eucharist. I deny your minor; for he gave it both in the eucharist to be eaten, and also otherwise, as well in the word, as also upon the crosses.

Word. What if Augustine say, that Christ did not only give himself to us in figure, but gave his own very flesh indeed and really?

Ridley. I never said that Christ gave only a figure of his body. For indeed he gave himself in a real communication, that is, he gave his flesh after a communication of all parts.

Here Welton read the place of Augustine in English, and afterwards said thus:]

We say. You say, Christ gave not his body, but a figure of his body.

Ridley. I say not so; I say he gave his own body verily. But he gave it by a real, effectual, and spiritual communication.

After this, Dr. Glin began to reason, who, (notwithstanding Dr. Ridley had always taken him for his old friend) made a very contumelious protest against him. This preface. Ridley therefore did the more take to heart. It proceeded from him. But he thought that Dr. Glin’s mind was to serve the time. For, afterwards, he came to the house wherein Dr. Ridley was kept, and as far as Dr. Ridley could call to remembrance, before Dr. Young and Dr. Ogilvi, he defined him to pardon his words. With this Dr. Ridley complied, even from his very heart, and without earnestly, that God would give not only to him, but unto all others, the true and evident knowledge of God’s evangelical fincerity, that all offences apart, they being perfectly and fully reconciled, might agree and unite together in the house of their heavenly Father.

Glin. I see you evade all scripturists and fathers; I will go to work with you after another manner.

Ridley. Christ hath here his church known on earth, of which you were once a child, although now you speak contumeliously of the sacraments.
This is a grievous reproach, that you call me a heretic away of the scripture, and of the doctors: as touching the sacraments, I never yet spake contumeliously of them. I grant that Christ hath his church on earth, but the truth and acknowledge the eucharist to be a sacrament of the body of Christ, yet not the body of Christ really, but the body of Christ by grace.

Then I ask this question: Whether the catholic church hath ever, or at any time, been idolatrous?

Ridley. The church is the pillar and stay of the truth, that never yet hath been idolatrous in respect of the whole; but peradventure in respect of some part thereof, which sometimes may be seduced by evil pastors, and through ignorance.

Glin. That church ever hath worshipped the flesh of Christ in the eucharist.

Ridley. But the church hath never been idolatrous.

Glin. Therefore, it hath always judged the flesh of Christ to be in the eucharist. Ridley. And also I worship Christ in the sacrament, but not because he is included in the sacrament; like as I worship Christ also in the epicleses, not because he is really included in the sacrament. I say, that the body of Christ is present in the sacrament; but yet sacramentally and spiritually, according to his grace giving life, and in that respect really, that is, according to his benediction giving life. For in order, gladly, the true body of Christ be in the Lord's supper, in such fast as the church of Christ (which is the spouse of Christ, and is taught of the Holy Ghost, and guided by God's word) doth acknowledge the same. But the true church of Christ have a presence of Christ's body in the Lord's supper to be communicated to the godly, by grace, and spiritually as I have oftentimes, and by a sacramental signification, but not by the corporal presence of the body of his flesh.

Glin. All men doth faith, "fane were there which thought us, instead of bread and of the cup, to worship Ceres and Bacchus."

From whence I gather, that there was an adoration of the sacrament among the fathers; and Erasmus, in an epistle to the brethren of Low-Germany, faith, that the worshipping of the sacrament was before Aultin and Cyprian.

Ridley. We do handle the signs reverently; but we worship the sacrament as a sacrament, not as a thing living by the sacrament. Ridley. Bread. Ridley. Therefore, we worship bread.

Ridley. There is a deceit in the word (adimass). We do worship the symbols when reverently we handle them. We worship Christ wherefore we perceive his benefits. But we understand his benefit to be greater in the sacrament.

Glin. So I may fall down before the bench here and worship Christ; and if any may ask me what I do, I may answer, I worship Christ.

Ridley. We adore and worship Christ in the eucharist. If you mean the external sacrament, I say, that also is to be worshipped as a sacrament.

Ridley. So was the faith of the primitive church. Ridley. Would to God we would all follow the faith of that church.

Ridley. Think you that Christ hath now his church? Ridley. I do so.

Glin. But all the church adoreth Christ, verily and really in the sacrament.

Ridley. You know yourself that the eastern church would not acknowledge transubstantiation, as appeareth in the council of Florence.

Glin. That is false. For in the same they did acknowledge transubstantiation, although they would not intent of the matter, for that they had not in their comprehension to do.

Ridley. Nay, they would determine nothing of the matter, when the article was propounded unto them.

Cotel. It was not because they did not acknowledge the same, but because they had no comprehension to do.

Cotel. Reverend sir, I will prove and declare that the body of Christ is truly and really in the eucharist, and whereas the holy fathers, both of the west and east church, have written both many things and no less of the same matter, yet will I bring forth only Christ's own. That which is in the cup, is the same that flowed from the sife of Christ. But true and pure blood did flow from the side of Christ.

Therefore, his true and pure blood is in the cup. Ridley. It is his true blood which is in the chalice, I grant, and the same which sprang from the side of Christ. But how? It is blood indeed, but not after the same manner, in which it sprang from his side. For here is the blood, but by way of a sacrament. Again, I say, like as the bread of the sacrament and of thanksgiving is called the body of Christ given for us; so the cup of the Lord is called the blood which sprang from the side of Christ. But as the sacramental bread is called the body, because it is the sacrament of his body; even so likewise the cup is called the blood which flowed out of Christ's side, because it is the sacrament of that blood which flowed out of his side, intitulated by the Lord himself for our spiritual advantage, namely for our spiritual nourishment: like as baptism is ordained in water to spiritual regeneration.

Cotel. The sacrament of the blood is not the blood.

Ridley. The sacrament of the blood is the blood, and that is attributed to the sacrament, which is spoken of the thing of the sacrament.

[Here Welton repeateth Cutrop's argument in English.]

Welton. That which is in the chalice, is the same which flowed out of Christ's side.

Glin. As I understand faith, "there were which thought us, instead of bread and of the cup, to worship Ceres and Bacchus."

Wastyn. That is very well. Then we have blood in the chalice.

Ridley. It is true, but by grace, and in a sacrament. [Here the people hissed at him.] Ridley. O my masters! I take this for no judgment: I will stand to the argument.

Wastyn. Good sir, I have determined to have respect of the time, and to abstain from those things which may hinder the progress of our disputation: and therefore first I ask this question, when Christ said in the sight of John, "He that eateth my flesh," etc. doth he signify in those words the eating of his true and natural flesh, or else of the bread and symbol?

Ridley. I understand that place of the very flesh of Christ to be eaten, but spiritually; and further I say, that the sacrament also pertains unto the spiritual eating. For without the spirit to eat the sacrament, is to eat it unprofitably. For who eateth not spiritually, he eateth his own condemnation.

Wastyn. I ask then, whether the eucharist be a sacrament?

Ridley. The eucharist, taken for a sign or symbol, is a sacrament.

Wastyn. Is it infuted of God?

Ridley. It is infuted of God.

Wastyn. Where is it?

Ridley. In the supper.

Wastyn. With what words is it made a sacrament?

Ridley. By the words and deeds which Christ said and did, and commanded us to say and do the fame.

Wastyn. It is a thing commonly received of all, that the sacraments of the new law give grace to them that worthily receive.

Ridley. True it is, that grace is given by the sacrament, but as by an instrument. The inward virtue and Christ give grace through the sacrament.

Wastyn.
Watson. What is a sacrament? I remember there be many definitions of a sacrament in Augustine; but I will take that which seems most fit to this present purpose. A sacrament is a sign of some real thing. Watson. Therefore, grace is given to the receivers. Ridley. The union or conjunction with Christ through the Holy Ghost is grace, and by the sacrament we are made members of the mystical body of Christ, for by the sacrament part of the body is grafted in the bread.

Watson. But there is a difference between the mystical body, and natural body.

Ridley. There is (I grant you) a difference, but the head and the body is one. Watson. The eucharist is a sacrament of the New Testament. Therefore, it hath a promise of grace. But no promise of grace is made to bread and wine. Therefore, bread and wine are not the sacraments of the New Testament.

Ridley. I grant that grace pertaineth to the eucharist, according to this saying, “The bread which we break, is it not the communication or partaking of the body of Christ?” And like as he that eateth, and he that drinketh unworthily,eateth and drinketh his own damnation; even so he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth life, and drinketh life. I grant also, that there is no promise made to bread and wine. But inasmuch as they are sanctified, and the body and blood of our Lord, they have a promise of grace annexed unto them; namely, of spiritual partaking of the body of Christ to be communicated and given, not to the bread and wine, but to them who worthy receive the sacrament.

Watson. If the fulness of bread and wine do remain, there is a communio between Christ and us is promised to them that take bread and wine. But that union is not promised to bread and wine, but to the receivers of the flesh and blood. John vii. 37. “He that eateth my flesh, shall have everlasting life.”

Ridley. Therefore, the fulness of bread and wine remaineth not.

Watson. Every sacrament hath a promise of grace annexed unto it. Therefore, the bread and wine are not sacraments.

Ridley. True it is, every sacrament hath grace annexed unto it instrumentally. But there are divers understandings of this word [sacer] “hath.” For the communication of the body and blood of the Lord, they are included in it; but bread that receive it well, it is turned to grace. After that manner the water in baptism hath grace promised, and by that the Holy Spirit is given; not that grace is included in water, but that grace cometh by water.

Watson. This promise is made to the flesh and blood of Christ, and not to the bread and wine.

Therefore, the sacrament is not bread and wine, but the body and blood of Christ.

Ridley. There is no promise made to him that taketh common bread and common wine, but to him that receiveth the sanctified bread, and that of the communion, there is a large promise of grace made; neither is the promise given to the symbols, but to the thing of the sacrament. But the thing of the sacrament is the flesh and blood.

Watson. The sacrament of the New Testament giveth grace, promised of God to those that worthily receive it.

Ridley. This sacrament hath a promise of grace made to those that receive it worthily, because grace is given by the union of the sacrament, not that Christ hath transferred grace into bread and wine.

Watson. But this promise which is made, is only to those that worthily receive the flesh and blood; not the bread and wine.

Ridley. The proposition of your’s hath a double understanding. There is no promise made to them that receive common bread, as it were; but to those that worthily receive the sanctified bread, there is a promise of grace made, as Origen doth testify.

Watson. Where is that promise made? Ridley. The bread which he brake, is it not a communication of the body of Christ? And, “We being many are one bread, one body of Christ.”

Watson. What doth he mean by bread in that place? Ridley. The bread of the Lord’s table, the communion of Christ body.

Watson. Hear what Chrysostom faith upon that passage: “The bread which we break, is it not the communication of Christ’s body? Wherefore did he not say, participation? Because he would signify some great matter, that all of us should declare a general and universal union between the same. For we do not communicate by participation only, and receiving, but also by co-uniting. For, like as that body is co-united to Christ, so also we by the same bread are united to him.”

Ridley. Let Chrysostom have his manner of speaking, and his tenetence. If it be true, I reject it not. But let it be prejudicial to me to name it true bread.

Watson. All (faith Chrysostom) which fit together at one board, do communicate together of one true body. What do I call (faith he) this communicating? We are not to understand only the same body, but Christ body. What doth bread signify? The body of Christ. What are they that receive it? The body of Christ. For many are but one body. Chrysostom doth interpret this place against you. “All we be one bread, and one mystical body, which do partake of and communicate of Christ body.”

Ridley. All we be one mystical body, which do communicate of one Christ in bread, after the efficacy of regeneration or quickening.


Watson. Ridley. It is one, of the church being one, because one bread is set forth upon the table: and so of one bread all together do participate, which communicate at the table of the Lord.

Ridley. How abundantly you speak. Do you say, all which be from the beginning to the end of the world? Ridley. All, I say, which at one table together have communicated in the mysteries might well do. But the heavenly and celestial bread is likewise one allo, whereof the sacramental bread is a mystery: the which being one, all we together do participate.


Ridley. I do distribute this word (All:) for all were wont together to communicate of the one bread divided into parts, and not to hoard or keep it. Whereunto every one communicated, and which all did communicate together at one table.

Watson. What? Do you exclude then from the body of Christ all them who did not communicate, being present?

Ridley. Nay, we speak of the body of the church only, and not of the body of Christ.

Ridley. All: Cyprian in this place, did speak of the true body of Christ, and not of material bread.

Feckenham. Nay, rather he did there treat of the sacrament in that treatise De Cena Domini, writing upon the sacrament and communion.

Ridley. Truth it is, that I grant he treated there of the sacrament: but also he doth mix something therewith of the spiritual eating.

Smith. When the Lord faith, “This is my body,” he utter no spiritual speech.

Ridley. False. Therefore, you are deceived.

Ridley. I deny your antecedent.

Smith. Bring me here Augustine in p. xxxiii. expounding these words, &e; frater in manus suas, “He was carried by his own hands.” How may this be understood to be done in man? For no man is carried in his own hands, but in the hands of another. How this may be understood of David after the letter, we do not find; of Christ we find it. For Christ was borne in his own hands, when he faith, “This is my body,” for he carried that same body in his hands.” &c.

Augustine
Augustine here did not see how this place after the letter could be understood of David, because no man can carry himself in his own hands. Therefore, "faith," this place is to be understood of Christ after the letter. For Christ carried himself in his own hands in his figure, when he gave the sacrament to his disciples, saying, "This is my body." Ridley. I deny your argument, and will explain the same. Auffin could not find, after his own understanding, how it could be understood of David after the letter. Auffin differs here from others in this exposition, but I differ not from him. But let this exposition of Auffin be granted to you; although I know this place of scripture be otherwise read of other men, after the vertie of the word, that is, not to be understood of something that may be extended. Yet to grant to you this exposition of Auffin, I say, yet notwithstanding is made nothing against my assertion: for Christ did bear himself in his own hands, when he gave the sacrament of his body to his disciples. Smith. Therefore, it is true of Christ after the letter, that he was borne in his own hands. Ridley. He was borne literally, and after the letter, which was spoken of David: but not after the letter of the word; but a certain body. I grant that St. Auffin faith, it is not found literally of David, that he carried himself in his own hands, but that it is found of Christ. But this word [ad litteram] meaning literally, "you do not refer to that word, but rather to that, that it ought to be referred to him that did bear it. St. Augustine's meaning is this; that it is not read anywhere in the Bible, that this carnal David, the son of Jesse, did bear himself in his hands, but of that spiritual David that overthrew Goliath the devil, that is, of Christ our Saviour, the son of the virgin, it may well be found literally, that he bore himself in his own hands after a certain manner, namely, in carrying the sacrament of himself. And not, that St. Auffin hath these words, "quodammodo," after a certain manner; which manner declareth how the doctor's meaning is to be taken. Smith. When then was he borne in his own hands, and after what letter? Ridley. If he was borne in the supper sacramentally, when he said, "This is my body." Smith. Every man may bear in his own hands a figure of his body. But Auffin denieth that David could carry himself in his hands. Therefore, he speaketh of no figure of his body. Ridley. If Auffin could have found in all the scripture, that David had carried the sacrament of his body; then he would never have used that exposition of Christ. Smith. But Auffin saith, he had borne himself in his hands: therefore, he did not bear a figure only. Ridley. He did bear himself, but in a sacrament: and Auffin afterwards added "quodammodo," that is, sacramentally. Smith. You understand not what Auffin meant, when he said, "quodammodo;" for he meant that he did bear his very true body in that数目, not in figure and in form of a body, but in form and figure of bread. Therefore, you are holden faith, neither are you able to come out of this labyrinth. This place Dr. Wotton repeated again in English. Which done, Dr. Treffam began thus to speak, moved (as it seemed to Mr. Ridley) with great zeal, and desired that he might be instead of John Baptist, in concert with the hearts of the fathers, and in reducing the said bishop Ridley again to the mother church. Now at the first, not knowing the person, he thought he had been some good old man, which had the zeal of God, although not according to knowledge, and began to answer him with reverence. But afterwards he perceived his art and duplicity. "God Almighty grant that it may be fulfilled in me, that was spoken by the prophet Malachi of John Baptist, which may turn the hearts of the fathers, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, that you at length may be converted. The wife No. 5 man faith, Son, honour thy father, and reverence thy mother. But you dishonour your father in heaven, and pollute your mother the holy church here on earth, while ye yet not by it." Ridley. These words do pollute your school. Treffam. If there were an Arian which had that fable whet that you have, he might soon shift off the authorities of the scripture and fathers. Wotton. Either dispute, or else hold your peace, I pray you. Treffam. I bring a place here out of the council of Lateran; the which council representing the universal church, wherein were congregated three hundred bishops, and seventy metropolitans, besides a great multitude of others, desired, That quodammodo, and by the power of God's word, was transubstantiated into the body and blood of the Lord. Therefore, whoever faith contrary, cannot be a child of the church, but an heretic. Ridley. Good sir, I have heard what you have cleft out of the council of Lateran, and remember that there was a great multitude of bishops and metropolitans, as you said: but yet you have not numbered how many abbots, priors, and friars were in that council, who were to the number of eight hundred. One of the juxes. What will you deny then the authority of that council for the multitude of those priors? Ridley. No, sir, it is not for so much for that cause, as for that especially, because the doctrine of that council agreed not with the word of God, as it may well appear by the acts of that council, which was holden under Innocent the third, a man (if we believe the histories) most pernicious to the church and common-wealth of Christ. Treffam. What do you not receive the council of Lateran? Whereupon he with certain others, cried, Write, write. No, sir, I receive not that council; write, and write again. Treffam. Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ. Therefore, the true and natural body of Christ is on the altar. Ridley. Evil men do eat the very true and natural body of Christ sacramentally, and no further, as St. Augustine faith: but good men do eat the very true body both sacramentally, and spiritually by grace. Treffam. I prove the contrary by Augustine, "Like as Judas, to whom the Lord gave the morsel, did offend; not in taking a thing that was evil, but in receiving it after an evil manner." And a little after, "Because some do not eat unto salvation, it followeth not therefore, that it is not his body." Ridley. It is the body to them, that is, the sacrament of the body; and Judas took the sacrament of the Lord to his condemnation. Augustine hath distinguished these things well in another place, where he faith, "The bread of the Lord, the bread the Lord: Evil men eat the bread of the Lord, but not the bread of the Lord. But good men eat both the bread of the Lord, and bread the Lord." Wotton. Paul faith, the body, and you say, the sacrament of the body. Ridley. Paul meanceth no indeed. Wotton. You understand it evil concerning the sign: for the fathers vs say, that evil men do eat him which descended from heaven. Ridley. They eat him indeed, but sacramentally. The fathers use many times the sacrament for the matter of the sacraments; that some place malack against you; and here clee the place. Wotton. I bring Theophylact, who faith, "That Judas did take the body of the Lord. The Lord did shew the cruelty of Judas, which, when he was rebuked, did not understand, and tafted the Lord's flesh." And Ridley. This phrase to divines is well known, and used of the doctors. He tafted the flesh of the Lord, [sinenfibly, that is, the sacrament of the Lord's flesh. Wotton. Chryfofom faith, That the same punishment remaineth to all Whose, and the sign of the Lord unworthy, as to them who crucified him. Ridley. That is, because they delife the Lord's body: O
for evil men do eat the body of Christ sacramentally, but good men eat both the sacrament and the matter of the sacrament.

Q. 56. You reject the council of Lateran, because (you say) it agreeth not with God's word. What say you then to the council of Nice? The words of the council are these, "Let us not look a low by the ground upon the bread and drink, yet before us, but lifting up our eyes, as we firmly believe, there upon the holy table to lie the Lamb of God taking away the sins of the world, being sacrificed of the priests."

Ridley. That council was collected out of ancient fathers, and is to me a great authority; for it faith, "Let us lift up our eyes, and having our minds lifted up, we must consider him which is in heaven." The words of the council make for me.

Watson. Exactus mentis, "with a mind exacted," that is, not as brute beasts at the rack or manger, having an eye only upon the thing that is set before them. The Lamb of God lieth on the table, faith in the council.

Ridley. The Lamb of God is in heaven, according to the verity of the body; and here he is with us in a mystery, according to his power, not corporally.

Watson. But the Lamb of God lieth on the table.

Ridley. It is a figurative speech, for in our mind we understand him which is in heaven.

Watson. But he lieth there, as the Greek word importeth.

Ridley. He lieth there, that is, he is there present, not corporally, but he lieth there in his operation.

Watson. But his presence is not corporal.

Ridley. You think very grossly of the fitting or lying of the celestial Lamb on the table of the Lord. For we may not imagine any such fitting or lying upon the table, as the reason of man would judge: but all things are here to be understood spiritually. For that heavenly Lamb is (as I confesse) on the table, but by a spiritual presence, by grace, and not after any corporal subsistence of his flesh taken out of the virgin Mary.

And indeed the same canon doth plainly reach, that the bread which is set on the table, is material bread; and therefore it (the canon I mean) confesseth, that we should not creep on the ground in our thoughts, to those things which are set before us, as who should say, what other things are they (as much as pertaineth to their true substance) than bread and wine? but rather, faith the canon, lifting up our minds unto heaven, let us consider with faith the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world, fitting or lying upon the table. For a lifted up faith, faith he, lifteth him which fitteth on the right hand of God the Father, after the true body and blood of Christ in the Lord's table, and taking away the sins of the world. For I think you mean not so, as though the Lamb did lie there prostrate with his members spread upon the table.

Smith. I bring another place out of the council of Nice: None of the apostles said, this is a figure of the body of Christ: none of the reverend elders said, the unbloody sacrifice of the altar to be a figure.

Therefore, you are deceived.

Ridley. This canon is not in the council of Nice. For I have read over this council many times.

Another place in, whom Mr. Ridley knew not, and said, "The universal church both of the Greeks and Latins, of the east and of the west, have agreed in the council of Florence, uniformly, in the doctrine of the sacrament, that there is the true and real body in the sacrament of the altar.

Ridley. I deny the Greek and the east church to have agreed either in the council at Florence, or at any time else, with the Romish church, in the doctrine of transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. For there was no word of the council at Florence, wherein the Greeks would agree with the Romish. I confess, it was left for every church to use, as they were wont, leavened or unleavened bread.

Dr. Oxe now cried out, and said, they agreed together concerning transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. Why did Ridley say this?

Here another started up, unknown to Dr. Ridley, but thought to be one of the frihves, who affirmed with him, that indeed there was nothing decreed concerning transubstantiation; the council left that as a matter not necessary, not necessary to disturb the peace and concord of the church. To whom Dr. Ridley answered again, that he said what was true.

Pye. What say you to that council, where it is said, that the priest doth offer an unbloody sacrifice of the body of Christ?

Ridley. I say, it is well said, if it be rightly understood.

Pye. But he offereth an unbloody sacrifice.

Ridley. It was called unbloody, and is offered after a certain manner, and in a mystery, and as a representation of that bloody sacrifice, and lie doth not lie, which faith Christ speaks in this epistle to the Hebrews.

Wetton. I have one argument will throw down to the ground your opinion, out of Chrysolothom, Hom. xxiv. in 1 Cor. And I will teach, not only a figure and a sign, or grace only, but the very same body, which was here converent upon the earth, to be in the eucharist.

(1) We worship the self-fame body in the eucharist, which the wife men did worship in the manger.

(2) It was his natural and real body, not spiritual.

(3) Therefore, the real body of Christ is in the eucharist.

Again, the same Chrysolothom faith, "We have not here the Lord in the manger, but on the altar. Here a woman hideth him not in her hands, but a priest." A woman hideth him not in her hands, but a priest.

And all that are present, being in the temple of God, and the Holy Ghost, are the branch of Christ, and Saviour of the world, which the wise men worshipped in the manger; howbeit we do it in a mystery, in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that in spiritual liberty, as faith St. Augustin, l. 3. De Doctrina Christiana; not in the dark, but in the light of faith, and in the clear light of the Lord, and the Lord himself, and all the angels, and are worshipped fervily the signs for the things; for that should be as he also faith, a part of a servile infirmity. But we behold with the eyes of faith him present after grace, and spiritually set upon the table; and we worship him in spirit, and in truth, and in all holiness, and is worshipped of the angels. For Christ is always afeared to his disciples, as he did to Augustine faith. And the Divine Majesty, as Cyprian faith, doth never abitt himselfe from the divine mysteries, but this assiffance and presence of Christ, as in baptism it is wholly spiritual, and by grace, and not by any corporal subsistence of the flesh, even so it is here in the Lord's supper, being rightly and according to the word of God duly administered.

Wetton. That which the woman did hold in her womb, the same holdeth the priest.

Ridley. The priest holdeth the same thing, but after another manner. She did hold the natural body; the priest holdeth the mystery of the body.

Now Wetton again repeated this argument out of Chrysolothom in English.

Ridley. I say that the author meant it spiritually.

Dr. Wetton, the prosecutor, now put an end to the disputation with these words: You see the fleshborn, the bodily, the crafty, the incontinent mind of this man. Here you see, this day, that the strength of the truth is without foil. Therefore, I beseech you at all costs earnestly to bow the note of triumph, having said this, he began; and they followed, excusing. "Truth hath the victory, Truth hath the victory.

In the course of the debate, Dr. Ridley displayed great acuteness ofunderstanding, strength of reafoning, and extent of learning, though he is, of course, not without his enemies to encounter; but he was determined to support his opinions, and declared that as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend his truth. He would, however, have done more justice to his cause, if he had not yielded the authority of the fathers, or his adversaries had laid greater stress. The tumultuous, and disorderly manner in which the disputation was carried on, jutifies Dr. Ridley in what he alleged, "That they who should have given good examples in words and gravity, should not pollute them, it manifestly appears that they never fought for truth, but for the glory of the world and a bragging victory.

The
The time was vainly spent in opprobrious taunts, billings, clapping of hands and triumphs, more than could be borne even in flage plays, and that in English, to prejude the common people. I never yet since I was born, saw or heard any thing done or handled more violently than the disputation which was with me in the schools at Oxford. I could never have thought that it had been possible to have found amongst men, accounted to be of knowledge and learning in this realm, any so brazen-faced and shamefeet, so disorderly, and vainly to behave themselves, more like flagge-players in interludes, to fet forth a pageant, than grave divines in schools to dispute. The clamours of the far-banne, which at Paris I have seen in times past, when papery moft reigned, might be worthily thought (in comparison of theoprophorical declamation) to have had much modesty. When with godly grief I protested openly, that such outrageous disorder was unbecoming those of schools, I was to far, by my humble remon- strance, from doing any good, that I was forced to hear reproaches and taunts for my labour."

**A THIRD DISPUTATION at OXFORD, between the REV. DR. HUGH LATIMER, BISHOP of WORCESTER, and others, his OPPONENTS, April 18th, 1554.**

ON Wednesday the 18th of April, bishop Latimer was brought out to dispute; This disputation began at eight o'clock, and was conducted in much the same manner as the former preceding as much or more as was said of it in English: For the bishop alleged, that he was out of use with the Latin, and unfit for that place.

Mr. Smith, of Oriel college, Dr. Cartwright, Mr. Harpsfield, and others, replied to him, with many cruel infinuations and bitter taunts. The old bishop escaped no billings, no laughings, and such who went before had patiently endured. Being very faint, he defied that he might not long tarry; nor durst he drink for fear of vomiting. The disputation ended before eleven of the clock. Dr. Latimer was not suffer'd to read what he had, as he observed, painfully written: but it was exhibited up, and the prolocutor, after having read part thereof, proceeded unto the disputation.

**A Repliation of the EXORDIUM, or PREFACE, delivered in Latin by Dr. WESTON, Prolocutor, to the following DISPUTATION.**

**MEN and brethren, we are come together this day (by the help of God) to vanquish the strength of the arguments, and dispersed opinions of adversaries, against the truth of the real presence of the Lord's body in the sacrament. And therefore, you father, if you have any thing to anwer, I do admonish you anwer in short and few words.**

**Latimer.** I pray you good matter prolocutor, do not exact that of me, which is not in me; I have not these twenty years much used the Latin tongue.

**Weston.** Take your ease, father.

**Latimer.** I thank you, sir; I am well; let me here protest my faith, for I am not able to dispute; and afterwards do your pleasure with me.

Upon this he took a paper out of his pocket and began to read it; and had this occasion to writing his reasons against affenting to the articles which he had been required to subcribe, and his protestation against them.

Scarce had he proceeded in the reading, when a murmur arose in the audience, and was immediately cast into a clamour, and which was rather encouraged than checked by the prolocutor. Surprized at this sudden tumult of ill manners, Mr. Latimer paused in admiration of it, but presently recovering himself, he turned to the Prolocutor, and laid with some vehemence:

"In my time I have spoken with two kings, and have been heard for some hours together without interruption, but here I cannot be permitted one quarter of an hour. --Dr. Welfon, I have frequently heard of you before, but I think I never saw you till I came before you on this occasion. I perceive you have great wit and great learning; God grant that you may make a right use of these gifts."

He then delivered the paper, which contained his protestation, to the prolocutor.

**A COPY of BISHOP LATIMER'S PROTESTATION, as delivered in writing to DR. WESTON.**

The conclusions whereunto I must anwser are these: 1. The first is, That in the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest, there is really present the natural presence of Christ, who is received of the virgin Mary, under the kinds of the appearance of bread and wine; in like manner his blood.

2. The second is, That after consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and Man.

3. The third is, That in the mass there is the lively sacrifice of the church, which is propitiabile, as well for the sins of the quick, as of the dead.

Concerning the first conclusions, I think it is fit forth with certain determined terms that are obscure, and do not stand according to the speech of the scripture. But however I understand it, this I do answer plainly, (though not without peril) that to the right celebration of the Lord's supper, there is no other presence of Christ required. But for natural presence, and this presence is sufficient for a Christian man, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we persevere. And this same presence may be called mystical really a real presence, that is, a presence envisaged, but not formed in the flesh and fin and presence. Which thing here rehearsed, left some sceptics, or scoffer, should suppute me, with the Anabaptists, to make nothing else of the sacrament, but a naked and a bare sign. As for that which is signified of many concerning their corporal presence, I for my part take it but for the natural invention, therefore think it utterly to be rejected.

Concerning the second conclusion, I dare be bold to say, that it hath no ground in God's word, but is a thing invented and found out by man, and therefore to be taken as false; and I had almost said, as the mother and nurse of the other errors. It were good for my lords and masters of the transubstantiation, to take heed left they confine with the Nestorians, for I do not see how they can avoid it.

The third conclusion (as I understand it) feemeth subtly to fow sedition against the offering which Christ himself offered for us in his own proper perfon, according to those words of St. Paul, Heb. i. where he faith, "That Christ his ownself hath made purgation of our sins." And therefore that he be a merciful and faithful bishop, concerning these things which are to be done with God, for the taking away of our sins. So that the expiation or taking away of our sins may be thought rather to depend on this, that Christ was an offering bishop, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himself: and therefore it is needless that he should be offered of any other. I will speak nothing of the wonderful presumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifest vocation, especially in that tendency to the overthrowing and making fruitless (if not wholly, yet partly) of the cros of Christ; for truly it is no bafe or mean thing to offer Christ. And therefore well may a man say to my lords and masters, the offerers, By what authority do ye this? and who gave you this authority? What? A man cannot (faith the baptist) take any thing, except it be given him from above: much less then may any man presume to usurp any honour, before he be thereto called.

Again, If any man fin, (faith St. John) we have not, nor a matter, according to the man at home, which can facrifice for us at mass, but we have, (faith he) an advocate, Jesus Christ, which once offered himself long ago; of which offering the efficacy and effect is for ever, so that it is needless to have such offerers.

What meaneth Paul, when he faith, "They that serve
And again, that though we must obey the princes, yet that hath this limitation, namely in the Lord. For whatsoever obey them against the Lord, they be most pernicious to them, and the greatest adversaries that they have, because they give no reverence upon them, if God be the only ruler of things.

There are some so corrupt in mind, the truth being taken from them, that they think gain to be godliness; great learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing, and raging, about questions, and trite of words. For to talk of no learning, because they know not Christ, how much else soever they know. And on this fort we are wont to call great learned clerks, being ignorant of Christ, unlearned men; for it is nothing but plain ignorance, to know any thing without Christ: whereas who knoweth Christ, the same hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to seek.

The apostle Paul confesseth of himself to the Corinthians, that he did know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified. Many men babble many things of Christ, who yet know not Christ; but, pretending Christ, do craftily colour and darken his glory. Depart from such men, faith the apostle Paul to Timothy.

It is not out of the way to remember what St. Augustine says: "The place where I do not now remember, except it be from the epistles of Peter." And therefore (faith he) teacheth any thing necessarily to be believed, which is not contained in the Old and New Testament, the same is accursed." Oh I beware of this curse, if you be wise.

I am much deceived if Basilius have not such like words; "Whatsoever (faith he) is beside the holy scripture, if the same be taught as necessarily to be believed, that is fin." Oh, therefore, take heed of this fin.

There are some that speak many fall things more probable, and more like to the truth, than the truth itself. Therefore Paul giveth a watch-word; "Let no man (faith he) deceive you with probability and persuasions of words.

But what mean you, faith one, by this talk so far from the matter? Well, I hope, good matters, you will suffer an old man a little to play the child, and to speak one thing twice. O Lord God! you have changed the most holy communion into a private action; and you deny to the laity the Lord's cup, contrary to Christ's commandment. And have you then procured God's very name, which an old man a little to play the child, and to speak one thing twice. O Lord God! you have changed the most holy communion into a private action; and you deny to the laity the Lord's cup, contrary to Christ's commandment. And have you then procured God's very name, which is the name of the Lord's death till he come: for you have changed the common prayer, called the divine service, with the administration of the sacraments, from the vulgar and known language, into a strange tongue, contrary to the will of God? for he never revealed in his word. God open the door of your heart, to see the things you should see herein.

I would as faint obey my sovereign as any in this realm; but in these things I can never do it with an upright conscience.

God be merciful unto us. Amen.

The prosecutor, on receiving this paper, thus addressed bishop Latimer, earnestly leading him by a train of familiar questions into an argument:

Wespen. Then refuse you to dilute? Will you here then subscribe?

Latimer. No, good master, I pray be good to an old man. You may, if it please God, be once old, as I am: you may come to this age, and to this debility.

Wespen. You held upon Saturday last, that you could not find the mafs, nor the narrow bones thereof, in your book: but we will find a mas in that book.

Latimer. No, good Mr. Doclor, you cannot.

Wespen. What find you then there?

Latimer. A communion.

Wespen. What such communion, the first or the last?

Latimer. I find great diversity then: they are one supper of the Lord: but I like the last very well.

Wespen. The first you do not approve of?

Latimer. I do not well remember wherein they differ.

Wespen. Then cake bread, and loaf bread, are all one?

You
You call it the fupper of the Lord; but you are deceived in that; for they had done the fupper before, and therefore the scripture faith, "After they had fuppered." St. Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, that some of them were drunken in this fupper; and you know, no man can be drunken at your table. The Lord [Cena Judaica] The Jewish Supper," when they did eat the paschal lamb together; the other was called [Cena Dominical] The Lord's Supper.

Welyn. That is false; for Chrysofom denieth that. St. Paul, chap. of the t Cor. faith, "The mystery of the framework, given as they were at fupper, is not the fupper of the Lord." Alfo Gregory Nazianzene faith the same. And that first fupper was called Agape; can you tell what that is? I understand not Greek; yet I think it meaneth charity.

Latimer. Mr. Opponent, begin.

Smith. Because I perceive that this charge is laid upon my neck to difpute with you; to the end that the same may go forward after a right manner and order, I will mention three questions, so as they are put forth unto me. And first I ask this question of you, although the same indeed ought not to be called in question; but such is the condition of the church, that it is always vexed of the wicked. I ask, I say, whether Christ's body shall be eaten without the mouth, or is it necessary that the body be eaten in the fupper, as custom is a good interpreter of things, and whereas the acts put in practice by Christ, do certainly declare those things which he first spake; Christ's deeds in his supper, where he gave his body to be taken with the mouth, together with his words, which have been ever since that time of that eating which is done with the mouth, doth evidently intimation that Christ did understand his words, here cited by me, out of the vi. of John, of the eating with the mouth.

Latimer. He gave not his body to be received with the mouth, but he gave the sacrament of his body to be received with the mouth: he gave the sacrament to the mouth, his body to the mind.

Tref. But my reason doth conclude, That Christ spake concerning his flesh to be received with the corporal mouth of the flesh. I say, He long hath told for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not been of this mind more than seven years: and my lord of Canterbury's book hath especially confirmed my judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to answer any man in this matter.

Welyn. There are in that book ill hundred errors.

Welyn. You were once a Lutheran.

Latimer. No, I was a papist; for I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without tran- 

Welyn. Where learned you this new fanglere.

Latimer. I have not thought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not been of this mind more than seven years: and my lord of Canterbury's book hath especially confirmed my judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to answer any man in this matter.

Latimer. Three quarters of this year.

Welyn. And I was in prison six years.

Latimer. The more pity, sir.

Welyn. How long have you been of this opinion?

Latimer. It is not long, sir, that I have been of this opinion.

Welyn. The time hath been when you said mass full devoutly.

Latimer. Yes, I crave God's mercy heartily for it.

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Welyn. In the book in his hand, "Of private mass," says, "That the devil prevailed with him, and perverted him that the mass was not good," fol. 14. So that Luther faiid mass, and the devil influenced him from it.

Latimer. I do not take in hand to defend Luther's sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himself well enough. I told you before that I am not meet for disputations. I pray you, read mine answer, wherein I have declared, except you shall eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you. Which when the Cenapeates, and many of Christ's disciples heard, they said, "This is a hard No. 5 saying." &c. Now that the truth may the better appear, hear I ask of you, Whether Christ, speaking these words, did mean of his flesh to be eaten with the mouth, or of the spiritual eating of the same?

Latimer. I answer (as Augustine underfandeth) that Christ meant of the spiritual eating of his flesh.

Tref. Of what flesh meant Christ, his true flesh, or no?

Latimer. Of his true flesh, spiritually to be eaten in the fupper by faith, and not corporally.

Tref. Of what flesh meant the Cenapeates?

Latimer. Of his true flesh also; but to be eaten with the mouth.

Tref. They, as you confess, did mean his true flesh to be eaten with the mouth. And Christ afo (as I shall prove) did speak of the receiving of his flesh with the mouth.

Therefore, they both did understand it of the eating of one thing, which is done by the mouth of the body. Latimer. I say, Christ meant not of the bodily mouth, but of the mouth of the spirit, mind, and heart.

Tref. I prove the contrary, that Christ underfandeth it of the corporeal mouth. It is a general custom, as custom is a good interpreter of things, and whereas the acts put in practice by Christ, do certainly declare those things which he first spake; Christ's deeds in his supper, where he gave his body to be taken with the mouth, together with his words, which have been ever since that time of that eating which is done with the mouth, doth evidently intimation that Christ did understand his words, here cited by me, out of the vi. of John, of the eating with the mouth.

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poet. Melanthon faith, if the doctors had foreseen that they should have been so taken in this controversy, they would have written more plainly.

Smith. I will reduce the words of Hilary into the form of a fyllogism.

(1) Such as is the unity of our flesh with Christ's flesh, such (yea greater) is the unity of Christ with the Father.

(2) But the unity of Christ's flesh with ours, is true and substantial.

(3) Therefore the unity of Christ with the Father is true and substantial.

Latimer. I understand you not.

Sexton. I know your learning well enough, and how subtle you be: I will use a few words with you, and that out of Cyprian on the Lord's supper. The Old Testament doth forbid the drinking of blood: the New Testament doth command the drinking and taffing of blood: but where doth it command the drinking of blood?

Latimer. In these words, "Drink ye all of this."

Sexton. Then we taste true blood.

Latimer. We do taste true blood, but spiritually; and this is enough.

Sexton. But the Old and New Testaments in this do differ; for the one doth command, and the other doth forbid touching the matter, but not as touching the manner of the thing.

Sexton. Then there is no difference between the drinking in the Old Testament, and that of the Old, for they also drank spiritually.

Latimer. And we drink spiritually also, but a more precious blood.

Wolph. Augustine upon the alv. Psalm, faith, "Drink blood which ye have poured out. Therefore it is blood."

Latimer. I never denied it, nor ever will I go from it, but that we drink the very blood of Christ indeed, but spiritually: for the same St. Augustine faith, "Believe, and thou hast eaten."

Wolph. Nay, to believe, is not to drink or eat. You will not obey, I pledge you, when I say, I believe in God. Latimer. Is not [Manicheere] "To eat," in your learning put for [Credere] "To believe?"

Wolph. I remember, my lord chancellor demanded Mr. Hoole, thereunto challenge questions, whether [Leyde] "To eat," were [Credere] "To believe," and [Athen.] "An altar," were Christ in all the scripture, &c. And he answered, Yes.

The Lord Chancellor then said, "We have an altar, of which it is not lawful to eat," as much as to say, "We have a faith, in whom we may not believe.""

Trefmann. "Believe, and thou hast eaten, is spoken of the spiritual eating.

Latimer. It is true, I do allow your saying; I take it so also.

Wolph. We are commanded to drink blood in the New law.

Therefore it is very blood.

Latimer. We drink blood, so as appertaineth to us to drink to our comfort, in sacramental wine. We drink blood sacramentally: he gave us his blood to drink spiritually: he was about to thirst, that as certainly as we drink wine, so certainly we drink his blood spiritually.

Wolph. Do you not seem to be a papist, which do bring in new words, not found in scripture? Where find you that, "sacramentally," in God's book.

Latimer. It is approvingly gathered from scripture.

Wolph. The Old Testament doth forbid the taffing of blood, but the New doth command it.

Latimer. It is true, not as touching the thing, but as touching the manner thereof.

Wolph. Hear, ye people, this is the argument. That which was hidden in the Old Testament, is commanded in the New. To drink blood was forbidden in the Old Testament, and commanded in the New.

(As this argument, because the major thereof is not universal, is not formal, it may be well retorted against Wolph thus.

No natural or moral thing, forbidden materially in the Old Testament, is commanded in the New.

To drink man's natural blood is forbidden materially in the Old Testament.

Therefore to drink man's natural blood materially is not commanded in the New.

The same is commanded spiritually to be drunk; I grant it is blood drunk in the New Testament, but we receive it spiritually.

Pye. It was not forbidden spiritually in the old law.

Latimer. The substance of blood is drunk, but not in our manner.

Pye. It doth not require the same manner of drinking.

Latimer. It is the same thing, not the same manner, I have no more to say.

Wolph. Here Wolph cited the place of Chryseotom, of Judas's treason: "O the madness of Judas! He made bargain with the Jews for thirty pence to fell Christ, and Christ offered him his blood which he fold."

Latimer. I grant he offered to Judas his blood which he fold, but in a sacrament.

Wolph. Because you can defend your doctors no better, you shall see what worshipful men ye hang upon, and one after another of your churchmen disperse with you.

Mr. Cartwright, I pray you disperse.

Cartwright. Reverend father, because it is given me in commandment to disperse with you, I will do it gladly. But first understand, before we go any farther, that I was in the heart of the day that you are in: but I am sorry for it, and do confess myself to have erred: I acknowledge mine offence, and I will and desire God that you may alio repent with me.

Latimer. Will you give me leave to tell what hath caused Mr. Doctor here to recant? It is merely the pain of conscience which hath back, and converted you, and many more; which hindereth many from confessing God. And this is a great argument; there are few here can dissuise it.

Cartwright. That is not my case, but I will make you this short argument, by which I was converted from error:

(1) If the true body of Christ be not really in the sacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the apostles' time.

(2) But Christ would not suffer his church to err.

Therefore it is the true body of Christ.

Cartwright. The popish church hath erred, and doth err. I think for the space of five or seven hundred years, there was no mention made of any eating but spiritually: for, before these five hundred years, the church did ever confess a spiritual eating. But the Romish church began the error of the sacramental. My lord of Canterbury's book handlieth that very well, and by him I could answer you if I had him.

Cartwright. Linus and all the rest do confess the body of Christ to be in the sacrament; and St. Augustine also upon the 90th Psalm, upon this place, "Worship his footstool," &c. granted that it is to be worshipped, and doth err. I think for the space of five or seven hundred years, there was no mention made of any eating but spiritually: for, before these five hundred years, the church did ever confess a spiritual eating. But the Romish church began the error of the sacramental. My lord of Canterbury's book handlieth that very well, and by him I could answer you if I had him.

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Latimer. Do you think that Cyril was of the ancient church?

Latimer. I do think so.

Smith. He faith, That Christ dwelleth in us corporally: these are Cyril's words of the mystical benediction.

Latimer. That (corporally) hath another understanding.

It is urged by Cyril, that Christ dwelleth corporally in us, but he faith not that Christ dwelleth corporally in the bread. Which dwelling of Christ in us, is as our dwelling is also in Christ, not local or corporal, but spiritual and heavenly. Corporally therefore is to be taken in the form of earth, as St. Paul, faith, the fulness of deity to dwell in Christ corporally, that is, not lightly nor accidentally, but perfectly and substantially, with all his virtue and power, &c. And do also dwelleth Christ corporally in us.

Hereupon Smith repeated these words of Cyril.

"By
"By the communicacion of the body of Christ, Christ dwelth in us corporally."

Latimer. The solution of this is in my lord of Canterbury's book.

Smith. Cyril was no papist, and yet these are his words, "Christ dwellet in us corporally? But you say, he dwellet in us spiritually.

Latimer. I say both, that he dwellet in us corporally and spiritually, according to his meaning: spiritually by faith, and corporally by taking our flesh upon him. For I remember, I have read this in my lord of Canterbury's book.

Wotton. Because your learning is set out to a farm, and the first step in my lord of Canterbury's book, I will recite unto you a place of St. Ambrose, concerning the preparation for the mafs, where he faith, "We fee the chief priest coming unto us, and offering blood," &c.

Likewise both Augustine in the 38th Psal. and Chrysostom concerning the incomprehensible nature of God, vol. 3. lay, "Not only men," &c.

Latimer. I am not ashamed to acknowledge mine ignorance, and these testimonies are more than I can hear away.

Wotton. Then you must leave some behind for lack of carree.

Latimer. But as to Chrysostom, he hath many figurative speeches, and emplathetical phrasis in many places; as in that which you have now recited: but he faith not, For the quick and the dead, he taketh the celebration for the place of the sacrifice.


Latimer. You have mine answer there in a paper; and yet he calleth it not a propitiatory sacrifice.

Wotton. You shall hear it to be so: and I bring another place of Chrysostom out of the same treatise, "It was not rarely inflituted by the apostles," &c.

Latimer. He is too precious a thing for us to offer; he helped himself.

Wotton. Here in another place of Chrysostom to the people of Antioch, and also to the Philippians, he faith, "There should be a memory and facrice for the dead.

Latimer. I do say, that the holy communion beareth the name of a facrice, because it is a facrice memorial.

Wotton. What say you to the facrice of the dead?

Latimer. I say that it needeth not, and it availeth not.

Wotton. Augustine in his Enchiridion, faith, "We make not our prayers for the dead passed by the devotion of their friends which are living, when the facrice of the Mediator is offered for them." Where he prove the verity of Christ's body, and praying for the dead. And it is said, that the fame Augustine faid mafs for his mother.

Latimer. But that mafs was not like yours, which thing doth manifestly appear in his writings, which are against it in every place. And Augustine is a reasonable man, he requireth to be believed no further than he bringeth scripture for his proof, and agrees with God's word.

Wotton. In the fame place he proveeth a propitiatory facrice, and that upon an altar, and no oyster-board.

Latimer. It is the Lord's table, and no oyster-board. It may be called an altar, and so the doctors call it in many places: but there is no propitiatory facrice, but only Christ. The doctors might be deceived in some points, though not in all things: I believe them when they say well.

Cole. Is it not a shame for an old man to lye? You say you trust the faith of the old fathers' faith where they say well, and yet ye are not.

Latimer. I am of their faith when they say well; I refer myself to my lord of Canterbury's book wholly herein.

Smith. Then are not you of Chrysostom's faith, nor of St. Paul's?

Latimer. I have said, when they say well, and bring scripture, I am of their faith; and further Augustine requireth not to be believed.


Latimer. I have but one word to say; The sacramental bread is called a propitiation, because it is a facrice of the propitiation. What can you say against that?

Wotton. My vocation is at this time to dispute; otherwise I am a priest, and my vocation is to offer.

Latimer. Where have you that authority given you to offer?

Wotton. (His facite) "Do this," for (facite) in that place is taken for (offere) that is, "offer ye." Latimer. Is (facere) nothing but (facere) "to sacrifice? Why, then no man must receive the facrice, but priests only: for there may none other offer but priests.

Latimer. Therefore there may none receive but priests.

Wotton. Your argument is to be denied.

Latimer. Did Christ then offer himself at his supper? Pye. Yes, he offered himself for the whole world.

Latimer. Then if this word (facite) "do ye," justify (facere) "sacrifice ye," it followed, as I said, that none but priests only ought to receive the facrice, to whom it is only lawful to facrice: and where find you that, I pray you?

Wotton. Not years ago, whither could you have gone to have found your doctrine?

Latimer. The more caus we have to thank God, that hath now sent the light into the world.

Wotton. The light? Nay, light, and lewd preachers; for you could not tell what you might have. Ye altered and changed for often your communions and altars, and all for this one end, to spoil and rob the church.

Latimer. These tings pertain nothing to me, I must not answer other men's deeds, but only for mine own.

Wotton. Well, Mr. Latimer, this is our intent, to wish you well, and to excite you to come to yourself, and remember, that without Noah's ark there is no health. Remember what they have been that were the beginners of your doctrine; none but a few flying apostates, running out of Germany for fear of the faggot. Remember what they have been which have brought the fame in this realm: a sort of Blind-brains and light heads, which were never confant in any one thing, as it was to be seen in the turning of the table, where like a sort of apes they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day well, and another day caele, one that way, and another this way. They will be like (they say) to the apostles, they will have no churches; a hovel is good enough for them. They come to the communion with no reverence. They get them a tankard, and one faith, I drink, and I am thankful; the more joye of thee, faith, another faith, faith in them the same Blind-Bride faith, "We make every year and every month a faith." A runagate Scot did take away the adoration or worshipping of Chrift in the facrice, by whose procurement that herefy was put into the light communion-book; so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time. You never agreed with the Tygrines, or Germans, or with the church, or with yourself. Your alberns and respectors cometh of a vain glory, which is to no purpose: for it will do no good when a faggot is in your beard. And we see all, by your own confession, how little cause you have to be stubborn, for your learning is in fooffers hold. The queen's grace is mercifull, if you will turn.

Latimer. You shall have no hope in me to turn. I pray for the queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that the mattingly savior may be discovered.

Wotton. Here you all see the weaknese of herefy against the truth: he denieth all truth, and all the old fathers.

Our readers may likewise see whether this boating proctor obtained a glorious victory or not, over his inflated opinión, and hear him declan how he had the prefident to alo a triumph on that account. But no wonder he should claim the victory, disputing as he did, not without his tipping cup at his elbow; nor without frequent smiles from those who applauded the strength of his arguments; especially a turn of Wit, that could give a triumph in the dispute, when Wotton, holding the cup, or beer-pot, in his hand, faid to the opponent, "Ure this, urze this; for this makes for us; which words provoked the auditors to much laughter.
We have given now a full account of those disputations, that were maintained against three worthy confessors and martyrs of the Lord, wherein perhaps be seen the disorderly usage of the university men, their unman-nery departure in the divinity school, the tumult of a rude multitude, the passion, fierceness, and interruption of the disputers, &c. The full account of the happenings, the censure of the partial judges, the foul language, and indecent railing of the procurnitor, with his vain blast of triumph at the conclusion of each debate, by which he flewed himself both actor, moderator, and judge. We need not consider then that this victorious conquerors, having the law in his own hands, should fly of himself, Visit vitras, though throughout the several disputations he laid out not one true word, nor ever made a true conclusion.

On the 19th of April, the day after those disputations were closed, it happened that Mr. Harpsfield was called upon to dispute for his form, to be made a doctor of divinity; on which occasion Dr. Cranmer was again brought forth, and permitted, among the rest, to deliver an argument or two in defence of his cause, as the sequel will prove.

A Disputation with Mr. Harpsfield, Batchelor of Divinity, when aspiring for his Form, to be made Doctor.

Harpsfield. I AM not ignorant what a weighty matter it is, that any one, whetherBatchelor or of the order of the cures of the scriptures: and most hard it is too, in the great contention of religion, to shew the right way whereby the scriptures may be best understood; for the often reading of them doth not bring the true understanding of them. What other thing is there then? Verily this is the very heart and soul of the controversy, and must therefore be laid open, not to give over our judgment unto the holy catholic church, who hath had of old years the truth, and always delivered the same to her posterity; but if the often reading of scriptures, and ever so painful comparing of places, should bring the true understanding, then divers controversies might prevail even against whole general councils. The Jews did greatly brag of their knowledge of the law, and of the Saviour that they waited for. But what availed it them? Notwithstanding, I know right well, that divers places of the scripture do much warn us of the often reading of the same, and what fruit doth thereby follow; as, “Search the scriptures, for they do bear witness of me,” &c. “The law of the Lord is pure able to turn souls.” And that saying of St. Paul, “All scripture inspired from above, doth make that a man may be instructed to all good works. Howbeit, doth not the scripture itself have their souls to shew them by reading instructed to every good work? The letter of the Old Testament is the same that we have. The heretics also have ever had the same scriptures, which we have that be catholics. But they are served as Tantalus that the poets speak of, who, in the plenty of the rivers to eat and drink, is fain to be appeath with hunger and thirst. The twifter that men do seek the scriptures without the catholic church, the deeper they fall, and find hell for their labour. St. Cyprian, never swerving from the catholic church, faith, “He that doth not acknowledge the church of God, his mother, shall not have God to his Father.” Therefore it is true divinity to be wise with the church, where Christ faith, “Unlefs ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you.”

If he had meant of only eating bread and drinking wine, perhaps he had been more pleasant to the Capernatists, neither would they have forbidden him. The flesh profaneth nothing to them that do take it. For the Capernatists did imagine Christ to be given in such part as he lived. But Christ ipake high things: not that they should eat his flesh in the market, but to consider his presence with those that are under grace, until it is given. As there is an alteration of bodies by courses and times of ages, so there is no less variety in eating of bodies.

These things which I have recited briefly, Mr. Harpsfield did not put to many more words: and hereupon Dr. Wilton disputed against him.

When. Christ’s real body is not in the sacrament. Therefore, you are deceived.

Harpsfield. I deny the antecedent.

When. John xvi. “I speak the truth unto you: it behoveth me that I go away from you. For unless I do depart, the comforter cannot come,” &c.

I would make you understand then, having the law in his own hands, should fly of himself, Visitez vitras, though throughout the several disputations he laid out not one true word, nor ever made a true conclusion.

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Harpsfield. I AM not ignorant what a weighty matter it is, that any one, whetherBatchelor or of the order of the cures of the scriptures: and most hard it is too, in the great contention of religion, to shew the right way whereby the scriptures may be best understood; for the often reading of them doth not bring the true understanding of them. What other thing is there then? Verily this is the very heart and soul of the controversy, and must therefore be laid open, not to give over our judgment unto the holy catholic church, who hath had of old years the truth, and always delivered the same to her posterity; but if the often reading of scriptures, and ever so painful comparing of places, should bring the true understanding, then divers controversies might prevail even against whole general councils. The Jews did greatly brag of their knowledge of the law, and of the Saviour that they waited for. But what availed it them? Notwithstanding, I know right well, that divers places of the scripture do much warn us of the often reading of the same, and what fruit doth thereby follow; as, “Search the scriptures, for they do bear witness of me,” &c. “The law of the Lord is pure able to turn souls.” And that saying of St. Paul, “All scripture inspired from above, doth make that a man may be instructed to all good works. Howbeit, doth not the scripture itself have their souls to shew them by reading instructed to every good work? The letter of the Old Testament is the same that we have. The heretics also have ever had the same scriptures, which we have that be catholics. But they are served as Tantalus that the poets speak of, who, in the plenty of the rivers to eat and drink, is fain to be appeath with hunger and thirst. The twifter that men do seek the scriptures without the catholic church, the deeper they fall, and find hell for their labour. St. Cyprian, never swerving from the catholic church, faith, “He that doth not acknowledge the church of God, his mother, shall not have God to his Father.” Therefore it is true divinity to be wise with the church, where Christ faith, “Unlefs ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you.”

If he had meant of only eating bread and drinking wine, perhaps he had been more pleasant to the Capernatists, neither would they have forbidden him. The flesh profaneth nothing to them that do take it. For the Capernatists did imagine Christ to be given in such part as he lived. But Christ ipake high things: not that they should eat his flesh in the market, but to consider his presence with those that are under grace, until it is given. As there is an alteration of bodies by courses and times of ages, so there is no less variety in eating of bodies.

These things which I have recited briefly, Mr. Harpsfield did not put to many more words: and hereupon Dr. Wilton disputed against him.

When. Christ’s real body is not in the sacrament. Therefore, you are deceived.

Harpsfield. I deny the antecedent.

When. John xvi. “I speak the truth unto you: it behoveth me that I go away from you. For unless I do depart, the comforter cannot come,” &c.

I would make you understand then, having the law in his own hands, should fly of himself, Visitez vitras, though throughout the several disputations he laid out not one true word, nor ever made a true conclusion.

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They did teach the great difference between the divine nature, and the human nature, as I have before said.

Welfon. I will then prove, that he is not in the sacrament. Vigilius against the heretic Eutyches, on these words, "Ye shall not have me always with you," saith, "The Son of God, as touching his humanity, is gone from us, by his divinity he remaineth with us." And the same Vigilius in his fourth book against, "He that is in heaven, is not on earth!" speaking of Christ.

Harpfield. I will shew you the reason of these words. The heretic Eutyches did believe that the divine nature of Christ was fastened on the cross, and believed that Christ had no natural body. To this Vigilius said, that the human nature was taken up and ascended, which could not to have been done, unless he had a body. This he said not, to take away the presence in the sacrament.

For what had he to refer this sentence to the sacrament? He never did so much as dream of the sacrament.

If thou. Cyril faith, "Although he be absent from us in body, yet are we governed by his Spirit."

Harpfield. By these words he gave us a cheerfulness to aspire upwards, seeking from thence our help. For as touching his conversation, he is not in the sacrament as corporally to be live in the sacrament, but not to teach us, that he is not there to feed us: for after that fort he is there.

If thou. You have falsified me with your answers, in doing the same learnedly, and catholicly. But now to another argument. (1.) Christ is now so absent from the earth by his body, as he was absent from heaven when he lived here.

(2.) But when he did live bodily on earth, the same natural body was out of heaven.

(3.) Therefore, now whilst this natural body is in heaven, it is not on the earth.

Harpfield. I deny the major.

If thou. These are Fulgentius's words, touching his human substance: "He was absent from heaven, when he descended from heaven: and touching the same substance, now he is in heaven, he is not on the earth: but concerning the divine nature, he never forsook either heaven or earth.

After these words, not waiting Harpfield's answer, he offered Mr. Cranmer to dispute, who began in this wise.

Cranmer. I have heard you right learnedly and eloquently treat of the dignity of the scripture, which I do both commend, and wonder thereat. But whereas you have the true face and judgment of the scripturas to the catholic church, you are herein much deceived; especially, since, under the name of the church, you appoint such judges as have judged corruptly, and contrary to the true face of scripture. I wonder, likewise, why you attribute so little to the diligent reading of the scriptures and comparing of passages, seeing the scriptures do so much commend the same, in diverse places, as also in those which you yourself have already allowed. And as touching your opinion of these questions, it sufficeth me neither to have any ground of the word of God, nor of the primitive church. And, to say the truth, the schoolmen have spoken differently of them, nor do they agree concerning them among themselves. Wherefore, minding here to shew my judgment also, I must first desire you to answer a few questions: which being done, we shall the better proceed in our disputation. Moreover I must desire you to bear with my mistakes in the Latin tongue, which, through long dilution, is now so faint to me, as it is to them.

My first question, having chiefly a regard to the truth above all things, is this: "How Christ's body is in the sacrament, according to your mind or determination?"

To which a certain doctor answered: He is there as touching his substance, but not after the manner of his substantia.

Harpfield. He is there in such fort or manner, as he may be eaten.

No. 6.

Cranmer. My next question is, "Whether he hath his quantity and qualities, form, figure, and such like properties?"

Harpfield. Are these your questions? I may likewise ask you, "When Christ passed through the virgin's womb, An vaporis nuncut?"

Upon these questions there were various opinions.

A buzzing was heard among the doctors who knew not what to answer. Some thought one way; some another; nor could these learned doctors agree on this point. After they had contended a while, Dr. Cranmer said, You put off questions with questions. I ask one thing, and you answer another. Again I ask, "Whether he have those properties, which he had on earth?"

Trellis. No, he hath not all the quantities and qualities belonging to a body.

Smith. Stop, Mr. Trellis; I will answer you, doctor, in the words of Damascene. "The bread is transformed," &c. But if thou wilt inquire how? "The manner is impossible to be described."

[Then two or three other disputants endeavoured to answer this question, but somewhat doubtfully. A great hurly-burly was among them, some affirming one thing, some another.]

Cranmer. Do you appoint me a body, and cannot tell what manner of body? Either he hath not his quantity, or else you are ignorant how to answer it.

Harpfield. There be vain questions, and it is not meet to spend the time on them.

Welfon. Hear me a while: Lanfrancus, sometime bishop of Canterbury, in his book upon Be rengarius upon such like questions, Salutaris erediti pof fent, fideltet sueri qui non poffit i. c. "They may be well believed, but never faithfully asked."

Cranmer. If you think good to answer it, some of you declare it.

Harpfield. He is there as pleach him to be there.

Cranmer. I would be best contented with this answer, if that your appointing a carnal presence had not driven me of necessity to have inquired for disputation's sake, how you place him there, since you will have a natural body.

[Again he was answered by several speaking at the same time; whereupon Mr. Ward, a great sophister, thinking the matter not fully answered, did declare his sentiments at large; how learnedly, and truly, I cannot tell; nor, that he could, he himself, nor any of the best learned there; for it has been said since, that men, far better learned, could by no means perceive to what end his discourse tendeth. Indeed he told a formal tale about quantum & quantitatem; and were we to rehearse the sum of his words, our readers would not be one jot the wiser.]
[Here Mr. Tretham and one Mr. London answiered, that Christ being given there under such form and quantity that it was not to be imputed of his thrinyg, or of his defending into the body.]

Harpfield. You were wont to lay to our charge, that we added to the scripture, saying always, that we should fetch the truth out of the scripture, and now you yourself bring up this question, and take it out of the Schoolmen, which you have disallowed in us.

Grummer. I say, that I am constrained to ask thee questions, because of this carnal preface which you imagine: and yet I know right well, that these questions are answered out of the Scripture. As to my last question, "How long he abideth in the body?" &c. the scripture answereth plainly, that Christ doth so long dwell in his people, as they are his members. Whereupon I make this argument.

(1) They which eat the flesh of Christ, do dwell in him, and he in them.

(2) But the wicked do not remain in him, nor he in them.

(3) Therefore, the wicked do not eat his flesh, nor drink his blood.

Harpfield. I will answer unto you as St. Augustine faith, not that howsoever a man do eat, he catcheth the body: but he that eateth after a certain manner. St. Augustine. I cannot tell what manner ye appoint, but I am sure that evil men do not eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ. Harpfield. In the fiftith of John, some things are to be referred to the godly, and some to the ungodly.

Grummer. Whatever he doth treat of there concerning eating, doth pertain unto good men.

Harpfield. If you do mean only of the word [eating,] it is true; if concerning the thing, it is not so; and if your meaning be of that which is contained under the word [eating,] it may be so taken, I grant.

Grummer. Now to the argument: He that eateth the flesh, and drinketh his blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Doe not this prove sufficiently, that evil men do not eat what the good do? Tretham. You must add, He that eateth worthily.

Grummer. I speak of the same manner of eating that Christ speakes of.

Harpfield. Augustine, to the bretheren in the wilderness, says, "There is a certain manner of eating." Augustine speakes of two manners of eating: the one of them that eateth worthily, the other that eateth unworthily.

Harpfield. All things in the fiftith of John are not to be referred unto one argument, but to the several coming of Christ by faith. The fathers do agree, that there is no reference made to the supper of the Lord, before they come unto, The bread which I give, is my flesh; &c.

Grummer. Nay, but manna is treated of both before and after.

Harpfield. I will apply another answer. This argument hath a kind of poison in it, which must be thus taken away; that manna and this sacrament are not both one. Manna hath not it's efficacy of ight, but of God. Christ that did take manna worthy, had fruit thereby: and fo by your affirmation, he that doth eat the flesh of Christ worthily, hath his fruit by that. Therefore the like doth follow of them both, and fo there should be no difference between manna and this sacrament, by your reason.

Harpfield. When it is said, that they which did eat manna are dead, it is to be understood, that they did want the virtue of manna.

Grummer. They then which do eat either of them worthily, do live.

Harpfield. They do live which do eat manna worthily, not by manna, but by the power of God given by it. The other which do eat this sacrament, do live by the same.

Grummer. Christ did not treat of the caufe, but the effect which followed: he doth not speak of the caufe whereof of the effect procecdeth.

Harpfield. I do say, the effects are divers, life, and death, which do follow the worthy and unworthy eating thereof.

Grummer. Since you will needs have an addition to it, we must use both in manna and in the sacrament, indifferently, either worthily or unworthily. Christ spake absolutely of manna and of the supper of that: so after, this discourse is not the caufe of the supper, it will not, in no wife eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood.

Further, Augustine upon John, T. 22. upon these words, He that eateth, &c. faith, There is no such virtue in common meats, as in the Lord's body. For God will not eat the flesh of Christ, nor drink his blood, and needeth to be satisfied daily: but he that doth eat the flesh of Christ, and drinketh his blood, doth live for ever. But you know, wicked men do not so.

Therefore, wicked men do not receive.

Harpfield. St. Augustine meaneth, that he who eateth Christ's flesh, &c. after a certain manner, should live for ever. Wicked men do eat, but not after that manner.

Grummer. Only they which participate Christ are of the mystical body.

But evil men are not of the mystical body. Therefore, they do not participate Christ.

Wetten. Your wonderful gentle behaviour and modesty, good Mr. Grummer, is worthy much commendation. But you may not deprive your or your brethren, just2 deferving, I give you my hearty thanks in my own name, and in the name of all my brethren. At which saying all the doctors gently put off their caps. Then Mr. Wetten did oppose the respondent on this wise.

Wetten. Tertullian doth call the sacrament the sign and figure of the Lord.

St. Augustine to Dardamus, faith, The Lord did not tick to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.

Befides this, he giveth rules how to understand the fuper of the Lord, saying, if the scriptures seem to command some heinous thing, then it is figurative, as by example, To eat the flesh, and drink the blood, is a tropical speech.

Harpfield. Tertullian did write in the place against Marcion an heretic, who denied Christ to have a true body, and said, he had only a fantastical body. He went about to shew, that we had Christ both in heaven and on earth; and though we have the true body in the sacrament, yet he would not go about to confound him, as to say, that Christ was truly in the sacrament: for this he had done, they have thereupon not believed it. Therefore he severed himself, that it was the figure of Christ: and a figure cannot be but of a thing that is or hath been extant.

To the text of Augustine, the church hath never taught the contrary. There is an outward thing in the sacrament, which sometimes hath fndy name. For it may be called a figure in this declaration, That body which is in the sacrament, is a figure of Christ dwelling in heaven.

To the third, That which is wrought by Augustine, for example, about the understanding of the scriptures, is thus to be understood, as tending to a general manner of eating; to eat the flesh, and drink the blood, may be a figurative speech to exclude Anthropophagian, that is, The eating of man's flesh. The which is, when we eat man's flesh, cut in morsels, as we eat common meat: so as we neither have, nor eat Christ in the sacrament.

Wetten. I understand your point and learned answer, which both sufficiently satisfy me. But now to the second question, which is of transubstantiation. The scripture calleth it bread.

Therefore, it is bread.

Harpfield. In the name of bread all is signified which we do eat.

Wetten. Therefore, an ancient writer, in his first gigantic law, saith, that Christ changed not the nature, but called it his body.

Harpfield. He doth there speak of a symbol, which is the
the outward form of the sacrament. He menacheth, that
doth tarry, and is of their nature.

Wifian. Theodore also, in his second dialogue of
those kinds of bread and wine, faith, "They go not
out of their own nature, but they tarry in their own
substance."

Harpfield. They are underfooted to be of the same
substance, into which they are turned.

Wifian. But what say you to this? "They remain in
their former substance."

Harpfield. Synodis nunc, that is, "The outward
form only the nature."

Wifian. But what is meant here by this word, [a
symbol ?]

Harpfield. The outward form or shape only of the
nature.

Wifian. Then you cannot call them a-substance.

Harpfield. Yes, sir, every thing hath a certain sub-
stance in it's kind.

Wifian. That is true, but accidents are not substances
in their kind.

Harpfield. They are something in their kind.

Wifian. Chrysolom to Cæsarius the monk, faith,
"Like as before it is confeconated, it is bread; fo after
it is confeconated, it is delivered from the name of bread,
and is ended with the name of the Lord's body, where
a certain form remaineth."

Harpfield. Where read you this place, I pray you?

Wifian. Here in Peter Martyr I find it: I have his
book in my hand.

Harpfield. The author shall be of more credit, before
I will vouch to him of him as to frame an answer unto it.

Wifian. Indeed I know not well where he findeth it.
But Gelasius faith, That the nature of bread and wine
do tarry.

Harpfield. What is that of Gelasius?

Wifian. A bishop of Rome.

Harpfield. Then he allowed the mass.

Wifian. Yes, and oftentimes said it, and purgatory
he also allowed, and prayer for the dead, relics, and
invocation to the saints.

Harpfield. Then he meant nothing against transsub-
stantiation.

Wifian. It doth appear so indeed. But Origen faith,
"That the maternal bread doth tarry, and is conveyed
into the privy, and is eaten of worms."
Wifian. Tuth, tuth, this place appertaineth unto holy
bread.

Wifian. What, doth it appertain to holy bread?

Harpfield. Yes, unto holy bread.

Wifian. But what known you how this miraculous
work bringheth Christ into the sacrament?

Harpfield. By the scriptures I prove it, which say,
"This is my body."

Wifian. It doth rejoice us all a little, that you have
so well maintained the found doctrine of the sacrament
of the altar, wherein you have faithfully cleaved to the
catholic church, as an only flay of our religion: by
which means you have proved yourself meet to be au-
thorized further towards the practising of the scripture.

And here, I do openly witness, that I do thoroughly
content with you, and have, for disputation's fake only,
touched these arguments against you, which you have
right learnedly satisfied: and now all things being done,
after our form and manner, we will end this disputa-
tion, laying. In opposition of sever theologians. In opposition
Sec.

Thus have ye heard, in these disputation about the
bly fupper of the Lord, the reasons and argumentes of
the doctors, the answers, and refutations of the bishops,
and the vanity of the procurator, triumphing before
the victory, with. The truth hath overcome, who ra-
ther should have exclaimed, "Power hath overcome," it
happeth always, where the greater part overcometh
the better. For else, if power had not helped the
procurator more truth, than there had been a finall vic-
tory. But do it, is, when the judgements be partial, there
are things to be observed, though it be ever so mean and
simple, as in this disputation doth well appear. For,
of the notaries, whom you appointed (for I objected not to any) to write what should be said, and to have licence to take added unto them, or to have altered them, as upon more deliberation. And afterwards I would not have them gone to the delivery of my answer unto your first proposition, a copy of the same. These promises are not performed. If your laden
departure may not be performed, yet I need to have a certain number of them that may be performed; for performance of pro-
misse is to be looked for at a right judge's hand. Now I feed you with the clouds of my soul. I have concluded as it is said in writing of the following words: "And this was ended this most glorious disputa-
tion of the most holy fathers, sacrificers, doctors, and masters, which fought most manfully, as so may yet, for their God and goods, for their faith and fidelity, for their country and kitchen, for their beauty and belly, with triumphant applause and favour of the whole university." After the disputition of Mr. Latimer was ended, on the Friday following, April 20th, the commissioners fixt in St. Mary's church, as they did the Saturday before, and after a most solemn and serious disputation with every one of them, and would not suffer them to answer in any wife, but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to say whether they would subside or no. And first to Dr. Cranmer he said, He was overcome in disputations. To whom he replied, answered, That he had, Dr. Weldon said, he had answered and opposed, and would not maintain his own errors, nor overthrow the truth; all that he said was false: for he was not to oppose, but to confirm the sayings of God's word, which was required. And unless he would have bawled with them, so thick their reasons came one after another, four or five frequently interrupting him, that he could not speak. Mr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer were asked what they would do: they replied, they would hang to the wall, and they had done. Then they were all called together, and sentance read over them, that they were no members of the church: and therefore they, their favourers, and patrons, were condemned as heretics. And in reading of it, they were asked: Whether they would turn or no? But they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turn. So they were all three condemned. After which sentence of condemnation being awarded against them, they answered again each in his turn; in number and form of words as followeth; the archbishop speaking first.

Bp. Cranmer. * "From this your judgment and sentence I appeal to the juft judgment of God Almighty, trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence you henceforth thus condemn me.

Bp. Ridley. * "Although I be not of your company, yet doubt not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner, than we shou'd by the course of nature have come. And so far as I am apostate to God, I have prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this cafe glorify God by that kind of death."

Dr. Weldon's answer unto Latimer. * "If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am not persuaded."

After sentence was pronounced, they were separated one from another: namely, the archbishop was returned to Bocardo, Dr. Ridley to the sherrif's house, Mr. Latimer to the bishop's. Upon this occasion, they had a mass with a general procession and great solemnity. Dr. Cranmer was caoued to behold the procession out of Bocardo, Dr. Ridley out of the sherrif's house. Latimer also being brought to see it from the bishop's house, thought that he should have gone to burning, and spoke to Augustine, a catchpole, to make a quick fire: but when he came to Carfow, (Oxford market place, where four ways meet) he ran as fast as his old bones would carry him, to one Spencer's shop, and would not look farther. The Bishop of Ely, and the other fixes, with all the doctors supported the canopy over his head and his breaden.

Immediately after the sentence, Bishop Ridley wrote to Dr. Wefton in the following manner.

Mr. Prolocutor, you remember, I am fore, how you profecured me openly in the schools, after my prolocution, that I should see my answers were there taken and written to.
unto, whereas I myself have more to say, than can be well dif- 
cused, as I suppose in twenty days. The means to resolve the 
truth, has been to have suffered us to answer fully to all 
that they could say, and then they again answer us fully to 
all that we can say. But why they would not answer us, what 
other cause can there be, but that either they feared the 
matter, or were unable to answer us, or else for some con-
sideration they made such halt, not to seek the truth, but to 
conceal us, that it must be done in post-haste before the 
matter was to be thoroughly heard: for in haste we were all three 
condemned of hereby. Thus much I think good to signify 
unto your lordships, that you may know the indifferent hand-
ling of this business, and that your lordships, chancellor of can-
tery, the lords, your friends, and you, be thereby informed: 
and before your lordships to remember me, a poor prisoner, 
unto the queen's majesty, and I shall pray, as I do daily unto 
God, for the long preservation of your good lordships, in all 
goodness and holiness. 
April 23.

A LETTER,
From DR. RIDLEY, Bishop of London, to DR. CRANMER, 
Archbishop of Canterbury.

With you might have seen these mine answers before I had 
delivered them, that you might have corrected them. But 
truth, in the substance of the matter we do agree fully, both 
led by one spirit of truth, and both walking after one rule of 
God's word. It is reported, that before Mr. Morgain, the chief 
justice of the common pleas, is gone mad. It is said also, that 
justice Hales hath recanted, perverted by Dr. Moreman.
Item, That Mr. Rogers, Dr. Cromwe, and Mr. Bradford shall 
have to be committed to the Tower, and the earl of Tankard 
here; and that the doctors of Oxford shall go likewise thither, 
as Cambridge men came hither. When you have read mine 
answers, send them to me, except you will put any thing 
to them. I truly, the day of our delivery out of all 
severities, and of our entrance into perpetual rest, and unto perpe-
tual joy and felicity, draweth night: the Lord strengthen us 
with his mighty spirit of grace. If you have nothing to write 
with, you must make your man your friend. And this bearer 
deliveth to be rewarded; he may, and will do your plea-
sires. My man is truly, but his griefs are not of another 
kind, that when I fend him with any thing to you, your man will not let 
him come up to see you, as he may to Mr. Latimer, and your's 
to me. I have a permittance to see him on another occasion, 
in the schools, but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for me, 
I pray for you, and so I still continue to do. The Lord 
have mercy on his church, and enlighten the eyes of the magis-
trates, that God's extreme plagues light not on this realm of 
England.

Turn, or Burn.

CHAP. V.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PAPISTS AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS.—The Duke of Suffolk beheaded.—Mr. Mantel's APOLOGY.—A Cat with a Shaven Crown Hanged in Cheapside.—A Declaration of Mr. Bradford and Others.—The MARRIAGE OF QUEEN MARY with the Emperor's Son, Philip, Prince of Spain.—Poems on this Occasion.—Events that followed the Solemnization of the Marriage.—The Bishop of Winchester's Sermon; and Bonner's Visitations.

His Outrage upon Sir Thomas Joselin.

Having shined our account of the dispositions, 
between the Roman catholics and protestant divines of the reformed religion, at Oxford, we shall now prosece the historical narration, reserving various transactions in this tumultuous time of queen Mary. And because so many things happened in different parts of the realm, that it is difficult to preserve the due order of time in reciting them all, we shall therefore return again to the month of July, 1553, in which month, as we have before shewed, the duke of Northumberland was brought to London, by the earl of Arundel, on St. James's day, July 26th, and the same day another thief who was committed with the duke to the Tower.

The earl of Warwick, the earl of Huntington, lord Ambrose, and lord Henry Dudley, lord-Haltings, who was delivered again the same night, sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, Andrew Dudley, sir Thomas Palmer, and sir John Sands, chiefe of the council of Cheapside.

July 26, the lord marquis of Northampton, the bishop of London, lord Robert Dudley, and sir Richard Cobert, were brought and committed to the Tower. July 27, the lord chief justice of England, and the lord Mounth mountaine, chief justice of any common pleas, were committed to the Tower.

July 28, the duke of Suffolk and sir James Cheek, were committed to the Tower.

July 30, the lord Ruffell was committed to the sherrif of Oxford.

July 31, the earl of Rutland was committed to the Fleeet: and on the same day the duke of Suffolk was delivered out of the Tower again.

Upon Thursday, August 3, the queen entered into the city of London at Aldgate, and so to the Tower, where she remained ten days, and then removed to Richmond.

August 4, Dr. Day was delivered out of the Fleeet, and the day after, the lord Ferris was committed to the Tower, and Dr. Bonner delivered out of the Marthalls.

The same day Dr. Coxx was committed to the Marthalls, and one Mr. Edward Underhill to Newgate. Also the same day Dr. Tonital and Stephen Gardiner were delivered out of the Tower, and Gardiner received into the queen's privy council, and made lord chancellor.

No. 6.
chute, will, by God's grace, take upon us to defend, not only the common prayers of the church, the ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also all the doctrines taught by our forefathers; and therefore we shall be more pure, and according to God's word, than any other that hath been used in England these thousand years: so that God will judge, and that the world may see, how both parties may be set out in writing, to the intent, as well that all the world may examine and judge thereon, that no man shall flatter himself from writing. And where they boast of a church fifteen hundred years old, and that we have been in this state but fifteen years, we will join with them in this point; and that the same doctrine and usage is to be followed which was in the church fifteen hundred years past, and that all the church, set out at this present, in this realm, by act of parliament, is the same that was used in the church fifteen hundred years past; and so flatter they never be able to prove their's.

On Thursday, September 7, lord Mountacute, chief justice, and lord chief baron were delivered out of the Tower.

September 13, the reverend father, Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, was committed to the Tower.

September 14, the archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Cranmer, was committed to the Tower.

September 26, one Mr. Gray of Cambridge, called before him one Mr. Garth, for that he would not suffer a boy of Peter-house to help him lay masons in Pembroke-hall, which was before any law was established for that behalf.

On Thursday, September 28, the queen came to the Tower of London, and upon the Saturday following, the rode from the Tower through the city, where were made many pages to receive her, and so she was triumphant. When she was come to the abbey, the queen, accompanied with the nobles and the gentlemen, namely, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, the lord of Shrewbury, the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Derby, Bedford, Warwick, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Oxford, Suffolk, Devonshire, Pembroke, the lord Dacres of the north, lord Ferris, lord Cobham, lord Abergavanny, lord Wentworth, lord Scrope, lord Rich, lord Vaux, lord Howard, lord Conia, lord Morley, lord Paget, and the lord Willoughby; with other nobles, and all the ambassadors of divers countries, the mayor of London, with all the aldermen. Also out of the Abbey, to receive her coming, came three friar, Richard, a frater; John, also a frater; and two more, one of them a friar, the other a monk, all in very rich and gorgeous copes. Amongst whom was the dean of Westminister, and divers of the queen's chaplains, which bare every one some ensign in their hands, and after them followed ten bishops, all mitred, and their cressier flies in their hands, and rich copes; bishop of Hereford, bishop of Lincoln, and bishop of Worcester, returned from Westminister-hall, before the queen to the Abbey, where she was crowned by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord Chancellor of England. At the time of the coronation, the day, bishop of Chichester, prebend of Canterbury, to the queen's majesty, and to the rest of the nobility.

Alfo there was a general pardon proclaimed within the Abbey at the time of her coronation, out of which proclamation all the prisoners of the Tower and of the Fleet were excepted, and 62 more: whereof Mr. Whitechurch of the College of St. John the Evangelist was one. October 3, the vice chancellor of Cambridge did challenge one Mr. Picton, for that he ministered full the communion in his own parish, and did receive strangers of other parishes to the same, and would not lay masons. Whereupon, within two days after, he was clean disfranchised and consigned to the College of St. John the Evangelist.

Upon the Wednesday following, the archbishop of York was committed to the Tower.

Upon Thursday, October 5, 1553, the queen rode to the parliament in her robes, and all the nobility with her; and when they were set in the parliament-house, the bishop from farther ministering in his College oration, and ferjean Pollard was chosen speaker. The same
fame day the bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, and Wells,
chestrated from the parliament and con-

Alto October 10, the earl of Huntington was de-
vered out of the Tower.

Upon the 15th of October, Mr. Laurence San-
drove preached at Althawells in Bread-Street, in the
morn: where he fully declared the abomination of the
of divers other matters: whereof more shall be
ayed by God's leave hereafter, when we come to his
ry. In doing which, as he exhorted himself to be
n to be God's faithful minister, so is he fure not to be debrated
of God's faithful promise, who faith, Matt. x. "Who-
fore shall confes me before men, him I will confes also
before my Father which is in heaven." But about
fame day, he was fined for the bishop of London,
and committed to the Marshalsea.

Upon the Sunday following, October 22, Dr. Wotton
preached at Paul's-Crofs, who in the beginning of the
fermon defined the people to pray for the folks departed,
this his wife: "You shall pray for them that be de-
be neither in heaven nor hell, but in a
place not yet sufficiently purged to come to heaven,
they may be relieved by your devout prayers." He
named the Lord's table an officer board. He said,
that the saints' children in Latin, lately published, was
absolutely hereby, and licenced the letters out of the
to Julian the Apostle, and the book to a dialogue
writt by the faid Julian, wherein Christ and Pilate
were the speakers; with many other things. This fer-
mon Mr. Cokayne was present at, and above which
(in a word) Fox) remaineth yet in my hands to be se

In the week following began the public disputations
at St. Paul's, whereof sufficient hath been said.

October 26, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge went
to Clare-hall, and in the presence of Dr. Walker, de-
placed the Mayor and placed Mr. Swytheborne in the
mastership there, by virtue of the lord chancellor's let-
ters, for that he was married.

October 28, the papists in King's college, Cam-
bidge, had their whole service again in the Latin
tongue, contrary to the law, then not repealed.

November 1, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge did
harshly reprove and threaten one Mr. Thrackold,
for that he challenged the said vice-chancellor, who had
revoked matter Bovell (contrary to the statutes then in
force) quietly within his punishment to depart, notwithstanding
that he refused to swear to the supremacy of the
queen, and the abrogation of the bishop of Rome.

November 3, the vice-chancellor fent for the curate
of the round parish in Cambridge, commanding him
to come, and on the following Sunday, and so the following,
he would have him uniform order of service throughout
the town, and that in Latin, with mafs, which was eab-
brished the twelfth day of this month.

November 6, Mr. Pollard preached at St. Michael's,
and in his sermon approved purgatory.

November 28, the archdeacon's official visited in
Hinton, where he gave in charge to imprison all such as
did disturb the queen's proceedings, in hindering the La-

service, the setting up of their altars, and laying of
masses for any man, whereby it was easy to see how
these good fellows meant to proceed, having the
law once on their side, who thus readily, against a ma-
nifest law, would attempt the punishment of any man.

December 15, there were two proclamations at Lon-
don the one for repealing of certain acts made by
king Edward, and for the setting up of the mafs the 20th
of December following. The other was, that no man
should interrupt any of those who would say mafs.

The parliament beginning about the 5th of October,
continued till the 5th of December. In that parliament
were included all the statutes made of Prumus-
tine in the time of king Henry VIII. &c. as also other
laws and statutes concerning religion and administration of
fearments, decreed under King Edward VI. In
which parliament was appointed, that on December 20,
the archdeacon and vice-chancellor, to order form and manner of church-service, used in the last year of
king Henry, should again be restored.

December 21, the lord marquis of Northampton was
delivered out of the Tower.

About this time, a priest of Canetbury said mass on
one day, and the next day after, he came into the pul-
per, and defied all the people to forgive him; for he said
he had betrayed Christ, not as Judas did, but as Peter
did, and there made the longest speech and sermon he
could, and was not suffered to depart either the
first or the second time. And he would have
all the feafe and banquets and entertainments,
&c. were choef, more then were made at one time since
the conquest; namely, Dr. Holymen, bishop of Bristol;
Dr. Coates, bishop of Wells-chester; Dr. Hopson, bishop of
Norwich; Dr. Farrow, bishop of Bath; Dr. White,
bishop of Lincoln; Dr. More, bishop of Oxford; Mr.
Morgan, bishop of St. Davids; Dr. Poole, bishop of
St. Asaph; Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester; Dr.
Moreman, coadjutor to the bishop of Exeter; and after
his decease bishop of Exeter; Dr. Glyn, bishop of
Bangor; Mr. Feckman, dean of St. Paul's; Dr.
Reynolds, dean of Bristol, with others.

January 2, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge
told a congregation general, wherein amongst other things,
he would have there a mass of the Holy Ghost upon the 18th of the future Gregorian calendar, the day next
following, for that it was her birth-day; which was ful-
filled the day appointed, and that very solemnly.

Saturday, January 13, Dr. Crome was committed
to the Fleet; also, the Sunday following, one Mr.
Addington was committed to the Fleet; and the next
day likewise, the bishop of Winchester declared openly in
the court, that the marriage between the queen's majesty and the king of Spain was concluded; and the day following, January 15, the mayor with the alder-
men and certain counsellors at the court, and there they
were commanded by the lord chancellor to prepare the
city ready to receive the said king of Spain; who declared unto them what a catholic, mighty, prudent, and
wise prince the said king was, with many other
commodations of him.

Saturday, January 20, the court of the first-fruits
and tenths was dissolved.

Thursday night, January 25, the lord marquis of
Northampton was again committed to the Tower, and
Sir Edward Wotton brought him; who were brought to
the Tower by the mayor.

On Saturday following, January 27, justice Hales
was committed to the Marshalsea; and the same day
Mr. Rogers was committed to Newgate.

Saturday, January 28, the following, the Londoners
prepared a number of soldiers, by the queen's command,
to go into Kent against the commons; whereof were
chief captains, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of
Wormwood, Sir Henry Jerningham, Sir George Howard,
and ten other captains which soldiers, when they came to
Rochester-bridge, where they should have set upon their
enemies, most of them (as it is said) left their own
captains, and came wholly to the Kentish men; and so
the aforesaid captains returned to the court both void
of men and victual, having behind them six pieces of
ordinance and #race.

About the latter end of January the duke of Suffolk,
with his brethren, departed from his house at Shene,
and went into Leicestershire; after whom the earl of
Huntington was sent, to take him and bring him to
London, who proclaimed the said duke traitor by the
way as he rode.

Upon the 15th day of February, being Thursday,
within the city of London, about nine o'clock in the
forenoon, strange fights were seen. Two bands both
walking at one time; but the one a good way before the
other; at the same time it was also seen a rainbow, with
the arch reversed. Both these fights were seen as well at
Weltminister, in Cheshilde, on the south side of St.
Paul's, as in many other places, and that by a great
number of children. Whereupon the aforesaid men went
out of Guildhall to behold the fight.

Concerning the king of Mr. Wyatt, with Sir William
Cobham,
Cobham, and others in Kent, and their coming to London in the month of February; also of the queen's coming to Guild-hall, and her oration there made; and of the taking of the, by Sir Edward Wyatt and his company. And also the apprehension of the duke of Suffolk, with his brother lord John Gray; and the next day after, of the beheading of the lord Guildford, and lady Jane, which was February 12; and how, the day before, lord William Herbert, and sir Edward Hastings, were sent for the lady Elizabeth; and how, the same Sunday, sir Henry Ireley, sir M. Culpepper, and Mr. Winter, were committed to the Tower; the bishop of Winchester, the same day, February 11th, preaching before the queen, and persuading her to use no mercy towards them. These men were executed the third of March, which was in the month of February; because most of these matters have been briefly touched before, or else may be found in other chronicles, I will cease to make any further mention of them; having somewhat notwithstanding to declare touching the arrangement and death of the duke of Suffolk.

Saturday February 17, the duke of Suffolk was arraigned at Westminster, and the same day condemned to die by his peers; the earl of Auriundel was chief judge for this day.

Sunday the 18th, the fections was held in London, which had not been before on a Sunday.

Monday 19th, lord Cobham's three sons, and four other men, were arraigned at Westminster: of which sons the youngest was condemned, whose name was Thomas; the other two came not to the bar; and the other four men were committed to the Tower.

Tuesday 20th, lord John Gray was arraigned at Westminster, and condemned the same day, and other three men, whereof one was named Nailer.

Wednesday 21st, lord Thomas Gray, and sir James Cranborne, were brought through London to the Tower, with a number of horsemen.

Thursday 22d, sir Nicholas Throgmorton was committed to the Tower.

Friday 23d, 1554, the duke of Suffolk was beheaded on Tower-hill, the order of whole death here followeth.

The devout Behaviour of the Duke of Suffolk, on the Day of his Execution.

ABOUT nine o'clock in the forenoon, Henry Gray, the Duke of Suffolk, was brought forth from the Tower, unto the scaffold on Tower-hill, and in his coming thither, there accompanied him dr. Wotton as his spiritual father, notwithstanding, as it seemed, against the will of the said duke. For when the duke went up the stairs, the said Wotton, being on the left hand, pressed to go up with him; the duke with his hand put him down again off the stairs; and Wotton taking hold of the duke, forced him down like his wife. And as they ascended the second time, the duke again put him down. Then Wotton said, That it was the queen's pleasure he should do so. Wherewith the duke casting his hands abroad, ascended the scaffold, and pausing a long time. And then he said, "Malters, I have offended the queen, and her laws, and thereby am justly condemned to die, and also for saying all manner of things that were prejudicial, and I pray God that this my death may be an example to all men, befeeching you all to bear me witness, that I die in the faith of Christ, truithing to be faved by his blood only, and by no other trumpery, the which died for me, and for all them that truly repent, and feelfully trust in his blood, and do repent daily, and truly say of me, that God forgiveth, and that when you fee my breath depart from me, you will pray to God that he may receive my soul." And then he defined all men to forgive him, saying that the queen had forgiven him.

The Duke added, in loud and audible voice, that the queen's majesty had forgiven him. With that several of the flanders by said with good and audible voices, Such forgivenes God fende the (meaning dr. Wotton.) Then the duke kneeled down upon his knees, and said the Psalm, Myfiers, mei Deo, unto the end, holding up his hands, and looking up to heaven. And when he had ended the Psalm, he said, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," &c. Then he arose and stood up, and delivered his cap and his feet under the executioner. Then they bound him down, and asked the duke forgiveness. And the duke said, "God forgive thee, and I do: and when thou dost shine office, I pray thee do it well, and feed me out of this world quickly, and God have mercy on their souls, and on thee, &c., unto the end. And then the executioner said, mercy upon me," and laid down his head on the block, and the executioner took the ax, and at the first blow struck off his head, and held it up to the people, &c.

The same day several prisoners had their pardon, and came through the city, with their balter's about their necks, in number about two hundred and forty.

Saturday, February 24th, sir William Bentlow was committed as prisoner to the marte of the house. This sir William was at this time one lady Elizabeth's gentlemen.

Sunday 25th, sir John Rogers was committed to the Tower.

In this week, all such priets, within the diocese of London, as were married, were divorced from their livings, and commanded to bring their wives within a space of time, that they might be likewise divorced from them; this the bishop did by his usual power.

February 27th, certain gentlemen of Kent were fett into that country to be executed, among whom we find the two Mantels, two Knevets, and Brett. Mr. Rudstone also, and others were condemned, and would have been executed, but they had their pardons.

As to Mr. Mantel, senior, it is to be noted, that, when under the gallows, upon his being turned off, the rope broke. Upon which they urged him to recant, and receive the sacrament of the altar, promising him the queen's pardon; but this worthy gentleman rejected their infidelity, and chose rather to die, than to live, by disowning God.

It was reported of this Mr. Mantel, but falsely, that he had recanted; to clear himself from which afperation, he wrote the following apology.

The APOLOGY of Mr. MANTEL, senior, March 20th, 1554.

PERCEIVING that already certain false reports are raised of me concerning my answer in the behalf of my belief, while I was prisoner in the Tower of London, and considering how for sake of this to be an occasion of offence to any of those little ones that believe in Christ; I have thought it a duty of a christian man, as near as I can (with the truth, to take away his offence; it pleased God to majesty to fend unto Me dr. Bourne, unto whom at first the Queen commanded to know my faith in all points to agree with the four creeds, that is the common creed, the creed of Nicene, Quicquidcunque, and Dr. Lucas, and Mr. Nowadum.

Further, as concerning confession and penance, I declared that I could be content to shew unto any learned minister of Christ, such thing as I might have imagined, and of such a man I would most willingly hear abollation, and I have never been so much afeared of my knowledge my faith in all points to agree with the four creeds, that is the common creed, the creed of Nicene, Quicquidcunque, and Dr. Lucas, and Mr. Nowadum.

Further, when this would not satisfy, I defined him to consider, that I was a man condemned to die by law, and that it was not in my power to make myself to be death. And in as much as I disdained not from him in any article of the christian faith necessary to salvation, I defined him to shew unto me more to trouble me with such matters, as to which he believes, is neither false nor error, nor to believe, damnation. He answered, that if I defied but in the least matter from the catholic church, my soul was in great danger; and I was bound in this great matter, writing this text, he that offendeth in the least of these, is guilty of all. Yes, said I, it is true of these commandments of God. To this I defined him to consider it was not my matter, nor could I in these things hold disputations, nor minded to do so, and therefore to take these few words for a full answer, that I not only
only in the matter of the sacrament, but also in all other matters of religion, believe as the holy catholic church of Christ (grounded upon the prophets and apostles) believed. But upon this your Church (as I am assured) I do not except at the schismatical popish church.

Then fell we in talk of the masses, wherein we agreed not; for I, being a lover of the two natures, and a feeder upon Christ's institution, thought it naught; and he, on the contrary, upon certain considerations, supposed it good. I found fault that the church of Rome requires a sacrifice for other applications of it. But he said that it was not a prophetic sacrifice for sins (for the death of Christ only was the sacrifice), and this but a conventional sacrifice, not for other things. Then, if you offer not Mass (certain blasphemies collectives left out) I could be content (were it not for offending my poor brethren that believe in Christ, which know not so much) to have Masses offered upon certain conditions.

Not so, sir, I am not now I thank God, in case to be vain-glorious. Then I found further fault with it, that it was not a communion. Yes, faith, he, one priestly mass here, and another there, and the third in another place, 8c. is a communion. This agreed not, said I, with these words of Paul, Ye come not after a better manner, but after a worse way. Yes, and it is a communion too, said he, when they come together. Now draweth on the time, said he, that I must depart from you to the court, to lay mass before the queen, and must fig-

ify unto her in what case I find you, and methinks I find you fortuned.

Then I said, I pray you, I find you much in fault, and some in the church.

What mean you, sir? are you content to hear mass, and to receive the sacrament of the mass? I beseech you, said I, fig-ny to her majesty, that I am not a nobleman, nor any flatterer, for the queen may alter me, but as yet my conscience is such, that I can neither hear mass, nor receive the sacrament after that.

Thus, after some time, was led to the queen's majesty concerning other matters, he departed. The next day he came to me again, and brought with him St. Cyril's works; for so I had required him to do the day before, because I would hear his sermon on mortality. He had in this book turned and interlined certain places both concerning the church and the sacrament, which he allowed me to read. The next day his time was ended; and at his next coming I said, that I was wholly of Cyril's mind in the matter of the sacrament. Dr. Welton and Dr. Mallet came after him to me, and we have talked much as I have said, and left the other. Dr. Welton brought in the place of St. Cyril's, another book on the same subject. I asked him of how the vexed controversy was taken in the congregation, and in the disputation upon the place of Theodore.

Be to short, Dr. Bourne came often unto me, and I always said unto him, that I was not minded, nor able to dispute in matters of religion; but I believed as the holy catholic church of Christ, grounded upon the prophets and apostles, both believe: and namely in the matter of the sacrament, as the holy fathers do believe, and St. Cyril's works, and Augustinian doctrine, do believe; and this answer and none other they had of me in effect; what words sooner were to be read. And, I should be extremely before your highness, 8c. The truth is, he sought to hear mass, nor received the sacrament during the time of my imprison- ment.

The time he asked me to be confined. I said, I am content. We knaveed down to pray together in a window. I began without Benedictus, defining him not. Let me look at my hand for superfluous particular enumerations and finery. I here- before was called away to the council; and I was at liberty. Thus much I bear only for my life, as God knoweth. If in this I have offended any christian, from the bottom of my heart I ask them to forgive me. I trust God hath given me, who knoweth that I defer not any bixomer, and left me should deny me before his heavenly Father.

Well said the I. But I might write with my own hand the effect of all the talk, especially of the world that ever I granted unto, unto the uttermost I can remember, as God knoweth. All the world do not understand the matter. And I have the such time to fast and to fame; the short and deification of a suplicial and antichristian doctrine; I beseech him, I say, to keep and defend all his choirs, for his name's sake, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, that shall be the death of all his faculties. God's deification is known: he will try and prove who are his. Amend your lives. Deny not Christ before men, lest he deny you be- fore the face of his Father. Do not let the fire consume your lives for him. For ye shall find them again. God hold your merciful hand over this realm, and avert the plagues imminent from the same. God give them to be mindful of his temple, and of his name. Amen. Pray, pray, pray ye christians, and comfort yourselves with the scriptures.

Written the 2d of March, anno 1554, by me Walter MANTLE, prisner, whom God and the world hath forgiven his offences. Amen

No. 6.

SATURDAY, March 30, sir Gavwen Carew and M. Gibbs, were brought through London to the Tower with a company of horsemen.

March 17th, every houholder in London was commanded to appear before the aldermen of their ward, and there were commanded, that they, their wives, and their servants should prepare themselves for confession, and receive the sacrament at Easter, and that neither they nor any of them should depart out of the city until Easter was past.

The Sunday following, March 18th, lady Elizabeth, the queen's wife, being mentioned on the warrant to be brought to the Tower.

Upon Easter eve, March 24th, the lord marquis of Northampton, the lord Cobham, and sir William Cob- ham, were delivered out of the Tower.

March 26, being Easter-day, in the morning, at St. Pancras in Cheap, the crucifix with the pyx [the vessel in which the host was kept] were taken out of the lepul- chre, before the priest rote to the resurrection; so that when, after his accustomed manner, he put his hand into the lepulchre, and said very devoutly, "He is risen, he is not here," he found his words true, for he found there indeed. Whereupon being half defrauded, they consigned upon themselves, whom they thought to be the likelyst to do this thing: in which confutation they remembered only, that the said crucifix had been put from that parfonage, because he was more to the whole charge they laid it.

But when they could not prove it, being brought before the mayor, they then hurried him to have kept company with his wife, since that they were committed. Whereunto he answered, That he thought the queen had done him wrong, to take from him both his living and his wife: words which were then noted, and taken very grievously, and he and his wife were both committed to separate prisons, notwithstanding he had been very sick.

April 8, a cat was hanged upon a gallows, at the crofts, in Cheapside, appalled like a priest ready to say mass, with a silver crown: her two fore-feet were tied over her head, with a round paper like a water-cup, put between them: whereon arose great ill will agin the city of London. For the queen and the bishops were very angry; and the famous afternoon there was a procla- mation tilled, that whoever could bring forth the party that did hang this cat, though it be but for a pence, which was afterwards increas'd to twenty marks, but none could, or would earn them.

As to the first occasion of setting up this gallows in Cheapside, here is to be understood, that after the bi- llings of William Cooper and John Adamson, on the 4th of March before the queen, for the speedy execution of Wyat's follower's, immediately upon the same, February 13, there were several giblets set up in divers parts of the city, namely, two in Cheapside, one at Leadenhall, one at Billingsgate, one at St. Magnus' church, one in South- field, one in Fleet-street, four in Southwark, one at Aldgate, one at Bishopsgate, one at Alderigate, one at Newgate, one at Ludgate, one at St. James's-park corner, one at Cripplegate; all which remained for the terror of others, from April 7, to May 24, and then at the coming in of king Philip they were taken down.

April 11, fir Thomas Wyat was beheaded and quar- tered on Tower-hill, where he spoke these words concerning the lady Elizabeth, and the earl of Devonshire: "Concerning, said he, what I have said of others in my examination, to charge any others as patrakers of my doings, I accuse neither my lady Elizabeth's grace, nor my lord of Devonshire. I cannot accuse them, neither am I able to say, that to my knowledge they knew any thing of rising." And when Dr. Welton told him that his confession was otherwise before the council, he answered: "That which I said then, I said; but that which I say now is true." 

Tuesday, April 17, fir James Croft and Mr. Winter were
were brought to Guildhall, with whom also was brought for the first time Mr. Harrington, and there arraigned of treason, for that he was suspicious to be of the conspiracy with the duke of Suffolk and the rest, against the queen; where he so learnedly and wisely behaved himself, (as well in clearing his own case, as also in opening such laws of the realm as we are bound to respect,) that him the jury which were charged with this matter, could not, in confidence but find him not guilty; for, which, the said twelve persons of the queft, being substantial men of the city, were each bound in the sum of 500 pounds, to appear before the queen’s council at a day appointed, that is to answer such things as should be laid against them. Which jury appeared accordingly before the council in the Star-chamber, upon Wednesday, April 25, from whence, after certain questioning, they were committed to prison, Emanuel Larp and Mr. Wetherford to the Tower, and the other ten to the Fleet.

Concerning the condemnation of Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, which was the 20th of this month, and also of their disputation, having paid enough before, we need not here rehearse the same.

On Friday after their condemnation, April 27, the lord mayor and aldermen brought to the late duke of Suffolk, was beheaded on Tower-hill.

Saturday, April 28, Sir James Croft and Mr. Winter were again brought to Guildhall, where Sir James Croft was arraigned and condemned: and because the day was far spent, he was not yet condemned.

Thursday, May 17, William Thomas was arraigned at Guildhall, and the same day condemned, who the next day after was hanged, drawn, and quartered. His accusation was, for conspiring the queen’s death; which how true it was I have not say. This is certain, that he made a godly end, and wrote many fruitful exhortations, letters, and fonnets, in the prison, before his death.

In the month of May it was given out, that a solemn disputation shall be held at Cambridge, between Mr. Cranmer, Mr. Latimer, and other authors of the said cause, and the doctors of both universities on the other side, like as had been before in Oxford. Whereupon the godly preachers who were in prison, having notice thereof, notwithstanding they were deftitute of their books, and not ignorant of the purpose of their adversaries, and how the cause was prejudged before, also how the disputationes were confudtedly handled at Oxford, nevertheless, they ought not to refuse the offer of disputation, so that they might be quietly heard; and therefore wisely pondering the matter with themselves, by a public content, directed out of prison a declaration of their intention. This was the 14th of May. Whereupon first, as touching the disputation, although they knew that they should do no good, because all things were pre-determined before; yet, nevertheless, they would not deny to dispute, if the disputation might be either before the queen, or before the council, or before the parliament, or if they might dispute by writing; for else, if the matter were brought to the doctors’ handling in their own schools, they had sufficient proof, they said, by the experience of Oxford, what little good would be done at Cambridge; and consequently, declaring the falseness of their adversaries’ religious writings, and the people’s willingness to submit themselves with all patience and humility, either to the will or punishment of the higher powers, they appealed, in the end, from them to be their judges in this behalf, and so ended their protestation: the copy and contents whereof I thought not unfit here to be inserted.

A Copy of the Declaration drawn up by Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunders, and several Others.

BECAUSE we hear that it is determined of the magistrates, that no man shall be so bold as to obtain the authority of the clergy, to send us speedily out of the prisons of the King’s Bench, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and Newgate, where at this present we are, and of long time none of us have been, as not rebels, traitors, and traitors of any kind to the king, of this realm, inhibitions, proclamations, or commandments of the queen’s highest, or of any of the councils, (God’s name be praised therefore!) but only for the conscience we have to God, and his most holy word and truth, upon most certain knowledge: because, we say, we hear that it is determined, we shall be sent to one of the universities of Cambridge or Oxford, for disputation with such learned persons as half in that is not possible to dispute otherwise but by writing, except it may be before the queen’s highest and her council, or before the parliament-house; which we in no shape can endure, that we are not able to maintain by the truth of God’s word, and the contempt of the true and catholic church of Christ, the doctrine we have generally and forever held, which some of us have therein, whereby the godly and simple may be offended, and somewhat weakened; we have thought it our bounden duty, now whilst we may by writing, to publish the cause, and the reasons why we shall not dispute otherwise than as above said, to prevent the offences which might come thereby.

Firstly, Because it is evident knowledge unto all the world, that some of both the nobles and ministers in this religion, especially wherein we should dispute, are directly against God’s word, yes, against their own determination in the time of our late sovereign, our lady Mary. In the first part of her fuerd: and farther it is known, they are our open enemies, and have already condemned our cause, before any disputation had of the same.

Secondly, Because the prelates and clergy do not seek either us or the truth, but our destruction and their glory. For if they had fought us, (as charity requirith) then would they have called upon us to show our errors before the people, and not to so frankly and without peril we might have spoken our conscience.

Again, If they had fought for the truth, they would not have concluded of controversies before they had been disputed; so that it is certain that they fight not for the truth, but for their destruction, and not us and the truth: and therefore we have good cause to refuse disputation, as a thing which shall not further the glory, but show the futility of their forth, and suppression of the truth.

Thirdly, Because the censors and judges (as we hear who they be) are manifest enemies to the truth, and that which is good, and are open enemies, before whom we cannot be called, by the commandment of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and by his own example. That they be such, their doings of late at Oxford, and in the common calling, hath so lately been made evident.

Fourthly, Because some of us have been in prison these eight or nine months, where we have had no books, no paper, no pens, no ink, no paper, no pens, nothing to write with, neither have we so suddenly to defend into disputation with them, which may alledge, as they lift, the fathers and their testimonies, because our purpose is to set forth that which we have read, to ready as to reprove, when they shall report and welf the authors to their purpose, or to bring forth what we may have there for our advantage.

Fifthly, Because in disputation we shall not be permitted to pronounce our arguments, but he first when we should speak; one saying this, another that, the third his mind, &c. as was done at Oxford and elsewhere. Mr. Larp and Mr. Wetherford, who could not be permitted to declare his mind and meaning of the propositions, and had oftentimes half a dozen at once speaking against him, always hindering him to pronounce his argument: and therefore we have counted it our duty, to write, to show the truth, and to show to all the world the falseness of their disputation, and the reasonableness of our own.

Sixthly, Because the notaries, that shall receive and write the disputation, shall be of their appointment, and such as do not or dare not favour the truth, and therefore must write either to please them, or else they themselves, (the censors and judges we mean) at their pleasure will put to, and take from that which is written by the notaries; who are not to have in their custody that which we write, longer than the disputation endureth, as their doings at Oxford declare. No copy nor thing at all is to be handed over to the notaries. For the censors and judges will have all delivered into their hands. If any man was seen there to write, as the report is, the same man was sent for, and his writings taken from him: so the disputation serve only for the glory, not of God, but of the enemies of his truth.

For these causes we all think it is necessary not to dispute with them. But we will dispute with them, as they which desire and purposely fees, to promote the kingdom of Antichrist, and to suppress (as much as may be) the truth. We will not speak of the offence that might come to the godly, when they shall hear our enemies, and we their arguments framed (you may be sure) for their fantasies, to the flattering of the truth.

Hereafter we publish, and by this writing notify unto the whole congregation and church of England, that for these aforesaid causes we will not dispute with them, otherwise than with them before the queen’s highest and her council, or before the houses of the parliament, as it is above said, that they will write, we will answer, and by writing confirm and prove out of the infallible truth, even the very word of God, and
followed, the governance of God's Spirit, and the judgment of his word

And this through the Lord's help we will do, either in disputa-
tion before the queen's highness and her council, or before the common council of the subjects; but if we doubt not but to be indignantly heard, or else with our words be overthrown, we shall be thereto, by them that have authority, required and commanded.

In the mean season, as obedient subjects, we shall behave ourselves towards all that be in authority, and not cease to pray to God for them: and all things we would govern them all, generally and particularly, with the Spirit of wisdom and grace. And so we heartily desire, and humbly pray all men to do, in no point cow-

To those things aforesaid, I Miles Coverdale, late of Exon, do consent and agree, with the said right reverend brethren being prisoners, signed with my own hand.

And thus much concerning this present declaration subscribed by these preachers, which was on the 8th day of May.

On the 19th of the said month, lady Elizabeth, the queen's sister, was brought to the Tower, and committed to the custody of Sir John Williams, afterwards lord Williams of Tame, by whom her highness was gently and courteously treated; who afterwards was had to Woodstock, and then committed to the keeping of her highness Henry Benfield, knight, of Oxborough in the county of Norfolk; who, on the other side, both forgetting her estate and his own duty, as it is reported, threw himself more hard and straight unto her, than either caufe was given on her part; and yet the king of his own should have led him; of which we shall treat more at large hereafter, the Lord willing.

Friday, July 20, king Philip arrived at Southampton. The prince himself was the first that landed; who immediately, as he set foot upon the land, drew out his sword, and carried it naked in his hand. A little with-

We confefs and believe, that the charge doth oblige to the doctrine of Antichrist.

Sixthly, We confefs and believe that God only by Christ Jesus is to be prayed unto and called upon; and therefore we disallow invocation, or prayer to saints departed this life.

Seventhly, We confefs and believe, that as a man departeth this life, so shall he be judged in the last day generally, and in the mean season is entered either into the state of the blest for ever, or else into the second death for ever, or else into the state of the wicked eternally.

And here we plainly confess, that the damnation of the Lord's supper, and the lubversion of the one kind from the lay people, is Antichristian. And so is the doctrine of transubstantiation of the sacrament of holy bread and wine, after the words of consecra-
tion, as they are called.

Item, The adoration of the sacrament with honour due unto God, and of the true impression of the same carrying about of the same.

Item, The mafs to be a poysonous victual for the quick and dead, or a work that pleaseth God.

All these we confefs and believe to be Antichrist's doctrine: as is proved by divers, as unlavish and unchristian. And we doubt not, by God's grace, but we shall be able to prove our confessions here to be most true, agreeable to God's word, and convent of the catholic church, which followeth, and hath
Not do the warlike French, nor Scots agree;
Though Flanders, Italy, and Germany,
Confederate and jointly strive that this may be.
Our holy fathers all desire the same.
The Eight, who sacr'd suppliant ties sever,
Courteous, and unswear'd by David's fear,
With all the faithful Five agree;
That were impris'nd for impiety.
Dudley the brave Northumberland here stands,
Prompt to oppose the matrimonial bands:
And so will all prepar'd and ready be,
That lov'd their country, laws, and liberty.
With the brave this generous issue doth flow
The nobles, commoners, and the clergy too.
Ye will the match, who by nature prone
To bond truth, and pious dethronement:
But God, and all the Kentish folk declare
Their just revengement at the married pair.
What glory then from such a marriage springs?
What plunder does it add unto the ancient kings?

Other Verses answering to Bishop White, made by J. C.

Though Philip to the English line did pretend,
And Mary from the Spanish did defend;
Yet for an English queen of d monarchical
To wed a Spanish prince, as 'tis decreed
Is to her fire and nation a disgrace indeed.
The admirers of old London's values
With truth and justice this can never agree;
But God the same does for our sins permit,
And therefore patiently they suffer it.
The people, if they are wise, frugally beat
Against our welfare, never will content
To this unhappy match, foreboding ill:
What's to us, if it's adverse nature has it?
All pious men against the match contend:
For they are mad indeed who it pretend.
The Eight, who forced wedlock do reverse,
Than the imprudent Five now appear:
For this pernicious marriage they oppose,
To save the nation from inhabiting foes.
The hero of Northumberland with bands
These insinuous and illegal bands:
O dire, infernal counsellors, who will
Promote this fatal match, prefacing ill!
Wyn, in war unhappily engaged,
Was at the marriage generously engag'd:
None for it was; but all the same without,
Except the unhinking populous multitude.
Gray, and the Brisons all, will not agree
That this unhappy match should ever be:
Wyn, himself, at Almighty's will, o'ersays it,
And patiently endure and suffer in.
But woe, things shall fall bear, if Mary be
In forced wedlock, Philip, join'd to thee.

Being daughter of Henry VIII. and Katharine of Spain.

Other Verses answering likewise.

Say, White, whom can you find that will agree,
That Mary should to Philip married be?
It matters not what the vain multitude
Do will or nill (they're ignorant and rude).
To will and will is God's chief property.
The question then is, What he wills to be?
Caulfe God hath will'd the match, (you say)
The fame Ye'll, and loudly every-where proclaim:
You ought indeed to know what God wills to be,
Because, dull fool, thou'rt ignorant of it still.
This he will'd, that in his augury
With him be a thing giving English delight.
With him the warlike Scots and French agree.
Eighth he married in the Lord: and Dudley you
Forbidding sinful things, the marriage view,
The seven niss 'scape: brave Wast doth escape.
With pius zeal his country's injur'd cause;
With him Ray, and the Kentish folk comply,
Eighth to their grief and tears do die.
Then say, what profits will the Spanish king,
Having wedded Mary, to the English bring?

Another Answer by the same Author.

Sat'an, your all confounding fire, 'tis plain,
Would have Queen Mary wed the prince of Spain;
That so he may Britannia's noble race
Eradicate, and toadily deface.
But God, the Father of the English hall,
Reduces the rancour of his wicked will.

Say, White, whom can you find that will agree,
That Mary should to Philip married be?
It matters not what the vain multitude
Do will or nill (they're ignorant and rude).
To will and will is God's chief property.
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Eighth to their grief and tears do die.
Then say, what profits will the Spanish king,
Having wedded Mary, to the English bring?
After that, they took the said rood and weighed it up, and let it in its old accustomed place, and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole quire sang "Te Deum" and when that was ended, they rang the bells, not only for joy, but also for the notable and great fact they had done therein.

Not long after this, a merry fellow came into St. Paul's, and spied the rood, with Mary and John now set up; whereupon, under pretence of praying, he made low courtly, and said, Sir, your mattership is welcome to town. I had thought to have talked further with your mattership, but that you be here clothed in the queen's colours. I hope that you be but a summer's bird, for I go back in twenty-four days to my farm in the west. The prince, being in the church of St. Paul's, after Dr. Harpsfield had finished his oration in Latin, set forward through Fleet-street, and so came to White-hall, where he with the queen remained four days after, and from thence removed unto Richmond.

After this, all the lords had leave to depart into their counties, with strait commandment, to bring all their harness and artillery into the Tower of London with all speed. Now remained there no English lord at the court, but the Duke of Wurttemberg, Lord Wurttemberg had removed to Hampton court, where the hall-door within the court was continually shut, so that no man might enter.

About the 8th of September, bishop Burnham began his visitation, which was with his clergy and many fine men, in every parish, to inquire (according to their oaths) and to present before him, the 30th of September, all such persons as either had or should offend in any of his articles, which he had set forth, to the number of 37. Of the which visitation of Bonner, I have related enough to treat.

September 17 was a proclamation in London, that all vagabonds and murtherers men, as well strangers as Englishmen, should depart the city within five days; and strictly charging all inholders, victuallers, taverners, and alehouse-keepers, with all others who fell victims, that any person, after the 20th of September, should sell any meat, drink, or any kind of victuals to any serving man whatsoever, unless he brought a testimonial from his master, to declare who served him, and were in constant holdship with his said master, upon pain of the law if they offended herein.

Upon the Sunday following, the bishop of Wincheste, lord chancellor of England, preached at St. Paul's Crois, at whose sermon were present all the council that were at the court: namely, the marquis of Wincheste, the earl of Oxford, John, and Nicholas Faucon, Anthony Brown, Mr. Rochester, Mr. Walgrave, Mr. Englefield, lord Fitzwater, and secretary Peter, and the bishops of London, Durham, and Ely, which three fat under the bishop's arm. The gospel whereof he made his sermon, is with you. For the next day, the shipfrereis came unto Christ, and among them one asked Christ which was the greatest commandment, Christ answered, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thee neighbour as thyself; in these two is comprehended the law and the prophets.'

After his long declaration of these words, speaking very much of love and charity, at last he had occasion upon St. James's words, to speak of the true teachers, and of the false teachers, saying, among other things, almost in king Edward's time, he preached nothing but voluptuousness, and filthy and blasphemous lies, affirming their doctrine to be that false doctrine of which St. James speaketh in his third chapter, saying, that it was full of perverse zeal, catchly, full of fraud, etc., from which the church from the beginning have confected Christ's natural body to be in heaven, and here to be in the sacrament, and fo concluded that matter: and then willd all men to say with Joseph's brethren,
brother, 'We have all sworn against our brother;' and said he, 'I have too.' Then he declared what a noble king and queen we have; saying, that if he should go to the Tower of London, and bring any thing respecting our necessity or need, and what he had brought with him; it would be superfluous, seeing it is evidently known, that he hath ten times as much as we are in hope and position of, affirming him to be as wise, sober, gentle, and just a prince as ever was. And if it were not for piety, then to take him for a false lyer for his so saying; exhorting all men to make much of him, and to win him whilst we had him, and so shoulde we alio win all such as he hath brought with him: and so for a sake of himself.

Tuesday, October 7, twenty carts came from Westminster, laden (as it was noised) with gold and silver, and certain of the guard with them through the city to the Tower, and it was received in by a Spaniard, who was the king's treasurer, and had custody of it within the Tower. It was reported about with much, and mailed in little bundles about two feet long, and almost half a foot thick, and in every cart were six of those bundles. What it was indeed, God knoweth, for it is to us uncertain.

About the same time, or a little before, upon Corpus Christi, a procession was made in Smithfield, where, after the manner, the priest, with his box, went under the canopy, by chance there came by the way a certain simple man, named John Street, a joiner, of Coleman-street, who having some quale in his buffer, met this courtly procession in Smithfield, by chance went under the canopy by the priest. The priest seeing the man to presume to come under the canopy, being belike afraid, and worse feared than hurt, let his pyx fall down. The poor man, being thereby apprehended, and had to the compoter, the priest accusing him before the council, as though he had come to him, whereas the poor man, as himself hath since declared unto us, had no such thought ever in his mind. Then from the compoter, he was had unto Newgate, where he was cast into the dungeon, there chained to a post, where he was cruelly and miserably extreemely dealt withal, that being but simple before, he was now out of his wits altogether, and so upon the fame had to Bedlam. Whereupon the chief-chronicle of London in this point is not to be credited, which untruly reported that he begd himself in Newgate to be mad, which thing we in writing of this history, by due inquisition of the party, have found to be contrary.

About the 5th of October, divers, as well householders, as servants, and apprentices, were apprehended and taken, and committed to prison, for having and fowling hawks, which were of those sold by the preachers that fled into Germany and other countries, which books touched a great number so near, that within one fortnight there were little les than three score imprisoned for this matter: among whom was Mr. Browne, Mr. Spark, Randal tuner, a stationer, Mr. Belton, a merchant, with many others.

Sunday, October 13, the old bishop of Durham preached in the churches.

October 18, the king came from Westminster to St. Paul's church, accompanied with a great number of noblemen, and there he was received by a canopied chair at the west door, and so came into the chancel, where he heard mass, which a Spanish bishop and his own chapel sung, and that done, he returned to Westminster to dine.

Friday, October 26, certain men, whereof I speak before, whereof were Mr. Throgmorton's jury, being in number eight (for the other four were delivered out of prison, having submitted themselves), whereof Mr. Emanuel Lucas, and Mr. Whetstone were chief, were called before the Star chamber, where the whole there all affirmed that they had done all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good confidences, even as they should answer before God at the day of judgment. When Mr. Lucas said openly before all the lords, that he was a honest man, and true and faithful subject, and therefore they humbly besought the lord chancellor, and the other lords, to intercede with the king and queen, that they might be discharged and set at liberty, and said that they were all contented humbly to submit themselves to their majesties, and to answer their truth, and to be tried, and honestly. Some of the lords said, that they suffered to pay 1000l. a piece, and others said, that Mr. Lucas and Mr. Whetstone suffered to pay 1000 marks a piece, and the vest 500l. a piece. At last, gentlemen came from the king, and said that they should pay a thousand marks a piece, and that they should go to prison again, and there remain till further orders were taken for their punishment.

Wednesday, November 7, the lord Paget, and Sir Edward Hastings, master of the horse, were sent as ambassadors, I know not whither, but, as it was judged, to Cardinal Poole, who lay all that summer before at Brulselas: and it was thought they were sent to accompny the ambassadors that were in presence of Spain, for were nominated and appointed bishop of Canterbury.

Friday, November 9, Mr. Bowland, late bishop of Bath, and Mr. Cardmaker, were brought before the council, in the Star-chamber, where after communication, they were committed to Newgate, for that he was a gentleman, and the other, who before was a priest, they were committed to the visitation of Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, which begins (as it is said) about the month of September; for the better preparation whereof were fet forth certain articles, to the number of 37; which articles, partly for the tredelousness of them, partly for that Mr. Bare in a certain treatise hath sufficiently pointed out the faults, partly also, because I will not infect this book with them, I passe them over, proceeding in the progress of this bishop in his visitation in the county of Essex; who passing through the said county of Essex, was being attended with a great number of prelates and lawyers (19), and (as is commanded) arrived at Stetford in Hertfordshire, where he retired certain days, folosing himself after that painful peregrenation, with no small feasting and banqueting with his attendants, at the house of one Parson's, his nephew, whose name was nominly called his fair niece; (for she was indeed) and he took there great pains to hear her play upon the virginals, wherein the excelled, insomuch that every dinner (fitting by his sweet fide) the afoe played and played three several times at his requite, of his good and spiritual devotion towards her. After some time, he gave a certain sum to him, to his popish visitation toward Hadham, his own house and girth, not more than two miles from Stetford, being there most solemnly rung out, as in all other places where he passed. At length drawing near unto Hadham, when he heard nothing there in honour of his holiness, he grew into some choler, and the nearer he approached, the hotter was his fit; and the quieter the bells were the untier was his mood. Thus rode he on, chazing and fuming with himself: "What meaneth (faith he) that knave the clerk, that he ringeth not? and the parson, that he meddeth not with these old observa- tions. There this patient prelate, coming to the town, alighted, calling for the key of the church, which was then all unready, fince, as they pretended, he had come two hours before his time; whereupon he grew to choler to plain melancholy, so as no man willingly would deal with him to qualify the raging humor for far incon-
But though the bishop posted hastily away, his return think it most prudent to tarry behind; and his doctors and chaplains, a few excepted, dined at Dr. Bricket's, as merrily as the bishop rode to Ware chargingly. Now the cauces which induced him to leave a good Whereas, he was suppos’d to be, that his lordship was offended at not being furnished with an offer of a collateral estate to be tried to be valued vital in other places, and because his wooden god was not elevated decently in the rood-loft to entertain strangers; on which account he took occasion to quarrel with Dr. Bricket; for the bishop had suffered his precepts, that in every parish a rood, (a cross, crucifix, and other images) should be erected, both well favoured, and tall in statue: which brings to my mind (says Mr. Fox) what happened in a certain town in Lan-

CHAP. VI.

Bishop BONNER'S MANDATE.—The QUEEN's supposed PREGNANCY.—CARDINAL POOLE'S ORATION.—The SUBMISSION of the LORDS and COMMONS to the QUEEN.—A LETTER to the POPE from CARDINAL POOLE.—ORDERS and PRAYERS on Account of MARY'S CONCEPTION.—LETTERS of MR. HOOPER, BISHOP of WORCESTER.—TRANSACTIONS of the PRIVY COUNCIL, &c. in 1555.—A SUPPLICATION of the Perfused MINISTERS to the KING and QUEEN.

A BOUT this time came forth a precept, or man-

date, from Bonner, bishop of London, to all bish-

ops and curates within his diocese, for abolishing of

rich scripture passages and writings as had been

printed upon church walls in King Edward's days;

the copy whereof is inferred here, that the present

general may see the wicked proceedings of their im-

pious zeal, or rather their malicious rage against the

Lord and his word; as also against the edifying of

Christian people; and hence will appear, not only how

blasphemously they spake against the holy scriptures,

but likewise how maliciously they fought by all they

were able to do to make the people still in ignorance.

A MAN-
A MANDATE of Bishop Bonner, to abolish the SCRIPTURE and WRITINGS painted upon CHURCH-WALLS.

EMUND, (by God’s permission) bishop of London, to all and every parson, vicar, clerk, and lettered, within the parish of Hadham, or within the precinct of our diocese of London, whereofsoever being, fending greenness, grace, and beneficition.

Because some children of iniquity, given up to carnal desires, and having taken no care to wash the ancient manner and order of the church, and to bring in and embellish souls and heretics; taking from thence the picture of Christ, and many things befoisted and obstructed of another nature, some all free, placed in every room, that is, such things, as in such a place it behoved them not to do, and also have procured as a fray to their heretics (as they thought) certain false images to be applied to thence and upon certain church-walls, all which profers tend chiefly to this end; that they might uphold the liberty of the flesh, and marriage of the priests, and defray, as much as lie in them, the reverence sacrament of the altar, and might extinquish and enervate holy days, fasting-days, and other laudable discipline of the catholic church, opening a window to all vices, and utterly closing up the way unto virtue: wherefore being moved with a Christian zeal, judging that the premises are not to be longer suf- fered, all the benefit of our faculty to you joint and severally, and by the tenor hereof do strictly charge and command you, that at the receipt hereof, with all speed convenient, you do warn, or cause to be warned, first, second, and thirdly, and severally, all things to be church-walls and parioners whatsoever within our forefathers of London, whereverby some such fitches or paintings have been attested, which do corrupt the estate of the catholic faith, and scriptures, so that by no means they be either read or fecn, and therein to proceed moreover as they shall fée good and laudable in the same, when you shall so do, the said fals and false church-walls and parioners shall be found remiss and negligent, or culpable, then you jointly and severally shall fée the foreaid fitches to be razed, abolished and extinquished forthwith: citing and singular the church-walls, imps, and parioners, (whom also we for the same do cite here by the tenor hereof) that all and singular the church-walls and parioners being flung into the fire, remiss and negligent, as they are, to perform the same, for the first time shall be warned against, both for your vicar general and principal official, or our communicant special in our cathedral church of St. Paul at London, in the consistory there, at the hour appointed for the same, the fifth day next after their citation, if it be a court-day, or else at the next court-day after ensuing, when either we or our official or communicant shall fée such forefathers to be razed, abolished and extinquished forthwith, to bring and to eschew all things to be church-walls and parioners, and whatsoever to the contrary. And what you have done in the premises, do you certify us, or our vicar, principal official, and such our communicant, diligently and duly in all things, and through all things, or let him among you thus certify us, which hath taken upon him to execute this mandate. In witness whereof we have set our seals to these presents.

Dated at London, the 24th day of the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1544, and of our translation the 18th.

About this time Lord Chancellor sent M. Christopherun unto the university of Cambridge, with these three articles, which he enjoined them to observe. The first, that every scholar should wear his apparel according to his degree in the schools.

The second was touching the pronunciation of the Greek tongue.

The third, that every preacher there should declare the whole title of the king and queen in their sermons.

In this university of Cambridge, and also of Oxford; by this proceeding specially for the alteration of religion, many wife and learned men departed from the universities; of whom, some of their own accord gave over, some were wholly out of their fellowships, some were miserably handled: informeth that in the same year, there were 24 places void, in whole rooms were taken in 24 others, which neither in virtue nor religion were to be compared to those that were before. And no less misera- ble was the eftate of Oxford, by reason of the time, and having been the residence of the clerks. Whereafter their papistical proceedings, had no regard to the forwardness of good wits, and the mainte- nance of good letters, beginning then more and more to flourish in that university.

Nor well we pass over in silence the famous exhorta- tion of Dr. Trench, who suppling the room of the sub-dean in Christ’s-church, after he had called the students of the college together, with great eloquence and art, began to mention the danger of the Nestorian heresy to them, declaring, that there was stuff enough in the scripture to prove the mafs good. Then to allure them to the catholic service of the church, he used these reasons, declaring that there were a goodly company of gogs, that were apprised to Windsor, who had found the queen so gracious unto him, that they should come to Christ’s Church. Now, if they like honest men would come to church, they shou’d wear them on holy days. And besides all this, he would get them the lady belles of Barnet and Radstone, and the ladys of all England. And as for holy water to sprinkle, he had already the fairest that was within the realm. Where- fore he thought that no man would be so mad to foregoing their commodities, &c.

Here appears what want of discretion is in the fathers of property, and into what idle follies such men do fall, whom, if it be his pleasure, may the Lord convince, and open their eyes to see their geo’s ignorance. But to proceed with our narrative.

On Monday, November 23d, the parliament met; at the opening thereof, both the king and queen rode to the house of lords in their robes, having two fowards borne before them; the earl of Pembroke bore the king’s sword, and the earl of Wightesrold the queen’s. They had also two caps of maintenance borne before them, a goodly garment of a brown berd; one, and the earl of Shrewsbury the other.

Wednesday, 21st, Cardinal Poole landed at Dover, on which day an act passed for his restitution in blood, utterly repealing, as false and most slanderous, that act made against him in the reign of Henry VIII: and on the next day, November 22d, the king and queen came to the parliament-houfe to give the royal assent to this act, and to extinquish the fame against his coming.

Saturday, 24th, the cardinal came by water to London, and to the parliament-houfe, which was ready prepared against his coming.

Wednesday, 18th, there was a general procession in St. Paul’s, for joy that the queen was conceived and quick with child, as was declared in the letter sent from the council to the bishop of London. At this procession, ten bishops, and all the prebendaries of St. Paul’s were present, and also the lord mayor with the aldermen, and a great number of the commons of the city in their lily array. The following is a copy of the council’s letter.

A LETTER.

From the COUNCIL to EDMUND BONNER, Bishop of London, concerning Queen MARY’s CONCEPTION.

AFTER our hearty commendations unto your good lord- ship; whereas it hath pleased Almighty God among other his infinite benefits of late most graciously poured upon us and the whole realm, to exalt his benediction upon the queen’s majesty in such form, as she is conceived and nourished child: whereby her majesty (being our natural lige lady, queen and unblemished inofficer of this imperial crown) good hope of certain issue is given, and the crown is consequently the great calamities (which for want of such fecution might otherwise have fallen upon us and our posterity)fhall be void and removed. For God’s glory, and for the public welfare, we are not only to rejoice with you of this good news, nor be ye published in all places within your diocese, but also to pray and require you, that both youfelf do give God thanks for this his especial grace, and also give order that thanks may be openly given, in all the churches within your diocese, and that likewise all priests and other ecclesiastical ministers, in their manner, and other divine services, may also pray to Almighty God so to extend his holy hand over her majesty, the king’s highness, and this whole realm, as this thing, being by his omni- potent power wrought, may stand and continue to the extent and benefit of all such as shall be his people: and what we have continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of his name.

Whereunto, albeit we doubt not, ye would of yourself have had special regard without your letters; yet for the earnest desire we have to have this thing done out of hand, and diligently continued, we have also written thefe our letters, to put you
in remembrance: and to bid your lordship most heartily well to fare. From Wilmot, the 27th of November, 1655.

Your loving friends,
S. Winton
John Batton
R. Wiltshire
F. Shrewsbury
Thomas Watthorn
Edward Dashby
John Haddleton
H. Suckling
R. Strode

The same day, in the afternoon, Cardinal Poole came to the parliament-house, which, at that time was kept in the greatest absolute disorder; and for that the queen was then sick, and could not go abroad: where the king and queen's majesty sitting under the cloth of state, and the cardinal sitting on the right hand, with all the other estates of the parliament being present. The lord chancellor, being lord chancellor, began in this manner:

My birth of the upper house, and you the masters of the lower house, there is present the right reverend father in God my lord cardinal Poole, come from the apostolic see of Rome, as ambassador to the king and queen's majesty, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened in this realm, and which pertained to the glory of God, and your universal benefit. This, the ambassador's majesty's pleasure is to signify to you, and to the parliament, that he shall receive and accept it in a benevolent and thankful wife as their benefices have done, and that you will give an attentive and submissive ear unto him.

The lord chancellor having ended, the cardinal began his oration, wherein he declared the causes of his coming, and set forth his purpose. Which is, in substance, to be the state and body of the whole realm: as the cause of my coming hither hath been most widely and gravely declared by my lord chancellor, before I enter upon the particularities of my commission, I have somewhat touched myself, and to give myself humble and hearty thanks to the king and queen's majesty, and after them to you all, which of a man exalted and honored from this commonwealth, have reformed me to be a member of the same, and of a man having no place either here, or elsewhere, within this realm, have admitted me in a place where formerly I heard from God. And whereas there were set forth to me, you, my lord chancellor, no more, than that though I was exiled my native country without cause, as God knoweth, yet the ingratitude could not take from me that affection and desire that I had to profit and do you good. If any of your service might have been received, it was never to seek; and whereas that which could not be taken, you failed of my prayer, or never failed it.

But I have now this matter of my commission, and coming more near to the matter of my commission, I signify unto you all, that my principle travel is for the restitution of this noble nation to be in its own liberty and freedom, whereby I am arrived in this place, from whence I came, had a special respect to this realm. And, over all, and without cause, seeing that God himself, as it were in his providence, hath given this realm prerogative of nobility above other nations (which is from a most plain truth to this it is to be considered that this island first of all islands received the light of Christ's religion. For as stories tell it, it was the first that embraced the Christian faith.

Now the Britons being first inhabitants of this realm (not withstanding the subjection of the emperor and heathen princes) receive Christ's faith from the king of the Scots in parts as other countries, nor by one and one, as clocks were hours by division of times, but altogether as it were, in a moment. But after that their ill merits of forgeries of God had deferred expulsion, and that full being infrigid on this let God of his good, not leaving where he once loved, to illuminate the hearts of those that entertain no reverence to God. The matter then is, the mixture of heathen errors, and embraced the light of Christ's religion, so that within a small space邑le and heathen superstitions.

This was a great prerogative of nobility, the benefit whereof, because it be to be ascribed to God, yet the mean occasion of it is to be considered, that we have this day and hour the church of Rome, we read that divers princes in the present time with great travel and expenses went personally to Rome, as Offa and Alurlphus, who thought it not enough the shrines of our father and our mother, even our dear relations as from whence they had received to great a grace and benefit.

In the time of Carollus Magnus, who first founded the university of Paris, were alledged that an Englishman, a great learned man, who first, brought learning to that university, whereby it seemeth that the greatest part of the world derived the light of learning from him.

Adrian the Fourth, being an Englishman, converted Norwily, which Adrian afterwards, upon great affection and love that he bare to this realm, being his native country, gave to Henry II. of England, the bishopric of the Dominion of Ireland, which pertained to the see of Rome.

I will not rehearse the manifold benefits, that this realm hath received from this see, nor, in this paper, nor hereby, but what we have been to relieve us in all our necessities. Nor will I rehearse the manifold miracles and calamities that this realm hath suffered by fevers from this see, nor how long it have been in all our necessities. Nor will I rehearse the unity of the catholic faith, have followed fantastical doctrine, the like plagues have happened.

Let us then, God of Greece be a spectacle unto the world, by, feversing from the unity of the church of Rome, are brought into captivity and satisfaction of the Turks. All stories are full of the like examples. And come unto the latter time, look upon our neighbours in Germany who, by feversing from this unity, are miserably afflicted with divers fevers, and divided into factions.

Why should it not be the turns and effusion of blood that hath happened there of late days; or trouble you with the rehearsal of those plagues that have happened since, this innovation of Rome? I have felt the bitterness, and I have heard the report of all which mankind cannot say no more, but such was the misery of the time. And see how far forth this fury went. For thou that live under the Turks, may thy life live in security and peace.

If men examine well upon what grounds these innovations begun, they shall well and the root of this, as of many other mischiefs, was ascribed by that he left the unity of the catholic faith. Now thou, and all those that have not to have lost you, but that they thought rather as friends to reconcile you, than as enemies to infest you. For they wanted not great offers of God, and mighty poenates in all Europe to have founded the church in that quarter. The heathen, who were so defaced by these changes to rife a great face of riches and gain, which in proof came to great misery and jake. See how God when he can confound or the wife, so incline to make a necessary, and that thing which feared to be done for relief, was cruel of plain ruin and decay. Yet see that goodness of God, which at no time failed us, but most bountifully offered his grace, when it was of our parts least sought and worse deserved.

And when all light of truth religion feared utterly extinct, the churches defaced, the altars overthrown, the ministrants corrupted; even like as in a lamp the light being covered, yet it is not quenched, even so in a few remained the consciunt of Christ's church, namely, the true church. But it is not to speak without adulation, the faying of the prophet may be verified, Behold, the is as one forlorn.

And see how far these mischiefs that God of oldtimes preferred his highness, contrary to the expectation of man, that when numbers confired against her, and policies were devised to disfigure her, and armed men were prepared to destroy her; yet the being a virgin helper, naked, and unarmed, prevailed, and had the victory over tyrants; which is not to be attributed to any policy of man, but to the almighty greatness and providence of God, to whom unity of the faith be given. And therefore it may be said, Give glory to God. For in man's judgment, on her grace's part was nothing in appearance but decay.

And yet for all these practices and devices of ill men, here you see her grace effaflished in her efface, being your lawful queen and governor. And you among whom hath God ap-}
understanding, he shewed a great appearance of most earnest joy and gladness, saying, 'That it rejoiced him no less of the receiving you all into Christ, and thence into Christ, than that the union was placed by marriage in the Kingdom, and most gladly he was of all, that the occasion thereof should come by me as a father to you, to call home ourselves. I can well compare him to David, when though he was a man elected of God, yet, for that he was contaminate with blood and war, could not build the temple of Jerusalem, but left the foundation thereof to Solomon, before he came to be the king. So may it be thought, that the appealing of controversies of religion in Christianity, is not appointed to this emperor, as it was in the case of those that built the temple, before his father had begun. Which church cannot be perfectly built, unless universally in all realms we adhere to one head, and do execute in the word, and the work of God. For, as he hath deserved that power from above into the parts here in earth; which, is, into the imperial and ecclesiastical. And the two powers, as they be several and different in title, yet they have severally and different abilities. The former, to whom the temporal sword is committed, are ministers of God to execute vengeance upon transgressors and evil doers, and to the reward of them that do good. The latter, to whom the sword is committed to my hands: I confess to you that I have the keys, not as mine own keys, but as the keys of the kingdom of heaven, the sovereign and absolute; and all things that are in heaven and earth, and whatsoever is in another world, shall be subject to me. For I am the captain of the host of the Lord of heaven and earth, and all things that are in heaven and earth shall be subject to me.

The next day the three eftates assembled again in the great chamber of the court at Westminster: where the king, queen, and the cardinal being present, they did exhibit (all kneeling) a suppliance to their highnesses: the act whereof followeth:

**The Supplication and Submission of the Lords and Commons, affembled in Parliament, to their Majesties Mary and Philip.**

We, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this realm, being assembled in the whole body of the realm of England and dominions of the fame, in our own names particularly, and all of the faid body universally, in this supplication do freely and voluntarily commit ourselves to the most reverend Father in God, the lord cardinal Poole, legate, sent specially from our most holy father pope Julius the third, and the fee apostolical of Rome, do declare ourselves very sorry and repentant for the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and dominions of the fame, against the faith of our lord pope Julius the third, and the most holy church, and do beseech you all your holinesses, by the power of the sacred laws, ordinances or commandments against the suppremacy of the false see, or otherwise doing or speaking that might impugn the same: offering ourselves, and promising by this our supplicat-
THOSE things which I wrote unto your holines of late, of that hope which I trusted would come to pass, that in a short space this realm would be reduced to the unity of the Church of Christ, and the Apostolic see therein to be preserved, although not without great cause; yet nevertheless, I could not be void of all fear, not only for that difficulty which the minds of some of the noble sort of this land did make, by the fear of a great profiting, and for the old hatred which they had borne for many years to that name; but much more I feared, lest the first entry into the same should be put off by some other matter, or continual coming betwixt.

For the avoiding whereof I made great means to the king and queen, which the Lord be praised, had greatly and earnestly desired to bring the thing to pass, far surpassing my great and earnest expectation. This day in the evening, being St. Andrew's day (who first brought his brother (Christ) into the world to be received by the people, and by the name of the Lord Jesus Christ this realm is reclaimed to give due obedience unto Peter's seat and your holiness, by whose whole means it may be conjoined to Christ's name, and his holy body, which is the Church.

The thing was done and concluded in parliament (the king and queen being present) with such full content and great rejoicing, that inopportunely, after I had given the beneficence, with a great joy and shout there was divers times said, Amen, Amen. Which doth evidently declare, that that holy fee, although it had been long apprehended, yet was not without fear received in them and declared in the nobility. Returning home to my house, these things I wrote unto your holiness, upon the sudden rejoicing that I should be able to forward the same, when I had declared to the divine providence, thinking to have sent my letters by the king's post, who (as it was said) should have departed thence; but afterwards discovering, when I sent them, I did feel one of mine own men, I thought good to add thus much to my letters, for the more ample gratulation and rejoicing at that good change: which thing as it was right great gladness to me, and the world being as it were made anew, and so the Church in its holy, so profitable to the whole church, so healthful to this my country which brought me forth, so honourable to the fame which I received, and which I took no less and of less estimation as the princes themselves, through whose virtue and godliness the matter did take success and perfection. Of how many, and how great a number (which among other things were) my mother make her account through the whole church, or my mother, or my heart, and my fingers.

If it be me in my whole heart

The fear which the Lord hath blessed.

This is the Lord's planting to glory in.

How hardly did your holiness with all your authority and earnest affection favour this marriage? which truly竦ruled to express a great familiarity of the highest kind, which was sent from heaven, and by God's will, and to the great detriment of all mankind; for even so this king himself, the garret of all men which are in the earth, leaving his father's house and all his wealth.

And it is become both the feast and son of this virgin, for he had received himself at though he were a son, whereas in ancient times it is told us that he was a stranger, and performed, flew himself an aider and helper to reconcile this people to Christ and his body, which is the church.

Which things I had not only expressly set forth to the people of that time, when your holiness sent me legate unto her, did rise up as a nest of inane springing out of the trees of myth, and as franciscinque out of the other. For the first time (Christ) brought forth before the labouration; before I was delivered, brought forth a male child: who ever heard of such a thing. And obedience hath been of the like of this? shall the earth bring forth in one day, and the whole nation be gathered together? But the hath now brought forth a whole nation before the time of that delivery, whereas we are in most great haste.

How God and the means to us to rejoice; also we have to give thanks to God's mercy, your holiness, and the emperor's majesty, which have been so happy and so joyful an event, which we are receiving, as to the Father, to Christ, and to the church. Of which the all

I was joined, (which I had since perceived by the letters of the reverend archbishop of Constantinople, your holiness's uncle, the emperor's majesty, brought me marvellous great gladness) that your good holiness began to return to the ancient holy things, which in the church of Rome, through the corruption of times were deformed, which truly, when it shall be confirmed, then I hope that their holiness and that will speak unto your holiness with these words: 'Put off the robe of sorrow and vexation, and put on comeliness, which thou hast of God everlasting peace, righteouness, and honour of godliness; and then it shall be said, Look about thee, and see how thy faith hath gathered together in the faith and in the unity of the faith and in the unity of the faith, rejoicing in the holy word.' There is nothing truly (to speak of thy children gathered together in the confusion no other consciousness, than that of the holy and in the holy place) for thou shalt be rejoiced, which, together with the unworthy children, cause not to pray to God for it. The Almighty God preferre thy holiness be in health for the prophet of his church, From London, the hall of November, 1554.

Your most humble servant, Reginald Pole, Cardinal.

On Sunday, December 2, Gardiner, bishop of Winchelsea, and lord chancellor of England, preached at Paul's Cross, at which sermon the king and cardinal Pole were present. He took for his text the 31st chapter of the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, 'This also we know the unction, brethren, that we should now awake out of sleep, for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed.'

First, He showed how the saying of St. Paul was verified upon the gentiles, who had a long time slept in dark ignorance, not knowing God: therefore St. Paul said, he to rise up their heavy dulness, willed them to awake out of their long sleep, because their salvation was nearer than when we believed. When he had spoken thus: 'This also we know the

Even as the sacrament of the Jews did declare Christ to come, so do our sacraments declare Christ to be already come; but Christ to come, and Christ to be come is not one. For now that he is come, the Jews' sacraments are done away, and our only remain, which declared that he is already come, and is nearer to us, than he was to the fathers of the old law: for they had him but in figures, but we have him in the sacrament of the altar, even his very body. Wherefore now also it is time that we awake out of our sleep, who have slept, or rather dreamed, that the sacraments of the church could not really appear by declaring at large issue of the properties and effects of a sleep or a dream. And first, As men intending to sleep, do separate themselves from company, and desire to be alone; even so have we separated ourselves from the world, and have not the world's spirit. This has been alone, unlike any other realm in Christendom.

Secondly, As in sleep enemies dream sometimes of killing, sometimes of maiming, sometimes of drowning or burning, sometimes of such blessings as I dare not name, but will spare your ears; so we have in this our sleep, not only dreamed of blessings, but we have done it indeed. For in this our sleep hath not one brother destroyed another; Hath not half our money been wiped away at one time? and again, that would defend their confidence, were faint, and others all which were suddenly confirmed, to the salt, and as we did believe, which you all know, as well as I, whereof I appeal to your own confinements. Further, in a man's sleep all his fenes are stopped, so that he can neither eat, sleep, nor hear: even so, whereas the ceremonies of the church were kept, and we were not taken away, were not our fenes (as ye would say) stopped, and we were left asleep. Moreover, when a man would gladly sleep, he will put out the candle, and the peradventure it may hinder his sleep, and awake him: so of God. And when a man shall have lived with the apostolic fee, were condemned and forbade to be read; and images (which were laymen's books) were cast down and broken.

The sleep hath continued with us these twenty years, and we all that while without a head. For when King Henry
Henry did first take upon him to be head of the church, it was then no church at all. After whole death, king Edward (having over him governors and protectors, which ruled as they list) could not be head of the church, but was only a lord. He was head, and at length left, that was no head at all; no, not so much as our two archbishops. For on the one side, the queen being a woman, could not be head of the church; and on the other side, they both were convicted of one crime, and do confess'd. 'Thus while we desired to have a pope as head and guide, it came out that we had no pope, that we had no head at all. When the tumult was in the north, in the time of king Henry VIII. (I am sure) the king was determined to have given over the supremacy again to the pope; but the hour was not then come, and the pope went not then; left, time would have said, that he did it for fear.

After this, Mr. Knevet and I were sent ambassadors unto the emperor, to desire him that he would be a means between the pope's holiness and the king, to bring the king to the obedience of the see of Rome, but the time was not yet come. For it might have been said, that it had been done for a civil policy. Again, in the beginning of king Edward's reign, the matter was moved, but the time was not yet: for it would have been said, that the king (being but a child) had been bought and sold. Neither in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, was the hour come for it would have been said, that it was done in a time of weakness. Likewise when the king first came, if it had been done, they might have said it had been by force and violence. But now, even now, the hour is come, when nothing can be objected, but the action of the more secrecy and providence of God. Now hath the pope's holiness, pope Julius III. sent unto us this most reverend father, cardinal Pole, an ambassador from his side. What to do? not to revenge the injuries done by us against his holiness, but to give him his council to choose that defined and perfecuted him.

And that we may be the more meet to receive the said beneficence, I shall desire you that we may always acknowledge ourselves offenders against his holiness; I do not exclude myself from the number; I will weep with them that weep, and rejoice with them that rejoice. And I shall desire you, that we may defray the matter no longer, for now the hour is come. The king and queen's majesties have already restored our holy father the pope to his supremacy, and the three estates assembled in the parliaments, representing the whole body of the nation, to his dominions, and his succesors for ever; wherefore let us not any longer stay. And even as St. Paul said to the Corinthisans, that he was their father, so may the pope say, that he is our father: for we received our doctrine first from Rome, and may claim the right as his own. We have all cause to rejoice, for his holiness hath sent hither and prevented us, before we sought him: such care had he for us. Therefore let us say, 'This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it. Rejoice in this day, which is of the Lord's workings, that such a noble birth is come, yes, such a holy father (I mean my lord cardinal Poole) which can speak unto us as unto brethren, and not unto strangers, who hath a long time been absent. And let us now awake, who so long have slept, and in our sleep have done so much mischief to the sacraments of Christ, destroying the foundation of the altar, and pulling down the altar, which thing Luther himself would not do, but rather reproved them that did, examining them of their belief in Christ.'

This was the sum of his sermon before his prayers, wherein he praised the first of pope Julius, the third, with his college of cardinals, the bishop of London, with the rest of that order; then for the king and queen, and the nobility of this realm; and lastly, for the commons of the same, with the fouls departed, lying in the pains of purgatory. This ended, the time being late, they began in St. Paul's to pray for the repose of the dead and the coming fone, whereby the preacher could not be well heard, which caused him to make an end of his ferman.

About this time a messenger was sent from the parliament to the pope, to desire him to confirm and establish the fable of abbeys-lands and chancery-lands: to the lords and the parliament would grant nothing in the. pope's behalf, before their parliaments were fully confirmed.

Thursday, December 6, the whole convocation, both bishops and others were sent for to Lambeth to the cardinal, who the same day forgave them all their petitions, and said, 'Thus he is absolved, and so given absolution, and after exhortation and gratulation for their conversion to the catholic church, made by the cardinal, they departed.'

Wednesday, December 12, five of the eight men which lay in the Fleet, that were of Mr. Throgmorton's party, were dismissed from prison, to wit, Mr. Throgmorton himself, one of 2s. 6d. a-piece; and the other three put up a supplication, wherein declaring, that their goods did not amount to the sum that they were appointed to pay, upon which declaration, paying 40s. a-piece, they were sent gratis, but prion to the Fleet.

Saturday, December 22, the parliament had a strict command, that none of them should depart into the country this Christmas, nor before the parliament were ended. Which command was very contrary to their expectation; for as well many of the lords, as also many of the commons had lent for their horses, and had them brought hither.

Friday, December 28, the prince of Piedmont came to the court at Westminster.

On New-year's-day, 1555, at midnight, several hundred men and women came to the bishop of the city, to the number of thirty, and Mr. Roze, a master, were taken out of the Fleet, and committed in Bow-church-yard, at the same time, and the same night were all committed to prison. And on the third of January following, Mr. Roze was before the bishop of Winchester, the lord chancellor, and from thence the former was committed to the Tower, after some communication between the bishop and him.

The same day the act of supremacy passed in the parliament, and at night a great tumult was at Westminster, between some Spaniards and Englishmen, Whereas a great mischief had like to have ensued, by means of a Spanish friar, who got into the church, and rung the alarum. The occasion was about two professors the cloister at Westminster, with a fort of Spaniards, whereof some fome played the knave, with them, others kept the entry of the cloyster with darts in harness. In the midst of all, one of the dean's men came into the cloyster, and the Spaniards, with their swords, did hurt some of them. By and by the noise of this came into the streets, so that the whole town was up almost, but never a stroke was firkken. Nowthwithstanding, the noise of this doing with the dean's men, and also the ringing of the alarum, made much aitio, and a great number to be sore afraid.

We have before mentioned the council's letter sent to bishop Bonner, signifying the good news of queen Mary to be not only conceived, but also quick with child, which was the 28th of November. Of this child great talk at this time began to rise in every man's mouth, especially amongst such as seemed to carry Spanish hearts in English bodies. In which number here is not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his commendation for his worthy affection towards his prince and his lady, one Sir Richard Southwell, who being the fame time in the council, did promise to the parliament-house, when the lords were occupied in other affairs and matters of importance, suddenly starting up, for fulness of joy burst out in these words following: "This is, my matters, said he, why talk ye of these matters? Should you have taken some order for your meatal, I must have dined, with my college of cardinals, the bishop of London, with the rest of that order; then for the king and queen, and the nobility of this realm; and lastly, for the commons of the same, with the fouls departed, lying in the pains of purgatory. This ended, the time being late, they began in St. Paul's to pray for the repose of the dead and the coming fone, whereby the preacher could not be well heard, which caused him to make an end of his ferman."
PRAYERS made for QUEEN MARY's supped CHILD.

The WORDS of the ACT.

ALBEIT, we the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the present parliament assembled, have firmly hoped and confidence in the goodness of Almighty God, that he hath in his great mercies and good graces, by the means of his most gracious and mighty grace and power, with all the help of all good and faithful persons that are in this land, and of all the faithful of the whole world, will of his infinite goodness give his highest strength, the rather by our continual prayers, to pull well the danger of death and deliverance of our said child, your majesty, and to have this grace of great comfort to bless her: yet forasmuch as all things of this world be uncertain, and having before our eyes the doli- romance of life, with all the cares and troubles and perils that are in the reign of the late king Edward the sixth, do plainly see the manifold inconveniences, great dangers and perils that may ensue in this whole realm, if hereafter not be averted to prevent all dangers and perils that may happen to us, and all the commons, we the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and in consideration of a most especial trust and confidence that we will stand firmly in the king's majesty, for and concerning the politic government, order, and administration of this realm, in the time of the young years of the issue or issues of his majesty's body to be born, if it should please his highness if he should have been born issue of any present life, during the tender years of such issue or issues, (which God forbid) according to such order and manner, as hereafter shall be pleased to declare, and his father the king, and the commons, shall be declared and fet forth, have made our humble feit, by the sentence of the queen's highness, that his majesty would vouchsafe to be pleased according to her own good pleasure, education, and government of the said issue or issues to be born, as is afore said: upon which our feit, being of his said majesty most graciously accepted, it hath pleased his highness not only to declare, but also to command us, our lords, and the commons, that Almighty God (who hath hitherto preferred the queen's majesty, to give this realm so good an hope of certain felicitation and a most prosperous life, in his graces and benefactions, to see the fruit of her body well brought forth, live, and able to govern; (wherefore neither in all this realm, may all the world besides, show it or receive more honor of all people and all nations than the present of all, if she should happen, his majesty at our humble desires is pleased and contented, not only to accept and take upon him the care and government of the said issue or issues of this most happy marriage shall be born between the queen's highness and him; but also, during the time of such young age, woulde take all ways and means, truly, travel, and employment himself to advance the weal both public and private of this realm and dominion thereto belonging, according to the usual in his majesty reposed, with no less good will and skill, and by the grace of God, we are to be seen in the act more at large ratified and confirmed by the same parliament, to the same intent and purpose."

Thus we see how man doth purpose, but God disposeth as pleaseth him. For all this great labour, providing for this great event, for their young matter long-looked for, coming for so great a world, in the end, appeared neither young mater, nor young mistrels, that any man yet to this day can hear of. Furthermore, as the labour of the lay-fort in was herein thought to be no less ridiculous was it to behold, what little effect the labour of the commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the body of the commons, is to be seen in the act more at large ratified and confirmed by the same parliament, to the same intent and purpose.

A PRAYER by DR. WESTON, DEAN of WESTMINSTER, to be daily said for the QUEEN'S DELIVERANCE.

O Moft righteous Lord God, which for the offence of the false woman, hast threatened unto all women a common, sharp, and inevitable murmuration, and hath enjoined them that they should conceive in sin, and being conceived, should be subject to many and grievous torments; and finally, be deliverance of them, considering thy special favours in the former of thy mercy and mercy our mother, we beseech thee for thine exceeding great goodness and bottomless mercy, to mitigate the strifings of that law. Affray them and their children, and the obstinacy in the fee of thy favour and mercy our mother, and doth thinkest, and the only name of our mother, and the only name of being delivered. So help her, that without danger of her soul may overcome the sorrow, and in due season bring forth a child, to our special joy and comfort, and to our great profit and advantage. So that afterwards, the forgetting the trouble, may with joy and praise the bountifulness of thy mercy, and, together with us, praise thee both the thee and thy holy name world without end. This, O Lord, we do entreat thee, we beseech thee, and most heartily crave of thee. Hear us, O Lord, and grant us our petition: let not the enemies of thy faith, and of thy church say, Where is their God? Another solemn PRAYER for KING PHILIP and QUEEN MARY's child, that it may be a MALE CHILD; WELLPAYED, WITTY, &c. O moft mighty Lord God, who regarded the prayer of the young child, that we may have his answer to their request; bow down from thine high habitation of the heavens, and deliver us from thy wretched sinners, bowing the knees of our hearts, and lifting up our hands and eyes to thee, in humble and upright faith, seeking thee, with the shield of thy protection, to defend thee may fervant, and our queen, who hath none other helper besides thee: let thy will be done, thou hast willed to be conceived with child: at the time of her conception, and the help of thy right hand deliver her, and from all danger, deliver thy people, with the hands of thieves, iniquities, enemies to thee, and to the croft of thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, that of thy fervant thou mightest speak in far countries. Be mindful not of the sins which thou didst to thy servants, thou art magnified, Lord God, for thy mercies, because thy people blest thee the God of heaven, which hath brought up upon us in this great mercy, and hath excluded us from the heretic, the enemy of Christ. Moreover, we know, that we have grievously, Lord, sinned, that we have been deceived by vanity, and that we have forstaken thee our God. Our incense upon thy head is to be accepted, and thy name, the people and the prince, our friends, our children, our heirs, our princes, and our people, these six times, our friends, have delivered us from our enemies, our king, our daughter, and our forces, these six times, our friends, have delivered us from our enemies, our kings, our daughter, and our forces. But now, our God, we beseech thee, we are not worthy to have to gentle and merciful a God, to offer a ruler, and finally, to humble a nation; at the very beginning showing our need, and humbly praying to thee, God, religion seemeth to us to be springing and rise. The Jews, before the widow Judith with one voice, saying, Thou art the glory of Jerusalem, therefore the joy of Israel, thou art the honour of our people, that for that thou hast loved charity, and thou hast been blessed for ever. And we the English people with one agreeable content do cry, Thou Mary arre the glory of the world, the honour of thy people, for that thou hast embraced charity; as he that is strengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and therefore thou art the joy of all the hands of heretics, infidels, enemies to thee, and the croft of thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, and thou hast been blessed for ever. But how down, O most merciful Father, thou art our open, thine eyes, and behold us, and be our shield, and our humble confession. Thou knowest, Lord, that against Philip, not by man, but by thy ordinance, our king; and therewithal, we beseech thee, God, to provide, we beseech thee, God, to provide our queen, the restorers and maintainers of thy steadfastness of the faith, and most confidant defenders of thy church; thou knowest, Lord, that against Philip, o Lord, that against Philip, for our good, for our foes, the enemies of thy holy testament, and the restorers and maintainers of thy steadfastness of the faith, and most confidant of thy church, and therefore we beseech thee, Lord, that against Philip, be most rank rebels and faithful murmurers, walking after their desires, while another speaketh words of pride, to the end they may for the sake of our queen, let not our good queen, she may reason, and the power of their hands they would change thy promises, and destroy thine inheritance, and stop and shut the mouths of them that pray thee, and extinguish the glory of thy catholic church and altar.

It is manifest and plain, how many contentions, how many confinements and fetitions, how great wars, what tumults, how many, and how great dishonour to the names of the heretries and schisms, (for these are the most ready devices, and eviden- t kinds of heretics) for our sins do hang over us, if thy fervant be taken for us, from this day. And therefore, Lord, we pray thee that our God is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwellingplace in the midst of his people, to the intent to deliver us out of the hands of our enemies.

Turn therefore thy countenance un unto us: thou we unto us, O Lord, thy face. And in the following of thy will, and satisfy, only now deliver us. We bowing the knees of our heart, beseech thee, that thou wilt not suffer our enemies to prosper and conquer over us, and pray thee the all the days of our life. Hear our cry, and the prayer of our people, and open to them the treasure of thy mercy, thy grace and favour, to he course. Thou hast begun, in the end of the thy favours, but not, we pray thee, the faithfulness rebels to lay thy favours and her confessions, that they have deviled matters which they are not able to perform, and therefore thou hast been an easy toil. For it is not impossible to thy power, nor ineffectual to thy justice, nor unwaited to thy mercy. It is well known, and no one is not mentioned, that the child work in Sarah of the age of 90 years, and in Elisabeth the barren, and also far stricken in age: for thy council is not in the power of men. Thou Lord art the seacher of hearts and thoughts thou knowest that thy fervant never lacked after man, never
The grace of God be with you, Amen. I perceive by your letter, how that upon New-year's-day at night, there were taken a godly number of christians, whilst they were praying.
A GRAND PROCESSION and REJOICINGS in LONDON.

Upon your knees thank God that ever ye were accounted worthy to suffer any thing for his name's sake. Read the second chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, and there you shall see how the children that watched upon their sheep all night, as soon as they heard the tidings of the birth of the Saviour, went and told it, and ran from house to house, and there met together, and there praised God. They did not reason nor debate with themselves, who should keep the wolf from the sheep in the mean time, but did as the angel commanded them, and went about in the night, whose pleasure they obeyed. So let us do now as we are called, commit all other things to him that calleth us. He will take care, and he will do the rest. He will help the husband, he will comfort the wife, he will guide the servants, he will keep the house, he will preserve the goods; yea, rather than that it should be undone, he will wash the dishes, and rock the cradle. Casteth his bread upon the waters, and it will return again to him. (Dothis, you may receive by your imagination, that your adversaries' weapons against you are nothing but flax, and there is nothing as they may give you, as bad as their wicked religion by God's word: but for that of lack of that, they would violently compel us, as they cannot by holy scripture persuade; because the holy word of God and all Christ's doings, are contrary unto them. I pray you now forgive, and I will pray for you. And although we be abunder after the world, yet in Christ (I trust) for ever joining in the spirit, and to shall meet in the palace of the heavenly joys, after this short and transitory life is ended. God's peace be with you. Amen.

January 14th, 1555.

Upon Friday, January 13th, all the council went to the Tower, and sat at liberty most part of the prisoners, among whom were the late duke of Northumberland's sons, Ambrose, Robert, and Henry, Sir Andrew Dugdale, Sir James Crofts, Sir John Napier, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Nicholas, Sir Edward Warner, Sir William Sempill, Sir Gawen Carew, Sir Gi bbes, Cuthbert Vaughan, with many others.

Tuesday, 22d, all the preachers, who were in prison, were set free before the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, and certain others, at the bishop's house, in St. Mary Overy's. From whence (after communication, being asked whether they would convert, and enjoy the queen's pardon, or else stand to that they had taught, they all answered, that they would stand to that they had taugh t, they were committed to prison, or prison than before, with charge that none should speak with them: of whom, one James George, the same time, died in prison, being there in bonds for religion and righteousfulte's sake; who therefore being disposed buried in the papish church-yard, was buried in the fields.

Wednesday, 23d, all the bishops, with the rest of the conviction-houle, were before the cardinal at Lambeth, where he defined them to repair every man where his care and charge lay, exhorting them to treat their matters and matters and to endeavour to win the people rather by gentleness, than by extremity and rigour, and so let them depart.

Friday, 25th, being the day of conversion of St. Paul, there was a general and solemn procession through London, to give God thanks for their conversion to God, and to give their glorious persons there were fourscore and ten crocets, two hundred and sixty priests and clerks, who had every one of them copies upon their backs, finging loudly. There followed also, for the better estimation of the eight bishops; and last of all came Bonner, bishop of London, carrying the popish pax under a canopy.

There were also present the mayor, and aldermen, and all the livery of every occupation. Moreover the king also himself, and the cardinal, came to St. Paul's.

From whence after mass they returned to Westminster, where the king was engaged in the service of the church, at the steps going up to the choir, all the gentlemen that of late were set at liberty out of the Tower, knelted before the king, and offered unto him their selves and their services.

After the service there were also commandment given to make bonfires at night. Whereupon, upon the people a doubtful talk why all this was done: some saying it was, that the queen, being with child, might have a safe delivery; others thought, that it was for joy that the realm was joined again to the fee of Rome.

Monday, 28th, the bishop of Winchester, and the other bishops, had commissi on from the cardinal to fit upon, and order, according to the laws of the land, all preachers and heretics (as they termed them) as were in prison; and according to this commissi on, the same day the bishop of Winchester, and the other bishops, with certain aldermen, came to St. Mary Overy's church, and called before them bishop Hooper, Mr. Rogers, and Mr. Cardmaker, who were brought thither by the sheriffs; from whence, after communication, they were committed to prison till the next day, but Cardmaker absented himself.

Tuesday, 29th, Hooper, Rogers, Dr. Taylor, and Bradford, were brought before them, where sentence of excommunication, and judgment ecclesiastical was pronounced upon bishop Hooper, and Mr. Rogers, by the bishop of Winchester, who sat as judge in Catachan's leat, and drove them out of the church, according to their law and order. Dr. Taylor and Bradford were committed to prison till the next day.

Wednesday, 30th, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Crome, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunders, and Dr. Ferrar, sometime bishop of Lincolns', were before the said bishops, when Dr. Taylor, Dr. Saunderson, and Mr. Bradford, were likewise excommunicated, and sentence being pronounced upon them, they were committed to the sheriffs. Dr. Crome defined two months respite, which was granted him; and Mr. Ferrar was again committed to prison for the same cause. All these men shewed themselves to be learned, as indeed they were: but what availing either learning, reason, or truth itself, where arbitrary will alone beareth rule.

After the examination and condemnation of these good men and preachers, commissions and inquisitions were sent abroad into all parts of the realm: by reason whereof, a great number of papists, and true christians (out of all the quarters, but especially from Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk) were apprehended, brought up to London, cast into prison, and afterwards (most of them) either confusedly cruelly by fire, or else through evil devising, were buried in the fields, or in some back-side of the prison.

The following record is a general supplication of those unhappy prisoners, preferented to the king and queen, during the fittings of parliament.

Unto the KING and QUEEN'S Most Excellent MAJESTIES, and to their Most Honourable and HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT.

IN most humble and lamentable wife complain unto your majesties, and to your high court of parliament, your poor devoted and obedient subjects, H. T. B. P. R. S. & c. That whereas your said subjects living under the laws of God, and of this realm, in the days of the late most noble king Edward the Sixth, did in all things that themselves true, faithful, and diligent subjects, according to their vocation, as well in the more ministration of God's most holy word, as in the obedience to the higher powers, and in the daily practice of such virtues and good demeanors as the laws of God at Westminster, and the statutes of the realm did then allow: your said subjects nevertheless, contrary to all laws of justice, equity, and right, are in very extreme manner and manner and manner, kept in prison (where they have remained now these 15 or 16 months, with all their goods, their houses and possessions, their goods and books, taken from them, and they slandered to be most heinous heretics, their enemies themselves being also put into the same bonds and judges, belying, flattering, and misrepresenting your said subjects, at their pleasure; whereas your said subjects, being likewise kept in prison, cannot be suffered to come forth, and making no answer accordingly.

In consideration whereof, may it please your most excellent majesties, and this your high court of parliament, graciously to tender the protesters the most comforts and protection, and to call them before your presence, granting them liberty, either by mouth or writing in the plain English tongue, to answer before you, or before indifferent adsorts to be appointed by your majesties unto such articles of controversy in religion as their said adversaries have already condemned them of, as of heinous he retces; proving that all things may be done with such moderation and quiet behaviour, as become subjects and children
of peace, and that your said subjects may have the free use of all your own books, and conference together among them-

selves.

Whence thing being granted, your said subjects doubt not but it shall plainly appear, that your said subjects are true and faith-
ful subjects, and doth with all their might and main labor, and e
courage their adherents unto the king of Israel, and Barjesus to the con-
proful Sergius Paulus. And if your said subjects be not able by the
might of God to convert the heathens, prophesies, apostles, and godly fathers
of your church, to prove your subjects to the church, homilies, and service taught and set forth in the time of our late
most godly prince and king, Edward the sixth, the true doc-

ture of your church, and able to oblige articles of the christian faith; your said subjects offer themselves then to the most heavy punishment, that shall please your maj-

esties.

Wherefore, for the tender mercy of God in Christ, (which you
look for at the day of judgment) your said poor subjects in bel-

lowing your most excellent majesties and this your high court of Parliament, do humbly pray that you may hear and grant this their petition, tending to greatly to the glory of God, to the edifying of his church, to the honour of your majesties, and the peace, safety, and welfare of your realms, of your rights, and equity, both before God and man. And your said

subjects, according to their bounden duty, shall not cease to pray unto God, to obtain a gracious preservation of your most

excellent majesties long to endure.

What the cruel sufferings, persecutions, tortures, and

agonizing deaths were, which these, and numberless other

subjects of the bloody queen Mary, endured from her hand, and thofe of her no less bloody instruments, the bishops Bonner and Gardiner, shall (God willing) be the substance of the following chapter. Before we enter upon this mournful recital, we think fit to give a short sketch of the death and character of the principal actor in the horrid tragedy, will be acceptable to our readers, and this we shall take from Barnard's History of England.

The reason we prefer to others, on account of his jutly establisht clear characters of condamn, moderate, and a frupulous impartiality.

"It was not long (lays this modern historian, p. 354) before Mary felt the effect of public hatred, excited by her malevolence and cruel disposition. She had flattered her self with an imagination of success, and, finding her mistake, she fell into a profound mortification. Her health (p. 327) had been, for some time in a declining state; and on making her dropy for a pregnancy, she had used an improper regimen, which daily increas-

ed her disorder. Every reflection was now a subject of torment to her. The cares of the realm were the chief concerner in her heart. The corroding worm, that never dies be-

egan to gnaw its vital firings. The confoundness of having incurred the hatred of her subjects; the idea of Elizabeth's succeeding to the crown; her fear that the

catholic religion would be exposed to danger; her de-

jection for the loss of Calais with which she was deadly

affected, and above all, her grief for the loss of her

husband, the death of whom she knew, that she should never see again; that she was in Spain, to settle there during the remainder of his life, these melancholy reflections, preying upon her mind, with the greatest violence, threw her into a complica-

tion of diversions, attended with lingering fever, of which she died November the 17th, the third year of her age, after a short, cruel, and unhappy reign of five years, four months, and eleven days. She was interred at Westminster, in the chapel of her grand-

father Henry VII. Some writers have been of opinion, that this unhappy queen had a ferious sense of religion, but could not be brought to a profession of her faith by the sacred, peaceful name of religion, which prompt

men to be guilty of savage cruelty, and deftillation of all the most virtues. There are, we acknowledge, a few devout pieces extant, composed by Mary. Styrpe has published three, but their revolutions and prayers, and at the desire of queen Catharine Parr, she began to translate Erasmus's pararaph in St. John; but after she had made a small progress in it, she left the left to Dr. Mal-

ers, her chaplains. Erasmus fyses, that the wrote very good Latin letters, but her French ones are poor perform-

ances, printed on one of her own in the queen's presen-

ty, in answer to a haughty inanate from her husband, on his resolvings to marry the lady Elizabeth to the duke of Savoy, against the inclinations of the queen, and that princes in which he bids the former examine her confidence, whether her repugnance does not proceed from her own mind, and not from the will of the parliament, according to his resolvs. We shall add also a few of her virtues: but we shall here drop the curtain, her true portrait having been faithfully delineated in the

history of her reign.

We are now come to our duty, as faithful witnesses of Jesus Christ, to draw up; and our protestant reader, will see exhibited a tragedy of the most crimson hue. God's faithful professors murdered in cold blood; women and infants put to the most cruel tortures; a fair number of martyrs feeling the truth with their blood; all of whom the blood-bathing queen, who was a disgrace to her sex, a di
dishonour to the English nation; and who, on account of her favage inhumanity, was justly branded by her sub-

jects with the infamous epithet of Bloody Queen Mar-

Ty."

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With the particular Proceeds, and Names of all those Good, Pious, and Faithful Martyrs, both Men and Women, who were Imprisoned, Tortured, and who sealed the Faith of our Most High Religion with their Blood, in the Cruel Reign of MARY I. commonly called BLOODY QUEEN MARY.

CHAP. I.

The LIFE, EXAMINATIONS, WRITINGS, and CONDEMNATION, of the Rev. Mr. JOHN ROGERS, and also the LIFE and MARTYRDOM of the Rev. Mr. LAURENCE SAUNDERS; who were burned, the former in SMITHFIELD, February 4th, the latter at COVENTRY, February 6th, 1555.

Mr. Rogers then, being orderly called, left his living in Saxony, and came into England to preach the gospel without any previous condition, appointment, or establishment whatever: but after having laboured in the vineyard of his master for a time, with great success, Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's, of which he was afterwards chosen by the dean and chapter, one of the divinity-lecturers, or a reader of divinity in that church. Here he continued till queen Mary soon after her accession, banished the true religion, and again introduced the superstition and idolatry of the church of Rome with all the horrid cruelties of blood-thirsty Antichrist.

When queen Mary was in the Tower of London inhabiting Gardner's pernicious counsels, Mr. Rogers preached at Paul's Cross, confirming those doctrines which he and others had there taught in king Edward's days, and exhorted the people, with peculiar energy, to continue steadfast in the same, and to beware of the false tenets of pestilent popery. For this sermon the preacher was summoned before the council, then filled with popish and bloody bishops; before whom he pleaded his own cause in so pious, bold, and yet prudent a manner, as to obviate their displeasure for that time, and he was dismissed. But after Mary's proclamation, to prohibit the preaching of the doctrines of the reformed religion, Mr. Rogers, for a contempt of the same, was again...

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again summoned before a council of bishops, who, after having debated upon the nature of his offence, ordered him to keep close prisoner in his own house, from which he never departed, though he had many fair opportunities to escape. He saw the recovery of the true religion, and the peace of the realm to depend upon what he should or should not do; and, being determined to have a living in Germany, sufficient for the wants of a large family, consisting of a wife and ten children; but, all these considerations could, nor move him: he determined resolutely, after he had been called to answer for Christ's cause, to dare it or be killed in the support of the truth.

In this state of confinement he remained a considerable time, till at the instigation of the cruel Bonner, bishop of London, he was removed from his own house to Newgate, and placed in solitary confinement. What passed between him and the adversaries of Christ, during the time of his imprisonment, is not certainly known; but the following examinations he left in his own hand-writting; and it is the will of God they should be handed down to us, and remain a perpetual testimony in the cause of true religion.

The FIRST EXAMINATION of the Rev. Mr. JOHN ROGERS, before the LORD CHANCELLOR, GARDINER, Bishop of Winchester, and Overseer of the COUNCIL of BISHOPS, January 22d, 1555.

FIRST, the lord chancellor said unto me thus: Sir, you have heard the state of the realm in which it standeth now.

Rogers. No, my lord, I have been kept in close prison, and except there been some general things said at the table, when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing, whereupon any special thing might be grounded.

Then said the lord chancellor, General things, mockingly: you have heard of my lord cardinal's coming, and that the parliament hath received his blessing, not one refusal hath been made. Sir, I was in the cellphone, I have heard nothing, whereupon any special thing might be grounded.

And all they, of which there are eight score in one house, (and one that was by, whom I know not) have with one affection received pardon of their offences, for the speech we have had in England: in refusing the holy father of Rome to be head of the catholic church.

How say you? are you content to unite yourself to the faith of the catholic church with us, in the state in which it is now in England? will you do that?

Rogers. The catholic church I never did nor will differ from.

Lord Chancellor. Nay, but I speak of the state of the catholic church, in that wise whereof we stand now in England, having received the pope to be supreme head.

Rogers. I know none other head but Christ of his catholic church, neither will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authority than any other bishop by the word of God, and by the doctrines of the old and pure catholic church, four hundred years after Christ.

Lord Chancellor. Why didst thou then acknowledge King Henry the eighth to be supreme head of the church, if Christ be the only head?

Rogers. I never granted him to have any supremacy in spiritual things, as the forgivenes of sins; giving of the Holy Ghost; authority to be a judge above the word of God.

Lord Chancellor. Yes, said he and Tonstall bishop of Durham, and N. bishop of Worcester, if thou hadst said so in his days, and they nodded the head at me with a laughter) thou hadst not been alive now.

Rogers. What thing didst thou then do which this lord William Halden, that there was no inconvenience therein, to have Christ to be supreme head, and the bishop of Rome to be a fellow of the same, and when I was ready to have answered, that there could not be two heads of one church, and have more plainly declared the vanity of that realion, the lord chancellor said, What sayest thou? make us a direct answer whether thou wilt be one of this church or no, with this in thy hand, which we are now?

Rogers. My lord, without fail I cannot believe, ye yourselves do think in your hearts that he is supreme head in forgiving of sins, &c. (as is before said) you and all the bishops of the realm have now twenty years long preached, and bound of you what is written in the contrary, and the parliament hath so long ago condemned unto it. And there he interrupted me thus:

Lord Chancellor. Truth, that parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the primacy from the bishop of Rome.

Rogers. With cruelty? why then I perceive that you take a wrong way with cruelty to persuade men's consciences. For it should appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used hath not persuaded you consciences. How would you then have our consciences persuade your cruelty?

Lord Chancellor. I talk to thee of no cruelty, but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that parliament, to let the act go forward; yes, and even with force driven thereunto, whereas in this parliament there was no force received.

Rogers. Here my lord Paget told me more plainly, what my lord chancellor meant. Unto whom I answered: My lord, what will you conclude thereby, that the first parliament was of less authority, because but few condemned unto it? And this by reason of great authority, because more condemned unto it? It goeth not my lord, by more or less part, but by the wiser, truer, and godlier part: and I would have said more, but the lord chancellor interrupted me with his question, willing me once again to answer him. For, said he, I beseech thee more to speak with than thee, which must come in after thee. And so there were indeed ten persons more out of Newgate, besides two that were not called. Of which ten, one was a citizen of London, who granted unto them, and nine were contrary; who all came to prison again, and refused the cardinals, blessing, and the authority of his holy church, saying that one of these nine was not asked otherwise than this, whether he would be an honest man as his father was before him: he answering yes, was discharged by the friendship of my lord William Halden, as I have understood.

He besought me, and asked me, what I would enter into the one church with the whole realm as it is now, or not? No, said I, I will first seek to prove it by the scriptures. Let me have pen, ink, and books, &c. and shall take upon me plainly to let out the matter, so that the contrary shall be proved to be true, and let any man that will, confer with me by writing.

Lord Chancellor. Nay, that shall not be permitted thee; thou shalt never have so much proffered thee as thou hast now, if thou refuseth it, and wilt not come thence and agree to the catholic church. Hob. be not afraid of mercy and justice; if thou refuseth the queen's mercy now, then that thou hast justice ministered unto thee.

Rogers. I never offended, nor was I disobediency unto her grace, and yet I will not refuse her mercy. But that shall not hinder me to confute and write, and try out the truth, then it is not well, but too much out of the way. Ye yourselves (all the bishops of the realm) brought me to the knowledge of the pretended primas of the bishop of Rome, when I was a young man twenty years past, and will ye now without collusion have to fit your own conscience be contrary? (as I am told) to the contrary?

Lord Chancellor. If thou wilt not receive the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the catholic church, then thou shalt never have her mercy, thou mayest be hard. And as touching conferring and trial, I am forbidden to say, whether she in her mercy offers to use any grace to thee. For St. Paul teacheth me, that I should show myself an heretic after one or two monitions, knowing that such an one is overthrowed, and is guilty, inasmuch as he must be condemned by his own judgement.

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Rogers. My Lord, I deny that I am an heretic: prove why that first, and then allege the aforesaid text. But till the lord chancellor says it, and you tell us, I am no heretic. If you will enter into one church with us, &c. tell us that; or else thou shalt never have so much proffered thee again as thou hast now.

Worchester. Why, do you not know what is in your creed: "I believe in the holy catholic church?"

Rogers. I find not the bishop of Rome there. For [catholic] figures. I find not the church with church is signified: the content of all true teaching churches of all times, and all ages. But how should the bishop of Rome be one of them, which teacheth so many doctrines that are plainly and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the catholic church? that doth so? That is not possible.

Lord Chancellor. Show me one of them, one; let me hear one.

Rogers. I remember myself, that amongst so many I was left to fly one; and said, I will fly you one.

Lord Chancellor. Let me hear that; let me hear that.

Rogers. The bishop of Rome and his church, how, read, and sing, all that they do in their congregations, in Latin, which is directly and plainly against the 1st. to the Corinthians. Lord Chancellor. I deny that; I deny that is against the word of God. Let me see you prove that: how prove you that?

Rogers. Thus I began to say the text from the beginning of the chapter. He that speaketh in an unknown tongue, &c. to speak with a strange tongue, is to speak with a strange tongue, as Latin or Greek &c. and so to speak, is not to speak unto men, but to God. But ye speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue, wherefore to speak not unto men, but unto God (meaning God only at that time). This he granted, that they speak not unto men, but unto God.

Lord Chancellor. Well, then it is in vain unto men.

Rogers. No, not in vain. For one man speaketh in one tongue, and another in another tongue; and all with understanding.

Lord Chancellor. Nay, I will prove them then, that he speaketh neither to God nor to man, but unto the wind.

Rogers. I was willing to have declared how and after what sort these two texts do agree (for they must agree, they are both the sayings of the holy Ghost, spoken by the wise, to please God, and not unto God, and to speak unto the wind; and so to have gone forward with the proof of my matter begun: but here arose a noise and confusion. Then said the lord chancellor:

Lord Chancellor. To speak unto God, and not unto God, were impossible.

Rogers. I will prove it possible.

Lord Haward. No, saith my lord Haward to my lord chancellor: now will I bear you witness that he is out of the way: for he granted first, that they which speak in a strange speech, speak unto God: and now he falleth the contrary, that they speak neither to God nor to man.

Rogers. I have not granted nor saith (turning me to my lord Haward) as you term. I have alledged the one text, and now I come to the other. They must agree, and I can make them agree. But as for you, you understand not the matter.

Lord Haward. I understand so much, that that is not possible.

This is a point of sophistry, quoth secretary Bourne, to the lord chancellor. But no, quoth lord Haward, that then fell they in High-Dutchland, they at Hale, which had before preyed and used their service all in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latin, and purport into Dutch.

Worchester. Yes, and at Wittemberg, too.

Rogers. Yes, (but I could not be heard for the noise) in an university, where men for the most part understandeth the Latin, and yet not all in Latin. And I would have told the order, and have gone forward both to have answered my lord, and to have proved the thing that I had taken in hand, having perceived their talk and noise to be too clamorous, I was fain to think this in my heart, sufferring them in the mean while to talk one of them one thing, and another another. Also I neither will trie these men hear me if I speak, neither yet will they suffer me to write. There is no comedy, but let them alone, and commit the matter to God. Yet I began to go forward, and said, that I would make the text to agree, and prove my purpose well enough.

Lord Chancellor. No, no; thou canst prove nothing by the scripture. The scripture is dead; it must have a lively expeditor.

Rogers. No, the scripture is alive. But let me go forward with my purpose.

Worchester. All heretics have alledged the scriptures for them; and therefore we must have a lively expeditor for them.

Rogers. Yes, all heretics have alledged the scriptures for them; but they were confuted by the scriptures, and by none other expeditor.

Worchester. But they would not confess that they were overcome by the scriptures; I am sure of that.

Rogers. I believe that: yet were they overcome by them, and in all councils they were dispute with, and overthrown by the scriptures. And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in the days of old to have come again to my purpose, but it were not possible: for one asked one thing, another said another; so that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the lord chancellor ordered me to prision again; and away, away, said he, we have more to talk withal; I would not be reform'd (so he termed it) away, away. Then up I stood, for I had kneeled all the while.

Then for Richard Southwell, who stood by in a window, said to me, Thou wilt not burn in this cauldre when it cometh to the purpose; I know well that.

Rogers. Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust in my Lord God, yes, lifting up mine eyes unto heaven.

Then my lord of Ely told me much of the queen's majesty's pleasure and meaning, and let out with large words, saying, That the death of God would not receive the pope's supremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy, &c.

Rogers. I said I would not refuse her mercy; and yet I never offended her in all my life: and that I besought her grace, and all her honours, to be good to me, referring my confidence.

Divers spoke at once. No? quoth they then a great many of them, and especially secretary Bourne, a married priest, and have not offended the law?

Rogers. I said, I had not broken the queen's law, nor yet any point of the law of the realm therein: for I married where it was lawful.

Divers at once. Where was that? said they: thinking that to be unlawful in all places.

Rogers. In Dutchland. And if ye had not here in England made an open law that priests might have had wives, I would never have come home again: for I brought a wife and eight children with me: which thing ye might be sure that I would not have done if the laws of the realm had not permitted it before.

Then there was a great noise, some saying that I was come too soon with such a fork: I should find a four coming of it; and some one thing, and some another. And one said (I could not well perceive who) that there was never a catholic man or country, that ever yet granted that a priest might have a wife.

Rogers. I said, that I was no man never denied marriage to priests, nor yet to any other man: and therewith I was going out of the chamber, the serjeant which brought me thither, having me by the arm.

Then the bishop of Worchester turned his face towards me, and said, that I knew not where that church was or is.

Rogers. I said, yes, that I could tell where it was, but therewith the serjeant went me out of the door. This
This was the very true effect of all that was spoken unto me, and of all that I answered thereunto. And here would I gladly make a more perfect answer to all the former objections, as also a due proof of that which I had taken in hand; but at this present time I am not capable of nor equal to further answer. Wherefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would most gladly have done, defining here the hearty and unfeigned help of the prayers of all Christ's true members, the offspring of the true unfeigned catholic church, that the Lord God of all Excellences now be my comfort, aid, strength, buckler, and shield, as also of all my brethren that are in the same cause and distress, that I and they all may dispise all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning fire, and the dreadful dart of death, and shew like true soldiers to our dear and loving captain Christ, our only Redeemer and Saviour, and also the only true head of the church, that doth all in us all, which is the very property of an head (and is a thing that all the bishops of Rome cannot do), and that we do not traiterously run from the church of God, and from the Lord God of all Excellences, in the most jeopardy of the battle, but that we may persevere in the fight (if he will not otherwise deliver us) till we be most cruelly slain of his enemies. For this I most heartily, and at this present with weeping tears, most infantly and earnestly desire and beseech you all to pray, and also if I do to be good to my poor and honest wife, being a poor stranger, and all my little fowls, her's and my children. Whom, with all the whole faithful and true catholic congregation of Christ, the Lord of life and death, save, keep, and defend in all their troubles and affihits of this vain world, and bring at the last to everlasting salvation, the true and sure inheritance of all sincere christians. Amen. Amen. January 27, at night.

The SECOND EXAMINATION of the REV. MR. JOHN ROGERS, on the 28th of January, 1555.

BEING asked again by the lord chancellor, whether I would come into one church, with the bishops and whole realm, as was now concluded by parliament (in which all the realm was converted to the catholic church); I answered, that I had and would be able, by God's grace, to prove that all the doctrines, which I had ever taught, were true and catholic, both from the scriptures and from the authors of the fathers, who lived in all ages; and if he would, he would give me full liberty to prove it, and I would not, and ought not to be granted me: for I was but a private man, and might not be heard against the determination of the whole realm. When a parliament said he, hath concluded a thing, should any single, or private person be heard against it? If he would, he would have me judge whether they had done right or wrong? No, that may not be. I replied shortly, that all the laws of men might not, neither could rule the word of God, but that they all must be disputed and judged thereby; and neither my confidence, nor any christian man's, could be satisfied with his opposite of the plain field from him, willing to have said much more. But the lord chancellors long a tale to very small purpose, concerning mine answer; that there was nothing in me wherefore I should be heard, but arrogance, pride, and vain-glory. I also granted mine ignorance to be greater than ever, since he had said so much; but yet that I feared not, by God's assistance and strength, to be able by writing to perform my word; neither was I (I thanked God) to utterly ignorant as he would make me; but all was of God, to whom be thanks rendered. For I men, and such as are, nor were I so ignorant. The world knew well, where and on which side pride, arrogance, and vanity-glory, were. It was a poor pride, that was or is in us, God knoweth. Then he said, that I, at the first daft, condemned the queen and the whole realm to be of the church of Antichrist. I answered, that the queen's majesty (God save her grace) would have done well enough, if it had not been for her counsell. He said, the queen went before him, and it was her own motion. I said, I neither could, nor would I ever believe it. Then said Dr. Aldrige, bishop of Carlilie, that they the bishops would bear him witness. Yes, said I, that I believe; but the bishop doth say; for that day there were many: but on the morrow they kept the doors shut, and would let none in, but the bishops' adherents and servants. Then Mr. Comptroller, and secretary Bourne, would have flood up also to bear witness, and did.

I replied, I had grave matter; and to say the truth, I thought that they were good helpers thereunto themselves; but I ceased to say any more, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they should be believed before me, yes, and before our Saviour a sacrifice and all his prophets and apostles too, in those days.

After many words, he asked me what I thought concerning the blessed sacrament and flood up, and put off his cap, and all his fellow bishops (of which there were a great fort, new men, of whom I knew few), whether I believed in the sacrament to be the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary, and hanged on the cross, really and substantially.

I answered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no meddler, and therefore fulfiled of myself, for I could not believe that it was a standing, even as the moft part of your doctrine in other points is false, and the defence thereof only by force and cruelty; so in this matter I think it to be as false as in the rest. For I cannot understand [really and substantially] to signify otherwise than commonly: but certainly Christ is in heaven and on earth, corporally and corporally also in your sacrament. And here I found what set out his charity after this fort: My lord, said I, you have dealt with me most cruelly: for you have put me in prison without law, and kept me there now above a year and a half; for I was almost half young, my house, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate, at great costs and charges, having a wife and ten children to provide for, and have not received a penny from my livings, which was against the law. I replied, and Dr. Ridley, who had given the same, was an usurer, and therefore, I was the unjust possessor of them.

Was the king then an usurer, said I, who gave Dr. Ridley the bishopric? Yes, said he, and began to set out the wrongs that the usurers have done to the bishop of London, and himself also. But yet I do mistake my terms, said he, to call the king usurer. But the word was gone out the abundance of the heart before; and I think that of he was not very lorry for it in heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

I asked him wherefore he put me in prison. He said, because I preached against the queen.

I answered that it was not true; and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the law, that no man should be able to disprove it, and therefore to my life. I preached, I confessed, a sermon at the Cross, after the queen came to the Tower; but therein was nothing said against the queen, I take the witnsses of all the audience, which was not small. I delivered also, that he had, after an examination, let me go at liberty before the preaching of that sermon.

I replied, and the lord chancellor said he, he against or commandment of the council? That I did not, said I: let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have you now against the law of God and man handled me, and never fret for me, never conferred with me, never spake of any learning, and never spoken to me, but you have gotten a way to whip me with a sword to cut off my head, if I will not confess and accede to your mind. This charity doth all the world understand.

I might and would have added, if I could have been suffered to speak, that it had been time enough to take away men's livings, and then to have imprisoned the
after that they had offended laws: for they are good citizens that break not laws, and worthy of praise, and not of punishment. But their purpose is to keep men in prison, until they may catch them in their laws; and so kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniel, who by a crafty devilish law was cast into the lion's den. I might also have declared, that I most humbly desired to be set at liberty, feeding my wife to him with a supplication, being great with child, and with her eight honest women, or thereabouts, to Richmond, at Christmas: was a twelvemonth in my house. I wrote likewise two supplications to him out of Newgate, and sent my wife many times to him. Mr. Gofold also, that worthy man, who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and so did divers other worthy men who take pains in the matter. These things before my lord chancellor's antichristian charity, which is, that he hath and doth feel my blood, and the destruction of my poor wife and my ten children. This is a short sum of the words which were spoken on the 30th of January, in the afternoon, after that Mr. Hooper had been the first, and Mr. Cardinaker the second in examination before me. The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till we be mitred down together, if the Lord's will be so. For there shall not a hair of our heads perish against his will. Wilt thou also to the fane Lord grant us to be obedient unto the end, and in the end, Amen: sweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jesus, the Son of David and of God: Amen: Amen, let every true christian fly and pray.

Then the clock being, as I guessed, about four, the lord chancellor said, that he and the church must yeve us charity with me, (what manner of charity it is, all true christians do well understand, the fame that the fox doth with the chickens, and the wolf with the lamb, and they must have me reprieved to-morrow, for whether I would re-consider, and whether I would return to the catholick church again, (for so he called his antichristian faith church) and repent, and they would receive me to mercy. I said that I was never out of the true catholic church, nor would be: but into his church would I, by God's grace, never come. Well, said he; then is our church false and antichristian? Yes, said I. And what is the doctrine of the sacrament? False; and I call my hands abroad. Then one said that I was a player. To whom I answered not; for took no notice of his mock. Come again, said the lord chancellor, to-morrow, to-morrow, to-morrow, and ten, and ten. I am ready to come again, whensoever you call. And thus I was brought up by the sheriffs to the compter in Southwark, Mr. Hooper going before me, and a great multitude of people being present, so that we had much ado to go in the streets. Thus much was done January 28.

The Third Examination, and Condemnation, of the Rev. Mr. John Rogers, on the 9th of January, 1555.

The next day, January 29, we were sent for in the morning about nine o'clock, and by the sheriffs fetched from the compter in Southwark, to St. Mary Over-y's; and when Mr. Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterwards, then sent they for me. My lord chancellor is here, thou wait yesterdays, and we gave thee liberty to remember thyself last night, whether thou wouldst come to the holy catholic church of Christ again or not. Tell us now what thou hast determined, which thou wilt be repenstant and forry, and will return again and take mercy. My lord, said I, I remember well what you yesterday said to me, and desire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to say thereunto; and that done, will answer to your demanded question.

When I yesterday declared that I might be suffered by the scripture and authority of the fifth, 6th, and 7th verses of Mr. John Rogers.

When I yesterday declared that I might be suffered by the scripture and authority of the fifth, 6th, and 7th verses of Christ's faith, and that the parliament was above the authority of all private persons, and therefore the sentence thereof might not be found fault and nullified by them, being but a private person. Yet, my lord, I am able to shew examples, that one hath fallen into the same consequence, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, sone one man coming in afterwards, hath by the word of God proved so clearly, that the council had erred in decreeing the said article, that he caused the whole council to rescind the act or article before determined. And of these examples, I am able to shew two. I can also shew the authority of St. Augustin: that when he dispuised with an heretic, he would neither himself, nor yet have the heretic to leam unto the determination of two former councils, of which the one made for him, and the other for the heretic that disputed against him: but said, that he would have the scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to any of them. I could also shew the authority of a learned lawyer, Panormitas, who, faith, That unto a simple layman that brought the word of God with him, there ought more credit to be given, than to a whole council gathered together. By these things will I prove that I ought not to be punished by your mind, and to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the word of God for me, and the authority of the old church 400 years after Christ, albeit that every man in the parliament had willingly and without respect of fear and favour agreed therein, which things I do not a little of; especially being the like had been permitted in the old church, even in general councils, you, and that in one of the chiefest councils that ever was, unto which neither any acts of this parliament, nor yet any of the late general councils of the bishops of Rome ought to be compared. For if Henry VIII. were alive, and should call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing, (and here I would have alluded the example of the act of making the queen a barmaid, and of making himself the superior head; but I could not, being interrupted by your grandsire, whom God for佑) Then would you (pointing to my lord chancellor) and ye, and all (pointing to the rest of the bishops) say Amen: yes, and it please your grace, it is meet that it be so enacted. Here my lord chancellor would have me to speak no more; but he would sit down, and told me, that I was sent for to be instructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their instructor. My lord, said I, I stand, and fit not: shall I not be suffered to speak for my life? Shall we suffer thee to call a tale, and prate? said he. And with that he stood up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant proud fashion, for he perceived that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder by daffing me out of my tale, and so he did: for I could never be suffered to come to my tale again, no not one word of it, and was not suffered to make like communication with me as he had the day before, and, as his manner is, taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that case, being God's cause, I told him he should not make me afraid to speak. Lord Chancellor, said I, what spirit is this fellow hath, faith he, finding fault at mine accustomed earliness, and hearty manner of speaking. Rogers. I have a true spirit, agreeing to, and obeying the word of God, and would further have said, that I was never the worse, but the better, and I would get in a just and true judgment, and a true and just judgment, and not suffer Christ's matters: but I could not be heard. And at length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told him, that his church of Rome was the church of Antichrist, meaning the false doctrine and tyrannical laws, with the maintenance thereof by cruel
cruel persecutions used by the bishops of the said church (of which the bishop of Winchelsea, and the rest of his fellow bishops that are now in England, are the chief members): and it is the case of several men and women, which are in the pope's church. Likewise, when I was taib to have denied their sacrament (whereof he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintain his kingdom thereby, than for the true reverence of Christ's institution: more for his own and the popish generation's fake, than for religion or God's sake); I told him after what order I did speak of it, (for the manner of his speaking was not agreeing to my words, which are before recited in the communication we had Jan. 28,) wherewith he was not contented, my meaning, but I had not, chiefly upon the false denial of the sacrament. They would have haid, and did what he defined, for most of them were his of his own servants on this day. At last I said, I will never deny what I said, that your doctrine of the sacrament is false; but yet I tell you after what order I said it.

To be short, he read my condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein but two articles; first, that I affirmed the Romish catholic church to be the church of Antichrist; and that I denied the reality of their sacrament. He caused me to be degraded and condemned before the people of the city, and so he gave me over into the sheriff's hands, which were much better than his.

The following is a copy of the sentence of condemnation, passed upon the Rev. Mr. John Rogers, by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchelsea, at St. Mary Overton, on Saturday, the 29th of January, 1555; which we have here inserted, to the intent, that the same may be referred to, as being the common form of all condamnatory sentences used by popish bishops against the Martyrs, throughout the whole of this history.

The SENTENCE CONDEMNATORY, passed upon the Rev. Mr. JOHN ROGERS, in a COUNCIL of BISHOPS, whereof WINCHESTER was PRESIDENT; January 29th, 1555.

In the name of God, Amen: We Stephen, by the power of God, bishop of Winchelsea, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all goodly favour by authority and virtue of our office, against thee John Rogers, priest, otherwise called Matthew, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresy, having heard, seen, and understood, and some of this detestable doctrine, as well as also of the rest, being charged and accused, and considered the merit of the same, ascribing every judgment, as also otherwise, and with the like obstinacy, stubbornness, malice, and blindness of heart, both willingly and willingly affirmed, that thou wilt believe, maintain and hold, affirm and declare the same: we John Rogers, according to the will of Christ, bishop of Winchelsea, and diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent as well of our reverend brethren the lords bishops here present and all faithful, as also of the counsel and judgment of divers worshipful lawyers and professo of divinity, with whom we have communicated in this behalf; do declare and pronounce thee the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, through thy dements, transgressions, obstinacies and willfulness, (which through manifold ways thou hast incurred by thine own wicked and stubborn obsti-
What is that? said he.

That my poor wife, being a stranger, may come and speak with me so long as I live; for the hath ten children, and what would counsel her, what were the belt for her to do.

No, said he, she is not thy wife.

Yes, my lord, and hath been these eighteen years. Should I grant her to be thy wife? said he.

That whether you will or not; she shall so nevertheless.

She shall not come at thee.

Then I have tried out all your charity, said I. You make yourself highly displeased with the marriage of priests, but you maintain open whoreourism: as in Wales, which is so high in selling with, and lying by him; even as your holy father before the priets in Duchland, and in France; to do the like.

There to be answerd not, but looked as it was aiquant at it; and thus I departed and faw him no more.

The Writings of the REV. Mr. Rogers, while in Prussia, containing the Substance of what he intended, might be here be permitted to be issued in his Defence, compiled by the Bench of Bishops.

DEARLY beloved ye have heard what was said:

Now hear what I purposed the night before to have said, if I could have been permitted to say things I purposed to have touched upon. The one, how it was lawful for a private man to reason and write against a wicked act of parliament, or ungodly council, which the lord chancellor the day before denied me; the other, that prosperity was not always a token of God's love.

And this I purposed to speak of, because the lord chancellor boasted of himself, that he was delivered the day then, as it were by miracle, and preferred a good name before true religion, and to punish me and such others, whom he called heretics. Concerning these two points, in this manner I purposed they should be said.

It is not unknown to you, that king Henry VIII, in his time made his daughter, the queen that now is, a bastard: he abdicated the authority of the bishop of Rome: he pulled down abbey: and all this he did by the consent of parliament.

King Edward VI, in his time made lawful the marriage of priests, turned the service into English, abdicated the idolatrous mafs, with all like superstition, set up the holy communion, and all by consent of parliament.

The queen that now is, hath repelled the act that made her a bastard, hath brought in the bishop of Rome: and let him in his old authority; beginneth to set up abbey again; hath made the marriage of priests unvalid; hath turned the English service into Latin again; hath put in again, and pulled down the holy communion: and all this is done by consent of parliament.

If the acts of parliament, made in king Henry's time, and in king Edward's, had their foundation upon God's word, whereupon all positive law ought to be grounded; then the which are established in the queen's time, being contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by God's word, fo are they wicked, and therefore to be both spoken and written against of all men, as well of private as of public persons.

If your acts, my lord chancellor, which you have hitherto defended, (I call them your's, because you only bear the name, and do not declare what you lift, and the lesser men are forced to follow) be lawful and according to God's word, then the former acts were good, which thing you seem to say, in utterly taking of them away, and setting up of the contrary: if the former acts were good, why then did you content unto them, and cause them to be good by your voluntary and advised writing? as it appeared, and will do to the world's end, in your book Out of True obedience, where you prove the queen a bastard, and the bishop of Rome an usurper, and to have no authority in the realm of England.

You must needs confesse, that the most part of your acts of parliament in these latter days have been according to the fantasies of a few. King Henry in his time established by parliament in a manner what he pleased, and many things that might well have been amended.

In king Edward's days, the duke of Somerset and Northumberland bare a great sway in things, and did not all things contrary.

Even so, since the queen, that now is, came to the government of the realm, all things are ordered by your device and hand; and the parliament-houfe is led as you please; by reason whereof they are compelled to condemn to things both contrary to God's manifest word, and alfo to their own confessions; which is your cruely.

For to bring your wicked petitions to pass, and to establish an antichristian kingdom, (which, I trust, the Lord with the breath of his mouth will speedily blow over) you have called three parlaments in one year, and the second, that you could not compasse by subtil persuasion, you might not bring to pass by tyrannical threatening: for if you had not used cruel forces in your doing, you had never brought to pass such things as they say you have, to the utter defacing and abolishing of God's true religion, and to the casting away and destruction of your nation, to as much as you in liend.

And as it is most true, that the acts of parliament have in these latter days been ruled by the fantasies of a few, and the whole parliament-house, contrary to their minds, was compelled to such things as a few have conceived; so must it indeed be granted, that the papifs at all times were not ready to apply themselves to the presint world, and like men-pleasers to please the fantasies of such as were in authority, and turn with the fashions, how soever it turned. Yes, if the fable should change ten times in one year, they would ever be ready at hand to change with it, and to follow the cry, and rather utterly forsoke God, which is the religion, than that they should forego hurt or living, for God, our only religion.

King Henry by parliament, according to God's word, put down the pope: the clergy contented, and all men openly by oath refused his usurped supremacy, knowing, by God's word, that Christ be the head of the church, and every king in his realm to have, under and next into Christ, the chief sovereignty.

King Edward also by parliament, according to God's word, set the marriage of priests at liberty, abdicated the popish and idolatrous mafs, changed the Latin service, and set up the holy communion: the whole clergy contented herewith, many of them set forth by their preaching; and they all by professing confirmed the same.

Notwithstanding, now when the fable is altered, and the laws changed, the papistical clergy, with other like worldling, is neither hearing God, neither flying worldly flame, neither yet regarding the masterpieces, oaths, or holy, or lawfull, or cowstcocktournard, about, and putting on harlot's forehead, fings new fong, and cry with an impudent mouth, Come again, come again to the catholick church, meaning the antichristian church of Rome, which is the symagogue of Satan, and the very fink of all superstition, heresy, and idolatry.

Of what force, I pray you, may a man think these parliaments to be, which scarcely stand a year in strength? Or what credit is to be given to these law-makers, who are not ashamed to establish contrary laws, and to condemn that is good, which they before (the thing itself and the circumstances remaining) had once affirmed and decreed to be good. Truly you are ready, contrary to all right, to change and turn for the pleasure of man, that at length, I fear, God will use you like chameleons, and both turn you out of his kingdom, and out of your own conscience.

Ye charge the godly-preachers with the undoing of this realm: say, it is the turning papists, which have not only fet to fare their country like traitors, but also doubled the simple people, so that they cannot tell what they may believe, or that which they affirmed, and preached to be true doctrine: their new doctrine is, now they cry against it, as it were most abominable hereby. This fault, I tryst, you shall never find at our hands.

Therefore to conclude that which I purposed, forasmuch
newly saty your plea of them, when they are partly dead and gone, and partly, by your own admission, the baff of you; when your fall shall fall low, you shall than hear. And I must say my confidence to you: I fear, you have, and will, with your government, bring England out of God’s blessing into a warm fault. 

And as touching your rejoicing, as though God had set you aloft to punish us by miracle, (for so you report and do,) I am as sure that they will affright you by his holy Spirit and grace, that we shall patiently suffer it, and profit: God for it: and whatsoever becomes of me and others, which now suffer for speaking and professing of the truth, yet be you fure, that God’s word will prevail and have the upper hand upon your bloody decrees, for want of pure foundation, shall fall in the dust: and that which I have spoken of your acts of parliament, the fame may be said of the general councils of the latter days, which have been within these five hundred years, where the Antichrist of Rome, by reason of his unlawful decrees, and bloody deeds, made for his gain, not regarding God’s glory: and therefore are they to be spoken, written, and cried out against of all such as fear God and love his truth.

And thus much I purpose to have said concerning the first point.

Now touching the second point. That whereas my lord chancellor had the day before said his pleasure of them that ruled the realm while he was in prison, and also rejoiced as though God had made this alteration, even in the promotion of his orthodox and orthodox views, as he called it, and to declare as it were by miracle, that we were before in a schism and hereby, and the realm was now brought unto an unity, and to a truth; to which I was fully prepared to have spoken. Secondly, my lord, whereas you, yesterday, so much disparaged the government of those that ruled in innocent king Edward’s days, may it please your lordship to understand, that we poor preachers, whom you so evil treat, did most boldly and plainly rebuke their evil government in many things, especially their covetousness, and neglect, and small regard to live after the gospel, and also their negligence to occasion others to live thereupon, with more things than I can now rehearse. This all London can testify with us. I would also have told him, what I myself for my part disdained at Paul’s Cross, concerning the minutiae of all things, and our commerce in goods, and all things right and well advised, that never a papist of them all did ever so much therein as I did, I thank the Lord therefore: I was also, as is well known, fast to answer before all the council, and many of my brethren did the like, so that we, for the not rebuking of their faults, shall not answer before God at the day of judgment. I desire of this, that you let the gentlemen and couriers themselves, and all the citizens of London, testify what we did.

But, my lord, you could not abide them, for that which they did unto you, and for that they were of a company with me in the same point. You were therefore so perturbed, that you had to inveigle against them, it is neither any just or public cause, but it is your own private hate that maketh you to report so evil of their governance, and you may
he panned with his own hand, which else had never come to light. Wherein is to be noted, by the way, a memorable working of God's providence. You heard how Mr. Rogers, by burning, that he might speak a few words with his wife, which could not be granted. What these words were it is for him certainly to determine. It may be flippod, that his purpose was, amongst other things, to signify unto her of the book of his examinations and letters, which he had written and privately hid in a secret corner of the prison where he lay. But where man's power lacketh, fee how God's providence worketh. For notwithstanding that during the time of his imprisonment, there was a command to take away his books and writings; yet after his death, his wife, and one of her sons, called Daniel, coming into the place where he lay, to seek for his books and writings, and was ready to go away, it chanced her son, calling his eye slide, to spy a black thing, (for it had a black cover, probably because it should not be known,) lying in a dark corner under a pair of windows. Who desiring his mother to see what it was, found it to be the book written with his own hand, containing his examinations and answers, with other matters above speculated. In the latter end whereof, this was allcoated; and becausc it concerned a prophetic fore-warnine of things pertaining to the church, I thought (says Mr. Fox) to place the name in his own words, as they are there written, which are these: "If the people of England, and the feeds of uter destrucion are found in it already by these hypocritical tyrants, and antichristian prelates, popish papists, and double traitors to their natural country. And yet they speak of mercy, of bleffing, of the catholi church, of uter peace, as long as ye may slay them in the realm. This double diffimulation shew itself one day when the plague cometh, which undoubtedly will light upon them amongst crown-thorn captains, and that shortly, whatsoever the godly and the poor reign suffer in the mean while by God's sufferance and will."

"Spite of Nebuchadnezzar's beard, and maugre his heart, the captive, thrall, and miserable Jews mulct home again, and have their city and temple built up by Zeruiababel, Elizas, and Nehemith, &c. and the whole kingdom of Babylon must go to ruin and be taken by the Persians and Medes. So shall the gilded English flock of Christ be brought again into their former state, or to a better, I trut in the Lord God, that it was in innocent king Edward's days; and our bloody Babylonian bishops, and the whole crown-thorn company, by utter shame, and fear, and destruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly will not, suffer for ever their abominable lying, false doctrine, their hypocrisy, blood-thirst, whoredom, idleness, their pestileil life, pampered in all kind of pleasure, their vain boastings pride, their malicious, unmerciful, and poisoned stomachs, which they bear towards his poor and miserable christians. Peter tr uly warneth, that "If judgment beginneth in the house of God, what shall be the end of them that believe not the gospel? If the righteous shall scarcely be saved, where shall the godly and sinful appear?" Some shall have their punishment here in this world, and in the world to come; and they that do escape in this world, shall not escape everlasting damnation. This shall be your end, O ye wicked papists, make ye your rest as long as ye liveth, and ye shall look upon your words and sayings, which may seem prophetically to be spoken by him, also may be added, and is notoriously to be marked, that he spake, being then in prison, to the printer of Mr. Fox's book, who then also was up for life, to safe him, said, "Thou shalt live to see the alteration of this religion, and the gospel to be freely preached again." And therefore have me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them be circumspect in displacing the papists, and putting good ministers in the churches; otherwise this work will not be well brought about. And for lack of good ministers to furnish churches, his device was, (Mr. Hooper also agreeing to the fame) that for every ten churches, one good and learned superintendant should be appointed, which should have
under him faithful readers, such as might well be got, to that purpose pries should clean be put out, and the bishop once a year to oversee the profiting of the paupers; and if the ministrant did miss his duty, as well in profiting himself in his book, and his parishioners in good instructions, so that they may be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they do profit, then to be expelled, and another put in his place: and this might be done like with the superintendant: this was his counsel and advice, but he made it over, however, and proteging in his commendations to his brethren by the printer aforesaid, that if they would not do so, their end, he said, would be worse than their's.

Befides divers things, touching Mr. Rogers, this is my business now: high in the days of king Edward VI. there was a controversy among the bishops and clergy, for wearing of prie's caps, and other attire belonging to that order. Mr. Rogers being of that number which never went otherwise than in a round cap, during all the time of king Edward, affirmed that he would not fore to that determination of uniformity, but upon this condition, that if they would needs have such an uniformity of wearing the cap, tippet, &c. then it should also be decreed withal, that the papists, for a difference betwixt them and others, should be con- fianced by the hand, and then they might wear their chapelets with a chaste upon R. Whereupon if they would content, he would agree to the other; otherwise he would not, he said, content to the setting forth of the name, nor ever wear the cap, as indeed he never did.

On the 4th of February, as we have before observed, Mr. Rogers was committed out of Norwich, to undergo the plauge of execution, when the sheriff asked him, if he would recant his opinions? To this he answered, "That what he had preached, he would deal with his blood." Then said the sheriff, thou art an heretic: To which Mr. Rogers replied, "That shall be known at the day of judgement." Well, said Mr. Woodrowe, I will never pray for thee. But I will pray for you, said Mr. Rogers; and so he was brought the same day, Monday, February 4th, by the sheriffs towards Smithfield, saying the Psalm Missive by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his confiance, with great praises and thanks to God for experience. And there, in the presence of Mr. Rochfeather, comptroller of the queen's household, sir Richard Southwell, both the sheriffs, and a great number of people, he was burnt to ashes, washing his hands in the flame as he was burning. A little before his burning, it was very dark, if any would have recanted, but he utterly refused it. He was the first martyr, of all the bleded company that suffered in queen Mary's time, that gave the first adventure upon the fire. His wife and children, being eleven in number, ten able to go, and one lacking at her breadth, met him by the way as he went to the Smith, college in Cam- rowell fight of his own flesh and blood could nothing move him, but he constantly and charitably took his death with wonderful patience, in the defence of the gospel of Christ.

The LIFE and MARTYRDOM of the Rev. MR. LAURENCE SAUNDERS, who was burned at COVENTRY, February 8th, 1555.

AFTER queen Mary's public proclamation, in the first year of her reign, had prohibited the sincere preaching of God's holy word, many holy ministers, who had the cure and charge of souls committed to them, did notwithstanding, according to their duty, feed their flock faithfully, not as preachers authorized by public authority, (as the godly order of the church of Rome at this day do,) but as the private pastors of particular flocks, among whom Laurence Saunders was one, a man of good paerentage. His bringing up was in learning, in youth, in places meet for that purpose, as in the school of Eton. From whence (according to the manner there used) he was chosen to go to the King's college in Cam- bridge, where he continued a scholar three whole years, and profited in knowledge and learning very much for that time; shortly after, he filled the university, and went to his parents, upon whose advice he minded to become a merchant, for that he was a gen- tleman of good estimation, being left a widow by his father, having a good portion for him among his other brethren, the thought to fill him up wealthy, and so he coming to London, was bound apprentice with a merchant, named Mr. William Cheffer (who afterwards chang'd to London.) But the way of learning was burnt at Coventry.) Thus, by the mind of his friends, Laurence should needs have been a merchant, but Almighty God, who hath his secret working in all things, saw better for his servant, as it fell out in the end, for although that Saunders was bound by indenture, yet the Lord I wrouht for him to carry out long in the traffic of merchandise, but shortly returned to Cambridge, to his study, where he began to add to the knowledge of the Latin, the study of the Greek tongue, wherein he profited very much in a little time; therewith also he joined the study of the Hebrew. Then he gave himself wholly to study, for it was imprudent to furnish himself for the office of a preacher.

In study he was diligent and painful, in godly life he declared the fruits of a well exercised conscience; he prayed often, and with great fervor, and in his prayers, as also at other times, he had his part of spiritual exercises; he lived quietly, and with little care, but the time of the last coming, he felt present relief: then was his company more comfortable. For as his exercises were special teach- ings, so in the end they proved singular confessions, wherein he became so expert, that within a short space was enabled to comfort others that were in affliction, by the confessions therefrom, which he did comfort them. Thus continued he in the university, till he became master of arts; and a long space after.

In the beginning of king Edward's reign, when God's true religion was introduced, under licence obtained, he began to preach, and was so well liked of them whoes had authority, that they had appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college of Fotheringhay, where, by doctrine and life, he edified the pious, drew many igno- rant to the true knowledge of God, and stopped the mouths of adversaries. He married about that time, and in the married state led a life blameless before all men. The college of Fotheringhay being dissolved, was placed to be a reader in the minister in Litchfield where he did behave himself so in teaching and living, that his very adversaries did give a full report as well of his learning, as of his piety. After a certain space, he de- parted from England, several times, to the great distress of his wife, sir Richard Southwell, called Church-langon, where he kept his study, and was there taught diligently, and kept liberal house. From these he was ordered by the king to give his cure in the country; and therefore afterwards he had taken upon himself the burdens of London, he departed from thence into the country, he was very unhappy, and at even in that time began the broil about the claim that queen Mary made to the crown, by reason whereof he could not accomplish his purpose.

In this trouble, and even among the beginnings of it,
The Burning of the Rev. Mr. John Rogers in Smithfield, who was Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and Reader of St. Paul's in London.

The Martyrdom of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Saunders at Coventry, who was Preacher at All Hallows, in Bread Street, London.

The Martyrdom of Dr. John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, who was burnt at the Stake in 1555.

The Rev. Mr. Rowland Taylor, Archbishop of York, who was preparing to celebrate Mass in Dudley Church on Saturday, 2nd May 1553.
order of the church service, for he was by king Edward in the English tongue, and comparing it with the popish service then used in the Latin tongue.

The first he said was good, because it was according to the word of God, 1 Cor. xiv. and the order of the primitive church. The other, he said, was evil, and though in that evil, it be intermingled some good Latin words, yet was it just as if a little honey was mixed with a great deal of poison. This was the sum of his sermon.

In the afternoon he was ready in his church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the bishop then heard, that there was another preacher, and he would now prove him, and all those, he said, who did teach and believe that the administration of the sacraments, and all orders of the church are most pure, which do, come most nigh to the order of the primitive church. For the church was then but in her infancy, and could not abide that perdition which was after and confused with ceremonies. And for this cause Christ himself, and after him the apostles, did in many things bear with the rudeness of that church. To this Laurence Saunders answered with the authority of St. Augustine, 1 Thess. iv. 7 that ceremonies were even from the beginning invented and ordained for the rude infancy and weak infirmity of man, and therefore it was a token of the more perfection of the primitive church, that it had few ceremonies, and of the rudeness of the papistical church, because it had so many ceremonies, partly because of man, partly unprofitable.

After much talk concerning this matter, the bishop desired him to write what he believed of tranubulisation. Laurence Saunders did so, saying, My lord, you do seek my blood, and you shall have it: I pray God that you may be baptized in it, that you may therefrom get the blood-fucking, and become a better man. This writing the bishop took for a jest, but saw that he wanted to cut the writers throat, as shall appear hereafter. The bishop, when he had his will, sent Laurence Saunders to the lord chancellor, as Amus sunt Christi a caephis: and like favour found Saunders as Christ his master did before him. But the chancellor being not at home, Saunders was constrained to carry for him the space of four hours, in the outer chamber, where he found a chaplain of the bishop's very morruit dispolo, with certain gentlemen playing at tables, with divers others of the same family or houle occupied there in the same exercise.

At this time Saunders stood very modestly and soberly at the screen or cupboard bare-headed, for John Mordant his guide or leader walking up and down by him: who (as I said before) was then one of the council. At last the bishop returned from the court, whom, as soon as he was entered, a great many falers met and received; so that before he could get out of one house into another, half an hour was paid. At last he came into the chamber where Saunders was, and went through into another chamber: where in the mean time, sir John Mordant gave him a writing, containing the cause, or rather the accusation of the said Saunders: which he had put in his petition to the bishop. Then Saunders, being brought forth to the place of examination, first most slowly and meekly kneeled down, and made courtesy before the table where the bishop sat; unto whom the bishop spoke on this wise:

How happeneth it, said he, that, notwithstanding the queen's proclamation to the contrary, you have attempted to preach.

Saunders
It is an easy thing for them which take Christ for their trust, and be the very keepers of his pasture, to discern the voice of their true shepherd, from the voice of wolves, hirelings, and strangers. (As much as Christ did say of his voice, John x. yea, and thereby they shall have the gift to know the right voice of the true shepherd, and so to follow him, as he said, The sheep follow him, by his voice: a stranger they will not follow, but will fly from him, for they know not the voice of a stranger.) Such inward invocation doth the Holy Ghost in all places, and in all times, to all true shepherds of God, being blessed ought of Christ, otherwise unable to understand the true way of their Savior, and although the wolf (as Christ faith) comeith in their clothing, yet by their fruit shall ye know them. The right religion is raving and wofulith, is appeal in three principal points.

First, It robbeth God of his honor and only honor. Which is to deprive men with away the true comfort of conscience, the effecting, or rather burying of Christ and his office of salvation.

Secondly, It spoilith God of his true worship and service spirit and truth, appointed in his commandments, and draweth men unto that inconstancy against which Christ with his prophet Isaiah doth speak sharply: 'This people honoureth me with their lips, but their hearts is far from me. They have taught their tongues to speak good, but their heart worketh evil.'

Wherefore I in conscience weighi the Romish religion, and by indifferent differing thereof finding the foundation to be lewd, and the building thereupon but vain: and on the other side the simplicity of our religion, being sound and established by the word of God, at the content of his true church, I neither may, nor do intend by God's spiritual designes, to be of any other church, no, though an angel out of heaven should preach another gospel than that which I have received of the Lord.

And although that for lack either of such deep knowledge and profound judgment, or of readily uttering what I do think and judge, as required in an excellent clerk, I shall not have sufficiently to answer, for the convincing of the gainers; or necessary to those who protest fail for the respect of the grounds and causses before considered, but I cannot conceive all that is to be conceived, neither do I confute all that is to be difputed, nor can I effectually express all that can be expressed in a discourse of the doctrine of this false religion, whereunto I am professed: yet I do bind myself, as by my humble simplicity, by faith in generality, to worship and serve the Lord with all my might, in the confidence of the same, that no authority of that false religion repellent thereunto, shall by any means reme me from the same, though it may be that our adversaries shall be able to logus us with intimate words, and seek to fool them; nevertheless I will maintain that I am a member of the true church, and after the ordinances of the world, and not of Christ, etc.

And as much of Mr. Saunders's letter, so much as was contained thereof is sufficient to understand, how good a cause he and his friends are, being a prisoner for Christ's cause. For to defend himself, he wholly believed and for real things, from all the world, with the advantage of his friends by fate almost obtained it, he disconsol them, so that they did not follow their faith, as by his letter loving may appear.

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Sauders denied not that he did preach, sayi, that forasmuch as he saw the perilous times now at hand, he did but (according as he was admonished, and warned by Ezekiel the prophet) exhort his flock and parishes to perceive it and stand steadfastly in the doctrine which they had learned; saying also, that he was an accessory at best, and that therefore he was commanded to obey God than man; and moreover, that nothing more moved him thereunto, than his own conscience.

A goodly confidence, surely fait the bishop. This your confidence could make our queen a bastard, or make me what I am not. I pray thee, We saith Saunders, do not declare, or say that the queen is base, or misbegotten, neither go about any such matter. But for that, let them care whole writings are yet in the hands of men, witnessing the same. For with the barest of the world, which, though it now forbidden us to preach with our mouths, yet notwithstanding, I do not doubt, but that our blood hereafter shall manifest the same. The bishop being touched, saith, Carry away this frenzy fool to prison. And, as he was surprised and surprised, he did give God thanks, which had given him at the last a place of rest and quietness, where he might pray for the bishop's conversion.

Furthermore, he that did lie with him afterwards in prison, in the same bed, reported, that he heard him lay, that he did think of his examination he was wonderfully comforted, insomuch as not only in spirit, but also in body, he received a certain taste of that holy communion of saints, whilst a most pleasant refreshing did influe from every part and member of the body unto the seat and place of the heart, and from thence did ebb and flow from him in his eagerness against him again.

Mr. Saunders continued in prison one year and three months. In all while space he sent several letters to divers men; as one to Cramner, Ridley, and Latimer; another to his wife, and also to others, certifying them how in the parliament of that time he was permitted by the curate of his own parish, called Alhambres in Bredsworth, in the city of London, was such as being indifferently weighed, founded no breaking of the law by the willful breaking of it, forasmuch as I caused no bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the pulpit, after the order of sermons or sermons. But be it that I did break the proclamation, this long time of continuing the same, it thought me to be more than a sufficient punnishment for such a fault.

Touching the charging of me with my religion, I say with Saint Paul, "This sheweth the sin of them that charge me, that notwithstanding I have not, forasmuch as that it was permitted by the curate of my own parish, called Alhambres in Bredsworth, in the city of London, was such as being indifferently weighed, founded no breaking of the law by the willful breaking of it, forasmuch as I caused no bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the pulpit, after the order of sermons or sermons. But be it that I did break the proclamation, this long time of continuing the same, it thought me to be more than a sufficient punishment for such a fault.

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GARDINER, exalting himself from CERTAIN CHARGES laid against him.

LETTER I.

From the REV, MR. SAUNDERS to his WIFE.

GARDINER, exalting himself from CERTAIN CHARGES laid against him.

TOUCHING the cause of my imprisonment, I doubt whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In my doc-
The conlancy of this faithful servant of Christ, even unto the death, is sufficiently manifested and declared by his valiant contest with those two powerful enemies, Antichrist and death: to neither of these did he give place, and in the end got the victory over them both.

One of his brethren, Dr. Welfon, was in the Marshalsea, into which he thus writes to one of his friends:

Dr. Welfon entreat with Mr. Grinnell: what he concluded with him I know not: I wish it may be to God's glory, Amen, Amen. Mr. Welfon of his good deeds visited me, and offered me friendship in his worthy life, and took me under his care; and I take it at his hands for I said, I was well enough, and truly carefully to abide any extremity, to keep thereby a good conscience. You are asleep in fin, said he. I would perhaps not forget Filippine et alii, e. "Watch and pray." What church was there thirty years past? said he. What church was there, said I, in Elias's time? Jean of Ruiz, said he, was the bishop of Granada in that time. Who was that church, said he, threescore years past? Such, said I, as the Romish Antichrist, and his vassals, have reposed and consummated as hezekiah did in his days, Oldrie, Oldrie, Oldrie, said I, with many more. The bishop of Rome hath, said he, be a long time placed at a part in your raving sermons; but now, he be sure, he may put another. The bishop of Rome hath, said I, it is to see how the most learned, wilful, and bad of you all, have heretofore had him to play a part likewise in your sermons and writings, though now, to avoid the displeasure of my master, the weather-door, said I, ever said, bear me preacht against the bishop of Rome? No, said I, I for never heard you preach. But I think you have been well served, as was also of the sermon. Pray God keep your family, and blest it.

In order more fully to shew what blest time this good man and heroic martyr of God's holy Spirit, we shall here infer two more of his letters, which he wrote in the Marshalsea, the first of which is addressed to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, prisoners for the love of Christ in Oxford.

LETTER III.
From the Rev. Mr. SAUNDERS, to Archbishop CRANMER, Bishop RIDLEY, and the Rev. Mr. LATIMER,then Prisoners in OXFORD.

I in no humble life I labour you, most reverend fathers, that you may be more devoutly to the prayers be given unto our Father of mercies, 1 which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance in the saints in light, which hath been wrought to us by our faith in Jesus Christ, unto the kingdom of his beloved Son, by whom we have redemption through his blood," &c. Coloss. i. & ii. 4. O most happy eftate, that in an unspotted our life is at pleasure, and our days long as the days of the years of our life, and nearly as you have shew him, then shall you also appear with him in glory, Coloss. iii. 4. In the mean season, as our fight is but in a glads, even in a dark spearking, as it is in a mist or dark, the very least part of what which our fathers, although for wnt of outward appareances, seem reputed but as vain, yet the choosen of God do know the effect thereof, to bring a more substantial estate and fructification of very wel and perfect blissfulness, than reason can teach, or fennis receive. By this faith we have in our poefin in all good things, ye even those, "the eye which hath not seen, and the ear which hath not heard, neither hath run through many," &c. 1 Cor. ii. 5. Then if hereby we do enjoy all good things, it followeth, that we must needs poefis, have, and enjoy you, most reverend fathers, who are no small part of our joy.

We herefore do hast the freution of you by bodily presence to our inexplicable benefits, praised be that our most grauful God therefore. And more than anything else is of any reverence your reverend fatherhoods, for that in this glorios fort ye are become a town set upon a hill, a candle upon a candlestick, a light unto the world, both for your wonderful acquiescence, and that your great comfort do feel, you also may sufficiently, with St. Paul 2 Cor. iv. that the things which happen unto us do tend to the great forinance of the gospel: so that our fathers are made in all the judgment-hall, but in all Europe; incommun in that the brethren in the Lord, being encouraged through our bonds, dare more boldly to maintain the cause of God, and to confess your faith, even, and that you are minded in your bodies, whether it be through life or death. Of which thing truly we are filled in our prayers for you, and ministration of the Spirit, 1 Thess. i. And although for your own parts, Christ is unto you in life and death advantage, and that your deify is (as indeed it were better for you) to be loosed, and to be with Christ, yet for the church of Christ were it much more needful, that ye should abide in the flesh. Yea, that merciful God, even for Christ's sake, grant that you may abide and continue for the furtherance of the gospel, and to the increase of your faith, and the rejoicing thereof may be the more abundant through Christ by your resting. Amen, Amen.

But it form better otherwise unto the divine written, that by speedy death he may be more joyfully restored, and Lord's will be done. Yea, even as we do rejoice both on your behalves, and also on our own, that God is magnified by life, and should be more joyfully so by death. And if this be, I say, for so we shall not les rejoice to have the fame wrought by death. We shall give thanks for this honour given unto you, rejoicing yet this are accounted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ, and that it is given of God: that you may believe in him, but also that ye should suffer for his sake. And herein we shall have to rejoice in the behalf of the church of Christ, where the faith of Christ is continued, and receive the fruits of his verity, being confirmed with three such worthy witnesses. O thanks be to God for this his unsp.elasticsearch.pdf
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ing, this treasure in our ears the threaten, that the excellency of the power might be God's, and not our's; we are (according to his will good) trusted on every side, yet are we not without this, but yet not without what is sufficient: we suffer persecution, but are not forsaken therein: we are laid down, nevertheless we perish not: we bear in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the light of Jesus might also appear in our bodies. For the weak and infirm we shall not be ashamed, as much as the partakers of Christ's passion, that when he doth appear, we may be merry and glad, knowing that "our tribulation, which is momentary and light, prepareth an exceeding and eternal weight of glory;"

After this good and faithful martyr had been in prison one year and a quarter, the bishops at length called him, as they did their fellow-prisoners, openly to be examined; and the purport of his examination, written by himself, here followeth.

The EXAMINATION of the REV. MR. SAUNDERS before the QUEEN'S COUNCIL, GARDINER, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, the then CHANCELLOR, and other BISHOPS, being prent. 

In this examination the Lord Chancellor thus spake:

Lord Chancellor,

I t is not unknown that you have been a prisoner, for such abominable heresies and false doctrine have been found in you; and now it is thought good that you be accused to the world, as I hope before if now you will fly your confessional, as we come home again, mercy is ready. We must say we have you fallen in manner all: but now we are rise again, and returned to the catholic church; you must ride with us, and come home unto it. Give us your answer.

Saunders. My lord, and my lords all, may it please your honours to give me leave to answer with deliberation.

Lord Chancellor. Leave off your finery and an pride of speech for such is the fashion of you all, that shall ye yourselves in your glorious words. Answer ye, or no.

Saunders. My lord, it is not time for me now to pain. And as for pride, there is no great cause why it should be in me; my learning I confess to be but small, and a fopperies or worldly wealth, I have none at all. Nor within all this I am able to answer: you are not in a clear confidence, considering that one of these two extreme perils is like to fall upon me, the losing of a good confidence, or the losing of this my body and life. And I tell you truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could but have the Lord's promise for my confidence.

Chancellor. Confidence? you have none at all; let pride and arrogancy, dividing yourselves by singularity from the church.

Saunders. The Lord is the knower of all men's confidences. And where your lordship layeth to my charge this dividing myself from the church, (as you do many, and is now among you concluded upon, and I understand) I do assure you that I live in the faith wherein I have been brought up since I was fourteen years of age, being taught that the power of the bishop of Rome is invested with many other abuses springing thereout. Yes, this I have received even from the church and from the faith of my confessor.

Chancellor. Have you received by confessor and authority all your heresies of the blest facrament of the altar?

Saunders. My lord, it is less offence to cut off an arm, hand, or joint of man, than to cut off the head. For the man may live though he doth lose an arm, hand, or joint; but he cannot without his head. Now you, all you bishops, you, had agreed to cut off the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and when now you will have to be the head of the church again. Bishop of London. And if it please your lordship, I have his hand against the blessed facrament. How lay you to that?
Saunders. What I have written, that I have written, and further I will accuse myself. Nothing have you to burden me withal, for breaking of your laws since they were in force.

Chancellor. Well, you are obstinate, and refuse liberty. Saunders. My lord, I may not buy liberty at such a price: but believe your housefoes have means to this end. For God's sake, get thee to London, that we may live and keep our consciences unclouded, and we shall live as most obedient subjects. Otherwise, I must say for myself, that by God's grace I will abide the utmost extremity that man may do against me, rather than act against my conscience.

Chancellor. Ah, sirrah, you will live as you like. The Donatsids did desire to live in singularity, but indeed they were not fit to live on earth: no more are you, and that you shall understand within these seven days; and thereby you, Saunders. Welcome he is, whatsoever the will of God shall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of the flood of innocent blood. Truly it will cry. The Spirit of God rest upon all your honourable Amens. This is the sum and form of my first examination. Pray, &c.

This examination being ended, the officers led him out of the place, and prayed until the rest of his fellow-prisoners were likewise examined, that they might have them all together, to which Laurence Saunders, standing among the officers, seeing there a great multitude of people, spoke freely, warning them all of that which by their falling from Christ to Antichrist they deferred; and therefore exhorting them by repentance to rise again, and to embrace Christ with stronger faith, to confess him to the end, in the defiance of Antichrist, sin, death, and the devil: so should they retain the Lord's favour and blessing.

The copies of his other examination and communication came to the hands of such as desired them. This is secret. But in them, as he declared, Christ's cause stoutly, so warned he the pharisaical bishops and popish of their hypocrisy and tyranny, and cleared himself of their unjust accusations.

Having been excommunicated and delivered over to the secular power, he was brought by the sheriffs of London to the Compter, a prisoner in his own prisons of Bred-street, where he rejoiced greatly, both because he found there a fellow-prisoner, Mr. Cardmaker, with whom he had much christian and comfortable discourse; and because out of prison, as before out of a pulpit, he might have more freedom to speak and preach to his hearers.

On the fourth day of February, Bonner, bishop of London, came to the prison to degrade him: which when he had done, Mr. Saunders said to him, I thank God I am none of your church.

The day was not far after. In the morning, the sheriff of London delivered him to certain of the queen's guard, which were appointed to carry him to the city of Canterbury, there to be burned. The first night they came to St. Alban's, where Mr. Grimod (a man who had more store of good gifts, than of great condescension) did feed and serve him.

After Mr. Saunders had given him a leson meet for his lightness, he took a cup in his hand, and asked him if he would pledge him of that cup, of which he would begin to him. Grimod, shewing by his shrugging and thinking what he was, said, Of that cup which is in your hand I will pledge you: but of that other which you mean, I will not promise you. Well, said Mr. Saunders, my dear Lord Jefus Christ hath begun to me of a more bitter cup than mine shall be, and I shall not pledge myself to anything.

When they were arrived at Coventry, a poor shoemaker, who used to serve him with shoes, came to him, and said, O my good master, God strengthen and comfort you. Good shoemaker, (Mr. Saunders replied) I have not the leisure to write unto thee for this high office, that was ever appointed to it: but my gracious God and dear Father is able to make the strong enough. The same night he was put into the common jail among other prisoners, where he slept little, but fasted the night in prayer and instructing of others.

The next day, being the 8th of February, he was led to the place of execution in the park, without the city, going in an old gown and a shirt, bare-footed, and often times fell down to the ground, but with patience. And when he was come nigh to the place, the officer appointed to see the execution done, said to Mr. Saunders, that he was one of them who marred the queen's realm with false doctrine and heresy, whereunto thou hast deferred death: but yet, God in his great goodness, in whose sight thou art, hast sent his grace and mercy, to preserve thee: if not, how couldst thou possibly be spared for thee. To whom Mr. Saunders answered, It is not I, nor my fellow-preachers of God's truth, that have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourself, and such as you are, which have always refristed God's holy word: it is you who have and do mar the queen's realm. I do hold no heresies, but the doctrine of God, the blessed gospel of Christ; that hold I, that believe I, that have taught, and that will I never revoke. With that, this tormentor cried, Away with him. And away from him went Mr. Saunders, with a cheerful courage, towards the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed: he rose up again, and took the stake to which he should be chained, in his arms, and killed it, saying, Welcome the Cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life: and being fastened to the stake, and fire put to him, full sweetly he slept in the Lord.

Well might the aggrieved say, that if we only in this life have hope, we are of all men the most miserable. And what will the reader think, when he is told that this martyr was of a timida disposition? Yet and here we see with what constancy he died. This is a strong proof that there must be an almighty power, working through faith in the hearts of those who are punished for the truth.

Mr. Saunders often told his friends, that he should suffer, if ever Mary ascended the throne. He knew the temper of that princiad, and probably it was that which made him expect sufferings. It is for the benefit of succeeding ages, that God gives strength to the heart of man to suffer. It is to promote many valuable purposes, by teaching us to let a proper value on the many national blessings we enjoy in the present age; and there is no way of making a better use of them, than to live in the practice of every virtuous and religious duty; to blest the Almighty for having delivered us from a worse than Egyptian darkness; for certainly popery, both in its spirit and tenor, we may call it, has sown plagues among us.

We live in an age when, perhaps, our own wickedness has so much displeased God, that he has suffered the enemy to low tares among us.

To what other clause can we describe the increase of popery, which has not been conformed to the capital, but has been extended to the remotest parts of the kingdom? In Scotland, where, about thirty years ago, there were not, perhaps, two hundred papists, there are now as many thousand.

We must insist upon this of our own reminiscences in our duty. The papists profite all the means they can think of, to seduce our people, and they even have recourse to bribes. They get money from their genity, part of which they give away to the poor; and those who are, in a manner, unprincipled in religion, will soon turn to any thing.

Another method used by them, is to spread amongst the poor small treatises on religious subjects; and these are generally filled with such bewildered notions, that the vulgar are easily caught in the snare. Why should we not be as effectual as [<insert text>]? Why should wolves in sheep's clothing? Let us take an example from this pious martyr, whose life was a comment on his doctrine, and who lived as he preached. This we do more towards suppreting popery and defying the least difficulties that can be overcome. Some of our friends have said, that the martyrs had good hearts, but confused heads; and to this they have added, that they were madmen. Supposing we should turn the argument against the delites, by begging
the question, and asked them, whether Socrates, whom they did so much glory in, was a man that could afford it, or whether there was but one divine being? For this crime (if it was one) Socrates suffered death, by being condemned to drink the hemlock. Now let any man read the Phaedo of Plato, and then let him answer whether that was the mind of the author or the enthusiastic spirit.

When his friend came to visit him the day before he suffered, and told him the ship would return that day which would decide his fate; Socrates told him, that the ship would not arrive that day, for he had had a dream, which informed him of the contrary. Was not that the spirit of Christ which was in him, or rather of both? Nay, did not Socrates with his left words desire, that a cock should be offered up to Aesculapius? Did ever a Christian martyr make such a speech, when all the horrors of death presented themselves to his view? The answer is obvious; there is not an instance of it upon record. Thus the deit’s argument fails to the gringer.

It is also said, they had good hearts, but their heads were not clear. Let us admit the assertion to be true, and let us consider the circumstances from which it took its rise. The whole truth will appear from a careful attention to the following things.

First, many of these men had, from motives of conscience, left that sytem of superstition in which they had been educated, and imbraced the truth perhaps in a more violent manner than was consistent with that calmness of reflection, which, at all times, conduces to a reliable testimony, who only willingly obey the gospel. Under such circumstances men’s minds must have been much confused; they loved knowledge perhaps, but it was not in their power to find out the road that led towards it.

Secondly, It may be observed, that however deliberate an argument may be, it is less sure if formed, it is much better to have a good heart. A man may have much knowledge, and at the same time be deficient of piety. There have been many learned men who were strangers to religion; there have been sufferers for the truth, who knew but little of what is commonly called human knowledge. Men in the midst of their things at this distance of time, in what manner they please; but if they look back to infancy, they will be enabled to form more just opinions.

Lastly, Let them consider the circumstances of the time. Had they been brought up in a land of unlearned spirits, it is apt to beguile the rational faculties, and men are frequently led into extravagancies, without any intention to deceive. Indeed, the martyrs knew they had nothing to expect but sufferings; and therefore they thought they might, with a becoming propriety, avow their feminine infirmity to do the will of him who will remain a monument of their everlasting honour, that they were sincere in all their declarations.

This may serve to shew, that all the objections which, from time to time, have been brought against the martyrs, are extremely insignificant, and not worthy of a serious answer. Let those who live in the present age emulate the conduct of those men, and let them never forget, that however respectful knowledge may be, yet piety is much better. Those who really love God, never make any display, in an obtrusive manner, of religion; but those who have no religion at heart, have generally the best of it in this world.

And the better to understand what the grace of Christ worketh in his servants, and again, how weak man is in himself without the assistance of divine grace, we shall here relate the conversation which passed between Mr. Saunders and Dr. Pendleton, in the beginning of troubles, and Dr. Pendleton, to which we shall subjoin a few more letters of the Rev. Mr. Saunders, full of godly instruction and consolation.

A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE REV. MR. LAURENCE SAUNDERS AND DR. PENDLETON, IN THE BEGINNING OF QUEEN MARIA’S REIGN.

A change of religion in this realm, and the beginning of Queen Maria’s reign, doctor Pendleton and Mr. Saunders, men known to the world, not only to be learned, but also earnest preachers of God’s word in the reigns of blessed king Edward, met together in the country, where by occasion they were at that time, and as the case required (by reason of the persecution that was then at hand) fell to debate what was best for them to do in so dangerous a season. Wherein Mr. Saunders and Dr. Pendleton, with other their friends, both being of late made acquainted both to taste the bitter cup, though his spirit was ready thereunto: or whether it were upon the misfortune of his own strength, that he might receive the greater power from above; or whether it were not for one of the said causes alone, but for both together, in so far as the spirit of God was for it, and he felt eell-spiritedly, so that he shewed himself in appearance, like either to fall quite from God and his word, which he had taught, or to a lift, to fly the hand, rather than flock to his profeces. Whereas Dr. Pendleton took upon him to comfort Mr. Saunders all that he might (whether the latter appeared not to big of body, but as bold in courage, nor to earnest before in the pulpit, but as ready now to reap the fame with his blood), admonishing him, he could do it very well, not to forfear cowardly in the flock when he had most need to defend them from the mouth of the enemy, but to consider of nothing but the grace of mine melted away, and the last particle of this flesh consumed to ashes, before I will forsake God and his truth. Whereunto the other answered but little, willing that God would give him more strength than he then felt in himself, acknowledging his weakness, confessing God’s plagues, but that he was somewhat faint, to join with him in the profession of the gospel, and to go up to London, and set forth the fame; whereupon he gave each other their hands.

Now when they were come to London, behold, what a great change was there between themselves and Edward Saunders, by the goodness of Almighty God, taking heart of grace to him, seeking the fame in humility, boldly and stably confirmed his flock out of the pulpit, where his chaise lay, mightily bearing down Antichrist, and zealously preaching Christ his matter, for he had done nobly, as for more declare. Wherein on the other side, Dr. Pendleton the proud (who, as appeared by the sequel, had been more stout in word than constant in deeds, and a greater boast than a good warrior) no sooner came to London, but he changed his mind, and played the apostate, and a thing nothing but a lack at first but errors and his advancing Antichrist, and overthrowing Christ with all his might: to his former holiness came nothing unless it was a contrary key, becoming of a faithful, a true pastor, a false runagate; and of a true preacher, a false enemy to God’s everlasting salving, the honor of his flock, and the undoing, without God’s greater mercy, of his own soul.

Wherein is especially to be considered the deep and marvellous judgment of God, who as he can and dare make strong whom he pleaseth, when he feeleth him and moldeth him, and carefully fashioneth him, and so for that one shall throw down others, from the ever so flour, stand they ever so much in their own conceits. Wherefore let him that standeth take heed how he fall not; and let us pray continually to Almighty God, though we have taste, that he will help and deliver us in the hour of our need: that in him we may be able to endure which of itself is so weak, that it is so on overthrow.

While this good man was confined in prison, he did not pass all his time in unlawful idleness, but filled his
time to time did visit his friends, (as is said) and especially his wife, with many letters; some of which we thought not improper here to insert.

LETTER V.

From the Rev. Mr. LAURENCE SAUNDERS, to Bishop FERRAR, THOMAS TAYLOR, Mr. BRADFORD, and Mr. PHILPOT.

G RACE, mercy, and peace in Jesus Christ our Lord, 
&c. to all my dear friends. I heartily bless and confirm of his most gracious God, which hath preferred us, and shall (I doubt not) from blaphemning his blessed name: yeas, not only that, but also "Out of the earth shall come forth fire, and it shall burn up the inhabitants thereof." They offer us our liberty and pardon, &c. so that we shall rise with them into that faith with which we were taken from. Yet, or no, must be answered in half. The Deists, and the atheists, in the most odious manner, to be deprived of true and genuine confidence. The Deists, they say, fought for such singularity; but they were not met to live in a commonwealth, no more be you, as you shall thereby understand. Wherefore I am named with you, and all your friends. There are twelve hours in the day. Death shall be welcome, say I, as being looked for long since; and yet do justice ye understand, and that of God at the bar of your country. Thus did I part from them. Pray, pray, I am a child, I cannot speak. My brother Phineas shall flew you more herein. My name and my word what you have done. Farewell, and pray. I would gladly meet with my good brother Bradford on the backside above eleven o'clock. Before that time I cannot part; but now, we have such outercokers, but then all they be sinners.

Your's as you know,

LAURENCE SAUNDERS.

LETTER VI.

From the Rev. Mr. LAURENCE SAUNDERS, to his WIFE, and others of his Daffoeit Fleck, written in the COMPUTER, the left Day of January, 1555, after his Condemnation.

T HIS grace of Christ, with the consolation of the Holy Ghost, to the keeping of the faith and a good confidence, comfort and keep us all. Oh! how worthy thoughts can be given to our gracious God for his unmeasurable mercies plentifully poured upon us? And I most unwillingly cannot but pour forth at this present, even to the bottom of my heart, the same love to God for his infinite ingratitudes and unkindnesses towards so gracious a God, and loving Father, I beseech you all, as for my other many fires, so especially, I beseech you all, even in your earnest prayers, commending me to God's great mercies in Christ.

To number these mercies in particular, were to number the death of a man which are in the sea, the flame on the earth, the fall in the sky. O my dear wife, and ye all of my friends, rejoice with me, for I say rejoice with thanksgiving for this my mother into the kingdom of his dear Son, by putting off the true church; and at yet I tell you this, that the comfort of my sweet Christ doth drive from my mind the fear of death. But if Christ doth for my trial leave me alone a little to myself, I know in what case I shall be then, but for my use. He that doth yet, I am sure he will not be long or for me. He is a very tender-hearted Jeweh; though he speak roughly to his brethren; yea, therefore, ye understand, ye, therefore, you, as yet to him beloved brother Benjamin; yet can he not contain himself from weeping with us, and upon us. Such, such a brother is our Christ unto us all. Wherefore hallow to go unto him as a dear and family, leaving the iniquity and acquaintance. Yea, out the Jeweh hath obtained for us, that Pharaoh the chief shall minister unto us clarifies, whereunto ye may be carried come unto him: as we have experience how our adversaries do help us to our everlasting bliss by their speedy dispatch; yes, and how all things have been made help to the glory of Christ, and to the comfort of the saints. Yet rather than the everlasting fire: fear the forget which hath that deadly flight, of which bodily death they shall be brought to take which are not graven in Christ, waiting faith and hope, and comfort for the dead. For if any seek the way of the fire, the forget which that deadly flight, of which bodily death they shall be brought to take which are not graven in Christ, waiting faith and hope, and comfort for the dead. Yet rather than the everlasting fire: fear the forget which hath that deadly flight, of which bodily death they shall be brought to take which are not graven in Christ, waiting faith and hope, and comfort for the dead. But oh, my dear wife and friends! we, we which God hath delivered from the power of darkness, and hath translated, and made straight our way through the old man, and by faith putting on the new, even our Lord Jesus Christ, his wisdom, holiness, righteousness, and redemption; we, we, have to triumph against the terrible frightful...
LETTER VII.

To his WIFE, exhorting her with him to commend their CHILD SAMUEL to the Blessing of GOD.

GRACE and comfort, &c. Wife, you shall do best to do with your WIFE, and to be reformed before your friends. Pray, pray for us every body. We are shortly to be visited with the consolations of God, and may God give you grace to let your kindness turn not to dishonour; but let you sit still and not to make reckoning and account upon, by exercising your inward mind in meditation of God's most holy word, being the fulness of the soul, and also by giving yourself to humble prayers for these things. Therefore are we the worse, lest you be made members of our Christ meet to inherit his kingdom.

Do this, dear wife, in earnest, and not leaving off, and so we shall with Christ till all the world is gathered in. The merry world in that everlastingly immortality; whereas here will nothing else be found but extreme misery, even of them who seem to mention this world, and in so doing, two or three children's gifts in our Christ, the same God's blessing which we receive shall also settle upon our Samuel. Though we do freely depart hence and leave the poor infant, yet we must so let future generations be in our journey, that they may see in the world to come, of God.

And if we lack faith, as we do indeed many times, let us call for all other grace and our God. By all other grace needful for us: and be merry in God, in whom also I am very merry and joyous. O Lord, what great care can I have to think of the kingdom, when do teach for his sake to be saved, for all our pardoning ourselves and following him? Dear wife, this truly is to follow him, even to take up our cross and follow him; and then as we suffer with him here, so shall we reign with him there. Amen.

LAURENCE SANUDES.

LETTER IX.

To his WIFE, Mr. HARRINGTON, and other FRIENDS.

GRACE and comfort, &c. Dear wife, rejoice in our gracious God, and let your joy be our joy, and give thanks to God and unto our Lord, humbly and heartily for him this day's work, that in any part I must unworthy wretch should be made worthy to bring witness unto his everlasting verity, which Amish with his witness and comfort, and unto his grace and comfort, shall be God's witness, and all shall call the Lord, and be called, and our souls be saved. Let us go, yea, let us run to seek such treasure, an that with whole purpose of heart to cleave unto the Lord, to find such riches in his heavenly word through his sabbath obtained our knowledge. Let us give joy, and let us give joy, and let us do thus, and let us do thus.

My dear friends and brethren, Mr. Harrington and Mr. Harland, pray, pray, The spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak. When I look upon myself, being abashed and confounded, what shall I do? I won't wonder at you, nor at my self. O Lord, go from me, for I am a sinful man! But then I feel that sweet comfort, The word of the Lord is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my paths: and this is my comfort in my trouble. Then am I bold with the fame Peter to say, Lord to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of everlasting life. This comfort have I never found in any man. But I look for battles, which the root of unbelieffulness, which I feel in me, will most eagerly give unto my conscience, when we come once to the combat.

Pray ye for me in the light of the grace of God, as Moses, praying in all places, lifting up pure hands: and God's people shall prevail: yea, our blood shall be their perdition with Satan, and the Lord shall stand in great and holy battle against them which have dealt extremely with us and our nation. We shall be vexed with horrible fear, and shall wonder at the height of our sudden death; and shall say with themselves, having inward sorrow and mourning for very anguish of mind: There are the things that I thought they should be very madmen, and their end to be without honor; but loi! how are they accounted among the children of God. The blessing of God be with you.

LAURENCE SANUDES.

LETTER X.

To his WIFE, a little Time before his MARTYRDOM.

GRACE and comfort in Christ, Amen. Dear wife, be merry in the mercies of our Christ, and also you all my dear friends. Pray, pray for us every body. We are shortly to be visited with the consolations of God, and may God give you grace to let your kindness turn not to dishonour; but let you sit still and not to make reckoning and account upon, by exercising your inward mind in meditation of God's most holy word, being the fulness of the soul, and also by giving yourself to humble prayers for these things. Therefore are we the worse, lest you be made members of our Christ meet to inherit his kingdom.

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LAURENCE SANUDES.

LETTER I.

From JUSTICE SANUDES to his BROTHER, the Rev. Mr. LAURENCE SANUDES, Priests.

AFTER my most hearty commendations, there are to write, I thank you, I have spoken with Mr. Baffin, who has informed me, that four pounds (all deductions being allowed) the whole of this money to come in to him at the abbey of Canterbury, where the you shall have, although as it is thought, it was not due unto you by reason of your deprivation, it was done in your behalf. As concerning the rest of money, I believe God it may be lightened by the Holy Ghoft, and that you may also have the grace of the Holy Ghoft to follow the counsel of St. Paul to Timothy, ch. ii. 4. To handle rightly the mystery of godliness. Wherein I desire you to be attentive, and to give heed to the import of the word of the Lord was verified in them, which faith, Brother shall rise up and be against brother, &c.

JUSTICE SANUDES.

LETTER II.

From the same to the same, wherein the JUSTICE adds, to gain over for his BROTHER's POPEY, in sending him the MEDITATION of ST. BERNARD.

A nature and brotherly love with godly charity requisite. I find you by these letters most hearty commendations, being sorry for your fault and your disobedient handling of yourself towards my lord chancellor, and perfectly mindful of your good and preservation, if you can do consider and take. I would be glad to know a brother you have not had with you of late for some time to talk with you by my lord chancellor's appointment, and how you can give me no error in the opinion of the most blest and our most comfitable sacrament of the altar. Wherein I assure you, I was never in all my life better affected than I am at this present, with the most great comfort hearing of mass, and somewhat before the last time, the meditation of St. Bernard, set forth in the title leaf of some pamphlet about the power of the sacred act. I am fully persuaded unto, during my life, and to the face of God and Holy Ghost to move you: you have done me a kindness for me, and you consider your own nature, and friendly but towards you, that you would read over this book this holy matter at my request. We have already seen it, and I fancy that you will know wherein you cannot falsify your own sentences. The fare you well for this time.

Your's, from Serjeant's Inn.

EDW. SANUDES, Chorister.
JOHN HOOPER, student and graduate in the university of Oxford, after the study of the sciences, wherein he had abundantly profited and proceeded, was filled with fervent desires and devoted his love and knowledge of the scriptures. Growing more and more, by God's grace, in ripeness and spirtual understanding, and shewing withal some sparks and gleam of his fervent spirit, being then about the beginning of the first articles, the strength and power of King Henrie VII. wellnigh to disfigure, and hatred of certain doctors in Oxford, who by and by began to stir up coal against him, whereby, and especially by the procurement of Dr. Smith, he was compelled to quit the university; and removing from thence, was retained in the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, and there was his steward, till the time that Sir Thomas Arundel having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no case did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the person and conditions of the man, found the means to send his chaplain, afterwards bishop of Winchester, with his letter privily to the bishop, by conference of learning to do some good unto him, but in any case requiring him to send home his servant to him again.

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The NEW and COMPLETE Book of MARTYRS.

[Q: Mary, A.D. 1555]

praying, the church would be so full, that none could enter further than the doors thereof. In his doctrine he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in the execution of it pains indefatigable.

Moreover, besides his other gifts and qualities, this is in him to be admired, that even as he began, so he continued unto his life’s end. For neither could his labour and pains-taking break him, promotion change him, nor danger drive him from his post. His life was so pure and so whole that all the fame with which we are about to revile him) could fasten any fault upon him. He was of a body strong, his health whole and found, his wit very present, his invincible patience to sustaine whatsoever fiercer fortune and adversity could do. He was of a spirit of charity, of a love of men, a beloved of all, a lover of order and sparest of time. In house-keeping very liberal, and sometimes more free than his living would extend unto. Briefly, of all those virtues and qualities required of St. Paul in a good bishop, in his epistle to Timothy, I know not one in this good bishop lacking. He bore in countenance and talk always a cordial and winning grace, which might peradventure be thought some time to have been a little more popular and vulgar-like in him; but he knew what he had to do be himself.

Once, in a homiletic in a certain company he came to his holy counsel, but being abashed at his audacity, durst not confide in, but departed, seeking remedy for his troubled mind at other men’s hands, which he afterwards, by the help of Almighty God, did find and obtain. Therefore, in my judgment, such as are appointed and made governors of God’s church with a holy spirit, to rule the church, ought to frame their life, manners, countenance, and external behaviour, as neither to shew themselves too familiar and light, whereby to be brought into contempt; nor on the other side again, that they appear too scholastic, too pretentious, nor too didactic. Nevertheless, every man hath his peculiar gift wrought in him by nature, so this disposition of fatherly gravity in this man was neither excessive, nor did he bear that pertinacity that was in him, without great consideration. For it is not in him peradventure, that this licence and unbridled life of the common flock, more or less, may be the case, not only with words and discipline, but also with the grave and severe countenance of good men.

After he had practised himself in this popular and common kind of preaching, at length, and that not without occasion of manyKnightings before the king’s majesty, and soon after made bishop of Gloucester by the king’s commandment. In that office he continued two years, and behaved himself so well, that his very enemies (except it were for his good doings, and sharp correcting of sin) could find no fault with him; and after that he was made bishop of Worcester.

But I cannot tell what snifter and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of bishops, and of their apparel, with other fuchs like trifles, began to disturb the good beginning of this bishop. For notwithstanding that gaily reformation of religion that began in the church of England, besides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to celfication, they used to wear such garments and apparel as the popish bishops were wont to do: first a chymere; and under that a sanguine coat, then a mantua-cap with four angles, dividing the whole head into four parts. These trifles tending more to superstition than otherwise, as he could never abide, so in no wise could he be persuaded to wear them. For this cause he made supply to the king’s majesty, most humbly, declaring how he was displeased with the bishops, or else to dipinted with him for such ceremonial orders. Whole petition the king granted immediately, writing his letter to the archbishop after this purport.

KING EDWARD VI. his LETTER to the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERVUR, and other BISHOPS.

RIGHT reverend father, and right timely and well-beloved, how goest thou well. Whereas we, by the advice of our council, and called on our right well-beloved and well...

worthy, Mr. John Hooper, professor of divinity, to be one of your bishops of Gloucester, as well for the many graces and endowments that are in him, as for his study both in the scriptures, and profane learning, as also for his good disposition, ready obedience, and honest life for that kind of vocation; to the intent all our loving his...
prayer, and visiting of schools: with his continual doctrine he adjoined due and diligent correction, not so much severe to any, as to such who for abundance of riches and wealthy state, thought they might do what they pleased. And doublets he spurreth no kind of people, but was indifferent to all, as well rich as poor, to all publick and private offenses, in these days, where we see too many addicted to the plague, and the plague to them, in that mean time they have no regard to the meaner fort whom Christ hath bought as dearly as the other. But to return to Dr. Hooper, whose life was fitch, that to the church and all churchmen, it might be worth the sight and example of a perpetual lesson and fermoer. Finally, how virtuous a man he was, you may conceive and know evidently by this, that even as he was hated by none but of them which were evil, yet the worth of them all could not reap his life in any particular. Nor was this good bishop more exemplary in his private life, than in public character At home, in his domestic concerns, he did perform an example of a worthy prelate’s life; for he bestowed the most part of his care upon the public flock and congregation of Christ, for which also he spent his blood: yet, notwithstanding, there was nothing wanting in him, to perform his duty in private manners; insomuch that it is difficult to say, whether he defered more praiseworthy for his fatherly usage at home, or for his public conduct abroad. For where he kept one religion in uniform doctrine and integrity. The more that you entered into the bishop’s palace, you would suppose he had to have entered into some church or temple. In every corner thereof there was the beauty of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of the holy scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtesly rioting or idlenes; no sloth, no foolish word, no lawassing, could there be heard. As to the venues of Lord’s day, he never went to any; if any thing surprized thereof, he was nothing but bewitched in hospitality. Twice I was (says Mr. Fox) in his house at Worchester, where in his commonall, I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and no empty place full of beggars and poor people; I asked his servants what they meant they had so much, and they told me that every day their lord and master’s manners was, to have at dinner a certain number of the poor of the fadd city by course, who were served by four at a course, with wholesome meats: and when they were served, (being before commanded by him, his deputies, of the Lord’s prayer, the articles of their faith, even some of the psalms and canticles) then he himself set down to dinner, and not before. In this manner Dr. Hooper executed the office of a most careful and vigilant patron, for the space of two years and more, so long as the rate of religion in king Edward’s time did safely flourish and take places without harm, and that to God, that all other bishops would use the like diligence, care, and obedience in their functions. But when this, in the reign of queen Mary, religion being subverted and changed, this good bishop was one of the first who was sent for by a puritan to be at London; and then all his dignities were taken from him. First, To answer to Dr. Heath, then appointed bishop of that diocese, who was deprived thereof in Edward’s days, for being a papist. Secondly, To render an account to Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, for that he in king Edward’s time was one of his patrons, in that he shewed himself not conformable to such ordinances as were published by the king and his council, openly at St. Paul’s Cross. And although the said bishop Hooper was not ignorant of the evils that should happen towards him, (for he was admonished by certain of his friends to get away, and flit and leave the court) yet he would not prevent them, but carried still with him. Of Dr. Heath and Dr. Bonner, he was intercepted, and commanded, violently against his will, to appear before the queen and his council, to answer certain bonds. C c
and obligations, wherein he said he was bound unto her. And when he came before them, Gardner, bishop of Winchelsea, received him very oppressfully, railing and rating of him, and accused him of his religion. He again freely and boldly answered, and cleared himself; and was committed to ward, (by his being declared unto him at his departure,) that the cause of his imprisonment was only for certain sums of money, for which he was indebted to the queen, and not for religion. This, how false and untrue it was, shall in its place appear.

The next year, being March 19, 1554, he was called again to appear before Winchelsea, and others of the queen's commissioners: where, what for the bishopp, and what for the unruly multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his cause, he was deprived of his liberty, from which he was not relieved, nor in order done, may here be seen from the testimony and report of one, who being present at the doing, committed the same to writing.'

The REPORT of a PERSON of good Credit, declaring the Cause of depriving DR. JOHN HOOPER, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND WORCESTER, of the BISHOPRICS, March 19, 1554.

FORASMUCH as a rumour is spread abroad of the conversation of my lord chancellor's, between him with other commissioners there appointed, and Dr. Hooper, quite contrary to the form to be justly and truly proved, of malice, for the diffamating of the truth by false sugggestions and evil reports, than otherwise: I thought it my duty, being present, to deliver this writing to set the whole effect of the same, that the very thereof may be known to and by all people, and partly also to advovate them, how unlawfully Dr. Hooper was handled at their hands, who with all humility used himself towards them, deferring, with that patience he might have been permitted to speak: for that he had from a doubt, in which these three reliigions to have credited, either that Dr. Hooper's majesty, his opinion, or else their conscience be maintainted by the queen's majesty, their irreverent behaviour towards Dr. Hooper, would have moved me the rather to credit him, in such a matter as not which they use to address and words defend, confirming that Christ's word be holden. And that that which I have written here, was the effect of their discourse, as I acknowledge it to be true myself, so I appeal to all the hearers' conscience that were then present (so they put affection away) for the writers' of the same.

The FIRST EXAMINATION of Bishop HOOPER, before the Bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Landaff, and Chichester, who were appointed Commissioners; according to the Report of the above-mentioned good men.

AT Dr. Hooper's coming in, the lord chancellor asked whether he was married.

Hooper. Yes, my lord, and will not be unmaried, till death unmarry me.

Durham. That is matter enough to deprive you.

Hooper. It is not, my lord, except you do against the law.

The matter concerning marriage was no more talked of then for some time: but as well the commissioners, such as followed, began to make such utterances, and laughed and said such foolish things, as were not seemly for the place, and for such a matter. Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, called bishop Hooper hypocrite, with vehement words, and scornful countenance. Bishop Tonnall called him baft; so did Smith, one of the chancellor's counsel, and several others that followed by At length the bishop of Winchelsea said, that all men might live chaste, and he brought in this text, "There are thoes that have become eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven, Matt. xix. 12."

He said, that text proved not, that all men might live chaste, but such to whom it was given; and read the context that goeth before. But there was a clamour and cry, mocking and scorning, with calling him baft, that the text could not be examined. Then bishop Hooper said, that it did appear by the old canon, that marriage was not made in unto priests, and named the decrees. But the bishop of Winchelsea had another part, namely, the Clementines, or the Ex-travagants. But bishop Hooper said, that book was not it which he named.

The bishop of Winchelsea replied, You shall not have any other, until you be judged of this. And then he began for the second time, tumultuously, saying he had great many that favoured not the cause, that nothing was done or spoke orderly orCharitably. Afterward, judge Morgan began to rail at bishop Hooper a long time, with many oppressions, and foul words of his being there is such a tyrant as he was. After that, Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, said, that the council of Ancyrca, which was before the council of Nice, was against the marriage of priests.

Upon which the lord chancellor cried out, and many with him, that bishop Hooper had never read the councils.

Yes, my lord, said he, and my lord of Chichester, Dr. Day knoweth, that the great council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, decreed, That no minister for such a thing as marriage had been allowed by them.

Upon which all the commissioners were surprised, for such clavers and cries were used, that the council of Nice was not attended to.

Aftcr long brutish talk, Tonnall, bishop of Durham, asked bishop Hooper, whether he believed the spiritual presence of the sacrement. Who said plainly, that it was but fuch, neither he did believe as such thing.

Then the bishop of Durham would read out of book, (what book it was I cannot tell,) but there was such a noise and confusion talk on every side, that he did not read.

Then the bishop of Winchelsea asked Dr. Hooper, whether he did not believe him not to believe the spiritual presence? He said, the authority of God's word, and alleged this text, "Whom heaven must hold until the last day," But the bishop of Winchelsea would have made that text to serve nothing for his purpose, and said, he might have added, and in the sacrament fathers such clavers and cries were used, that the council of Nice was not attended to.

Dr. Hooper would have opened the text, but all those that fohlow next about the bishop prevented his speaking with clamours and cries, so that Dr. Hooper was not permitted to say any more against the bishop. Whereupon they pade the notaries write, That he was married, and failed, that he would not go from his wife, and that he believed not the spiritual presence in the sacrament, wherefore he was worthy to be deprived of his bishipp.

This is the truth of the matter (as far as I can remember) of the confused and troublesome conversation between them, and except hasty and uncharitable words, it is the whole of their discourse at the time.

An ACCOUNT OF THE SEVERAL TREATMENT OF Bishop HOOPER, during eighteen Month Confinement in the Fleet, written with his own hand, January 7, 1554.

The first of September, 1551, I was committed unto the Fleet, from Richmond, to have the liberty of the priors; and within six day after I paid five pounds sterling to the wardens for fees, for my liberty; who immediately upon great thereof, complained unto Stephen Gardner, bishop of Winchelsea, and so I was committed to close prison one quarter of a year in the Tower-chamber of the Fleet, and used extremely ill. Then being moved by the meekness and gentleness, I said, liberty to come down to dinner and supper, not suffered to speak with any of my friends; but as soon as dinner and supper was done, to be taken away again. And being come down thus to dinner and supper, the wardens and his wife did quarter garments with me, and complained untruly of one to their great friends, and churches of Winchelsea.

After one quarter of a year and fame more had pass'd, Bishop the warden, and his wife, fell out with me for the washed mist and thereupon the warden referred to the bishop of Winchelsea, who committed me into the Fleet again, and kept me long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a sack and a few leathers. The chamber was short, and his wife and friends, until God's means good people gave me lodging to lie out. On one side of which prison, is the sink and sifter of the houses, and on one of the windows, a ditch, so that the Zheng of the house has infected me with febrile distemper.

During which time I have been sick, and the doors, bins, beds, and chains being all closed, and made fast upon me, I have morned, called and cried for help, but the wardens who hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor...
SECOND EXAMINATION of Dr. JOHN HOOPER, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER, and RICHES-TER, before the intolerant GARDINER, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

The twenty-second of January, 1555. Babington, the warden of the Fleet, was commanded to bring Mr. Hooper before the bishop of Winchester, with other bishops and commissioners at the said Winchester's house, to answer the charges; where the bishop of Winch-ester, in the name of himself and the rest, moved Mr. Hooper earnestly to forsake the evil and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the days of King Edward the sixth, and to return to the unity of the catholic church; and to acknowledge the pope's holiness to be the head of the same church, according to the determina-tion of the whole parliament, promising, that as he himself, with other his brethren, had received the pope's blessing, and the queen's mercy; even so mercy was ready to be shewed to him and others; if he would arise with them, and condescend to the pope's holiness.

Bishop Hooper answered, That forasmuch as the pope taught doctrines altogether contrary to those of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of his church, much less to be head thereof; wherefore he would no in a wise conside1end to any such usurped jurisdic-tion, but would have the church, whereby he was called head, to be the catholic church of Christ; and the church only hearer the voice of her spouse Christ, and faithful ministers. Howbeit (faith he) if in any point to me unknown, I have offended the queen's majesty, I will humbly submit myself to her mercy, if mercy may be had to the safety of conscience, and without the displeasure of God.

Answr was made, that the queen would shew no mercy to the pope's enemies. Whereupon Babington was commanded to carry him to the Fleet again: who from thence was carried to his former chamber into another, near to the room of the pope's own chamber. And there he remained six days; and in the mean time his former chamber was searched by Dr. Martin and others, for writings and books, which Dr. Hooper was thought to have wrote, but none was found.

THIRD EXAMINATION OF BISHOP HOOPER, before the BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, and other COMMISSIONERS.

January 28th, the bishop of Winchester, and other commissioners sat in judgment at St. Mary Overy's, where bishop Hooper appeared before them in the afternoon. He answered much with firmness and defen-sion, he was commanded aside, till the bishop said, Mr. Rogers (who was then come) had been likewise examination. Examinations being ended, the two sheriffs of London were commanded, about four o'clock, to carry them to the Compter in Southwark, there to remain till to-morrow at nine o'clock, to see whether they would relit and come home again to the catholic church. So bishop Hooper went before, with one of the sheriffs, and Mr. Rogers came after with the other; and being out of the church door, Dr. Hooper looked back, and stayed a little till Mr. Rogers overtook him, unto whom he said, Come brother, Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to try these fugitives? Yes, sir, said Mr. Rogers, by God's grace. Doubt not, said Dr. Hooper, but God will give strength. So going forward, they met with such a press of people in the streets, who rejoiced at their continuance, that they had much ado to pass.

By the way, the sheriff said to the bishop I wonder you was so hasty and quick with my lord chancellor, and said uce no more patience: he answered, Mr. Sheriff, I was nothing impatient, all the more the more I used my master's cause, and it flattered me so in hand, for it goeth upon life and death, not the life and death of this world only, but also of the world to come. Then they were committed to the keeper of the Compter, and ap-pointed to several chimney smoke and they told that they should not be suffered to speak one with another, neither any one permitted to come to them that night.

Upon the next day following, January 29th, at the hour appointed, they were brought again by the sheriffs before the bishop and commissioners in the church, where they were in the day before, and being more free and earnest talk, when they perceived that bishop Hooper would by no means condescend unto them, they con-demned him to be degraded, and read unto him his con-demnation. That done, the Rev. Mr. Rogers was brought beforehand, and was committed in like manner, and both were delivered to the secular power. The bi-shiffs of London, who were ordered to carry them to the Clink, a prison not far from the bishop of Winchester's house, and there to remain till night.

When it was dark, bishop Hooper was led by one of the sheriffs, by a long and narrow street, through the bishop of Winchester's house, and over London Bridge, through the city to Newgate, and by the way some of the jailers were sent forth to put out the escommariners' candles, who used to fit with lights in the streets; either fearing, that the people would have made some attempt to have set him free by force, if they had seen him go to that prison, or else, being bur-dened with an evil conscience, they thought darkness to be a most fit reason for such a business.

But notwithstanding this device, the people having some fewer, every one coming, many of them came fast to their doors with lights, and there they kept up God for his condescension in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and defied God to strengthen him in the same to the end. The bishop required the people to make their earnest prayers to God for him, and so went through Cheapside to the prison, and was deliv-erecl as poor prisoner to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained six days, nobody being permitted to come to him, or talk with him, fasting his keepers, and such as should be appointed thereto.

During this time, Banister, bishop of London, and others at his appointment, as Feckenham, Leverley, Harpsfield, &C. desired several times unto him, to tell them, by any means, they could persuade him to relent, and become a member of their antichristian church. All the ways they could advise they attempted. For besides the desire of his pardon and all the threats of tumults of the fomentaries, and of ancient writers wrote against Christ's name, according to their accustomed manner; they used also all outward gentlenesses and significations of friendship, with many great promises of worldly wealth; not omitting all most grievous treatises, if with gentle-ness, they were not present, or tenderness, they always the same man, fistsfull and immovable. When they perceived that the could by no means roch him to their purpose, with such persuasions and offers as they used for his conversion, then went they by false rumours and reports of executions (for it is well known that they and their servants did first come to him, and the doctrine of Christ which he professed, in discredit with the people. Which being thus spread abroad, and believed by some of the weaker sort, by reason...
of the often report of the bishop of London and others, it increased more, and at last came to bishop Hooper’s ears, who was greatly grieved thereby, that the people should give credit to such false rumours, having to flatter a ground; as may appear by the following letter, which he wrote upon that occasion.

**A LETTER, From Bishop HOOPER, concerning certain false Rumours spread abroad of his Recantation.**

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, who ungenerously look for the coming of our Saviour Christ. Dear brethren and fathers in the Lord, and my fellow-priests for the cause of God’s gospel, I much rejoice and give thanks unto God for your concordance and perseverance in affliction, unto whom I with continuance unto the end. And as I do read and write in the service I am bound, so I do write and read for your edification, and to swell your patience, even to do I mourn and lament to hear of our dear brethren that yet have not felt such dangers for God’s truth, as we have, and do feel, and are daily like to suffer more, yea, the extreme and vile death of the fire: yet such is the report abroad, as I am credibly informed that I John Hooper, a condemned rebel for the cause of Christ and of his truth, should now after sentence of death, (which was given before the fire of the House, for fear of damaging our city and for saving its face) go back and implore the pardon and pardon and declare that which heretofore I have preached. And this talk arising from this, that the bishop of London and his chaplains repugne to the sentence of death, we write withal very carefully as I could with them, they would think, that in case I did refuse to talk with them, they might have just occasion to say that we were base and, as good as speak with learned men, or else proud and dictious and disputative, and they would say, as I did before, to avoid all dissension of both, I have, and do daily speak with them when they come, not doubting but they report that I am so penitent and ready for the last trial, and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have hitherto preached, by their coming.

Therefore, you that may send to the weak brethren, pray that they will persuade them not with such reports of recantation as they do. For I have hitherto led all things of the Lord, and suffered great pains and imprisonment, and I think God I am as well prepared for death as any plain man. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report such rumour that are untrue. We have enemies enough of such as know not God truly. But yet the false report of weak brethren is a great trial. I, with your conclaim salvation in John Hooper, and also require your continual prayers, that he which hath begun in us, may continue it to the end.

And now, brother, I will close with my tongue, and with my pen hereof, and herefore shortly and shortlI confirm the faith by God’s grace with my blood. From Newport, February 2, 1555.

Your brother in Christ.

JOHN HOOPER.

Monday morning, Bonner, bishop of London, came to Newport, and degraded bishop Hooper; the sentence of his degradation here followed.

**The Degradation of Dr. HOOPER, Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester.**

In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen. Whereas by a definitive sentence from the reverend father in Christ Stephen, his divine permission, in his deaconship of Chester, against you John Hooper, presbyter of his jurisdiction, on account of hereby and offence notoriously committed within him, and rebellion with intemperance and of latterly and legally proved; it plainly appears to us, Edmund, bishop of London, that the aforesaid John Hooper have been and still continue to be an open, odious, and incorrigible heretic; and it also appears by the same sentence that you have levied and pronounced an heretic of this sort, and have likewise incurred the sentence of the greater excommunication; and it plainly and fully appears that you ought to be deposed from your order, and for these your demerits are to be delivered to the secular power, according to the tenor of the aforesaid sentence, to we are not concerned in this affair. We therefore, the aforesaid Edmund, bishop of London, and the said John Hooper, have committed the same hereby then, and oftentimes before and since the same, I say, with the same confessions, and that we may execute the aforesaid sentence in a better and more efficacious manner, have thought fit to proceed to the actual degradation of you, the aforesaid John Hooper, your crimes and continuance thereof, and for the same you are delivered to the secular power, according to the direction of the law, and the laudable custom of former times, that we may rightly and legally deliver you to the secular power, who are unwilling to continue in the faith of the church; and that this ought to be done, we do by the presents declare and pronounce.
the town, to require aid of the mayor and sheriffs, fear-ing left he should have taken from them. The officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keep their houses, but no one gave any signification of a rescue or violence. He lodged at one In-gram's house in Gloucester, and that night (as he had done all the way) he did eat his meat quietly, and slept his first sleep soundly, as it was reported by the guard and others that he was asleep in prayer the next morning; and all the day, except a little time at his meals, and when conversing with such as the guard permitted to speak to him, he spent in prayer.

Sir Anthony Kingston, at one time Dr. Hooper's good friend, wrote him a letter to attend his execution. As soon as he saw the bishopp, he burst into tears. At first sight, Dr. Hooper did not know him: the knight therefore addressing the bishopp, said, "Why, my lord, do you not know me, an old friend of your's, Anthony Kingstone?"

Yes, sir Anthony Kingston, I do know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do prate God for the same.

But I am forry to see you, my lord, in this cafe: for as I understand, you are come hither to die. But I consider that life is sweete, and death is bitter. Therefore seeing life may be had, defire to live; for life hereafter may do good.

Indeed it is true, Mr. Kingston, I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not come home in this world, if I cannot take you in this diocese, and elsewhere; and I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is, that death is bitter, and life is sweete: but, alas! I consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet.

Therefore for the defire and love I have to the one, and the terror and fear of the other, I do not so much regard this death, nor Antwort this life, but have fettle myself, through the strength of God's holy spirit, patiently suffer through the torments and extremities of the life now prepared for me, rather than to deny the truth of his word, defiring you and others, in the mean time, to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers.

Well, my lord, returned sir Anthony, then I perceive there is no remedy, and therefore I will take my leave of you: and I thank God that ever I knew you; for God did appoint you to call me, being a lost child: and by your good instructions, where before I was both a adulterer and a fornicator, God hath brought me to the forsaking and denying of the fame.

But I have had the grace to do highly prate God for it: and if you have not, I pray you God may have you, and that you may continually live in his fear. After these and many other words, they took leave of each other, Mr. Kingston with bitter tears, Dr. Hooper with tears also trickling down his cheeks. At his departure, but not knowing but there was all the trouble, he had been put in prison, had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

The same day in the afternoon, a blind boy, after long intercession made to the guard, obtained leave to go into the building to pray. He had not long before had suffered imprisonment at Gloucester for confessing of the truth. Dr. Hooper, after he had examined him of his faith, and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld him steadfastly, and (the water appearing in his eyes) said unto him, "Ah! poor boy, God hath taken from thee thy outward fight, for what reason he beit knoweth: but he hath given thee another fight much more precious, for he hath ended thy soul with the eye of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto him, that thou maye never be forlorn, for then wouldst thou be blind both in body and soul."  

After him another came, whom the bishop knew to be a papist, and a wicked man, who appeared to be forry for Dr. Hooper's troubles, saying, Sir, I am forry to see thee thus. To see me? Why art thou forry? To No. 12. fee you (said the other) in this cafe: for I hear you, are come hither to die. Be forry for thy self, man (said Dr. Hooper) and lament thine own wickednes: for I am well, I thank God, and death to me of Christ's sake is welcome.

The same night the bishopp was committed by the guard, (their commission being then expired) into the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester, Jenkins and bond, who, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to Dr. Hooper's lodging, and at the first meeting saluted him, and took him by the hand. Unto whom Dr. Hooper spake in this manner. "Mr. Mayor, and the other gentlemen, I have many thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take me, a prisoner, and a con-demned man, by the hand; whereby, to my rejoicing, it is very apparent, that your old love and friendship to-wards me is not altogether extinguished, and also that all the things I have taught you in times past, are not utterly forgotten, when I was your bishop and pastor. For which most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsity and hereby, as many other men do, I am forry (as I am sure you know) by the queen's commands, to die, and am come where I taught is, to confirm it with my blood. And now, Meff. Sheriffs, I underland by these good men, and my good friends (meaning the guard) at whole hands I have found so much favour and faver to me now as a prisoner, as a prisoner could reasonably require, (for which also I must heartily thank them) that I am committed to your custody, as unto them that must me brought forth to morrow to the place of execution. My request therefore to you shall be only, that you will be a quick fire, shortly to make an end: and in the mean time, be so kind to me, that I may not be ob- dent unto you, as yourselves could wish. If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your finger, and I have done. For I am not come hither as one forced or com-pelled to die; for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly goods, but as one willing for God, and give my life for the truth, rather than to consent to the wicked papistical religion of the bishop of Rome, re- ceived and fet forth by the magistrates in England, to God's high displeasure and defamation: and I tryst, by God's grace, to morrow to die a faithful servant of God, and a true obedient subject to the queen."  

Thefe, and such-like words in effect, bishop Hooper used to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, whose many mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding, the two sheriffs went aside to consult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common gaol at the town, called Northgate, if the guard had not made easie intercession for him; who declared at large, how quietly, mildly, and patiently, he had behaved himself in the way, adding thereto, that any child might keep him well enough, and that it was a shame to have any left to watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison. So it was determined at length he should still remain in Robert Ingram's house; and the sheriffs and the serjeants and other officers did appoint to watch with him that night themselves. His desire was, that he might go to bed that night before, saying, that he had many things to remember: and so he did at five o'clock, and slept one sleep soundly, and spent the rest of the night in prayer. After he had got up in the morning, he declared that no man should be suffered to come into the room, that he might be solitary till the hour of execution.

About eight o'clock came Sir John Bridges, lord Shando, with a great band of men, sir Anthony Kingstone, sir Edmund Bridges, and other commissioners appointed to see execution done. At nine, Dr. Hooper prepared himself to be in readiness, for the time was hand. Immediately he was brought down from his chamber by the sheriffs, who were accompanied with bills, and other weapons. When he saw the multitude of weapons, he gave the following on this wife: Meff. Sheriffs (said he) I am no traitor, nor murderer: you have made such a busines to bring me to the place where I must suffer: for if you had suffered me, I would have gone alone to the flake, and troubled none of you. Afterwards looking upon the multitude of people that D d were
were assembling, being by estimation to the number of 7000, (for it was market day, and many came to see his behaviour) he spake unto those that were about him, saying, Who of these people assembled and come together? Peradventure they think something of me now, as they have in times past: but alas! speech is prohibited me. Notwithstanding, the cause of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their pastor, I preached unto them these things, and set forth the word of God: because I will not now account the fame to be hereby and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me." Having said this, he went forward, led between the two thieves (as it were a lamb to the place of slaughter) in a gown of his hated, his hat upon his head, and a lute in his hand to play himself with; for the grief of the Scatista, which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt. All the way, being straitly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth; but beholding the people, who mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew; and he was never known, during the time of his being amongst them, to look with such cheerful and roddy a countenance as he had. When I was appointed to the place where he should die, he smilingly beheld the stake and preparation made for him, which was near unto the great elm-tree over-against the college of priests, where he was wont to preach. The place round about was thronged with hundreds of witnesses and spectators; and in the chamber over the college-gate stood the priests of the college. Then he knelt down (forasmuch as he could not be suffered to speak unto the people) to prayer, and beckoned six or seven times unto one whom he knew, that he might hear his prayers, and report faithfully the same. When this person came to the good bishop, he pouring tears upon his shoulders and in his bosom continued his prayer for the space of half an hour; which prayer was drawn from the whole creation.

Now after he was entered into his prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a hill, with his pardon (or at least wife it was feigned to be his pardon) from the queen, if he would turn. At the sight where of he cried, If you love my soul, away with it. The box being taken away, the lord Shandon said, seeing there is no remedy, dispatch him quickly. Mr. Hooper replied, Good my lord, I trust your lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers.

Then the lord Shandon said to Sir Edmund Bridges for more to Mr. Hooper's prayer, as his request: Edmund, take heed that he do nothing else but pray: if he do, tell me, and I shall quickly dispatch him. In the mean time, one or two perfons, uncalled, stepped up, who heard the bishop speak the words following.

Bishop HOOPER'S PRAYER.

ORD, I am a bell, but thou art heaven: I am a link of sin, but thou art a gracious God and a merciful redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon me most miserable and wretched offender, after great mercy, and according to thine infinite mercies; thou art ascended into heaven, receive me hence to be partaker of thy joys, where thou livest in equal glory with thy Father. For well knowest thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute this thy poor servant; not for my sins and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow their wicked dealing to the contaminating of thy blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of thy truth; wherefore it did please thee by thy Holy Spirit to instruct me: which, with so much diligence as a poor wretch (as I might) have been, I have set forth to thy glory. And well feel thou, my Lord and God, what terrible pains and cruel torments are prepared for thy crucified Son, and therefore I know is able to bear, or patiently to pass. But all things that are impossible with men, are possible with thee. Therefore strengthen me of thy goodness, that in the fire I break not the rules of patience; or else suffer the terror of the pain, as shall feign myself to thy glory.

As soon as the mayor gave the hour, who reported the foregoing words, they were commanded away, and

could not be suffered to hear any more. Prayer being done, bishop Hooper prepared himself for the stake, and put off his coat, and delivered it to the flames, and the body of him that had it under his hoose, wherein he would have burned. But the firefell not, would not permit that, (such was their greediness) unto white pleatures (good man!) he very Obstensibly admitted himself, and his death did coat away off. Then being in his shirt, he took a piece from his hose himself, and trussed his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gun-powder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity delivered him by the guard. So defining the work, he laid him down, and the fire fell directly upon him, and burnt him, (whole body) till the time of his pains he went up to the stake; when he was at it, three hacks, made to bind him thereto, were brought; one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs. But the people of them said, You have no need thus to trouble yourselves. I doubt not, God will give me strength sufficient to abide the extreme of the fire, without bands: notwithstanding, suspecting the frailty and weakness of the flesh, but having affixed confidence in God's strength, I am content you do as you shall think good.

Then the hoon of iron prepared for his middle was brought, which being made somewhow too short, (for his body was swoln with imprisonment; (he drank and partook of nothing, but water) the iron, but when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other two hoops of iron, he refused them, and would have none, saying, I am well afllicted, I shall not trouble you. Then being ready, he looked upon the people, of whom he might be well seen, (for he was both tall, and stood also upon a high stool) and beheld round about him, that in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, he prayed in silence. By and by he was appointed the stake came to him, and did asked him forgiveness. Of whom he asked why he should forgive him, saying, that he never knew any offence he had committed against him. O sir, said the man, I am appointed to make the fire. Therein, said Mr. Hooper, thou doest nothing to offend me: God forgive thee thy sins, and do thine office I pray thee. Then the reeds were cast up, and he received two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, killed them, put one of them under each arm, and advanced with his hands how the reed should be bestowed, and pointed to the place where any were wanting.

Command was now given that the fire should be kindled. But because there were not fewer green faggots, thought the horses could carry, it kindled not speedily, and was a pretty while albe before it took reeds upon the faggots. At length it burned about him, but the wind having full strength in that place (and being a lowing cold morning) it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner little more than touched by the fire.

Within a space after, a few dry faggots were brought, and a new fire kindled with faggots, (for there were no more reeds) and that burned at the nether parts, but had small power above, because of the wind, saving that it did but well on the fire, and until it was fallen into the time of the fire, even as at the first flame, he prayed, faying mildly, and not very loud, (but as one without pains) O Jesus, son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul. After the second fire was set, he looked upon his face, and his hands, and beholding the people, he said with a loud voice, For God's love, good people, let me have more fire: and all this while his nether parts did burn; but the faggots were so few, that the flame did not burn but the lower parts.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the other two: and then the bladders of gun-powder brake, which did him little
lie good, they were so placed, and the wind had such a
fresh point. In this fire he prayed with a loud voice, Lord
Jesus have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus have mercy
upon me! Lord Jesus receive my spirit! And then
when the smoke was black in the mouth, and his tongue fawn, that
he could not speak, yet his lips went till they were thrunk
to the gums: and he knocked his breast with his hands,
until one of his arms fell off, and then knucked his head
with the other until it fell off, and then fell down the
water, and blood dropped out
to the finger ends, until by renewing of the fire his
strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast
in knocking to the iron upon his breast. So immediately,
being forwards, fell up his spirit in three quarters of an hour or more in the
fire; even as a lamb, patiently bearing the extremity thereof,
neither moving forwards, backwards, nor to any side;
but having his mother parts burned, and his
beards fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his
body; and he now reigneth as a blest martyr in the
joys of heaven, prepared for the faithful in Christ be-
fore the foundations of the world: for whose confluence
all christians are bound to praise God.

A POEM by CONRADO ESNER, of the Munster-
dom of DR. JOHN HOOPER, Bishop of GLOU-
CESTER and WORCS:

HOOPER, unmerciful'd by Rome's crowns, in
Christ's left moments dies: 
When his body is rough, his soul doth fly.
Infam'd with faith, to immortality:
His courage yet earth and earth raised his name.
Here stand entrance at the gates of fame,
Which neither storms, nor cold north-winds blast.
Nor all-dooming time, nor venomous wards:
On whom God proclaims shall fare attain
This happiness, which worldsling seek in vain.
Example take by him, who so prospers,
That the world cares in hopes of riches; or if fortune found
With innumerable books, be not cast down;
That not the world, but this, be thy heart concern,
Wist God loves on them that rise right live.

L E T T E R I.
From BISHOP HOOPER, when in Prisoon, to fone of his
Friends.

THE grace of God be with you, Amen. I did write unto you of late, and told you what extremity the parliament had concluded concerning religion, suppressing the truth, and tormenting the people. And now, when this same thing in many places, be it here or there, is come to be so near us, I need not tell you of the love that we have, be not faint, be not afraid. God will protect thee, and take good care, for the head of the church, him that is neither head nor member of it, but a very enemy, as the word of God and all ancient writers do re-
doctrine, do so declare it, and in the force and extremity, which have been the arguments to defend the pope and popery, since their authority first began in the world. And now in this manner of talking we must fear more of God than of man. It was an easy thing to hold with Christ with Christ, the prince and the world hold with him: but now the world, that is, now the true diabolus who is. Wherupon the name, and in the virtue, strength, and power of his Holy Spirit, prepare yourselves in all cale to adversity and consolament. Let us not run away when it is most time to fight, remember none shall be crowned, but such as fight man-
fully; and he that endurith to the end shall be fald; Ye must now turn all your thoughts from the peril ye see, and mark the fidelity that followeth the peril; either victory in this world of your enemies, or else a surrender of this life to inherit the e-ver-
lasting kingdom. Be aware of the faith and fidelity of this world, for the consideration, and too enamour
or les of either of them draweth from God.

Therefore think with yourselves as touching the felicity of the world, it is good; but yet no otherwise than as it fhadeth with the
favor of God. It is to be kept: but yet for so far as by keeping
of it we lose God. It is a good and selfish and careful
among our friends; but yet, so that we carry not there-
wherein in God's displeasure, and hereafter dwell with the
developed spirits. There is nothing under God but may be
kept, so that God's will be done.

Of adversity judge the fame. Imprecation is painful, but yet upon evil conditions is more painful. The prayers
fick; because many delinquents (who declare the
true honour of God is wasting. I must be alone and solitary: It
is to be so to have and God with me, than to be in com-
passion with the wicked. Grace and favour is greater. I am a poor simple creature, and

cannot tell how to answer before nobly, learned, and wise men:

it is to make answer before the pomp and pride of wicked
men, to stand manly in the fight of all honour, and to
fore the just God at the latter day. I shall die then by the hands
of the cruel man: he is blessed that lodeth his life full of misery,
and findeth the life of eternal salvation: My soul must be ren-
doned from good and friends: but yet not so much, as to depart from
grace and heaven itself. Wherefore there is neither felicity nor
adversity of this world, it is to be held as if it were
with the joys or print in the world to come.

I can do no more, but pray for you; do the same for me, for
God's sake. For my part I am not a little troubled, and have not
made mine accounts, and appointed myself unto his will; and
as he will, so I will by his grace. For God's sake, as soon as ye
can plead my poor wife's cause, some letter or other.
In my letter also I will of late to D. As it was told me you
never had a letter from me since the coming of M.S. unto her,
the more to blame me. What you have heard in her times,
The Lord comfort them, and provide for them; for I am
able to do nothing in worldly things. She is a godly and wise
woman. If my meaning had not been, the letters' made
had necessary things: but what I meant, God can perform,
to whom I commended both you and me. I am a precious jewel
now, being close and safe, and a little while removed; my
house, and all that are of the house, may come to no, but my
keeper alone, a simple rule man, God knoweth; but I am
nothing careful thereof. Fare you well. Amen.

Your bounton.

JOHN HOOPER.

L E T T E R II.
From the same to certain GODLY PROFESSORS,
informing them how to behave in the Time of TRIAL,
under a seoel alteration and Change of RELIGION.

The grace, mercy, and peace of God the Father through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, my dear brethren,
and with all that unfeignedly love and embrace your holy
God Amen.

It is told me, that the wicked idol, the mafs, is establis-
sh'd again by law, and pul'd in the parliament-house. Learn
the truth of it, I pray you, and forbear to practice it. If you do
act to such as speak against it: also whether there be any com-
pulsion to conform: remain strong to be at it. The nature thoroughly
known, such as he abhorreth and with a libertie may decline,
and avoid the danger the better. Doubtless there hath
not been seen before our time such a parlament as this is,
that as many as were left, and the rest, were but,
should be banish'd out of both hands. But we must give
God thanks for that truth he hath opened in the time of his
beloved servant King Edward VI, and now the time hath
not, nor dilluvium with it idolatry; but that we may have
strength and patience rather to die ten times than to deny hin-
ones. Blest shall we be, if ever God makes us worthy of
that honour to bleed our blood for his name's sake: and blest
shall we think the parents which brought us into the world,
that we should from this manner be carried into immortality.
If we follow the command of St. Paul, that faith, "If ye then
be riften again with Christ, seek the things which are above,
where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God;" we shall nei-
ther depart from the words of Christ, from this wretched
and mortal life, with so great pain as others do.

Let us pray to our heavenly Father, that we may know and
love his bleded will, and the glorious joy prepared for us in
time to come, and that we may know and hate all things contrary to
his blest will, and also the pain prepared for the wicked in
the world to come. There is no better way to be used in this
troublesome time for your consolation, than many times to
have affinements together of such men and women as are of
your religion in Christ, and there to take and renew amongst
yourselves the truth of your religion, to see what you are by the
word of God, and to remember what you were before you came
to the knowledge thereof, to weigh and confer the dreams
and lies of the preachers that now preach, with the word of
God that everyman all men: and by such talking together,
forfearing together, you shall the better find all out their lies that
now go about to deceive you, and also both know and love the
truth that God hath opened unto us. It is much required that
the members of Christ comfort one another, more prayer to-
gether, confer one with another; so shall you be the stronger,
and more God's Spirit shall be abundantly in you. And when
of you, to teach you, to comfort you, to make you wife in
godly things, patient in adversity, and strong in perfection.
If you see the fear of the Lord in a thing, then in you is
another, make that wicked religion and thenceforth against
God's truth and his people. If you may have learned
man, that can not of the scripture speak unto you of
faith, and true holiness, yet God hath not cast the
defect of Christ's church from the beginning of it until this
day, that you may perceive by the life of our fathers these
two things: the one is, what Christ's church is, and the other
is, what he must suffer persecution and trouble in the world, be
tired; the
of all things, and then make their better 'tis than an
our worse than it was. Then if we see that two or thre,
more or less, be as we speak, that is gone, as we speak,
mock us: I suppose it were fit to appeal, to be heard les
the queen and the whole council, and that would much for
for. For there be some people, as we have said before,
truth, many of them err rather zeal than malice, and
others that be obdurate shall be unforced fully to their
(why do not) although to our favor and good will.
'cause of the I am affir'd, that the commissurers appo
us and judge us, mean nothing less than to bear the case in
diverse, for they be enemies unto us and our cause, and
'to; for they are not so give factor or more. The I
'pose with St. Stephen to speak to that they could not refus
s or to set such silence and patience as Christ did, they "

Therefore, my dear brethren, in the mercy of Jesus Christ
I would be glad to know your advice this day or to-morrow.
for I am not so sure but I may be known, or known by
not company together, but be kept one apart from another.
They will deny our appeal, yet let us challenge the appeal,
and take witness thereof, of such as be present, and require for
a difference of hearing and judgment, to be heard either by
the queen and the council, or else before all the parliament,
they were used in king Edward's time. Further, for this part
will require both books and time to answer. We have bo
ponsors now three quarters of a year, and have lacked the
books; and our memories, by cease keeping and ingratitude;
'these have been the cause, that we cannot have. God will
us, yea, I doubt not but he will, and teach us to
do all things in his cause godly and conffidently. If our
appearance or experience be not good, or our case not strong,
flip dispute one day, be condemned the next day, and fli
the third day. Yet and is there no law to condemn us
for so as I know not. The 20th of March, or one week to Dr. Wellon. To whom Weldon made this answer.
It mattereth not (quoth he) for a law, we have a commissi
proceeded among them; when they be dispatched, let their
friends be the law.

Now how from a man may have such a commissariat at my
chase, and that he shall have the power of justice. It is as hard to be obtained as
an indiction for Christ at Caiaphas and accused. Whatever ch
have the queen upon their fides, may do all things bot
the whispers, and also the knowledge of the
of the parts, be not so good, I will have that he have
found out the mark that the bishops that at, and despair
pleased with their doings. I pray you help, that our
brothers, but those to which they may belong. I pray you help me,
these things, and send me your answer betime. Judges Vexed
not; neither know we the day nor the hour. The Lord Je
Chrift with the Holy Spirit comfort and strengthen us all
Amen. May 6, 1556.
Your's, and with you unto death in Christ.

JOHN HOOPER.

LETTER IV.

From the Bishop to his H~e ANNE HOOPER, wetherby all the true Members of Christ may take
Confort and Courage to suffer Affliction for the Profession
his Holy Gospel.

OUR Saviour Jesus Christ (dearly beloved, and my godly
wifhes in St. Matthew's gospel said to his disciples, that
was more acceptable should come a strange, that they could
be avoided, be perceived as well by the condition of others
should perish and be lost for ever in the world to come, as
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part of the people would commit and neglect whatsoever ch
or godly ways shall be thereto unto them, or effe
ceive and use it as they thought good to fave their pleasure,
without any profit to their bounty, not caring whether they live
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another with violence, until they come into a reprefent ,mind,
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blinded, they perceive none of their own vices before the truth of

The grace of God be with you, Amen. I am advirtized
by divers, as well iuch as love the truth, as also by such
as yet be not come unto it, that you and I shall be called shortly
to Cambridge, there to dispute for the faith, and for the
religion of Christ (which is most true) that we have and do profess.
I am, as I doubt not you bel in Christ really, not only to go to
Cambridge, but also to suffer, by God's help, death itself in
the maintenance thereof, and in his accomplishment we have
obtained for the commissation already, and speedily (as I trust) he
will put it in execution. Wherefore, dear brethren, I do admonish you who are
appearing before for disputing in that cause, that from the
hypocrisy, most devilish superfiction, and imposture. Let some
learned men thow you all the articles of your belief and monu
ments of Christian faith, from the time of Christ hitherunto, and
you shall perceive that there was never mention of such articles
as these hypocrites teach. God blest you, and pray for me as
I do for you.

Out of the Fleet by your brother in Christ,

JOHN HOOPER.

LETTER III.

To Dr. ROBERT FERRAR, Bishop of ST. DAVID'S, the Rev. Dr. ROWLAND TAYLOR, the Rev.
Mr. JOHN BRADFORD, and Archdeacon Philip
Pelham, the King's workmen.

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as they men wilfully and voluntarily reject the word of God; ever so much more will they fully deliver them up to blindfolds of evil and hardenest of heart, that they cannot understand, nor ever content to any thing that God doth, because it is contrary to their will and word: wherefore let for ever keep the fear of God in view, that ye may hate it mortally, and of all things most detest God's holy word. And as the devil hath entered into their hearts, that they therefore may not come to God: and even so can they not abide any other man to be a christian man, and to lead his life after the word of God, but hate him, and the life of him, and so be he man or woman, if God suffer it. And so much are these wicked men blinded, that they regard no law, whether be God's or man's, but make their life and pleasure that have prayed for daily them, offending with that which God hath appointed for them, and with them God's grace.

In their blind fury they have no respect to nature. For the best and most noble of them, the father and son, and even dear friends, in devilish flattery and offence, are become most mortal enemies. And so, for when they have chosen families, and are the devil, they the devil, the property that have prayed for daily them, offending with that which God hath appointed for them, and with them God's grace.

They are not troubled but what they do, and do great comfort and consolation in all troubles. He fleeth with all his strength in this life away from this life and matter he is not an enemy, for when it happens, he bideth he be patient; and in no case violently nor sedulously to pervert their profissors, because God hath such care and charge of us, that he will never allow of any thing, that he of that one shall fall not away without the will and pleasure of our heavenly Father. Whether the heart therefore tarry on the head, or fall from the head, is the will of the Father. And feasting he hath such care for the hairs of our heart, how much more doth he care for our life itself? Whenfore let God's adversaries do what they will, while they take it, they can do us no hurt; for their vanity hath no further power than God permitted them; and that which cometh unto us by the will of our heavenly Father, their power is but vexation unto us, but rather gain, wealth, and felicity. For all troubles and adversity that chance to be as of God, by the will of the heavenly Father, are of little or no other but our good and pleasure. That the spirit of man may feel these consolations, the giver of them, the heavenly Father, must be praying unto the merits of Christ's Church for it: for it is not in the power of any man before that the good of our life, or of any other thing of this world.

Therefore St. Paul gave a godly and necessary lieffon to all men to continue in this life, and therein floweth how a man may bef ear the iniquities and troubles of this world: if ye be again with Christ, (faith he) see the things which a man was wrought in him: the sight of the riches of the life to come, and this life of the body, with the life in Christ's blood, and so for the love and certainty of this world he will make no reprofe sion: for this world is never to be able to bear the goods of life, or any other thing of this world.

Therefore St. Paul gives a godly and necessary lieffon to all men to continue in this life, and therein floweth how a man may be afraid of the iniquities and troubles of this world: if ye be again with Christ, (faith he) see the things which a man was wrought in him: the sight of the riches of the life to come, and this life of the body, with the life in Christ's blood, and so for the love and certainty of this world he will make no reprofe sion: for this world is never to be able to bear the goods of life, or any other thing of this world.

In this first part St. Paul commandeth us, "to think or let our affections be such that we may not do as God must not desire us to do, but seek the things that are above, he requireth that our minds never cease from prayer and study in God's word, until we see, know, and understand the will and word of God's holy word. And as the devil hath entered into their hearts, that they therefore may not come to God: and even so can they not abide any other man to be a christian man, and to lead his life after the word of God, but hate him, and the life of him, and so be he man or woman, if God suffer it. And so much are these wicked men blinded, that they regard no law, whether be God's or man's, but make their life and pleasure that have prayed for daily them, offending with that which God hath appointed for them, and with them God's grace.

When a man hath, by seeking the word of God, found out what the things above be, then must he, as St. Paul faith, let his affections upon them. And this command, be more hard than the other. For man's knowledge many times touch the belt, and knoweth that there is alve to come, better than this life present, (as you may see how daily men and women can praise and commend, yea, and with for heaven, and to be at rest there) yet they let not their affections upon it: they do more affect and love indeed a trile of nothing in this that pleache their affections, that they do not begin to mind that there is a life after this world, not perceiving that their own judgement faith is better than all worldly things.

"Wherefore we must let our affections on the things that be above: "that Christ may sit upon the right hand of God, upon the earth, offereth itself to be our's, if we will give our good wills to it, and love it in our hearts, then ought we to secure for the judgment of God's word, whether we may have the world and have all, but that is not our worldly life without his displeasure. If we cannot, St. Paul's commandments must take place, "Set your affections on things that are above: not to set your mind upon the earth, nor keep not by God's law, our other lives be continued without the denial of his honour, we must let our affections upon the riches are above, and love them, and not upon things that are on the earth. Therefore this second commandment of St. Paul requireth, that our minds judge heavenly things to be better than things upon the earth, and the life to come better than the life present. And he doth pray, and prefer them, and have such affection to the belt, that in no case we set the world before it, as the most part of the world doth and hath, but that for they chafe the belt and prove it, and yet follow the world.

But those things, my godly wife, require rather thought, meditation, and prayer, than words or tale: They are easy to be spoken of, but not so easy to be used and practised. Wherefore feigning be they God's gifts, and none of our's, to have as our own when we would, we must seek them at our heavenly Father's hand, who feareth and is prayer have wore and wretched we be, and how naked, how spoiled, and defile of all his blessed gifts we be by reason of sin. He did command therefore his children be not laced, neither be their lives wholly given unto us, but rather gain, wealth, and felicity. For all troubles and adversity that chance to be as of God, by the will of the heavenly Father, are of little or no other but our good and pleasure.

When you find yourself too much oppressed, (as every man shall be sometimes with the fear of God's judgment) ulyue the 77th Psalm that beginneth, "I will cry unto thee, I will cry unto thee into me. In which Psalm is both godly doctrine and great consolation unto the man or woman that is anguished in mind.

Use also is such trouble the 89th Psalm, wherein is contained the prayer of such a man, that was brought to extreme anguish and misery, and being vexed with adversities and persecutions, saw nothing good but he was in despair, and feeling his heart afraid, he told not he had only man, but also God angry towards him; yet he by prayer humbly returned unto God.

We must not also make judgments and opinions, but always lay his judgments and opinions, and rejoice that it please him by troubles to use us as he used herefore such as he might loved in this world. Be glad, and rejoice for your godly grace (God be praised) work both consolation and patience in afflicted Christians. And when our Saviour Christ hath willed men to trouble to be content and patient, because they are in great trouble and great confusion, he utheh also to take from us all flaire and rebuke, as though it were not an honour to suffer for Christ, because the wicked and death cut. Wherefore Christ placeth all his honourably, and faith, "Even so persecuted they the prophets that were before you."

We may also fold with St. Paul's, Psalm 89:9. 'For the Hebrews, where the number of the blest and glorious company of saints appears now to our faith in heaven, in yet, the letter of the time of this life, it is now the evidence of faith that therefore consider both them and all other things of the world since the fall of man, and we shall perceive nothing to
be absolute judgment, and sentiment (never to be revoked) of eternal life and eternal death upon all men at last. For the end of the world we have nothing so much extolled, they have not known what an evile end they have, as we asstend, even as we are informed. So doth the merciful Father lay upon us now imprecation, that we should not be for our part shortlived, nor ever spoil of good, if we friends of the sight, and all that we know, and all others, we are persuaded lots of Abraham's enemies and the word. God's will be done. I write in Christ Jesus, not Mediator and Saviour, your constancy and confidence, that you may live and thrive, and ever be exercised in Christ I doubt not it is for no reason for his most blest and painful patience, I commend you. Amen. 10. 1553.

LETTER V.

To a PIous WIDOW.

The grace of God, and the comfort of his Holy Spirit be with you, and all them that call upon the name of the Lord.

I thank you, dear sister, for your most loving remembrance: and although I cannot accommodate the same, yet if I had all my heart, that God would do it, requiring you not to forget your duty towards God in these perilous days, in which the Lord will try us. I trust you do increase, by reading of the scriptures, the knowledge you have of God, and the diligence you apply yourself to follow the same: for the knowledge not only of God's will, but also the will of your own, where it is necessary. If God shall put in your mind to change, remember the saying of St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 6. It is lawful for thee to be married, but not to marry to whom thou wouldest, but who the Lord gives thee. And in that same 1 Cor. vii. that is to say, to such a one as is of Christ's religion. Dearly beloved in Christ, remember these words, for they will be to thee most wholesome and comfortable. Therefore, when I see you, I will, when I have better leisure, as now I cannot at all further adversity you. In the mean time I commend you to God, to Christ, to the guidance of his holy word, which establish and confirm you in all well-doing, and keep you in the day of the Lord. Watch and pray, for this day is aslant. Yours, as in Christ.

JOHN ROOPER.

LETTER VI.

To the Bishop of GLOUCESTER, as also his brethren, Ministers, Preachers, and Helpers, in the City of LONDON.

The grace of God be with you, Amen. I have received from you (deeply beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ) by the hands of my excellent William Downows, your liberality, for the which I most heartily thank you, and I praise God highly in you and for you, who hath moved your hearts to shed this blood for me. In which I committed to your care, to the Lord and to you, as you shall send to him, and as befitting, his Truth and mercy, that he may be sented to your care, and I am sented to you, in the Lord, that it is right and meet for you to give him such a thing as this: that you may be sented to your care, and I am sented to you. Forasmuch as I have taken all worldly goods, and have also given it all to God, and have given it away, and I am sented to your care, and I am sented to you. Forasmuch as I have taken all worldly goods, and have also given it all to God, and have given it away, and I am sented to your care, and I am sented to you.

But of this I am assured, that the wicked world, with all the power and force it shall not reach one of the heads of our heads without leave and licence of our heavenly Father, who will be done in all things. If he will live, life be it; if he will die, death be it; if he shall be eighty years old, that may be for his own will, and then although both we and all the world see no other thing but death, yet if he think life be better, we will not die. No, my dear friend, let us be obedient to our merciful Father, and let us please him, as it pleased God, and as Abraham thought to kill his son Isaac, yet when God perceived that Abraham had furnished his will to God's will, and was content and obedient in all things, when he pleased.

Dearly beloved, if we are contented to obey God's will, and for his commandment's sake to hinder our goods and our lives to be as we desire, we shall make no manner whether we keep goods or life, and lose the world. Nor shall it be taken from us for God's cause, nor can any thing at length do us hurt, which is contrary to God's commandment. Let us wholly suffer God to work in us, as he shall use his holy will, and so we will return him, according to the world, a gratefulness, and so we will return him, according to the world, a gratefulness.
LETTER VIII.
From the same, to Mrs. Wilkinson, a Woman heartily in God's Caufe, and who afterwards died in Exile, at Frankfort.

The grace of God, and the comfort of his Holy Spirit be with you, Amen.

I am very glad to hear of your health, and do thank you for your loving tokens. But I am a great deal more glad to hear, how Christianly you avoid idolatry, and prepare yourself to suffer the extremities of persecution. For if you suffer from the fegarcing of tyrannical pains, you shall avoid permanent torments in the world to come; and if you keep it with as much patience as you can, so that you may endure the trial of faith that cometh of thy faithfulness, turneth at length to unfeatsuable pains; and the gains of this world, with the joys of his favor, are beggary and vanity before them, and will appear but an earthen vessel in this cause of religion; for it will chufe and follow an equal multitude, if it may be allowed, rather to turn than to be moved, and rather be thrown down than to be moved.

The love of Christ will not be found the same in itself, and did amend it, chusing rather to be afflicted with the people of God, than to lose the liberty of the king's daughters, that was given him as a son. Pray for contentment and peace of the spirit, and rejoice with such, until it happen to you for the truth's sake: for in that part Christ faith; you are happy, for I am, I pray you, that I may do in all things the will of our heavenly Father; to whole tuition and defence I commend you.

LETTER IX.
To Mr. Hall and his wife, whom the Bishop fills his DEAR FRIENDS in GOD, and exhorteth to stand fast in the TRUTH.

The grace of God be with you, Amen. I thank you for your loving and gentle friendship at all times, praying to God to shew them favor, that they may have the over and exceeding trouble and adversity happen, you go not back from him. The words of our forefathers, upon whom the Lord sent such troubles, are few, but many thousands, died for the testimony of Jesus Christ, both men and women, suffering with patience and constancy as much cruelty as tyrants could invent; but God is true, looking always for the end of this sinful world, when they shall receive their bodies and spirits, to be made partakers of that first resurrection, and to be numbered among the elect associated with them in full confidence and joy, and as virtuous men suffering martyrdom, and carrying a little while in this troubled pain, by and by relaid in joys everlasting; and as their pains ended their labors, and they entered into the joy of the Lord; for he that submitted to the world, to the world, to be counted with the ungodly and sinners, this is more than the life of man; this life is short and miserable, happy are they that can spend it to the glory of God. Pray for me, as I do for you, and commend me to all good men and women. December 22, 1554.

YOURs, with my poor prayer,
JOHN HOOPER.

LETTER VII.
To a MERCHANT, from whom the Bishop received great Consolation and Comfort, during the Time of his IMPRISONMENT in the FLEET.

Grace, mercy, and peace in Christ Jesus our Lord. I thank God and you for the great help and consolation I have received in the time of adversity and distress, which you did not fail to send. I thank you sincerely, and do trust you will not fail to send, as you did before, to ease the straitness of my cheer, and to help me in all my necessities, which are many. I am glad to hear you are at so much work, and more visibly is rejected than falsehood. Leave the unwashed, and see by the word of God what truth is, and trust truth and dislike her not, though man call her falsehood. Believe me, as it is now, so it hath been heretofore, the worse rejected and falsehood received. Such as have professed truth, for truth believeth, and the friends of falsehood laugh them to scorn. The trial of truth must be contrary to man. I have the condemnation of truth by man, but the condemnation of truth by God, flourishing for a while, with endless destruction; the latter affected with everlasting duration, and the former with momentary joys. Wherefore, dear brother, ask and demand of your book, the testament of Jesus Christ, in those woful and wretched days, what you shall think, and what you should rely upon for a certain truth, and whatsoever you hear taught, try it by your book, whether it be true or false. The days are dangerous and trying; but not only for the world and worldly things, but for affairs and hearts of men. It is a trouble of life, but yet a very pain, if it be kept with the offence of Christ. Cry, call, pray, and in Christ daily require help, succor, mercy, and defend; and if you be in truth, tell me of this world prevail not against us. We began well, God gave us unto the end. I would write more unto you, but I perceive you are at so much work, that I am not sure but you would think when I write, I crave. Send me soon, lest I find to you for it; and tell the good men your parting, and when I need, I will be bold with you. December 3, 1554.

Yours, with my poor prayer,
JOHN HOOPER.
The NEW and COMPLETE Book of MARTYRS.

I18

was born! they were not only ignorant of Bethlehem, but al-
so left the fight of the faith that led them before. Whereof we leave the mystery, suffice it, therefore, to us, to seek Christ; this life to seek Christ: that is above, to beware that we lose 5 not the light of God’s word, that is the only mark that lieth us where Christ is, and that faith, whereby interpretation is called the vifion of peace, and amongst the persecuted, is called the light, the hand in the way that pilgrims must go by through this world to Beth-
lehem, the house of fature and plentifulness, and is an im-
pediment, a chattel, by John: he calls all the grace of God be, will keep the pilgrims fill in her, that they shall not come where Christ is at all. And to fly them; the Christ is away the fars of the light of God’s word, the light of God’s word, that cannot be seen: as you may see how the celestial fard was hid from the women, when they asked of the pharisees at Jerusa-
lem, where Christ was born. You shall see what great dangers happened unto these wife men, whilst they were learning of fairs, where Christ was. First, they were out of their way, and next, they took the guide and condlutor, the heavenly flar. Christ is mounted from us into heaven, and there we seek him (as we say) let us go thitherward by the ffar of his word, and worse we happen not to come into Jerusalem, the church of men, and ask for him. If we do, we go out from the earth, and lose also our conductor and guide that only leadeth us straight thither.

The pictres write in fables, that Jafon, when he fought with the dragon in the isle of Colchis, was preferred by the medi-
cine of Medea, and so won the golden fleece. And they write also, that when they see which is to be the son and heir of the high god Jupiter, would need must take the conductors of the fun round about the world, but, as they seigned, he miffed of the accustomed course: wherupon when he went too fard, he was brought in a ship, where two boys, he burned the earth and the water. These phanome histories do shame us that are chriaffian men. Jafon against the poison of the dra-
gon, and Medea against the snares and fables: and again, a flame in it for a chriaffian man against the poison of the devil, hereby, and fcin to use any other remedy than Christ and his word. Phaeton, for lack of knowledge, was afraid of every foul of the Zodiack, that the sun fuch a by: wherefore he now went too long, now too high, and at length fell down and drowned himself in the sea. Christ the Menfian for lack of knowledge, and for fear of fuch danger, he went to the sea, yet, go clean out of order, and at length fall into the pit of hell.

Silfer, take heed; you shall in your journey towards heaven meet with the menfie kind, and have the fear of God’s word therefore ready. You shall meet husband, children, lovers, and friends, that shall, if God be not with them, (as God be praved he is, I would it were with all other alike) be very late and im-
pediments to your purpose. You shall meet with the number and contempt of the world, and be accounted ungracious and un-
godly, if you shall hear and meet with crock trufly to do you all extremities: or you shall meet with the troubles of your own conscience, and feel your own weaknesses; you shall hear that you are curf by the sentence of the catholic church, with fuch an one, and in the church of Christ, you shall come the flar of his word, and you shall arrive at the port of eternal falvation, by the merits only of Jefus Chrift: to whom I commend you, and all your most heartily.

Yours in Christ,  
JOHN HOOPER.

To thefe letters of bishop Hooper, we shall annex one, written by the famous Henry Bellingure, of which men-
tion has been made in the beginning of the bishop’s life.

A LETTER

From the learned HENRY BELLINGE, Chief Superi-
tendant in the City of ZURICH, in SWITZ-
ERLAND, to Bishop HOOPER.

To the most Rev. Father, Dr. John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and now a prisoner for the gospel’s sake, my fellow elder, and most dear brother in England. The heavenly Father and my Lord, and to all thefe which are in bonds and captivity for his name’s sake, graces and peace: Through Jefus Christ our Lord, with wisdom, patience, and fortitude, which be the ornaments of a right man.

I have received from you two letters, my most dear brother, the former in the month of September of the year past, the latter in the year of grace 1554: wherein was presented the case of one out of prison. But I doubting least I should make answer to your letter, and vain, whilst I feared that my letters should never come into your hand. The double letter hereof did refrain from the duties of writing. In which thing I was so sorry, but your letter, which I have now received, especially seeing you did not vouchsafe, not once in a whole year, to answer to my volumes, rather to letters, whereas I continued full moving and,

in writing unto you: as also at this present, after I had been in prison, I did not refrain from continuous writing to you within our only medium, that is, Christ, to grant unto you and to your fellow prisoners, both patience and confancy unto the end. Now is that thing provided in which we did oftentimes in strong- ly express ourselves at your being with us: to pass, spaire, as we did talk of the power of Antichrist, and our faith and victories. For you know theaying of Daniel, that he shall be filled with spirit to princes, and shall be filled fully destroy and make havoc of all things, and shall practice, and he shall destroy the mighty and the holy people. And if the Lord warned us to be fore-hand by Matthew, in the 16th chapter, in the 17th, and in the 16th, and also what that Choed, and the Prophecy of Timothy and the third chap-

Wherefore do I do nothing doubt but that your grace of ye faith and patience, whilst you know that those things you are not looked for, or by come by chance; but that you are in the midst of plagues: for we can be more true and holy than our doctrine, with which you, thee worthiher of Antichrist, do perfecute? All things shall be filled with publick and profane, with unholy and unholy to infirmations, as we have been taught of him and to us. But yet, they would have even the same things to be commended, which we sought no less to withdraw them, than we wish to stand, them that Elias and the Battist. For if Jefus be Chrift, then let them have communion of his, and teach whatsoever is true, and Christ, to the end of the universe, and to him the appel call thee the adversary? But it is not so: it is more na-
ificant for his church, what needless this patching and glossing we, in our motions, need not use these dispositions as we have before, that we may be anointed who, you are, who are sincerely taught, and the truth abiding in Christ, being perfayed that you have all things in him, and in a man made perfect.

Go forward therefore, contantly to confede Christ, and to defy Antichrist, being mindful of this most holy and most noble faying of our Lord Jefus Chrift: He that overcome shall be clothed with the robe of glory, and sat down with me in my thron; but the fearful, and the unbelieving, and the swearers, and all fornicators, and abominations, and all lie, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death. Therefore the first deed of Christ is, but must over, although a man must burn for the Lord’s fall, that we may readily that do affirm this our fure to be severely fyer of that which he now fasteth, who doth not fear Christ and his faith from the truth. Moreover, the Lord granted me, that we may easily overcome by his power the first death, whereby we could not be overcome without Christ; that as we have never, unfpeakable things happen, according to the which we shall pofture as soon as ever we depart. For all the world is full of the kingdom of the Lord; If any man would behold the beaft and his image, and receive the power of this world, in his hand, the fame thall drink of the wrath of God; why then which is poured into the cup of his wrath, and be is tormented with fire and brimstone, holy angels, all before the Lamb: and the foun of their torment shall over, and they shall have no right day nor night, which we shall continue in his image, and shall never receive the pain of his name. Here is the patience of faith: here are they that have patience waits to keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jefus: To him that is adored by and by; I heard a voice faying to me, When bleffed are the dead that are the dead in the Lord, from henceforth, with pufly, they be bleffed, John v. even so faith the Spirit: for they have suffered from their labour, but their works follow them: in our labour shall not be frustrate or in vain.

Therefore seeing you have such a large promife, be thou in the Lord, fight a good fight, be faithful to the Lord unto the end,按照 the word of the Son of God in your conscience, and fighteth for you, and that all the fathers of the Church, are your fellow-soldiers. They that persevere and truly live, and are mortal, whole faviour a woman must not buy with the value of a fambroidered, and that that, is frail, short, brittle, and transitory. Happy and to depart in the Lord, who grant unto you, and to all you faith, concerning the fate of this world, should I commit to the end, reverend fathers and holy confessors of Christ, bishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, and the Latine, and all the rest of the prisoners with you for the Lord’s sake, and for the church, and in the name of all my fellow-ministers, which do speak unto you the grace of God, and confancy in the truth.

Concerning the state of our church, it remains gue as it was when you departed from us, and in the meantime we may be thankful to him, and that we do not only profit the fadders here, but also express the fame effectually with you, to the end, that the body of Christ may be daily in that part of Italy that is near unto us, and France.
The LIFE of Dr. ROWLAND TAYLOR.

In the mean while the godly sustains grievous persecutions, and with great constancy and glory, through tortures they go on to the Lord. I and all my household are in good health in the Lord. They do suffer and fast, and pray for you, and for the comfort of the mind of the rest of the prisoners. There came to us English followers, both godly and learned. They are received of our magistrates. Ten of them dwell together, the rest remain here and there with good men. Amongst others, Mr. Thomas Lever is dear unto me, and famous for the same thing; he is a man of the true character of our countrymen, that a great number became exceeding well learned in the holy scriptures, as well women as men.

In this parish, Dr. Rowland Taylor was a vicar, a man of eminent learning, and who had been admitted to the degree of doctor of civil and canon law. His attachment to the pure and uncorrupted principles of Christianity recommended him to the favour and friendship of Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he lived a confederable time, till through his interest he obtained the living of Hadley. This charge he attended with the utmost diligence and industry, recommending and enforcing the doctrines of the gospel not only by his judicious discourses from the pulpit, but also by the whole tenor of his life and conversation. His faith was found and consequently productive of good works; that faith indeed which in scripture is deemed the gift of God, is always known by its fruits, according to James ii. 26, "For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also."

Thus continued Dr. Taylor promoting the interest of the great Redeemer, and the souls of mankind, both by his preaching and exordia during the reign of King Edward VI., but on the death of Edward VI. and the accession of Queen Mary to the throne, he escaped not the cloud that burst on so many beside; for two of his parishioners, Foster, an attorney, and Clark, a tradesman, out of blind zeal, resolved that mas should be celebrated in all its parts and offices, on the 21st of June, 1553. On Monday before Easter, nay, they had even caused an arbor to be built in the chancel for that purpose, which being pulled down by the protestant inhabitants, they erected another, and prevailed with the minister of an adjacent parish to celebrate mas in the parish-week.

The duties being employed in his study, was alarmed at the ringing of bells at an unusual time, but went to the church to inquire the cause. He found the great doors fall, but lifting up the latch of the chancel-door, he entered and was not a little surprized, to see a priest in his vestments, prepared to celebrate mass, guarded by a party of men under arms, to prevent interference. Dr. Taylor being vicar of the parish, demanded of the priest the cause of such proceeding without his knowledge or consent; and how he dared prophan the people of God with abominable idolatries. Foster, the priest, indignantly replied, "Thou traitor, how darest thou to intercept the execution of the queen's orders," but the doctor undauntedly denied the charge of traitor, and assered his mission as a minister of Christ, and delegation to that part of his flock, commanding the priest, as a wolf in sheep's clothing, to depart, nor infect the pure church of God with profane idolatries. A very violent altercation then ensued, between Foster the lawyer, and Dr. Taylor, the former afflicting the queen's prerogative, and the latter the authority of the canon law, which commanded that no mass be said, but at a consecrated altar.

The priest, intimidated by the intrepid behaviour of the protestant minister, was now heard to say these flattering words, "Mass, but Clark said to him, Fear not, you have a super altar, (which is a consecrated stone, commonly about a foot square, which the popish priests carry instead of an altar, when they say mass in gentlemen's houses,) proceed and do your duty.

They then forced the doctor out of the church, celebrated mass, and immediately informed the lord chancel- lor, bishop of Winchester, of his behaviour, who summoned him to appear before him, and answer the complaints that were alleged against him.

The doctor upon receipt of the summons, cheerfully prepared to obey the same; and on some of his friends advising him to fly beyond sea, in order to avoid the cruelty of his invertebrate enemies, he told them that he was determined to go to the bishop, being ready and willing to declare the motives of his behaviour to the popish emissaries, and defend the doctrines he had taught, as well as persuaded that he could not die in a better cause; so having committed his people to the care of a pious and faithful minister of Christ, he repaired to London, and waited on the bishop.

Now when bishop Gardiner saw Dr. Taylor, he, according to his common custom, railed him, calling him knave, traitor, heretic, with many other villainous reproaches, which Dr. Taylor heard patiently, and at last said unto him:

"My lord, I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and a faithful christian man, and am come, according to your commandment, to know what is the cause that your lordship hath sent for me.

Then, said the bishop, art thou come, thou villain? How darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?"

"Yes, said Dr. Taylor, I know who you are, Dr. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor, and yet but a mortal man. But if I should be afraid of your lordship's looks, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare you for shame look any christian man in the face, seeing you have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will you appear before the judgment seat of Christ, and answer to your oath made first unto King Henry the eighth, and afterwards unto king Edward the first, his son?"

The bishop answered, that was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken: I have done well in breaking it; and I think God, I am come home again to our mother, the catholic church of Rome, and so I would thou shouldst do.

Dr. Taylor answered, Should I forsake the church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the apostles and prophets, to approve those lies, errors, superstition, and idolatries, that the popes and their com-
company at this day so blasphemously do approve? Nay, God forbid. Let the pope and his followers return to our Saviour Christ and his word, and thrust out of the church such abominable idolatries as he main-tainteth, and then will christian men turn unto him. You wrote truly against him, and were çıkan against him.

I tell thee, said the bishop of Winchester, it was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore ought to be broken, and not kept: and our holy father the pope hath discharged the oath of it.

Then said Dr. Taylor, But you shall not be so dis-charged before Christ, who doubts will require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege and sovereign lord the king, from whole obedience no man can dare to give against you.

I see, said the bishop, thou art an arrogant knave, and a very fool.

My lord, Dr. Taylor replied, leave off your railing at me, which is not seemly for such a one in authority as you are. For I am a christian man, and you know, that "He that faith to his brother, Racha, is in danger of a council; and he that faith, Thou fool, is in danger of hell fire."

The bishop answered, You are false, and liars all the four churches.

Nay, said Dr. Taylor, we are true men, and know that it is written, "The mouth that lieth, falleth the foul;" and again, "Lord God, thou hast detroyed all that speak lies." And therefore we abide by the truth of God, where you, contrary to your own con-science, deny and forfake.

Thou art married, said the bishop. Yes, I thank God I am, and have had nine children, and all in law-ful matrimony, and blest be God that ordained matrimony, and comforted all that every man, that hath not the gift of continency, should marry a wife of his own, and not live in adultery or whoredom.

Then said the bishop, Thou hast retified the queen's proceedings, and would not suffer the minifter of Alcuin, Mr. John Averth, a very vigorous and devout priest, to lay mafus in Hadley. Dr. Taylor answered, My lord, I am vicar of Hadley, and it is against all right, confidence, and laws, that any man should come into my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed unto me, with the venom of the papistical impious mafs.

With that the bishop waxed very angry, and said, Thou art a blasphemous heretic indeed, that blasphemest the blest sacrament, (and put off his cap) and speakest against the holy mafs, which is made a facriifice for the quick and the dead.

Dr. Taylor answered, Nay, I blaspheme not the blest sacrament which Christ instituted, but I re-verence it as a true christian man ought to do, and confess, that Christ ordained the holy communion in the remembrance of his death and passion, which when we keep according to his ordinance, we, through faith, eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, giving thanks for our redemption, and this is our facriifice for the quick and the dead, to give thanks for his merciful goodness shewed to us, in that he gave his Son Christ to die for us.

Thou fayest well, said the bishop. It is all that thou hast said, and more too: for it is a propitiatory facriifice for the quick and the dead.

Then answered Dr. Taylor, Christ gave himself to die for our redemption upon the cross, whole body there of fer was the propitiatory facriifice full, perfect, and suf-ficient unto salvation for all them that believe in him. And such facriifice did our Saviour Christ offer in his own person once for all, neither can any priest any more offer any sacrifice of any more propitiatory facriifice: and therefore I say with Chrysostom, and all the doctors, Our facriifice is only memorial, in the remembrance of Christ's death and passion, a facriifice of thanksgiving; and therefore the fathers called it Eucharistia: and so eucharistia and facriiff is one.

It is true, said the bishop, the facriiff is called Eucharistia, a thanksgiving, because we there give thanks for our redemption; and it is also a facriiff pro-

priatory for the quick and the dead, which thou fals confessest were thou and I have done. Then the bishop called his men, and said, Have this fellow hanged, and carry him to the King's-Bench, and charge the keeper he be straitly kept.

There being down, held up both his hands and said, "Good Lord, I thanke thee; and from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his decensable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us: and God be praised for good king Edward." So he carried him to prison in the King's-Bench, where he lay prisoner almost two years.

This is the sum of their first discourse, as mentioned in a letter that Dr. Taylor wrote to a friend of his, thanking God for his grace, that he had confessted his truth, and was found worthy for truth to suffer pris-on and bonds, befriending his friends to pray for him, that he might persevere constant unto the end.

Being in prison, Dr. Taylor spent all his time in prayer, reading the holy scriptures, writing, preach-ing, and exhorting the prisoners, and such as were related to him, to repentance and amendment of life: and when a few days after, several other learned and godly men in fundy counties of England were committed to pri-on for religion, that almost all the prisoners in England were the school and companions of Dr. Taylor, and that there was no greater comfort for protestants that came to the prisons to behold their virtuous depormas, and to hear their prayers, preachings, most godly con-ciliations, and confolations.

Dr. Taylor's character was come into the King's-Bench, he found therein the virtuous and vigilant preacher of God's word, Mr. Bradford; which man for his inna-cient and pious living, his devout and virtuous preach-ing, was worthily counted a miracle of his time, as ever his adversaries might confess. Finding this man in prison, he began to exhort him to faith, strength, and patience, and to persevere constant unto the end. Mr. Bradford hearing this, thanked God that he had prov-ided him such a comfortable fellow-prisoner; and they began together to converse, and continued this way, reading and exhorting one another: insomuch that Dr. Taylor told his friends that came to visit him, that God had most graciously provided for him, to send him to that prison where he found such an angel of God, as he in his company to comfort him.

After that Dr. Taylor had lain some time in prison, he was cired to appear in the arches of Bow-church, to answer unto such matter as should be there objected against him. At the day appointed he was led thither, his capital charge being upon him. There he stoutly and strongly defended his marriage, affirming by the scriptures of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by both laws civil and canon, that it is lawful for priests to marry, and that such as have not the gift of continency are bound on pain of damnation to pray, reading, and exhorting one another: insomuch that Dr. Taylor told his friends that came to visit him, that God had most graciously provided for him, to send him to that prison where he found such an angel of God, as he in his company to comfort him.

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with whom he had warmly contended, the following
arguments were exhibited against him:
(1) Maintaining the validity and legality of the
marriage of priests.
(2) Denying the presence of Christ's natural body
and blood in the sacrement of the altar, or that it was
the same in the oblation as in the substance of the
host, as a requisite for or a propitiatory sacrifice both for
sinners and sinners, or that it ought to be worshipped
divine honour.
(3) After all his holiness the pope to be Antichrist,
and papery antichristianity.

A RECAPITULATION out of Dr. TAYLOR's
Castle, whereby our Readers may plainly see, how the
Priestcraft, against Found Knowledge and True Truth,
is fledging Priests to marry.

1. They know that in the Old Testament, agreeable to its first institution, is
indifferently permitted to all men without any exception.
2. They know that in the Old Testament, both priests, Levites, prophets, patriarchs, and all others actually
had their wives.
3. They know that in the Old Testament, married and
and instituted by God for two principal ends: to wit,
procreation, and avoiding of sin.
4. They know that in the Old Testament, God not
only permitted, but God not only permitted, but he
and instituted and appointed men to marry and take
wives, in these words, "It is not good for a man to be
alone." They know that in the New Testament St. Paul
promised the state of marriage to all men, having
not the gift of continency, and forbidden them.
6. They know in the New Testament the fact is
not only permitted, but they expressly willfully
and chargeth men, having not the gift, to marry, saying,
"for avoiding fornication, let every man have his
wife." They know that in the Old Testament the said
St. Paul not only permitted and commanded, but also
instituted and promised the state of marriage, calling it
honourable, and the bed-company to be
understood.
8. They know that in the New Testament, Christ
himself not only not was not conceived not born of the
virgin before she was espoused in marriage, but also
that this holy and blessed mother did beatify and
honour the state of marriage with their presence: yea,
the same begot his first miracle.
9. They know both by the Old Testament and New,
that marriage is no impediment to walk in the obedience of
God's commandments; for both Abraham carried
unto Sarah his lawful wife; and the apostle Paul, the
merciful woman Sarah, with him: and also to Isaac,
Jacob, Moses, David, and others, their marriage was
not to impediment to them to walk with God; neither
other levites, bishops, and priests in the time of both
Old Testament, and of the New. Again, neither
was it an hindrance to Peter, Philip, and others, both
to have their wives with them, and also to supply the
place of apostles.
10. They know both by the Old Testament and New,
that filial fornication and adultery deprive them of
God's favour and grace of the Holy Ghost, which
graces especially be requisite in the men of the
church.
11. They know in their own secret confidence, and
an experience, that neither they which enjoy this vow
a chastity, nor they which take it, do observe the vow
a chastity. Whereupon sin inconveniences more than
effectually prescribed: but the Lord also knew well all, be-
less the secret matters, perverted, of many a poor
man, &c.
12. They know by St. Cyprian, Epist. 11, and St.
Augustine to Julian in his book on marriage, that a vow
no impediment to hinder marriage, or to
benefit them.
13. They know that Chrysostome affirmed it to be an
advice to lay, that a bishop may not have a wife.
14. They know that St. Ambrose lays, integrity will
have no commandment, but counsel only to be given
touching the observing of virginity.

15. They know that before the time of pope Hilde-
brand, that is, during the time of one thousand years
after Christ, marriage was never restrained, by any
forcible necessity of vow, from men of the church.
16. They know that both Paul calleth it the doctrine
of devils, to forbid married men to marry, which God
hath left free, with thanksgiving, for necessity of man
and woman.

When Dr. Taylor had with great spirit and courage
answered for himself, and rebuked his adversaries for
breaking their oath, made for the sake of Henry 8th, for
taking his Edward's son, and for betraying the realm into
the power of the Roman bishop; they perceiving, that
in no case he could be drawn to their wills and pur-
purse, that is, to turn with them from Christ to Anti-
christ, committed him to prison again, where he
remained till the end of January.

The FOURTH and LAST EXAMINATION of Dr.
ROWLAND TAYLOR; who with Mr. BRADFORD
and Mr. SAUNDERS were brought before the
BISHOP of WINCHESTER and other Prelates.

In January, 1555, the Rev. Dr. Taylor, Mr. Brad-
ford, and Mr. Saunders, were again called to ap-
pear before the bishop of Winchester, the bishops of
Norwich, London, Salisbury, and Durham, and there
were again charged with heresy and false doctrine;
whether before the determinate answer was required, whether they
would submit themselves to the Roman bishop, and
abjure their errors, or else they would according to their
laws proceed to their condemnation.

When Dr. Taylor, Mr. Bradford, and Mr. Saunders,
heard this, they answered boldly, that they would
not depart from the truth which they had preached in
king Edward's days, neither would they submit them-
selves to the Roman Antichrist; but they thanked God
for so great mercy, that he would call them to
be worthy to suffer for his word and truth.

When the bishops gave them so bold, and immovably
fixed in the truth, they read the sentence of death
upon them, which they had heard, they most joy-
fully gave God thanks, and said unto the bishops,
"We doubt not but God the righteous judge will re-
quire our blood at your hands; and the proudness of
you all shall repay this receiving against Antichrist,
and your tyranny that you now flee against the flock
of Christ."

Dr. Taylor being condemned, was committed to the
Clink, and the keepers were charged to keep him
strictly: for they were not rather to take him to the
said the lord chancellor, than you had before; there-
fore look you, take heed to it.

When the keeper brought him toward the prison,
the people mobbed to know where he was, unto whom he
said, God be praised, good people, I am come away
without their undeclared, and will confirm the truth with
my blood. He was confined in the Clink till it was
ward night, and then he was removed into the Poultrey
Compter.

When Dr. Taylor had lain in the Compter a week
or thereabouts, on the fourth of February, 1555, Ed-
mund Bonner, bishop of London, with others, came
to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments
as do appertain to their malling-mummery. Now being
come, he called for the said Dr. Taylor to be brought
unto him; the bishop being then in the chamber where
the keeper of the Compter and his wife lay. So Dr.
Taylor was brought with the manner and the manner
above that, to the said Bonner. And at his coming the bishop
said, Doctor, I wish you would remember yourself, and
turn to your mother holy church, for may you do well
enough, and I wish for your profession. Whereunto Dr.
Taylor answered, I wish you and your fellows
would turn to Christ. As for me, I will not turn to
Antichrist. Well, said the bishop, I am come to de-
grade you: wherefore put on these vellures. No, said
Dr. Taylor, I will not. Whist thou not, said the bishop?
I shall
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

I shall make thee e'en go. Said Dr. Taylor, you shall not, by the grace of God. Then he charged him upon his head not to do it, but he sold it.

So he ordered another to put them upon his back, and being thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his hands to his side, walking up and down, and said: How say you, my lord, am I a goodly fool? How say you, my lord?" He was in Chelmsford, and could I have boys to laugh at thee with all thy trumpery? So the bishop scraped his fingers, thumbs, and the crown of his head, with the rest of such child-like observances.

"He left, when he would have given Dr. Taylor a stroke on the breast with his crook-staff, the bishop" chaplain said, My lord, strike him not, for he will certainly strike again. Yes, by St. Peter will I, said Dr. Taylor. The caufe is Christ's, and I am no good Christian, if I would not fight in my master's quarrel.

So the bishop laid his curse upon him, but struck him not. Then Dr. Taylor said, Though you do curse me, yet God doth blest me. I have the winnows of my conscience, that you have done me wrong and violence, and yet I pray God, if it be his will, forgive you. But in the desire of any of the bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities, good Lord, move us. And in going up to his chamber, he still said, God deliver me from you, God deliver me from you. And when he came up, he told Mr. Bradford (for they both lay in one chamber) that he had made the bishop of London afraid; for, said he, he had given him counsel not to strike me with his crook-staff, for he would strike again; and, by my troth, said he, rubbing his hands, I made him believe I would so indeed. The next night after he was deposed, his wife and his son Thomas returned unto him, and were by the gentlemen of the keepers permitted to flip with him. For this difference was ever found between the keepers of the bishop's prifon, and the keepers of the king's prifons: that the bishop's keepers were ever cruel, but the keepers of the king's, like their matters; but the keepers of the king's prifons followed, for the most part, as much favour as they possibly might.

When Dr. Taylor's wife, his son, and John Hull his servant, came to flip with him, at their coming, they knelt down and prayed, saying the litany.

After supper walking up and down, he gave God thanks for his grace, that had so called him, and gave him strength to abide by his holy word: and turning to his son Thomas, My dear son, said he, Almighty God blest thee, and give thee his Holy Spirit, to be a true servant of God. On Christmas Day, he learned their word, and conjoined to fland by his truth all the night, and so my son, that thou fear God always. Fear from all sin, and wicked living: be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply thy book. In any wise face, that thou be obedient to thy mother, love her and serve her: be ruled by her in thy youth, and follow her good counsel in all things. Beware of false company, of young men that fear not God, but follow their lusts and vain appetites. Fly from whoremong, and hate all filthy living, remembering that I thy father do in the doctrine of holy marriage. Another day, when God shall blest thee, love and be kind to the poor in people, and count that thy chief riches are, to be rich in alms: and when thy mother is waxed old, for sake her not; but provide for her to thy power, and fear that the lack thereof: for so will God blest thee, and give thee long life upon earth and prosperity: which I pray God to grant thee.

Then turning to his wife, My dear wife, said he, continue itself in the fear and love of God; keep yourself undefiled from their popish idolatries and superstitions: for the more you come to you a faithful vassal, and so have you been, and for which I pray God to reward you, and doubt not, dear wife, but God will reward it. Now the time is come that I shall be taken from you, and you discharged of the wedding vows; therefore I will give you my counsel what I think most expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing woman, and therefore it

will be most convenient for you to marry. For doubt, lest you shall never be at any convenient day for your marriage, and your poor children, nor out of trouble to be born. Therefore as God will provide it, marry with some honest faithful man, that fears God. Doubt you not, God will provide, in some way or other, a fresh husband for you, and he will be a merciful friend to our children, whom I pray you bring up in the faith, as I shall do mine. And unto John Thomas his son I gave a Latin book, containing the notable sayings of the old martyrs, gathered out of the Ecclesiastical history; and in the end of the book he wrote his testament and last farewell, as he followeth.

The LAST WILL and TESTAMENT of Dr. ROWLAND TAYLOR, VICAR OF HADLEY, IN SUFFOLK.

I say to my wife, and to my children; The Lord grant we may live together, and live, and be blest. I have taken you from me: I was blest, for I am the Bishop of London. I am blest which die in the Lord. God careth for sparrow's: and the hairs of our heads. I have ever heard him more clearly, and fancied there is any thing but what, to be made before God, and to be therefore in him by the means of our dear Saviour Christ. I am, believe, love, fear, and obey him: pray him for, he be a promised God. I am, God, the King of heaven, and shall certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you follow after, to us in heaven. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Ely, Robert, and Zachary: I have beseechened you to the only God- apotent. I say to my dear friends of Hadley, and to all others which have heard me preach, that I depart hence with a quiet conscience, as touching my doctrine, for which I pray you God with me. For I have, after my little talents, declared others those choicements that I gathered out of God's book, the holy Bible. For by the grace of God I, or any one of heaven should peck to you any other gospel than that ye have received, God's good cufe be upon that preacher.

Beware of God's fake that ye deny not God, neither decline from the word of faith, lest God decline from you, and so with exceeding peril, for God's fake beware of popery, it appears to have in it unity, yet the fame is vanity and anticriticism, and not in Christ's faith and variety. Beware of the fin against the Holy Ghost, now after such light opened to plainly and simply, truly, thoroughly, and ge truly, hence to God, and his truth.

The Lord grant all men his good and holy Spirit, increased is his will, containing the wicked world, heavy dearly by the grace of God, and so the heavenly company, through Jesus Christ, as the only mediator, advocate, righteousness, life, justification, of hope, Amen, Amen. Pray, pray.

Rowland Taylor departing hence in sure hope, without the doubting of eternal salvation, I thank God my heavenly FATHER, through Jesus Christ my certain Saviour, Amen.

February 5

"The Lord is my light and my salvation: whom thou hast feared I am." Psalm xxxv. 1.

"God be that justifieth: who is he that can condemn?" Rom. viii. 33.

"In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me never be confounded." Phil. xxxvi. 1.

On the morning after Dr. Taylor had suffered his death in the Compter, which was the fifth day of February, the bishop of London with his officers came by two o'clock, and brought with Dr. Taylor all without any light he carried to the Woolpack, as in without Aldgate. Dr. Taylor's wife, suspecting her husband would that might be carried away, watching all manner of night, at the Botolph's church, without Aldgate, having her two children, then, the one named Elizabeth, of thirteen years of age, and the other named John, without father or mother, Dr. Taylor had charitable brought up from three years old) the other name the wife of his own daughter.

When the bishop and his company came against St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth coming in, Dr. Taylor's father! mother, mother, here is my father led away. Then his wife said, Rowland, Rowland, where are all these? For it was a very dark morning, that the one could
Q. Mary, A.D. 1555.- The SUFFERINGS and MARTYRDOM of Dr. TAYLOR.

The story of Suffolk meets them there to receive and carry him into Suffolk. Being at supper, the sheriff of Suffolk very earnestly besought him to return to the popish religion, thinking with fair words to persuade him, and said, Good Doctor, we are right sorry for you, considering what the lot is of such a man as you may become. You would do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the Catholic universal church of Rome, acknowledge the Pope as the supreme head of the church, and reconcile yourself to him. You may do well yet if you will; doubt not, you shall find favour at the queen's hands. I and all the rest of your friends, will be fators for your pardon, which, no doubt, you will receive, considering the good you give me, good Doctor, of a good heart, and good will towards you: and thereupon I drink to you. In like manner said all the yeoman of the guard. Upon that condition, Doctor, we will all drink to you.

When they had drunk to him, and the cup was come to him, he fluid a little, as on another, manifold other. He said, I am thankful for your good-will; I have heartened to your words, and marked well your counsels. But I will not play with you. I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and that I have to receive a great many of Hadley's of their expectation. We shall all rejoice. Yes, Doctor, said the sheriff, God's blessing on your heart, hold you there till. It is the most comfortable word we heard you speak yet.

Then said the sheriff, I will tell you how I have been deceived, and, as I think, for a very great many. I am, as you see, a man that hath a very great carcase, which I thought I should have been buried in Hadley church-yard, if I had died in my bed, as I well hoped I should have done; but herein I see I was deceived; there were not. I know not how many worms in Hadley church-yard, which liveth by the holy feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we shall be deceived, both I and they; for this carcass must be burned to ashes, and they shall lose their bait and feeding.

When the sheriff and his company heard him say so, they were amazed and looked one another, marveling at the man's confusist mind, that thus without all fear made but a jest at the cruel torment, and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectations disappointed.

At Chelmsford Dr. Taylor was delivered to the sheriff of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadley, when he suffered. When they were come to Lanhams, the sheriff said two days; and thither came to him a great number of gentlemen and justices, who were commissioned to aid the sheriff. These gentlemen endeavored very much to reduce Dr. Taylor to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon, which, said they, we have here for you. They promised him great promotions, even a bishopric if he would take it: but all their labour and flattering words were in vain.

When they were come to Hadley, and riding over the bridge, at the bridge-foot waited a poor man with five small children: who when he saw Doctor Taylor, he and his children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and said, O dear father and good shepherding, Doctor Taylor, God help and forgive thee, as thou hast many a time favored me and my poor children. And the servant of God of his virtuous and charitable alms given in his life-time. The streets of Hadley were beset on both sides the way with men and women of the common country, who waited to see him: whom when they beheld, they wept for joy, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices they cried, saying one to another, Ah, good Lord! there goeth our good sheepdog from us, that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us!

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of what had been given him in the time of his imprisonment. As for his living, they took it from him at his first going to prison, so that he was unfurnished all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable alms of good people that visited him.

When he arrived at Aldham-Common, the place where he should suffer, seeing a great multitude of people, he asked, What place is this, and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hither? It was answered, It is Aldham-Common, the place where you must suffer; and the people are come to look upon you. Then said he, Thanked be God, I am even at home, and so lighted from his horse, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head.

Then he decreed licence of the sheriff to speak; and the sheriff denied it to him, and bade him remember his promise to the council. Dr. Taylor perceiving that he could not be suffered to speak, sat down, and seeing one named Sycce, he called him, and said, Sycce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour; thou hast long looked for them, now take them. Then he rose up, and put off his clothes unto his shirt, and gave them away. Which done, he said with a loud voice, Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lefions that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the Holy Bible; and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood. With that word, Homes, yeoman of the guard, who used Dr. Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head, and said, Is that keeping thy promise, thou hypocrite? Then he, seeing they would not permit him to speak, knelt down, and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people stepped in and prayed with him; but they thrust away, and threatened to treat her down with their horses: notwithstanding the would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch-barrel, which they had set for him to stand in, and to flood with his blood upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes towards heaven, and continually prayed.

Then they bound him with chains, and the sheriff called one Richard Donningham, a butcher, and commanded him to set up the faggots; but he refused to do it, and said, I am lame, fit, and not able to lift a faggot. The sheriff threatened to fend him to prison notwithstanding, he would not do it. Then he appointed one Mistle of Carley, a man for his virtues fit to be a hangman, and Sycce, a very drunkard, and Warwick, who in king Edward's days, lost one of his ears for his seditions, to be with Robert King, a devisor of interludes, to set up the faggots, and make the fire, which they most diligently did; and Warwick cruelly cast a faggot at him, which struck him on the head, and so cut his face, that the blood ran down. Then said Dr. Taylor, O friend, I have harm enough, what needest thou?

Sir John Shelton standing by, as Dr. Taylor was speaking, and saying the Psalm Misereor in English, struck him on the lips; You knave, said he, speak Latin, and I will make thee. At last they kindled the fire; and Dr. Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, Merciful father of heaven, Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands. So he flood still without either crying or groaning, with his hands folded together, till Sycce with all halberd struck him on the head that his brains fell out, and the corps fell down into the fire.

CHAP. IV.

An Affecting NARRATIVE, and HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of several PROTESTANTS, namely, James Hales, Thomas Tomkins, William Hunter, Thomas Causton, Thomas Higbed, William Pygott, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence; who were Persecuted, Tormented, and most of them Burned, under the BLOODY TYRANNY of Bonner, Bishop of LONDON.

STEPHEN GARDINER, having condemned and burned several great and learned men, he prefixed, that these examples would deter any one from speaking against, and opposing the popish religion; but in this he was very much deceived: for within eight or nine days after sentence was pronounced, the bishop Hooper and others, being the 8th of February, six other christians were likewise brought before the bishop, to be examined for the same cause of religion. Stephen Gardiner seeing this became discouraged; and from that day meddled no more in such kind of condemnations; but referred the whole of this cruel business to Bonner, bishop of London; who called before him in his consistory at St. Paul's (the lord mayor, and several aldermen sitting with him) the five persons, upon the 8th of February, and on the next day, being the 9th, read the sentence of condemnation upon them. But as their death did not take place till the next month of March, we shall defer the account till we come to the time and place of their suffering.

February 14, Dr. Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was sent towards St. David's, there to be condemned and executed. Touching the matter of martyrdom, forasmuch as it fell not before the month of March, we will defer the history thereof till we come to the day and time of his sufferings.

On the 14th day of February, the lord chancellor, and other bishops, caused the image of Thomas Beckett to be set up over the mercer's chapel door, in Cheapside, London, in the form and shape of a bishop, with mitre and crosb. But within two days after his erection, his two blushing fingers were first broken away, and on the next day (being the 17th of February) his hands and arms were taken off; whereupon arose great trouble, and many were suspected; among whom one Mr. John Barnes, mercer, dwelling over-against the said chapel, was vehemently by the lord chancellor charged withal, as the doer thereof, and the rather for that he was a professed of the truth. Whereupon he and three of his servants were committed to prison; and at his deliver (although it could not be proved upon him) was bound in a great sum of money, as well to build it up as offens, it should be broken down, as also to watch and keep the fame. And therefore the image was again set up the 2d of March ensuing; but the 9th day of the same month, in the night, the head was again the second time broke off; which thing was so heinously taken, that the next day, being the 15th, there was a great outcry made in London, that whatsoever would tell who did strike off his head, though he were not member of council, and not the principal doer) he should have not only his pardon, but also one hundred crowns of gold, with hearty thanks. But it was not known who did it.

February 18th, queen Mary at length, after long delay, made full answer to the king of Denmark's letters, who had written before two letters to the queen, in the behalf of M. Coverdale, for his delverence, who at that time seven a year, and was in great danger, his
A Conference between Bp. GARDINER and Judge HALLES.

And he not been refused by the fuit and letters of the old king of Denmark.

On February 19, there was a certain intimation of forth, and printed in the name of bishop Bonner, wherein was contained a general monition, and chief charge to every man and woman within his diocese, to prepare themselves against Lent, then near approaching, to receive the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation from the pope, Julius III. by Poole, his cardinal andlegate.

A remarkable and affecting Account of JUDGE HALLES, when the CHASTITY of GARDINER drove to an ACT OF DESPERATION.

In a former part of this work, mention was made of Mr. Hales, of whom we shall more particularly fresh in this place; beginning with the conference between Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, and him, being in Westminster Hall with other judges to take his oath, October 6, 1553, declaring withal how the excuse of the papists, so far precisely how their law defend themselves, and say, that in all their things they did nothing but by the law, to bear them out.

Lord Chancellor. Mr. Hales, you are to understand, that as the queen's highness hath heretofore conceived a good opinion of you, especially for that you stood both faithfully, and lawfully in her cause of justice, I will not refuse to let you try your cause, but among others that were against her grace in that behalf, so now, through your own late defects against some of her highness's proceedings, you stand not well in her grace's favour; and therefore before you take your oath, it will be necessary for you to declare yourself.

Judge Hales. I pray you, my Lord, for what cause?

Lord Chancellor. Information is given, that you have inflicted several priests in Kent for saying mass.

Judge Hales. My lord, it is not so, I indited none; but indeed certain indictments of the like nature were brought before me, that I shall look, and I have order therein as the law required. For I have notified the law, against which, in cases of justice, I will never, God willing, proceed, nor in any wise difmame, but with the fame flew forth my confidence; and it were to do again, I would do no less than I did.

Lord Chancellor. Yes, Mr. Hales, your confidence is known well enough; I know you want not confidence.

Judge Hales. My lord, you may do well to search your own confidence, for mine is better known to myself than to you; that to be plain, I did as well suffice in your face with more mass by my own confidence, as by law, wherein I am fully bent to fluid in trial to the utmost that can be objected. And if I have herein done my injury or wrong, let me be judged by the law; for I will seek no better defence, considering chiefly that is in my profession.

Lord Chancellor. Why, Mr. Hales, although you had the rigour of the law on your side, yet you might have had regard to the queen's highness's present doings in that case. And further, although you seem to be more the specific in the law yet I think you would be very apt to yield to the extremity of such advantage as might be gathered against your proceedings in the law, if you have sometimes taken upon you in place of justice; and if it were well tried, I believe you should not will be able to stand honourably.

Judge Hales. My lord, I am not so perfidious, but I say for want of knowledge. But both in confidence, and such knowledge of the law as God hath given me, I will do nothing but I will maintain it, and abide it; and if my goods and all that I have be not able to abide my body, I will not be able to leave the turn for them as they be at the queen's highness's pleasure.

Lord Chancellor. Ah, sir, you be very quick and stout in your answers. But as it should seem, that which you have said in the opinion of justice against the service now used, than for any occasion or for justice, fearing the queen's highness doth set it forth as yet, mitigating all her faithful subjects to embrace it accordingly: and where you offer both body and goods in your trial, there is no such matter required at your hands, and yet you shall not have your own will neither.

Judge Hales. My lord, I desire not an obinante will, but to shew myself as I am bound in love to God, and obedience to the queen's majesty, in whose cause willingly for justice sake, all other respects for apart, I did of late, as your lordship knoweth, adventure as much as I had. And as for my religion, I truft it be such as pleaches God, wherein I am ready to adventure, as well my life as my subsistence, if I be called thereunto. So if instead of my own power and will, the Lord's will, the Lord's will be fulfilled.

Lord Chancellor. Seeing you be at this point, Mr. Hales, I will pretend no end with you. The queen's highness shall be informed of your opinion and declaration. And as her grace shall thereunto determine, you shall have knowledge. Until such time you may depart as you come, without your oath: for as it appeared, you are scarce worthy the place appointed you.

Judge Hales. I thank you, lordship; and as for my vocation, being both a burden and a charge more than ever I desired to take upon me: whenever it shall please the queen's highness to safe me thereof, I shall be content to endure with due content obey the same: and so he departed from the bar.

A few days after, Mr. Hales, at the command of the bishop, was committed to the King's-Bench, where he remained confined until Lent; then he was removed to the Compt in Bread-street, and from thence to the Fleet.

Being in the Fleet, what it was that he had granted the bishops, by their fraudulent assaults and perjuries, (namely, of Dr. Day, bishop of Chester, and of judge Fortman, as it is thought, overcome at last) I have not to say. This is certain, that shortly after, he was brought to great repentance, and terror of conscience, informed, that for very anguish of heart he was ready to kill himself with his penknife when he was in prison.

It happened when supper time came that he should be called down, but he having little or no stomach to eat or drink, went immediately to bed, where he lay all night lobstering and groaning, and took little rest or sleep. At length when morning came, about six o'clock, he sent his servant for a cup of beer, under pretence as though he was thirsty and desirous to drink: whether this could be true or fictitious is unknown here; and his fear got out of the chamber, when he with his penknife had wounded himself in divers places of his body, and, no doubt, intended to destroy himself; but his man meeting the butler, just when he had pulled the chamber door, the latter was desirous to fill the drink, and he, taking the other return to him, and his master, at the very time when he was working his own destruction, whereby Mr. Hales was hindered of his purpose. When the bishop of Winchester had knowledge of it, he straitway took occasion thereby to blaspheme the death of God, which is only in the star-chamber called the doctrine of delperation. Mr. Hales being within a while after recovered of those wounds, and delivered out of prison, returned home to his house; where lie, either for the greatness of his sorrow, or want of sufficient comfort, or for that the house should avoid the necessity of hearing mass, having all things set in order, a good while before that, pertaining to his last will and testament, casting himself into a shallow river, was drowned therein.

The unhappy end of this worthy judge was the cause of great sorrow and grief to all good men, and it likewise gave occasion to some divines to doubt with themselves, whether he was damned or faved. But notwithstanding God's judgments be secret, and we likewise in doubt upon what intent he did thus punish himself; neither is any man capable whether he did repent or not before the last breath went out of his body: I think (faith Mr. Fox) their opinion is more indifferent therein, who do rather disallow the example of the dead, than deprive of his salvation.

H H.

Otherwise,
Otherwise, if we will judge all those to hell that have departed the world after this sort, how many examples have appeared in the persecution of the church, of the right men and women, who being registered in the works of worthy writers, have notwithstanding their praise and commendation? Or what shall we think of those young men, who being fought for to do facitate to idols, did call themselves down headlong into the river, and break their own necks, to avoid such horrible pollutions of themselves? What shall we say of those virgin of Anioch, who, to the end they might not defile themselves with uncleanness and idolatry, through the persuasion of their mother, calling themselves headlong into a river together with their mother, did destroy themselves, although not in the same water, yet after the same manner of drowning as this Mr. Hale’s did? What shall we say of the other two sufferers, who for the same reason did violently throw themselves into the flames, and were consumed? In which, though perishing there was no less confidence to bear out the pains which should be ministered unto them by the wicked, yet, their good desire to keep their faith and religion unspotted was commended and praised.

We mention these examples neither to excuse nor to defend the heinous fact of judge Hale, which we could with might be drowned in oblivion; and because we do not know, nor are able to comprehend the bottomless depth of the graces and mercies which are in the Son of God, we would therefore give his final judgment to the determination of him who is appointed judge both of the quick and dead.

The MARTYRDOM of the SIX PRISONERS before mentioned, namely TOMKINS, PYGOT KNIGHT, LAURENCE, HUNTER, and HIGBED.

I.

The HISTORY and MARTYRDOM of THOMAS TOMKINS, a Weaver in Shoreditch, who, having flit his Hand burned by the bloody Bishop of LONDON, was afterwards burnt in Smithfield, March 16th, 1555.

This plain honest Christian was by trade a weaver, and lived in the parish of Shoreditch, till he was burned before the inhuman Bonner, and confined with many others, who renounced the errors of popery, in a prison in that tyrant’s house at Fulham.

Under his confinement, he was treated by the bishop, not only unbecoming a prelate, but even a man: for the savage, in which Mr. Tomkins was not so far from the doctrine of transubstantiation, had bruised him in the face, and plucked off the greatest part of the hair of his beard.

On another occasion, this scandal to humanity, because our martyrs remained inflexible, nor would deviate in the least point from the pure and uncorrupted truths of the gospel, in the presence of several who came to visit him at his feast at Fulham, took this poor honest man by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame of a wax candle, having three or four wicks, being terrified by the figure and pain of the fire, he would leave off the defence of the doctrine which he had received.

Tomkins thinking not otherwise, but there presently to die, began to commend himself unto the Lord, saying, O Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit, &c. In the time that his hand was burning, the same Tomkin afterwards reported to one James Hinle, that his spirit was so wrapt, that he felt no pain. In which burning he never shrank, till the veins shrank, and the fines burst, and the water did spurt in Mr. Harpsfield’s face: informing that Mr. Harpsfield, moved with pity, defied the bishop to say, saying, that he had tried him enough.

The first EXAMINATION of THOMAS TOMKINS.

After that Thomas Tomkins had been half a year in prison, about the 8th of February he was brought with several others before bishop Bonaerfitting in his confessor, to be examined. To whom first was brought forth a certain bill or schedule published (as appears) with his own hand, the 4th day of the same month, containing these words following:

"Thomas Tomkins of Shoreditch, and of the diocese of London, hath believed and doth believe, that in the face of the altar, under the form of bread and wine, there is not the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a name and remembrance thereof, the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven and no where else."

By me THOMAS TOMKINS.

Whereupon he was asked, whether he did acknowledge the same subscription to be of his own hand. To which he granted, confessing it to be. This being done, the bishop went about to persuade him with fair words, rather than to threaten death, to return again to the unity of the catholic church, promising if he would do so, to remit all that was past. But he confidently refused to do so. When the bishop saw he could not so convince him, he brought forth another writing, containing articles and interrogatories, whereunto he should come and answer; in the mean time he should deliberate what to do: and so the next day, being the 6th day of March, at eight o’clock in the morning to be present in the same place again, to give his determination, what he would do in the premises, and then either to revoke and reclaim himself, or else the afternoon of the same day to come again and have justice (as he called it) administered unto him. A copy of which articles here followeth.

ARTICLES objected and administered the 9th Day of February, against THOMAS TOMKINS, with his own Hand subscribing to the same.

THOU dost believe, that in the sacrament of the bread, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, as his true and actual body and blood, really, truly, and substantially, present, nor is there true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, touching the substance thereof, which was conceived the womb of the virgin Mary, and hanged upon the cross, suffering death there for the life of the world.

I do so believe.

Thou dost believe, that after the consecration of the bread and wine prepared for the face of the altar, there doth remain the substance of mixture of bread and material wine, not changed nor altered a sub stance by the power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

I do so believe.

Thou dost believe, that it is an untrue doctrine, and false belief, to think or say, that in the face of the altar there is, after consecration, the body and blood of Christ, and that there did not remain the substance of material bread and wine.

I do so believe.

Thou dost believe that thy parents, kinsfolk, friends, and acquaintance, and all thy good friends and godfathers, and all people did err, and were deceived; that they did believe, that in the face of the altar there was, after consecration, the body and blood of Christ, and that there did not remain the substance of material bread and wine.

I do so believe.

By me THOMAS TOMKINS.

The second EXAMINATION of THOMAS TOMKINS.

The next day being the 9th of February, at eight o’clock before noon, Thomas Tomkins was brought again before the bishop, and this time affirming whereunto he answered as followeth:

To the first he said, that he did so believe, as in the same is contained.
MARY, A.D. 1555.] THE HISTORY and MARTYRDOM of WILLIAM HUNTER. 129

II.

A neighbouring justice named Brown, having heard that he maintained heretical principles, sent for his father and inquired of him concerning his son; the old man affidured him that he had left him, that he knew not whether he was gone or not on the justice's threatening to imprison him, and he directed Brown to apprehend and bring before him; he said with tears in his eyes, "Would you have me seek out my son to be buried?"

The old man was obliged to go, in pretence at least, in quest of him, and by accident meeting him, was asked by him, if he was seeking for him; he replied with tears, he was, and told him that it was by command of the justice who threatened to imprison him.

The son, to prevent his father from incurring any danger, said he was ready to accompany him home on which they returned together.

The following day, he was taken by the constable, kept in the stocks four and twenty hours, and then brought before the justice; who called for a bible, turned to the 5th chapter of St. John, and directed him to give his opinion of the meaning of it, as it related to the sacrament of the altar.

Having given the same explanation as he had done to the priest, and perfiling in his denial of the corporal presence in the eucharist, the justice upbraided him with it, and骂 discarded to the bishop, acquainting him with the fame, to whom this valiant young martyr was conducted by a constable.

After Bonner had read the letter, and the constable returned home again, the bishop caused William to be brought into a chamber where he began to reason with him in this manner; I understand, William Hunter, by Mr. Brown's letter, how that you have had certain communication with the vicar of Welde, about the blessed sacrament of the altar, and how that you could not agree; whereasupon Mr. Brown sent for thee to bring thee to the catholic faith, from which he that thou art gone. Howbeit if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou shalt have no harm for any thing that thou hast said or done in this matter.

William answered, saying, I am not fallen from the catholic faith of Christ. I am sure, but do believe it, and confess it with all my heart.

Why, said the bishop, how sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Wilt thou not recant thy sayings, which thou confessest before Mr. Brown, that Christ's body is in the sacrament at the altar, the fame that was born of the virgin Mary?

To which William answered, saying, My lord, I understand that Mr. Brown hath certified you of the talk which he and I had together, and thereby you knew what I said to him, wherein I will not recant by God's help. Then said the bishop, I think thou wilt bear a faggot, and recant openly; but if thou wilt recant thy sayings, I will promise thee that thou shalt not be put to open shame: but speak the word here now between me and thee, and I will promise thee it shall go no further, and thou shalt go home again without any hurt.

William answered and said, My lord, if you let me alone, and leave me to my conscience, I will go to my father and dwell with him, or else with my master again, and so I shall die, and that I will not die if God will help. Then said the bishop, I think thou wilt bear a faggot, and recant openly; but if thou wilt recant thy sayings, I will promise thee that thou shalt not be put to open shame: but speak the word here now between me and thee, and I will promise thee it shall go no further, and thou shalt go home again without any hurt.

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Finding the cup of water and the crust of bread still by him upon the rocks, laid to his men, Take him out of the rocks, and let him break his fast with you. Thus did he do; and, then the bread, and crust of the rocks, the bishop did not suffer him to eat with them, but called him jeeringly. And he said, he was as loth to be in their company, as they were to be in his.

After breakfast the bishop sent for William, and demanded whether he would recant or no. But William made answer, that he would not recant that which he had confessed before men, as concerning his faith in Christ.

Then the bishop said that he was no Christian, but he denied the faith in which he was baptized. But William answered, he was baptized in the faith of the Holy Trinity, which I will not go from, God afflicting me with his grace.

Then the bishop sent him to the civil prison, and commanded the keeper to lay iron upon him as many as he could bear; and moreover asked him, how old he was: and William said that he was nineteen years of age.

Well, said the bishop, you will be burned before you be twenty years old, if you will not yield yourself: better, I say, yea better, yield yourselves. But William answered, and strengthened me in his truth: and then he parted, the bishop allowing him a half-penny a day to live on bread or drink.

Thus he continued in prison three quarters of a year, in which time he had been before the bishop five times, besides the time when he was condemned in the consistory in St. Paul's, the 19th day of February; at which time his brother, Robert Hunter, was present.

Then the bishop calling William, asked him if he would recant, and, if so, read to him his examination and confession, as is above related: and then rehearsed how that William confessed he did believe, that he received Christ's body spiritually, when he did receive the communion. Doth thou mean, said the bishop, that the bread is Christ's body spiritually?

William answered, I mean not so, but rather when I receive the holy communion rightly and worthily, I do feele upon Christ spiritually through faith in my soul, and am made partaker of all the benefits which Christ hath brought unto all faithful believers through his precious death, passion, and resurrection, and not that the bread is his body, either spiritually or corporally.

Then said the bishop to William, Doth thou not think (holding up his cap) that for example here of my cap, thou mayest see the squireness and colour of it, and yet that not to be the substance, which thou judgest by the outward view?

William answered, If you can separate the accidents from the substance, and show me the substance without the accidents, I could believe. Then said the bishop, Thou wilt not believe that God can do any thing above man's capacity. Then the bishop continued another manner of argument; and then pronounced sentence upon him, that he should go from that place to Newgate for a time, and to thence to Burnwood, where, faileth, thou shalt be burned.

Then the bishop called for another, and so when he had questioned them all, he called for William Hunter, and reasoned with him, saying, If thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a free man in the city, and give thee forty pounds in good money to set thine occupation withal; or I will make theeeward of my house, and let thee to a place for a like time, thou well halfe ten, and I will prefer thee it thou recant.

But William answered, I thank you for your great offers: notwithstanding, my lord, said he, if you cannot persuade my conscience with scriptures, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the world; for I count all worldly things but loss and dead.

Then said the bishop, If thou diest in this mind, thou art condemned for ever. William answered, I will judge righteously, and justify them whom I condemne unrighteously.

The bishop and the bishop's parish, William being committed to Newgate, where he remained about a month, who afterwards went over with William to Burnwood, and the others unchangeable places of the country. Now, when William was carried down to Burnwood, which was the Saturday before the feast of the Virgin Mary, which followed the Monday after, William remained till the next Tuesday, because they would not put him to die then, for the holiness of the day.

In the mean time William's father and mother came to him, and did earnestly of God that he might continue to the end in that good way which he had begun, and his mother said to him, that she was glad that she was so happy to bear such a child, which could in his heart to lose his life for Christ's name's sake.

Then William said to his mother, For my sake, I persuade that which will soon be done, and also I promised, mother, a crown of joy, and I am glad of that? With that his mother kneeled down her knees, saying, I pray God strengthen thee more, to the end; yea, I think thee as well beloved by Christ as if I were pure.

At which words Mr. Higbed took her in his arms, saying, I rejoice (and said the others) to hear this mind, and you have good cause to rejoice. As his father and mother both said, that they always were afraid of nothing that but that my son should have been killed in the prison by hunger and cold, the bishop was so hard to him. But William contended, after that he was charged with his board, that he had nothing, but had meat and clothing, enough, yea, out of the court, both money, meat, clothes, with costs, and all things necessary.

They continued in the inn, being the Swan in ExETER, whither referred many people of the country; for those good men, which were there; and many William's acquaintance came to him, and comforted him, and lie with them, exhorting them to come from the abomination of popish superstition, and idolatry.

Thus pawning away Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, on Tuesday night it happened, that William's dream, which was this: That he was in the street, and the stake was pitched, where he should be burnt which (as he thought in his dream) was at the end where the buss flood, which was so indeed as he dreamed, that he met with his father as he went to the stake, and aloof that there was in the street where the stake was pitched, which he thought to have him, which he said (as he thought in his dream) Amy's prophet; that he exhorted the people to beware of him and such as he was: which things came to pass. In which he said, that William made a move to himself in the dream. And then it was appointed that William should awake him out of his sleep, to know what he was. When he awoke, he told them his dream in effect is said.

Next morning the sheriff, Mr. Brocket called a forward to the burning of William Hunter, and the sheriff's son came to him, and embraced him in a right arm, saying, William, be not afraid of them are here with bows, bills, and weapons; prepared to bring you to the place where you are bound: to whom he replied, I thank God I am not afraid for I have nothing to fear. Then the sheriff's son could speak no more to him.
The Burning of Wm. Hunter at Brentwood in Essex.

The Martyrdom of Mr. Thos. Tomkins in Smithfield.

[Image showing scenes of execution and torture]
chuch. In confederation of this they were all three summoned to appear before bishop Bonner, at his con-

tirous court at Westminster, where they were severely questioned concerning their faith of the corporal pre-

nence in the sacrament.

Having respectively answered and subscribed that they were not substantially, but figuratively, the body and blood of Christ, in that holy ordinance, they were severely reprimanded by the court, admonished to re-

cant their heretical opinions, and for that time dis-


A few days after they were again examined concerning the same tenets, when they made the like declaration as before; and a conference of which the bishop add-

ressed himself to the two laymen, with an affectionate concern for their spiritual and temporal interests, to

only exhort them to rejekj their heresies, and not expel themselves to death there, and damnation hereafter, by obstinately perverting in disobedience to the holy see; but these pious honest Christians were too well grounded in the doctrines of Christ, to view the gospel, to be moved from their adherence to the tenets of the faith which they, therefore, told the bishop, that they could not reconcile confidently with the dictates of their consciences, nor would they abjure the opinions to which they had sub-

scribed.

After this bishop Bonner entered into argument with the Rev. Mr. Lawrence alone, and having demanded of what order he was, he answered, that he was admitted to the priest's orders eighteen years past, that he was some time in the army, and that he was betrothed to a maid, whom he intended to marry.

The bishop then asked him his opinion of the corporal presence in the sacrament; to which he replied, that it was an institution of our blessed Lord, in commemoration of his death and sufferings; and that these were greatly deceived who believed that his body was very present in the same, saying, that he had long before ascended into heaven, and was present in the right hand of the glorious majesty of the Father.

Mr. Lawrence was; for the present, dismissed; but a few days after he, with Pygott and Knight, was again summoned before the bishop, who, with his usual hypocrisy, exhorted them to recant; and then proceede the Roman Catholic faith, and not be the wilful cause of their own destruction. But no arguments could induce them to recede in a single point; all of them declaring, they would abide by their opinions, because they were founded on the word of God; whereas the other was merely of human invention.

From this frank declaration, bishop Bonner proceeded to pass sentence on them as irreclaimable heretics; and then degraded Mr. Lawrence with the usual ceremonies. After which they were all three delivered to the sheriff, who conducted them to Newgate, where they remained with joy together, until they were carried down into Effex, and there the 28th day of March, the said William Pygott was burned at Brain-

tree, and Stephen Knight at Maldon, at the stake, kneeling upon the ground, said the following prayer:

O Lord Jesus Christ, for whose love I leave willingly this life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy cross, with the los of all earthly things; than to abide the blasphemy of the thy holy name, and to aby all thy holy commandment: thou seest, O Lord, that I ought live a worldly wealth to worship a false God, and honor thine enemy, I chuse rather the torment of the body, and the los of this life, and have counted all things but vile, that I might win thee; which death is dearer unto me, than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hath thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for to sate it; therefore didst thou delect the foyl. Send thy holy comforter, O Lord, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is empty of all fame, and of all lust, and let me remember O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to nothing. Do now present, O Lord, as of thine accursedness, goodness and love thou hast invited me to this banquet, and account me worthy to drink of thine own cup of bitter 03; even to give me strength, O Lord, against this raging element, which as in my fight it must be innocent and tender, to my my mind it may be a commandment in a constant servant) be sweet and perfect; that through the strength of thy Holy Spirit, I may pass through
through the rage of this fire into thy bosom, according to thy promise, and for this mortal receive an immortal, and for this corruptible put on incorruption: accept this burnt sacrifice and offering, O Lord, and for the faithful, or credibly to fake my Saviour, for whose testimony I offer this fire—will offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly Father, forgive me for all the world, O sweet Sun of my Saviour, spread thy wings over me. O blest and Holy Ghost, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither, one time for everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Amen.

The next day, being the 29th of March, the said John Lawrence was brought to Colchester, and there receivedagrace (for his legs, which was much worn, with heavy iron in prison, and also his body weakened with low keeping) was taken to the fire in a chair, and so fitting, was in his confant faith consumed with fire.

When he was burning, the young children came about the fire, and cried, as well as they could speak, saying, Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise.

IV.

The MARTYRDOM of Mr. THOMAS CAUSTON, and Mr. THOMAS HIGBID, two worthy Gentlemen of ESSEX, who were Burned, the first at RAYLY, and the last at HORNENDON ON THE HILLS, both in the County of ESSEX, March 26th, 1555.

M R. HIGBID and Mr. CAUSTON, two gentlemen in the county of Essex, the one at Hornendon on the Hill, the other of the parish of Thondur, being zealous and religious in the true service of God, as they could not dissemble with the Lord, nor flatter with the world, so in time of blind superstition and wretched idolatry, they could not long lie hid and obfuscate in such a manner of malignant adversaries, accusers, and evaners, but as long as they were perceived and discovered to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, by whose command they were committed to the officers of Colchester, to be safely kept, and with them also a servant of Thomas Causton, who was nothing inferior to his master in true piety.

Bishop Bonner perceiving these two gentlemen to be of good estate, and of great estimation in that country, left all rumble should thereby arise, came thither himself, accompanied by Mr. Fecknall and several others, threw them to his request, so that great labour and diligence was taken therein, as well for terror and threatened, as by large promises and flatteners, and all fair means, to reduce them again to the utility (as they termed it) of the mother church.

Nothing could prevail to make them assent to their doings, at length they came to this point, that they required certain refuge to confit with themselves what was best to do. Which time of deliberation being expired, and they remaining still constant and immovable, in the professed doctrine, and letting out also their confession in writing, the bishop seeing no good to be done in carrying any longer there, departed thence, and carried them both with him to London, and with them certain other prisoners also, who about the same time were apprehended in those parts.

At length, when no persuasions would serve, they were brought forth to open examination at the consistory in St. Paul's, February 17, 1555, where they were demanded as well by the said bishop, as also by the bishop of Bath and others, whether they would recant their errors and perverse doctrine, as they termed it, and so come to the unity of the popish church. But on their refusing so to do, the bishop afflicted them to appear again the next day, being the 18th of February.

On which many of the others there said and paffed, he read unto them several certain articles, and gave them refpite until the next day to answer unto the same, and so committed them again to prison. The copy of which articles here followeth.

ARTICLES objected and ministered by Bishop Bonner, against Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed.

FIRST, That thou Thomas Causton (or Higbed) hast been and art of the diocese of London, and also of the jurisdiction now of the said bishop of London.

Item, That thou wast in times past, according to the order of the church of England, baptized and sanctified.

Item, That thou hast godfathers and godmother, according to the said estate.

Bishop Bonner and his godfathers and godmother do then promise for thee, and in thy name, that thou wilt to the religion that then was used in the realm of England.

Item, That that faith and religion which they profess and make for thee, was accounted and taken to be the faith and religion of the church, and of the Christian people: and so it was in very deed.

Item, Thou coming to the age of discretion, due to say, to the age of 14 years, didst not dislike or desire a low that faith, that religion, or promise them such as was approved and sanctified by the said godfathers and godmother, but for a time didst continue the same (taking themselves for Christian people) did like.

Item, That at that time, and also before, it was taken for a doctrine of the church, catholic and true, and every-where in Christendom then allowed for Catholic and true, for to be the profession of the faith, to believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under forms of bread and wine, after the consecration, was and is by the omnipotent power and will of Almighty God, and his word, without any substance of bread and wine the remaining, the true and same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in sub stance, which was born of the virgin Mary, and suffered the cross, really, truly, and in very deed.

Item, That at that time thy father and mother, and all thy friends, and thy said godfathers and godmother did to believe, and think in all the same as the said duty did therein believe.

Item, That thyself hast had no just cause or lawful ground to depart or remove from the said religion, faith, nor any occasion at all, except thou wilt follow and believe the erroneous opinion or notion, that hast been against the common order of the church, brought in by certain disorderly persons of late, at the internal and external, which was born of the virgin Mary, and suffered the cross, really, truly, and in very deed.

Item, That thou dost know, that according to the said duty hast heard and do believe, that John Hooper, late bishop of Gloucester, Laurence Saunders, priest, John Rogers, priest, Rowland Taylor, priest, John Lawrence, priest, William Foggat, Stephen Wright, William Ferris, and Thomas Tomkiss, have been hereunto required, taken, and accounted heretics, and also condemned here, and so pronounced openly and manifestly, especially in holding and believing certain damnable opinions, against the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, and all the said persons have suffered pains of death by fire, for the maintenance and defence of their said opinions and malice.

Item, That thou dost know, or as credibly hast heard and do believe, that Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, and Nicholas Ridley, naming him bishop of London, Robert Ferrar, late bishop of St. David's, and Hugh Latimer, sometime bishop of Worcester, have been, and are at this present reputed, as crouning, railing, and maintaining, and holding certain damnable opinions against the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar.

Item, That thou hast commended and praised all the said opinions, and the things which are a subject of them (secretly, and also openly, taking and believing them to be faithful and Catholic people, and their said opinions to be good and true, and the same to be
The Martyrdom of the three Mr. John Lawrence who were Burnt at Colchester in Essex—March 29, 1555, upon the consenting these two Popish Bishops Bower & Gardiner in the Bloody Reign of Queen Mary.

Bishop Bower burning the Hand of Mr. Tho. Tomkins, in a chamber where the Flame of a Wax Candle fell from Ballad into Trump House, at Fulham in Middlesex near the Seat of the Present Bishop of London.

The Rev'd Mr. Rowland Taylor Vicar of Hadley in Suffolk, among the Spectators, just before he was Burnt on Aldham Common in that County—February 9, 1555.
The EXAMINATIONS of Mr. CAUSTON and Mr. HIGBED. 1553.

and aremol of thy power thou hast allowed, maintain, and defended at sundry times.

item. That thou hast heard, known, and understood all the premises thus delivered to us, as aforesaid, hast not regarded all or any part thereof, but contrary to the same and every part thereof, hast attempted and done, condemning, transgressing, and breaking the promise, faith, religion, order, and custom aforesaid, and hast become, and are an heretic and mithhelower in the prelates, denying the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, and ordinarily affirming, that the substance of the material bread and wine are there remaining, and that the substance of Christ's body and blood, taken of the virgin Mary, are not there in the said sacrament really and truly.

item. That all the premises be true, notorious, famous, and manifest, and that upon all the same, there have and be amongst the said good people of the city of London, and diocese of the same, in great multitude, commonly and publicly, a common and public fame and opinion, and also in all places where thou hast been, within the said diocese of London.

These articles being given to them in writing by the bishop, the next day was affixed to them to give up and exhibit their answers unto the same.

On the 18th of March, the said Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed, being brought before the bishop in the consistory, they there exhibited their answers to the said articles, in which they declared the true faith.

Then the bishop, reading their former articles and answers to the same, asked them if they would recant, which when they denied, they were again dismissioned and commanded to appear the Wednesday after, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

On the 8th of March, the said Thomas Causton was called to a second examination before the bishop, Mr. Fecknam and Dr. Steempe being in his presence, and there had read unto him his fore-aid articles with his answers. The bishop now exhorted and peremptorily commanded him to recant, but he answered, No, I will not abjure. You said that the bishops that were lately burned are heretics, but I pray God make me such a heretic as they were.

Then leaving Mr. Causton, the bishop called for Mr. Higbed, UNIX with him the like persuasions, but to no purpose: I have been, (said Higbed,) of this mind and opinion that I am now, these sixteen years, and do what you can you shall do no more than God will permit you to do, and with what measure you measure us, look for the same again at God's hands.

They were again commanded to depart for that time, and to appear the next day in the consistory at St. Paul's, between the hours of one and three o'clock in the afternoon.

On the 9th of March, their third examination took place but with similar effect. Mr. Causton delivered in writing to the bishop (as well in his own name, as also in Mr. Thomas Higbed's,) a confession of their faith, to which they would stand: and required leave to read the same, which, (after great suits,) being obtained, he read it openly in the hearing of the people. This confession proved them to be of the same faith with their late fellow sufferers.

The bishop then pronounced sentence, first against Thomas Causton, and then against Thomas Higbed. They were both delivered to the sheriffs, and by them sent to Newgate, where they remained 14 days. On the 23d of March they were taken from Newgate, at four o'clock in the morning, and led through the city to Aldgate, where they were delivered unto the sheriff of Essex, and there being fast bound in a cart, were shortly after brought to their several appointed places of burning: Thomas Higbed to Hornden on the Hill, and Thomas Causton to Rayly, (both in the county of Essex), where they did most confidently, the 26th day of the same month, feel their faith with their blood. Justice Brown and divers gentlemen in the fire were commanded to be present, for fear they should be taken from them. And thus much touching the apprehension, examination, confession, condemnation, and burning of these two godly and constant martyrs of God.

CHAP. V.

The EXAMINATIONS, CONDEMNATION, and MARTYRDOM, of DR. ROBERT FARRAR, Bishop of St. DAVID's in WALES, who gave his Life for the Truth, and was Burned in the Market-Place of the TOWN of CAERMARTHEN, March 30th, 1555.

This worthy and learned prelate having in the former reign, as well as since the accession of Mary, been remarkably zealous in promoting the reformed doctrines, and exploding the errors of popish idolatry; was assaulted, among others, before the popish and persecuting bishop of Winchester, (who was then likewise lord chancellor,) and other commissioners set apart for the abominable work of devastation and massacre.

His principal accusers and persecutors were, George Constance Walter, his servant; Thomas Young, chamber of the cathedral, afterwards archbishop of York; Dr. Rowland Merrick, afterwards bishop of Bangor; Thomas Lee, and Hugh Rawlins, &c. at whose charge, Hugh Rawlins, a priest, and Thomas Lee, brothers-in-law of the said George Constance, did exhibit to the king's most honourable council, the following articles and informations, which, with the bishop's letter to the same, we here think good to insert.

A TRUE COPY OF ARTICLES and INFORMATIONS exhibited by HUGH RAWLINS, and THOMAS LEE, against Dr. ROBERT FARRAR, Bishop of St. DAVID'S.

1. IMPRIMIS, When the said bishop first came to his diocese, he appointed his chancellor by his letters of commission, omitting the king's majesty's file and authority, and grounded his said commission upon foreign usurped laws and authority, by force of which authority his said chancellor did void certain decretals of his said diocese, and administered the power and chapter of the cathedral church of St. David's aforesaid, against a certain day and place, for like intent and purpose, contrary to the king's highness's laws and statutes, and in derogation of his highness's supremacy.

2. Item, that the said chancellor, by receiving the fault of the said commission, took the same from the regifter into their custody, refusing to appear by virtue thereof, and by secret and charitable ways and means
her's that was appointed to be married with the said priest that day; he also being a parson, and leave the cure unferved that day being Sunday: and another, flattering that one of the king's council in the month of July, making him a present of a small sum of money, not a pittance, and with no genuine importunity, requiring due reformation thereof, he but made nothing therein, but put the same clause in order, and made him compulsory general since that time, bearing a special favor to the rest of the offenders.

25. Item, Whereas the said bishop was in his dotation of the great estate of Pembroke, inventing it by authority of the old foreign usurped law, making no mention of the king's highness's authority, in contempt and derogation of the same.

3. Item, Whereas the chancellor and vicar general to the said bishop, did upon a lawful title, and by the king's highness's authority, in contempt and derogation of the same, initiatized and conferred a bishopric upon John Gough into the rectory of Hafkard with the appurtenances, and gave out in the king's name under his highness's seal ecclesiastical appointed for that office, with the tithe of the said bishop, and feoffment of the said chancellor, a mandate to induce accordingly, by virtue whereof the said John Gough was induced by the official there to the real possession of the said rectory, with the rights and appurtenances to the same belonging; whereupon the register of the said diocese, at the request of the said chancellor, did signify the premises, with all the circumstances, before divers persons to the forenamed bishop: who notwithstanding did instigate and care to be induced, one Harry Goddard, unto the same parsonage, making no mention of the king's highness's authority, in contempt and derogation of the same highness's crown and dignity, and in extolling the foreign usurped authority, contrary to the form of the statute, &c.

4. Item, The said bishop, immediately after the unlawful institution and induction of Goddard, molested the said John Gough lawfully induced, as before, citing him from place to place, objecting no matter unto him of long feason, till at length he articulated: to taking upon him the cognizance of the title of the whole fruits and patronage, in contempt of the king's highness's regal crown and dignity, and in derogation of the laws and statutes of this realm.

5. Item, He hath commonly made his collation and institutions, as he did his first commission, in his own name and authority, without expressing the king's supremacy.

6. Item, He made under his seal one collation, two institutions, three mandates to induce, in one vocation of one benefice, three several persons without order of law, or revocation of any of them, giving to every one like authority, title, and right. Whereby except good enough for the well of justice of the peace, and the said friends, had not been there had ensued much inconvenience amongst the partakers of the entitled incumbents in that behalf.

7. Item, The same bishop deceiving cavets to be made in benefices, thereby knowing the titles litigious, instituted and caused to be induced without trial of any title or due order of law.

8. Item, He directly his mandates of induction unto private men, and not to the archdeacon nor his officers: contrary to the law and benefit. Notwithstanding he hath been connived to the contrary by learned men.

9. Item, Having no manner of knowledge nor practice in the law, he fitteth every day in harvest, and other times, upon causes, without the sufficiency of the learned in the law, having within him only an unlearned boy, who is no notary, to his scribe, neither observing the law, nor yet reasonable order: and therefore doth no good, but triflethe the time, as may appear by his acts, if he have them to show. His officers have no knowledge, used to dispence with marriages, to be solemnized without bans, contrary to the laws and ordinances in that behalf.

10. Item, Whereas one Thomas Frichard, a chaplain of his, solemnized matrimony in a private house without bans, and that between a priest and a fitter of
20. Item, Where the official of the archdeacon of Caermarthens, in his visitation within Caermarthens, and contrary unto the said ordinance, an altar set in the body of the church, for the celebration of the communion, and caused the said altar to be taken away, and a table to be set in the said church, the bishop after the same command the said archdeacon of Caermarthens to set the table without the said again for the ministration of the communion.

21. Item, He being often in Caermarthens, and other places in the chancel, or at the time of the holy communion, the bishop after the same command the said archdeacon of Caermarthens to set the table without the vault again for the ministration of the communion.

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51. Item, He being often in Caermarthens, and other places in the chancel, or at the time of the holy communion, the bishop after the same command the said archdeacon of Caermarthens to set the table without the vault again for the ministration of the communion.

52. Item, He being often in Caermarthens, and other places in the chancel, or at the time of the holy communion, the bishop after the same command the said archdeacon of Caermarthens to set the table without the vault again for the ministration of the communion.

53. Item, He being often in Caermarthens, and other places in the chancel, or at the time of the holy communion, the bishop after the same command the said archdeacon of Caermarthens to set the table without the vault again for the ministration of the communion.

54. Item, He being often in Caermarthens, and other places in the chancel, or at the time of the holy communion, the bishop after the same command the said archdeacon of Caermarthens to set the table without the vault again for the ministration of the communion.

55. Item, He being often in Caermarthens, and other places in the chancel, or at the time of the holy communion, the bishop after the same command the said archdeacon of Caermarthens to set the table without the vault again for the ministration of the communion.
Caermarthan, an English town, and chief of his diocese.

45. Item, Since his ordinary vitation which was
finisht in July, 1345, he hath neither preached, nor
consecrated any, nor hath been invoked in the town of
Trinity, Pembrook, nor Haverford, being English towns, not much
distant from the place of his abode.

46. Item, The churches appropriated to the bishop
have no paraphrases in English, and few of them
bibles.

47. Item, The churches of the diocese for the most
part, and the clergy almost every one, lack paraphrases
notwithstanding there hath been these two years, and
yet be a great number of them to be fold in the diocese.

1 Since his consecration, he hath been even in
his own churches, and hath used a bridile with white rodes and
shalke, white Scottif

49. Item, He hath made a vow, that he will never
wear a cap; for he says, it is comely wearing of a
cap, and so cometh in his long gosn and bax, both into the
catholic church, and to the prelate of his diocese, sitting in that feast in the king's great feasts, and in
his confections, making himself a mock to the people.

50. Item, He said that he would go to the parliament
on foot: and to his friends that disdained him, alleg-
ging for his great fear for man and place; he an-
swered, I care not for that, it is no fear.

51. Item, Having a son, he went before the mid-
wife to the church, presenting the child to the priest,
and giving his name Samuel, with a solemn interpretation
of the name, appointing two godfathers and
two godmothers, contrary to the ordinary practices, making
his for a monaster, and himself a laughing-flock
throughout all the country.

52. Item, He daily uth void his child, and
saying that he understood his whiste, when he was but
three years old, and being advised by his friends that
men laughd at his folly, he answered, They whistle
their horses and dogs, and I am contented; they
might also be contented that I whistle my child, and so
whifeneth him daily, all friendly admonition neglected.

53. Item, In his ordinary vitation, among other his
surveys, he conveyed Milford Haven, where he epub
a seafish tumbling. And he crept down to the water
side, and continued whistling there the space of an hour
perceiving the company that laughd at him, that
by his whiste he shal not be behald. But the
fish to tarry there.

54. Item, Speaking of fearings concerning con-
tings, he laid the fault to the covetousnes of fishers, who in the
time of plenty took to maists, that they defraud the breeders.

55. Item, Speaking of the alteration of the coin, he
wished that what metal forever it was of, the plnny
should be in worth weight a penny of the same metal.

56. For a conclusion, the said bishop in all his
doings, since he came to his diocese, hath behav'd himself
most unmeet for a man of his vocation, being for a
minister of justice, an abuser of the authority to him
committed; for a teacher of the truth, and reformer of su-
terition, a maintainer of superstition without any doctrine
of reformation; for a liberal and hospitable, an in-
flatable covetous man; for a subde, overwight, wilful
and negligent, for example of Godly wildom, given
good to idolatry, a cruel ravenger; and further, for a peace-maker, a tower of dictour.
And so in all his behav' he differed and flander of his
vocation, and a deceiver of all men, that bad hope he
should any reformation. For he yet hath neither brought him to his diocese, nor hath belonging unto him
any learned preacher.

57. But further, they say, that he found in the diocese at his entry, he so vexeth and
disquieteth, that they cannot attend to apply their
preaching for the defence of their living, against his
quarrelous inventions, and unjust pretensions.

After these wrangling articles and informations were
given up, then the bishop was called to answer, the hearing whereof was committed unto Dr. Wotton, and

for John Mafon, knight, who ilkewife recieve the
bishop's answers to the aforesaid articles, the copy as
effect of which answers hereafter follow.

The ANSWER of Dr.-ROBERT FARRAR, Bishop
of ST. DAVIDS, to the ARTICLES minced up
him.

The 18 articles he says, That after lawfull adm-
nition in the king's majesty's name and authority,
from the said bishop (being then at London) given the
chancellor and chapter of St. David's, for effect in
a certain day there to be entered; the said bishop
self for such purpose coming into the diocese, known
also by his said chancellor and one of the justices of
the peace, and late before commissaries in that place,
not only by their own evil examples and winking at
faults of others, or neglecting to correct the same, as
there among priest and others much defeante where-
dom; but had also spoiled the credit and church of
fests, clinices, and centers, with other plate of
ornaments of the church, to the value of four or
hundred marks or more, for their own private luste
(the church remaining even yet very vile, and a great
deceit) and had also made further under their chaps
and other commissaries, for the taking of vacant seats, without the king's majesty's licence
knowledge; therefore he brought with him one Edmund
Parles, bachelor of law, commanded by Dr. Yst
and Dr. Nevison to him, as a man sufficient in facts
and law, for the bishop's answer, who having been
granted and sealed a commission for that purpose,
writing credit to him in his faculty, concerning the same
and form thereof. But the king's majesty's licence
premacy was fully set forth in the same commission.
Whether there were any default of formal writ
setting forth of the king's authority therein, here
as certain; for he committed the doing thereof to a
chancellor, who was commended to him for a long
man. And the bishop says, that he never did grant
the commission upon any foreign usurped laws or
ordinances, under his authority, than the bishop's
authority vist any decree of the said diocese, nor
any admittance to the chancellor and chapter, till
force of that commission, for any like intent or power
but only offered in the king's majesty's name and
authority (to the said bishop committed) to enteri-
tion of the chancellor and chapter of the cathedral
day at another day to be executed by the bishop his
self, the reformation of the chapter church, and minis-
ters, according to the king's gracious ordinances;
which the chancellor is to perform on behalf. But that
the bishop is in any wise against the bishop's com-
and canon of the church, before the fight of any com-
mision, fibbously answered the said chancellor, as
they would not receive him, nor any other to vis-
them, except he were of their chapter. And thus
leaving to see his commission, he delivered it
into their hands, who would not deliver it him again.
And it may appear that he did nothing by force
that commission.

2. To the 2d articles he says, That they opened
unto him the danger of any statute, to his know-
and remembrance. Nevertheless, he knew not of
default in the said commission, and certainly un
with all diligence the faithful execution of his office
preaching, and miniating the whole diocese in his
person, by the king's majesty's authority, for the
mission of God's word and the king's, to that
ious of rebellion, then beginning to arise in the
places, did neglect and laid aside the libeler below
our and wicked doings of the said chancellor and
and agreed with them, omitting all contempt and
proaches towards him and his said chancellor, in
these points, to the dehance and prejudice of him and
the people.

And besides, it was made collusion to Dr. John Evans of the vicarage
Penbrin, what day or time he remembereth not of
an old foreign usurped authority, but by the king's

tution and induction; and after, when the king's presentment came to him for one David Jenkin, clerk, he dehired 14 days reprieve at that time, either to shew ancient record for his right, and then the matter to stand in the determination of the law, or else if he shewed not, both he and his wife should receive the king's clerk, which condition was by Sir Thomas James, knight, Mr. Meyrick, and the said David Jenkin, received, and an indictment with an inducement was made conditionally to be put in the bands of Sir Thomas Jones, knight, for false calumny of the king's clerks' behalf, after the fourteen days. And also on the said defendant, if he failed to shew. Within which time the said defendant did shew an old ancient record, declaring the full right of patronage on the said defendant's behalf, and so that institution and inducement was never by the said defendant put in execution. Nevertheless the said David Jenkin (the defendant) his promisely oath, giving thereon his right hand to the said Thomas Jones, knight took advantage by the false writing, without knowledge of the said defendant. After which time the lord chancellor, by his letters written to the said defendant, advertised him, to admit one John ap Powell, clerk, pretent by virtue of the vow that which the lord chancellor judged to be good, and also for the observation of the former pretention wherein he should not bar the other man's right. And so this defendant made one collation, two institutions, and three mandates, doing no wrong thereby to his knowledge. And further (he faith) that there was no busines nor unquietness about the collation of a benefice, but this defendant giving place, was content to lose his right from time.

7. To the 7th he faith, That as he now remembereth, he never decreed any cavaete to be made in benefices, neither did issue nor cause to be inducted any into benefices, being known to him right.

8. To the 8th he faith, That because the archiepiscop and abbes from their own offices, and not from diligent officials, he hath directed his mandat, to them or their officials, or to other lawful persouns in that behalf, so far as he knoweth.

9. And to the 9th and 10th articles he denieth as very untrue.

11. To the 11th, he faith, that whereas Sir Thomas Jones, knight, advertised him, that Thomas Prichard had celebrated matrimony in a private bude, between a certain priest and woman, whole father had refused the same, the said Prichard leaving his own cure unfur- ther on that Sunday, this defendant did put the same Thomas Prichard to penance for so doing, marrying them without colour. And whereas he made the said Thomas Prichard, when at a banns, as an annullable, it was for the respect of learning in the law, thereby faithfully to execute his office according to justice. And the said defendant did never favour nor bear with any man writing in his wrong doings. He confeseth that the matrimony was solemnized in a pri- vate church, and that the cure was that day unfur- ther.

12. To the 12th he faith, That he is irinderous and utterly untrue. And that one John Hughes, priest, made Sage Hughes (daughter to his step-mother) harlot at eleven years of age, and after married openly to another man, being minister thereof himself. After which doing he took her away from her husband again, and kept her, and by same means to the said John Hughes, which was lawfully convicted before the said bishop, in open court at Caermathen, of that his abominable adultery, claiming the king's pardon there- of, yet the said Sage confessed, that he had to do with her the night before that day of appearance. Which later, when he denied it, he affirmed, both before the child, affirming, both before the birth and after, the child to be his, the midwife and others being witness thereof. Yet notwithstanding, George Conffantine, as a wicked encourager of the said priest in his naughty doings, with the help of the aforesaid clausse, first uttered that Meredith Thomas was the father of the said child; which matter was ordered in the recent first court according to justice, without any partial affiance of the said bishop, or of any other to his knowledge.
13. To the 13th he faith. It is utterly false so far as he knoweth.

14. To the 14th he faith. That by lawful sequestration in the king's majesty's name, he committed the custody of the fruits of Langatoke and Lanhangel to two honest men, for the behoof of the king's first fruits and tenth, and of the next incumbent, and further he did not meddle nor minify any cause of unquiet in that behalf.

15. To the 15th he faith, that he made a collation, (lawful as he supposed) of the prebend of Lanhibber, to Stephen Greene, his chaplain, without any covenant or colour further he did not meddle in that behalf.

16. To the 16th he faith. All is untrue as far as he knoweth.

17. To the 17th he faith. It is untrue for his own part, and his officers, as far as he knoweth.

18. To the 18th he faith, it is as untrue as far as he knoweth, and that he did certify the recants jutly, as he thinketh, because they refused wilfully to pay the king's whole sublidy of their whole dividends, as it raneth in the king's book, pertaining to the canons resident.

19. To the 19th he faith, that after a travel of fourteen miles, being not able to fasten the communion, in a chapel within the house of sir Thomas Jones, knight, one of the king's majesty's honourable council of the marches of Wales, this defendant celebrated mass without receiving the communion for the causes aforesaid, by which Mr. Griffith Rice, and the daughter of the said sir Thomas Jones, according to the king's ordinances. And Thomas Priorchard, priest, administered the holy communion there without any superstition, to this defendant's knowledge, and the married persons not disposed to receive the holy communion, he could not compel them against their confinences, and faith, that he did not dispone with them, as it is contained in the article.

To the slanderous and untrue CHARGE of Maintenance of SUPERSTITION, &c. be faith, that he did not maintain any SUPERSTITION, contrary to the King's Ordinances and Injunctions, but abhorring in his Heart all SUPERSTITION, hath travelled and dealt to abolish the same by true Doctrine, and doing as much as he can, with the King's Peace, among his People there.

20. To the 20th he faith, that George Constantine, in the third year of his majesty's reign, not regarding the dangerous time of rebellion in other places, rashly caused to be pulled down, without any authority known to this defendant, the communion altar in the church, by his own chance, and the mas:ous mind, appointing the use thereof in another place of the church, not without grudge of the people. Wherefore the bishop fearing tumult, commanded the vicar to set up the communion table (for the time) near to the place where it was before.

21. To the 21st he faith. That he has been divers times in the quire of Caermarthent, and hath tarried there in the communion time, not communicating himself, and that in every church where he conched on the holy-day to praise, he knelteth in the quire bare-hand ed, as well as matins before the communion, as at evening song after, without any superstition: he thinketh it not necessary for the communion's sake to leave kneeling to Christ. But he hath diligently taught the people not to turn to his knees to the vultive flow, or external shew of the sacrament. And the choirs of Caermarthent and other places there are not close at the sides, so that the people may come in and go out at their pleasure. Moreover the king's ordinances do not authorize him to refuse for kneeling on their breasts, in token of repentance of their sins; nor for kneeling, in token of submission to God for mercy in Christ.

22. To the 22d he faith. That in the time of the rebellion in Devonshire and Cornwall, threatening to come into Wales, he taught the people the true form of prayer, according to God's holy word, and declared the prayer upon beads to be vain and superstitious, disliking the fear of tumult and the fear of man, to take from man his beads, without authority. And he not reproving of such as he should meet, he rebuketh not that he hath so done, lest it were in the rebellion time, at which time he did not rebuke such offenders.

23. To the 23rd he faith, That he being in the pit, his face towards the people, did not see the fire if any were set upon the couple behind his back till after that he came down from the pulpit, let with George Constantine and the and caused the fitting in the church, in Caernarthen, to cease and feicing the vicar with other priests, with forest lights bringing a correg up to the church, called on with the vicar and priests, and rebuked them in council, set camorals and ravens, flying about dead carcasses for lucre fake.

24. To the 24th he faith, That he caused the child being born with great peril of death to the man, and itself living for dead a certain space after, as it was troubled on the working day, because both the father's mother, and all other people there were in great death by reason of the sudden sweat which all was in at that time. And touching the rest of the matter, as that it is that by that example the king's old accustomed fashion, he knoweth no such thing.

To the CHARGE of COVETOUSNESS he is faith.

Doings press the contrary, as his Neighbours know.

25. AND the 25th article he utterly denies.

26. To the 26th he faith, That his Aberrings being ruinous, he useth for his hall a great chamber adjoining, for himself and his servants, and manner of strangers, and besides twenty persons, house daily. What other hospitality he keepeth, no nichinburgs can testify.

27. To the 27th he faith, That his talk is going to his hearers, that is to say, reverently and relating faith, love, and honest life, according to scripture, and like auditors: and to other irreverent and rash molsters of scriptures and holy doctrine, he doth not love worldly things with godly intent, and that doth not much commonly talk of such things as is expressed in this article, when he hath honours callation to do so.

28. The 28th he faith, is untrue, and that he wanted an man out of his lands; but where his title of necceof provision, and which were parted own domain from certain freeholders, having it from year to year at pleasure, he cannot obtain it all out breaking. Wherefore he suffered them to it at even to overtake and right and rent. And turning the real, that he had rather the cows should it, &c. he never name any such word.

29. To the 29th he faith, That whereas his precessor bishop Barlo did let to farm the fee of Ilfe to one William Brown, after which the defendant received it into his own possession, the cars of St. David's being dishpossessed of it long before he did let it over to Stephen Green, for 40s the green as it was before, and still more for fees, costs, and fowles there; and he knoweth of no right the choral had therein, who did reifice when this defen dent did diligently upon reasonable conditions to the fame unto them: and this defendant made no promise unto them, as is contained in the article.

30. To the 30th he faith, He knoweth not that he advertised his bailiff to warn the free and others having his domain in rent, during pleasure: to leave it at a lawful day to this defendant's necessity: but did not cause the curate to do as is contained in the same article in his memorial.

31. To the 31st he faith. That he knoweth what the prieft said in the church, nor what ploughs there came, undescribed of this defendant. He knoweth certainly, that he defined no man's land, but for his money.
MARY A. D. 1555.] Dr. Farrar’s Answer to the Charges Against Him. 141.

43. To the 33d, he faith, That he knoweth not any appoijntment of schisms to divide the church, but found them (after the departing of bishop Barloce) Shoolemaster, an urther being a priest, and twenty shillings, which he hath hitherto maintained better than is found to, his knowledge: he did never con- tente any penny thereof to his own use, albeit he might fully have done the same.

44. To the 33d, he faith, is all untrue, so far as heareth.

45. To the 34th article he faith, He never purchas- ed more than three parcels, whereas one was 3s. 6d. the year the second, 3s. 4d. and the third, 1s. 6s. 8d. thereunto, by the hand and seal of John Thomas, his land good, but after 40 or 50 years, knowing at that time any such thing is contained in the articles against the said Lewis an Thomas. Neither bade he the lumper to let him know, but as soon as he heard anything of it, commanded the lumper to cite him: and so he was cited his defendant’s house, occasioning him to break bargain; to which Lewis, the defendant said these 6s. If you would give me your land with a house of gold, I cannot, nor will I suffer you to keep a man. Thence he heard Lewis affirming, he was his wite, and the first unknown to this defendant, he brought the said Lewis to the consistory, where he lanneth yet: and also by lawful: words communicated the woman, for that the old is not by any means appear in the court to claim possession, and the manner in which this day at the point of Sinecures.

46. To the 40th he faith, That whereas the chan- cellor, M. W. with other canons there, would not obey King’s godly injunctions, concerning the finding of food for poor men’s children, a lecture of divinity repaired by the prior of Trinity College, and other houses, decent order and ministration there; a soberly counted themselves (with the chancellor) a body politic, without regard of the bishop and lawful motions, being himself; named in their third mante a deacon, having also their dean-fail in the chapter, and so forth, and he then being in the chapter-house, with a key of their chapel, being also by the king’s majesty’s commission appointed their ordinary: yet would they not in any wise deliver unto him a book of their statutes, for a better knowledge of his and their duties, nor they being thus insolent, had the latter way to the king’s right and his. For which cause this defendant, by writ of qua warranto, lawfully called them answer, yet he lien asleeep, to the loss of the king’s majesty’s right. The time of delivery of the said writ, he remembereth not.

47. To the 54th he faith, is all false, as far as he knoweth.

To the 53d, he faith, to hath beheved to his power Willing Diligence.

8. To the 48th, he faith, That he thinketh no folly in the decent colour or fashion with honest use of saddle, bridle, trappes, fluff, and other like necessity or convenient things; and faith, that he used a saddles made after the Scitth fashion, with trappes of iron unarmed, and like spurs; and black bridle without fluxes, the bit and trappes white as other men’s are.

49. To the 40th he faith, That when he goeth abroad in winter, he weareth a hat to bear off rain and snow, and in summer to shadow him from the sun, without any vow of superintention or offence to the people.

50. To the 50th he faith, That all is one to him, to ride or walk, as cause requireth; and whether what is contained in the article or not, he remembereth not. Howbeit he doth use to go on foot.

51. To the 51st he faith, That after lawful prayer it pleased God to give him a son begotten and born in honest marriage: whom he therefore caused to be named Samuel, and bringing him to be received into Christ’s church as a poor member of Christ: by the holy sacrament of baptism was this done openly in the cathedral church, with earnest gravity, and without offending any man: and also two wives, being before at variance, desired both to be godmothers, which was both required to make unity between them, not knowing any law to the contrary, nor any offence thereby conceived of the people.
35. To the 3d he faith, That he was ever so good, yet waited but went to see Milford-Haven for honest purposes, and not to survey it; and for that he at the sight of a fel whistled in his fitt, such as meant folly might turn their purposes. But it is not true that he from whistling an hour to the fitt, nor that any fault was found with him, nor any such answer made by him to his knowledge.

54. To the 54th he faith, That he did say, the destroying of the fry hindereth plenty of fish, he thinketh the fame not against reason: but he remembereth not to have said, as is contained in the article.

55. To the 55th he faith, That he remembereth not that ever he said as they allege.

56. To the 56th, untrue, and ungodly conclusion he faith, That George Constandine, with other his adversaries before-named, and their adherents, not regarding the fear of God, and their bounden duty of loving obedience towards God and the king, and his true ministers, have with false tongues, contumelious words, and seditious deeds, laboured by all means to render his dignity and declare the king's gracious authority to him committed; whereas he did endeavour himself to shew his faithful ministrs by his true honest doing, and to use his authority according to his vocation, to God's glory and the king's honour. And this deponent brought into his diocese both learned men in the law, to his very great charges, which men George Constandine with his adherents hath wearied away.

The whole proces was long and tedious, and during the whole time of the examination of witnesses, the bishop was obliged to continue in London upon the allegation of his adversaries, which was, that if the bishop should depart into his diocese, he would hinder them of their proofs. About three weeks after the return of their commissary, 127 witnesses having been examined, publication of their witnesses was granted: after which it was a fortnight before the bishop could obtain a copy of their depositions, the whole thereof being so voluminous.

This good man was detained in prison till the death of king Edward, and the coming in of queen Mary and the popish religion; new trouble now began, being accused and examined for his faith and doctrine, he was called before the bishop of Winchester, bishop Hooper, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Bradford, and others, the 4th of February. On the 6th day he should also with them have been examined, but his condemnation was deferred, and he was committed to gaol again, where he continued till February.

He now was examined before Stephen Gost and others.—His second examination took place, January 28, before Henry Morgan, the pretended bishop of St. David's, and George Constable, a sizar. Morgan's words having no effect, he refused him his obstinate, and for the punishment of the king's insignity to be counted pro conscript, and did not permit him to write. Which being done, he ordered the said bishop to the custody of Owen Jones, to Monday next, being the 4th of March, they brought him again into the same place, between one and two. The third examination being attended with fame effect, he was committed again to custody on the following Thursday, March 7, when the said bishop delivered unto him a copy of that last affining him Monday next following, to answer the subterfuge to the same, either affirmatively or negatively.

March 11, appearing again before the bishop, George Constandine, he exhibited in a writing to his mind and answer. Upon that the bishop signified the next Wednesday in the forenoon to bear his counsel and definitive sentence. No matter it came to the diocese, and refusing still to renounce his faith, the bishop, a rage, pronounced the definitive sentence and he was given up forthwith to the secular power, namely, Mr. Lepfson, sheriff of the town of Cumbernaund.

The good bishop being condemned and desired, was not long after brought to the place of death in the town of Cumbernaund, where he in the same place, in the south-fide of the market-croft, the 5th day of March, being Saturday next before Palm Sunday, most delightfully and tumultuously set on fire.

Concerning whose conflation, this is moreover added, that one Richard Jones, a knight's son, going to Dr. Farrar a little before his death, he spared the painfulness of the death he had an hour for; unto whom the bishop answered again with justly, saying, that if he saw him once for in time of his burning, he should then give no credit to the doctrine. And as he said, so he right well perform the same; for to patiently he stood, that he moved till one Richard Gravel, with a staff in him down.

C H A P. VI.

The HISTORY and MARTYRDOM of RAWLINS WHITE aged 60, a Fisherman in WALES, who was burned at CARDIFF, in the same Month as was Bishop FARRAR: reported by J. DANE, who was immediately with him during his Troubles and Sufferings, unto his DEATH. Also A LETTER from Bishop GORDON DINNER to Bishop BONNER, concerning celebrating the POPE'S FUNERAL, with other Public Occurrences the Months of March and April, 1555.

RAWLINS WHITE was by his calling and occupation a fisherman, living and continuing in the said trade for the space of twenty years at least, in the town of Cardiff, being one of a very good name amongst his neighbours. At teaching his religion at first, it cannot otherwise be known, but that he was a great partaker of the superstition and idolatry that then was used in the reign of Henry VIII. But after that God of his mercy had raised up the light of his gospel, through the blessed government of king Edward the VI. Rawlins White began partly to mistake that which he had embraced, and to have some good opinion that which before by the iniquity of the times been concealed from him; and the rather to be this good purpose and intent of his to pass, he began to be a diligent hearer, and a great searcher of the truth. Because the good man was altogether unlearnt withal very simple, he knew no ready way how here...
At last he was removed from Chepstow to the castle of Cardiff, where he continued for the space of one whole year: during which time, this reporter referred to him very often, with money and other relief from this reporter's fund (which was also of use in those that were in affliction in those days) and other of his friends: which he received not without great thanks and praises given to the name of God. And notwithstanding he was thus troubled and imprisoned to his own utmost sorrow and the world, and the utter decay of his poor wife and children, and his beloved wife, the instruction and furtherance of others in the way of salvation, that he was never in quiet, but when he was per- forming or exhorting such of his familiar friends as came commonly to see him. In short, that on Sundays and other times of public worship, when his friends desired to visit him, he would pass away the time in prayer and exhortation, admonishing them always to beware of false prophets which come in sheep's clothing.

When he had continued in Cardiff castle for the space of one whole year, the time of his further trial was at hand. Whereupon the bishop of Landaff caused him to be brought again from the castle of Cardiff unto his own house near Chepstow, and while he continued there, the bishop endeavoured by various means to reduce him to服从 and submission. But when they found their threatening words and threats unavailing, and the patient one, determined to advise and determine with himself, either to recant his opinions, or else to suffer the rigour of the law, and thereupon gave him a day of determination: which day being come, the bishop with his chaplains went into his chamber, with a great number of the neighbours that had the curiosity to see their proceedings. When the bishop and his retinue were placed in order, poor Rawlins White was brought before them. The bishop (after much deliberation in addressing himself; as he seemed to be still forewarned to the Reflection that were present) made a few speeches, to the best of the cause of his being sent for, which was, that he was a man well known to hold heretical opinions, and that by his instructions many were led into blind error. In the end, he exhort him to consider his own state wherein he stood: for, (said the bishop) Rawlins, you have oftentimes since your first trouble, both here in my house, and elsewhere, been warned touching your opinions, and you seem altogether obstinate and wilful. Now hereupon we thought good for you to feel that there were any conformity in you: so that the matter is come to this pass. I pray you, therefore, that you may refrain repentant for that which you have done against God and the law, we are ready to receive you through your reformation, we are minded at this time to manifest our regard and tenderness to you, and therefore advise with yourself what you will do.

When the bishop had made an end, this good father Rawlins spake boldly to him, and said, My lord, I thank God I am a christian man, and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God: and if I do, I desire to be refuted out of the word of God, as a christian man ought to be. Many more words were spoken by the bishop and Rawlins, which this reporter doth not well remember. But in the end, when Rawlins would in no wise recant his opinions, the bishop told him plainly, that he was ready to this very day, against him by the law, and condemn him as an heretic.

Proceed in your law in God's name, said Rawlins, but for a heretic you shall never condemn me while the world stands. (But said the bishop to his company) Let us proceed any further with him, let us pray to God for grace, and throw off all dependence of grace upon him, and it may so chance, that God will hear their prayers will here turn his heart. When Rawlins heard the bishop say so, Ah, my lord, said he, now you deal well and like a godly bishop, and I thank you most heartily for it. When you have great charity and gentleness. Christ's name, Where two or three are gathered in his name, I will be in the midst of them: and be more than two or three of you. Now it be that your request be godly and lawful, and that ye pray as ye

should
should pray, without doubt God will hear you. And therefore, my lord, do you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God; I know that my God will both hear and answer, as he doth often early in the morning.

The bishop with his company then prayed; and Rawlins turning himself to a pew that stood somewhat near him, fell down upon his knees, covering his face with his hands: when they had prayed a while, the bishop with his company arose from prayer. And then also arose Rawlins, and came before the bishop.

Then said the bishop, Now Rawlins, how is it with thee? Wilt thou revoke thy opinions, or no? Surely, my lord, Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me now. I go God's way, and God's way, and I am true to God. Certainly if your opinions had been just and lawful, God would have heard them: but you honour a false God, and pray not as you should pray, and therefore God has not granted your desire. But I am a poor simple man, as you see, and God has heard my complaint, and I trust he will strengthen me in his own cause.

The bishop, when he perceived that this hypocrisy of their's took no effect, then with sharp words he reproved him, and forthwith was ready to read the sentence; but upon some advice given to him by his chaplains that were there present, he thought best first to have a mass, thinking, that indeed, by so doing some wonderful change would have been wrought in Rawlins, and thereupon the bishop began.

In the mean time poor Rawlins betook himself to prayer in a secret place, until the priest came to the lairing, as they term it, which is a principal part of their oblatory. When Rawlins heard the larding-bell ring, he rose out of his place, and came to the choir door, and there standing a while, turned himself to the people, speaking their words: Good people, if there be any brethren amongst you, or at the least, if there be but one brother amongst you, the same one but a week at the day of judgement, that I shall call to this end (meaning the holy priest held over his head).

Mass being ended, Rawlins was called for again; to whom the bishop used many persuasions; but the afflicted man continued so fixedly in his former profession, that the bishop's discourse was altogether in vain, and to no purpose. Whereupon the bishop caused the definitive sentence to be read. Which being ended, Rawlins was disinvited, and from thence he was by the bishop's commandment carried to the Stocks. Here he lay all the day, but at the petition of the town, called Cocknarell, a very dark, loathsome, and most vile dungeon.

Rawlins palled away the time in prayer, and chiefly in fingering of psalms: which kind of godly exercise he always used both at Cardiff castle, and in all other places.

Having continued a prisoner in Cocknarell prison at Cardiff, some time, about three weeks before the day wherein he suffered, the head officers of the town, that had the charge of his execution, were determined to burn him because they would be sooner rid of him; although they had no writ of execution awarded, as by the law they should have. Whereupon one H. Lewes, the recorder of the town, that then was, being present, and seeing he was to be burned, and wanting a priest, went to the sheriff and told him. If they did burn him before they had the writ, for burning of heretics, the wife of the said Rawlins would upon just cause, by law, call their doing into question.

Immediately upon this advertisement, they sent to London for the writ above-named: upon the receipt whereof they made speed to the execution. The day being bad, wherein the good father thought perhaps he might accomplish the last act of this his worthy conflict, he was the night before engaged in preparing himself.

Now when Mr. Rawlins perceived his time was no left near than it was reported, he sent forthwith to his wife, and desired her by the messenger, that in any wife she should make ready and send unto him his wedding garment, meaning a shirt, which afterwards he was burned in. This request, or rather commandment of his, his wife with grief of heart did perform, and sent it to him, which he received most gladly and joyfully.

The hour of his execution being come, this good and constant martyr was brought out of prison, hanging on his body the long shirt, which he called his wedding garment, and in old ruff-coat which he was wont to wear. Besides this, he had upon his head an old pair of leather buckles. And thus being brought out of prison, he was accompanied, or rather guarded, with a great number of bills and weapons. Which fight when he saw he could not continue, he said to all: By God's grace I will not run away: with all my soul and mind I give God most hearty thanks, that he hath made me worthy to abide all this for his holy name, and for his church.

So he came to a place, in his way, where his poor wife and children stood weeping, and making great lamentation: the sudden fright of whom so pierced his heart, that the very tears trickled down his face. But he soon after, as though he had milked this infiniteness of his heart, and that God had not given him grace to show himself; inso much, that striking his breast with his hand, he said these words, Alas, Alas, hinder not me to so? Wouldst thou fail prevail? Well, I tell thee, do what thou canst, thou shalt not, by God's grace, have the victory.

By this time the poor innocent came to the altar of his sacrifice, and there found a flake ready set up, with some wood towards the making of the fire. Which when he beheld, he set forward very boldly: but in going towards the flake, he fell down upon his knees and kissed the ground; and in rufing again, a little earth licking on his nose, he said these words, Earth unto earth, and dust unto dust; thou art my mother, and unto thee I shall return. Then went he cheerfully and very joyfully, and at the loud voice, gave God thanks, that he was about to end the pain of his life; and he said, as he had stood there a while, he cast his eye upon this rough and called him unto him, and said, I feel a great fighting between the flesh and the spirit, and the flesh would very faire have his will; and therefore I pray you, when you see me any thing tempted, hold your finger up to me, and I trust I shall remember myself.

As he was thus standing with his back clothe unto the flake, a friar came with a great chain of iron, whom when he saw, he call the friar, and with a loud voice, gave God thanks for his grace, and continually begg¬ing it fast on the other side, Rawlins said unto him, I pray you good friend knock in the chain fast: for it may be that the flesh will strive mightily; but God of his great mercy give me strength and patience to abide the extremity.

Now when the friar had made him fast to the flake, the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little straw and reeds: wherein the good old man was no less occupied than the belt; for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the straw and reeds, and lay it about him in places most convenient for his speedy dispatch. Which thing he did with such a chearful com¬panionship and familiar gesture, that all men there present were astonished at it.

When the fire were ready, directly over-against the flake, in the face of Rawlins White, there was a standing erected, wherein stept up a priest, addressing himself to the people, which were many in number, because it was market-day. When Rawlins perceived him, and considered the cause of his coming, he reaching a little straw unto himself, made two little flaps, and set them under his elbows. Then went the priest forward in his sermon, wherein he speak of many things touching the authority of the church of Rome. In the mean time Rawlins gave such good ear and attention, that he feared nothing at all either in holy or profane. At last, the priest came to the sacrament of the altar, and there he began to inveigh against Rawlins's opinions: in which harangue he cited the common place of scripture, and thereupon made a learned interpretation.

Now when Rawlins perceived, that he went about not
not only to preach and teach the people false doctrine, but also to turn him by Scripture, he suddenly started up, and beckoned his hands to the people, saying twice, Come hither good people, and hear not a false prophet preaching: and then laid unto the preacher, Aha! thou wretched hypocrite, and thou shalt havethy fall. Look in the text what followeth: Did not Christ say, "Do this in remembrance of me?" After which words, the priest being rather amazed than interrupted, forthwith held his peace.

Then found that fire by cried out, Put fire; for to fire which being done, the straw and reeds call up a great and sudden flame. In which flame this good man bathed his hands to long, until such time as the flames think, and the fat dropped away, facing that once he did, as he were wiped his face with a fat hand, till this while, which was somewhat long, he cried with a loud voice, O Lord, receive my spirit, until he could not open his mouth. At last, the extremity of the fire was so vehement against his legs, that they were confounded almost before the rest of his body was burnt, which made the whole body fall over the chain into the fire sooner than it would have done. Thus died this good old man for the testimony of God's truth, being now re- mained as an example of faith, and eternal life. It is further recorded of the said good father Rawlins, by this reporter, that as he was going to his death and suffering at the stake, he seemed in a manner to be altered in nature. For as before he was wont to go stooping, and stoopeth as he goeth through the gate of God, having a sad countenance and a very feeble complexion, and withal very faint in speech and gesture, now he went and stretched himself not only upright, but also bore withal a most pleasant and comfortable countenance, and had great courage and boldness both in speech and be- haviour.

It is also said by this reporter, that a little before the fire flashed up to his body, many of his friends came up to him, and took him by the hand, among whom the most notable was Robert Riche, a gentleman of the name of Riche, and William Peter, knight, the Queen's chamber, and Francis Inglefield, knight, master of the wards; to whom the same said:

"You are here of our council, and we have ordered you to be called unto us, to the intent you might hear of the matter, and of the thing concerned, concerning the lands and possessions, as well of our country, as of other churches whatsoever, being now presently in my possession."

First, I do consider, that the said lands were taken away from the churches aforesaid in the time of Richard, and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the law of God and of the church: for which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to detain them; and therefore I here expressly refuse either to claim or to retain the same, but do deliver them with my heart freely and willingly, without any covetous or condition, here and before God I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions, or inheritances whatsoever, and do announce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereto be made, from the soldiers and faithful, to our most holy lord the pope, or else his legate the lord cardinal, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our realm.

"You may object to me, that considering the state of my kingdom, and the dignity thereto they carve it im- partial cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the pollutions aforesaid; yet notwithstanding I fet more by the salvation of my soul, than by ten king- doms; and therefore the said pollutions I utterly refuse here to hold after that form and manner which may be heartily thanks to Almighty God, who hath given me an husband likewise minded, with no less good affection in this behalf, than myself.

"Wherefore I yield and command, that my chancel- cellor (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before) and you four, do revolt together to-morrow to the most reverend lord legate, and signify to him the premises in my name, and give your attendance upon him for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdom, and of the aforseid pollutions ac- cordingly, as you yourselves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same."

We must observe, that in the preceding month, January 19th, the bishop of Ely, with lord Montague, and 140 horse, were sent as ambassadors from the king and queen to Rome. For what cause, is not expressed; but by conjecture it may be well presumed to be for the fame cause of abbey-lands, as by the sequel thereof may probably appear. For it was not long after, the pope did set forth in print a bull of excommunication for all manner of such persons, without exception, as kept any of the church or abbey-lands; by virtue of which bull, the pope excommunicated as well such as had any of the church or abbey-lands, as also all such princes, bishops, and noblemen, judges of peace, and others in office, who had not, or did not forthwith put the fame bull in execution. This execution (God grant) may be at length put in practice. For neither the bishop of Winchester, nor any of the pope's clergy, would greatly flir in that matter, perceiving the nobility to be too strong for them; and those who were comprised to stay for a more convenient opportunity; and that the pope, in the bull already not, at the first coming out of the bull, be exasper- too much against them, they futilly abused the pulps, and intemperate with the people, according that the said pope's late bull, set forth in print for refutation of abbey-lands, was not meant for England, but for other foreign countries: when in truth the meaning of that bull was only for England, and no country else, as both by the motion of queen Mary, and by many other conjectures, clearly appear, whereupon the pope sets it as for all men to understand what the purpose of those men was to do, if time, which they observed, might have served their devotion. But to mention this matter pats of the pope's bull, it may now serve to treat of pope Julius's death, as formerly as he made his exit the latter end of March.

Under this Julius, flourished the archbishop of Bene- venetus, a Florentine, named Johannes a Caia, dean of the pope's chamber, and chieflegate to the Venetians; who well declaring the fruit of that filthy lie, so far for- got both honesty and nature, that he was not ashamed to play the filthy lewdness itself, and to beast openly of the same; but also took upon him most impudently in Italian manner, to the uttermost of his power, the false and extravagant condemnation that beastly iniquity, saying: 'That he himself never used other; and this book was printed at Venice by one Trojanus Navus, and yet the pope could suffer this so great iniquity and shameful beastli- nefs, even under the nose of his own chamberlain, who could not abide the true doctrine of Christ in Christian books.

Amongst other prank's and deeds of this pope, in his jubilee, and the synod of Trent, and in confirming of the idol of Loretto, this is also reported of him in his life, that he delighted greatly in pork-fleth and peacocks. Upon a time when he was admonished by his physician to abstain from all fivces-fleth, for that it was pure to the soul, and yet would not follow his counsel; the physician sliced forwards gave him a meat bet- ter, that he should eat no more pork-fleth before him. Whereupon when the pope perceived the said pork-fleth
not my prayers: and seeing he could forgive us all our sins, I am sure he is clean himself; therefore I need not to pray for him.

Some person told by, heard her speak these words, and upon their information she was put into the cage, at London-bridge.

The Sudden Death of Mr. Nightingale, a P. of Chancel., in Kent, who was made Chief Pen- tentuary of that Deanery by Cardinal Poole.

A MYSTERY of God by many thousands of his ador- ned men of all nations in these latter years has begun and not violently to reft the light of his gospel; as first, by preaching of his word; secondly, by the blood of the martyrs; and thirdly, by terrible examples from time to time. Be called upon his adherents. In the number of whom cometh here to be remembered, the notable working of God's hand upon a certain priest in Kent, named Nightingale, parson of Chandles, new Canterbury, who upon Shrove-Sunday, which was about the 32 day of the fast month of March, rejoicing greatly at the atten- tion of religion, began to make a sermon to his parishioners, taking his theme out of the words of St. John: "He that hath no sin, is a liar, and the truth is not in him;" and upon the fame very imperiously declared to them such artifices as were set forth by the pope's authority, and by the com- mandment of the bishops of this realm; saying moreover unto the people: "Be not murmuring, curse, hate, love, ban the neighborhood, rejoice, and be merry, for the prodigal son is come home;" and that most part of you be as I am, for I know your hearts well enough. And I shall tell you what hath happened in this week past: whereas before my lord cardinal Poole, and he made me free from sin as I was at the font-flone: and on Thursday last being before him, he hath appointed me to notify (I thank him for it) the fame unto you. And I will tell you what it is. Then reading the pope's bull of pardon that was sent into England, he said, he had thanked God that he had lived to see that day; ad- ding that he was never more belied by the virtue of that to as he was from clean from sin, as the night that he was born: and imme- diately upon the fame fell suddenly down out of the pulpit, and never lived hand nor foot. Testified by Robert Allson of Chatham, who both heard and saw the fame, and is witnessed also by the country round about.

On the 2d of April, John Acock died in prison, and was buried in the fields, as the manner of the papists was, to deny christian burial to such as died out of their papistical antichristian church. Having now entered into the month of April, we will set down in order out of the public records what happened in the said month. The 11th of April, 1555, a letter was sent to the bishop of Kent, to apprehend Thomas Woodgate and William Maynard, for preaching secret- ly, and to send them up to the council. The 7th day of the fast month, another letter was sent to the bishop for the apprehension of one Harwich, who went about with a boy with him, preaching from place to place.

The 15 of April, a letter was directed to sir Nicholas Hare, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, requiring them to examine Mr. Flower, alias Branch, what he meant by wearing about his neck this motto, Drum time, taken fage: "Fear God, beware of impudence;" and whom else he knew to wear the like: praying them also to speak to Bonner, bishop of London, speedily to proceed against him for his religion according to the laws, and that the justices of peace of Middlesex should likewise proceed against him for shedding of blood in the church, according to the statute, so as if he continued in his opinion, he might be executed at the farthest by the latter end of this week, 'and that his right hand be struck off the day before his execution, or the same day.

There was there was a like letter sent to the justices of peace of Middlesex, with a writ for the apprehension of the said Flower, commanding them to see his hand struck off before his burning.

The 29th of April, Mr. Robert Horneby, servant then to lady Elizabeth, was conveyed before the council for this opinion; and upon being there, truly and honestly, the truth, notwithstanding their threats and other provocations, was therefore committed to the Marshalsea.
GHORGE MARSH was born in the parish of Deane, in the county of Lancaster, and was well brought up in lection and piety, and professed of living by his parents, and forward, about the 25th year of his age, took to wife an honest maiden of the country; with whom he continued, earning their living upon a farm, having children between them lawfully begotten: and then God taking his wife out of this world, he (leaving his household and children in good order) went unto the university of Cambridge, where he studied, and much interceded in learning, and was a minister of God's holy word and sacraments, for a while was curate to the Rev. Mr. Laurence Saunders, as himself reporteth. In which condition of life he continued for a space, earnestly setting forth God's true religion, to the defacing of Antichrist's false doctrine, by his godly readings and sermons, as well there and in the parish of Deane, as else where in Lancashire.

At length, he was apprehended, and kept close pri

The First Examination of the Rev. Mr. George Marsh, before the Earl of Derby and others, written by himself.

On the Monday before Palm-Sunday, which was the 12th of March, it was told me at my mother's house, that Roger Windborne, with other of Mr. Barton's servants, did make diligent search for me in Bolton; and when they perceived that I was not there, they gave six guineas to Robert Ward and Robert Marsh, to find and bring me to Mr. Barton the next day following, with others, to be brought before the honourable council of Derby, to be examined in matters of religion, &c.

I know very well, by my friends, was diversely affected; my mother, and other my friends advising me to fly, and to avoid the peril, which I had intended, after a week or two, next ensuing, if this in the mean while had not been heard; thinking that they were not so recant in matters of religion, as they thought I would not, and as God strengthening and assisting me in His Holy Spirit I never will) it would not only have put them to great sorrow, heavines, and loss, with coals and reproofs rebuke in this world, but also my own self, after troubles and painful imprisonment, unto shameful death.

This considered, they advised and counselled me to depart and fly the country, as I intended to have done, this had not happened. To whose counsel my weak flesh would gladly have consented, but my spirit could not fully agree; thinking and saying thus to myself, that if I fled away, it would be thought, reported, and said, that I did not only fly the country, and my nearest and dearest friends, but much rather from Christ's holy word, and that I was as Articles of these years past I had with my heart, or at least with my lips, not only written and word and mouth taught, according to the small talent given me of the Lord. I being thus with their counsel and advice, and the thoughts and counsels of my own mind, drawn as it were divers ways, went from my mother's house, saying I would come again at evening.

In the mean time I ceased not by earnest prayer to ask and seek counsel of God, (who is the giver of all good gifts) and of other my friends, whose pious judgments and knowledge I much trusted to. After this I met with none of my friends on Deane-moor, about fun setting, and other went confused together of my buffets, not without hearty and frequent catechising which was fully determining what to do, but taking my leave of my friend, said, I doubt not but God (according as our prayer and trust was) would give me such wisdom and comfort, and that I should be most to his honour and glory, the profit of my own soul and hours and brethren in the world, and obtaining my eternal salvation by Christ in heaven.

This done, I returned to my mother's house again, where several of Mr. Barton's servants had been seeking after me; who, when they could not find me, first charged my brother and William Marsh to seek me that night, and to bring me to Smedshill the next day, who being so charged, were gone to seek me in Adderton, or elsewhere.

Thus intending before to have been all night with my mother, but then considering that my tarrying there would discover me to them, with which I was bidden, I departed from thence, and went beyond Deane church, and there I layed all night with an old friend of mine, taking little rest, and confuting much with myself of my trouble.

At my first awaking, one came to me from a faithful friend and confidant, who said thus: My friend's advice was that I should not fly, but abide and boldly confess the faith of Jesus Christ. At whose words I was so confirmed and established in my conscience, that from thenceforth I confounded no more, whether it were better to fly or to tarry; but was at a point where I should do. I could not fly, but go to Mr. Barton, who did, like me, for me, and there pass down myself, and patiently bear such crost as it should please God to lay upon my shoulders. Whereupon my mind before being much disquieted and troubled, was now merry and at ease.

I arose early in the morning, and after I had said the English litany (as my custom was) with other prayers, kneeling on my knees by my friend's bed side, I prepared myself to go towards Smedshill; and as I was going thither, I went into the houses of Henry Widdows, of my mother's house, of Ralph Yeton, and of the wife of Thomas Richard. I crossed several times before I pray for me, and have me commended to all my friends, and comforted my mother, and be good to my little children; for (as I supposed) they should not see me any more before the last day; and took my leave of them, without those flown on both sides, and came to Smedshill about nine o'clock, and presented myself to Mr. Barton; who shewed me a letter from the earl of Derby, wherein he was commanded to send me with others to Latham.

Whereupon he charged my brother and William Marsh to bring and deliver me the next day by ten o'clock, before the said earl or his council. I made earnest suit, with other special friends, which I had there at the same time, to Mr. Barton, that he would take some one, or all of them, bound by recognition or otherwise, for my appearing before the said earl or his council, that my brother and William Marsh might be at home, because it was time for him to go. I took my leave of them, and their ploughs could not go if they were not at home; but nothing could be obtained.

So we went to my mother's, and there I dined and filled part of my clothes, and praying, took my leave of my mother, the said Richard Marsh, and both their households, and I both weeping and placing, weer, among them, went towards Latham, and lay all night within a mile and a half of it. The next day, which was Wednesday, we arose, prayed, and came to Lathom betimes, and tarried there till four o'clock in the afternoon.

Then...
Then was I called by Roger Mekinson, to my lord and his council, and there found the chamber of prayer where the precent was William Nores, sir Pierce Alce, Mr. Shurburn, the parson of Grapnal, Mr. Moore, with others. Where when I had tarried a little while, my lord turned himself towards me, and asked what was my name; I answered, Roger Mekinson. Then he said, whether I was of those that followed evil seed and dissension amongst the people: which I denied, deifying of my accusers, and what could be laid against me: but that I could not know.

Then, said he, he would with his council examine me myself, and asked me whether I was a priest; I said, No: he asked me what I had been living. I answered, I was a minster, served a cure, and kept a school. Then said his lord to his council, This is a wonderful thing before he said he was no priest, and nothing could be confess'd in himself to be one. I answered, By the laws now used in this realm, (as far as I do know) I am none.

They asked me who gave me orders, or whether I had taken any. I answered, I received orders of the bishop of London and Lincoln.

Then said they one to another, these are of these new heretics; and asked me what acquaintance I had with them? I answered, I never saw them but at the time when I received orders.

They asked me how long I had been curate, and whether I had minister'd with a good conscience. I answered, I had been curate but one year, and had minister'd with a good conscience, I thanked God; and if the laws of the realm would have been good to him, he would have minister'd freely, and if they at any time hereafter would suffer him to minister after that sort, I would minister again.

At which they murmured, and the parson of Grapnal said, this last communion was the most devilish thing that ever I did devile. Then they asked me what my belief was.

I answered, I believed in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according as the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments do teach, and according as the four symbols or creeds, that is to wit, the creed commonly called the Apostles, the creed of the council of Nice, of Athanasius, and of Aultin, and Ambrose, do teach.

After a few words, the parson of Grapnal said, But what is thy belief in the sacrament of the altar? I answered, I believed that whoever, according to Christ's institution, did receive the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, did eat and drink Christ's body, and with all the benefits of his death and resurrection to them, 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25, Christ said, I am present with his sacrament. They asked me, whether the bread and wine, by virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, were changed into the flesh and blood of Christ, and that the sacrament, whether it were received or referred, was the very body of Christ.

Whereunto I made answer, I knew no further than I had shewed already. For I said my knowledge was imperfect; defending them not to ask me such hard and unprofitable questions, whereby no being my body into danger of death, and to suck my blood. Whereas they were not little offended, saying, they were no blood-suckers, and intended nothing to me but to make me a good christian.

After many other questions, which I avoided as well as I could, remembering the saying of St. Paul, "Foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing they do but ingender strife;" my lord commanded me to come to the board, and gave me pen and ink in my hand, and committed me to my own answers to the questions of the sacrament above-named; and I wrote as I had answered before. Whereto he being much offended, commanded me to write a more direct answer, saying, I should not chuse but do it.

Then took the pen and wrote, that further I knew not what was before grieved, after many threatenings, said, I should be put to a shameful death like a traitor, with other like words; and sometimes giving me fair words, if I would turn and be conformable as others were, how glad he would be.

In conclusion, after much ado, he commanded me to ward, in a cold, winde-stone-house, where was little room: there I lay two nights and two days, lying in my bed, fasting, without water and victual; and so continued till Palm-Sunday, occupying myself as well as I could in meditation, prayer, and study; for no man could be suffer'd to come to me but my keeper twice a day, when he brought me meat and drink.

SECOND EXAMINATION of the REV. MR. GEORGE MARSH.

On Palm-Sunday, after dinner, I was sent for to my lord and his council, (all being William Nores, and sir Pierce Alce were not then present) among whom were sir John Beram, and the vicar of Prefect. So they examined me once again of the sacrament. And after I had communed with the vicar of Prefect a good while concerning that matter, he returned with me to my lord and his council, saying, That answer which I had made before, and then did make, (as it is above written) was sufficient for a beginner, and as one which did not profest a perfect knowledge in that matter, until such time as I should learn more. For at this time, he said, I had been curate but one year; and if the laws of the realm would have been good to me, he would have minister'd freely, and if they at any time hereafter would suffer me to minister after that sort, he would minister again.

And so after much other communication I departed, much more troubled in my mind than before, because I had not with more boldness confess'd Christ, but in such form as mine adversaries thought, though they should prevail against me; whereas I was much griev'd; for hitherto I went about as much as in me lay, to rid myself out of their hands, if by any means without open denying of Christ and his word that could be done.

This confessor, I cried more earnestly to God by prayer, desiring him to strengthen me with his Holy Spirit, with boldness to confess him, and to deliver me from their enticings, and that I might not be fouled through their philosophy and deceitful vanity, after the traditions of men and ordinances of the world, and not after Christ.

A day or two after I was sent for to the vicar of Prefect, and the parson of Grapnal; where our communication was concerning the mass: and he asked what offense I had offered the mass. I answered, the whole mass did offend me, first because it was delivered to me whereby the people were not edified, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, 1 Cor. xiv. and because of the manifold and intolerable abuses and errors contained therein, contrary to Christ's priesthood and sacrifice.

Then they asked me in what place thereof, and I named several; which places they went about with gentle and far sought interpretations to mitigate, saying, those places were underfoot for other wise than the words did purport, or than I did take them.

I answered, I did understand them as they did purport, and as their own books do comment and gloss upon them. They said, The sacrifice or obligation did not in the mass signify any thing else, than either a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or else a memorial of a sacrifice or obligation. So they caus'd a mass-book to be brought for, and shewed me where in some places of the mass was written, A sacrifice of praise. Whereas I answered, that it followed not therefore that in all places it signified a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; and although it did, yet was not a sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving to be offered for the people.

After this, Mr. George Marsh was sent to Lancaster castle, and being brought with other prisoners unto the fitions, and there to hold up his hand with the male-factors; at which time the earl of Derby had this conversation with him.
The First Appearance of the Rev. Mr. George Marsh, before Dr. Cotter, Bishop of Chester.

Within a few days the Rev. Mr. Marsh was sent for by Dr. Cotter, the bishop, to appear before him in his hall, nobly, else he any favours, and then he asked him certain questions concerning the sacrament: to whom he made such answer as the bishop seemed thereto to be content, faving that he was not thereof so much mistaken, and the consecration of the holy bread, and the absolution of the man, he had been once under, and the laymen should receive under one kind only. Mary to Christ's institution; in which point the bishop went about to persuade him: howbeit (God be thanked) all in vaine. Other discourses he had with him to submit himself to the authority of the church of Rome; and when he faw he could not procure himself to be prifon again: and after being there, came to him again verses times Mr. Mafty, a fatherly old man, Mr. Wrench, a schoolmaster, Mr. Fenihaw, the bishop's chaplain, and the archdeacon, with many more; who with all pliability of body, humility, and decenfion, under the tradition of men, but not after Christ, went about to prifon him to submit himself to the church of Rome, and to acknowledge the pope to be head thereof, and to interpret the Scriptures no other than the church did; with many fuch like arguments and persuasions of the public prelates.

To whom the said Mr. George Marsh answered, that he did acknowledge and believe one holy catholic and apostolic church, without which there is no salvation, and that this church is but one, because it ever hath, and ever will, confefs and believe one only God, and him only worshiping and magnifying, and in him only trust for salvation: which church also is ruled and led by one Spirit, one word, and one faith; and that this church is universal and catholic, because it ever hath been since the world's beginning, and shall continue such to the end of the world, and comprehending within itself all nations, kindreds, and tongues, degrees, states, and conditions of men; and that this church is built up only upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner stone, and not upon the Romish laws and decrees, the bishop of Rome being the supreme head.

And where they said the church did stand in or dinary fancucion of bishops, being ruled by general councils, holy fathers, and the laws of holy church, and so had continued for the space of fifteen hundred years and more; he made answer, that the holy church, which is all one holiness and truth, and most worthy to be called holy, was before any fancucion of bishops, general councils, or Romish decrees; neither was it bound to any time or place, ordinar y fancucion, general councils, or traditions of fathers; nor had it any supremacy over empires and kingdoms: but it was a poor simple flock, dispersed and scattered abroad, as sheep without a shepherd in the midst of wolves, or as a flock of orphans and fatherless children; and that this church was led and ruled by the only laws, councils, and word of Christ, being the supreme head of this church, and affil ling, succouring, and defending the world, from all afflictions, errors, and perfections, whereunto the flock is ever uncom plied about.

He shewed and proved unto them also, by the flood of Noah, the destruction of Sodom, the Israelites departing out of Egypt, the parable of the lower, of the king's son's marriage, of these plagues, and by other plain sentences of scripture, that this church was of no estimation, and little in comparison with the church of hypocrites, and wicked worldlings.

The Second Appearance of the Rev. Mr. George Marsh, before the Bishop of Chester.

After that said bishop had taken his pleasure in punifhing this his prisoner, and often reviling him with the odious names of heretic, &c. he caused him to be brought forth into a chapel in the cathedral church of Cheller, called our Lady's-chapel, at two o'clock.
o'clock in the afternoon, and Fulk Dutton, mayor of the said town, Dr. Wall, and other priests affilling him, placed not far from the bishop; George Wensfle, chancellor, and one John Getham, regifter, fat directly over against him. Then they caused the said Mr. Marsh to take an oath, to answer truly unto such articles as should be objected against him. Upon which oath taken, the chancellor laid to his charge, that he had preached and openly published most heretical and blasphemous doctrines, within the parishes of Deane, Eccles, Bolton, Berry, and many other places within the bishop's diocese, in the months of January, February, or some other time of the year last, preaching directly against the pope's authority, the church of Rome, the blessed mass, the sacrament of the altar, and many other articles. Unto all which he answered, that he neither heretically nor blasphemously preached or spake against any of the said articles; but simply and truly, as occasion served, and (at his discretion) forced in conscience maintained the truth touching the same articles, as he said all you now present did acknowledge the same in the time of the late king Edward VI.

Then they examined him severally of every article, and as he gave answer yes or no, without equivocation: for they were come to examine, and not to dispute at that prefent.

Then he answered them unto every article very modestly, according to the doctrine by public authority received; and to this end, in his realm at the death of king Edward; which answers were every one written by the regifter to the uttermost that could make against him. After this, the company for that time broke up, and he was returned to prison again.

The Third and Last Appearance of the Rev. Mr. George Marsh, before Dr. Cotter.

The bishop was now determined, if Mr. Marsh would not relent and abjure, to pronounce sentence definitive against him. Wherefore he bade the said George Marsh to be well advised what he would do, for it stood upon his life: and if he would not at that prefent forfie his heretical opinions, it would (after the sentence given) be too late, though he would ever so gladly forfie it.

Then the chancellor first asked him, Whether he were not of the bishop's diocese? To which he answered, that he knew he was of large diocese was at Cambridge. But they asked, whether he had not lately been at Deane parish in Lancashire, and there abode? He answered, Yes.

Then the chancellor read all his answers that he made in the former examination, and at every one he asked him whether he would fiek to the fame or no? To which he answered again, Yes, yes. Said the chancellor, in your last examination, amongst other very damnable and schismatical heresies, you said, That the church and doctrine taught and used in king Edward's time, was the true church, and the doctrine of the true church, and that the church of Rome was not the true and catholic church.

So said I, replied Mr. Marsh, and I believe it to be true. Here also others took occasion to ask him (for this occasion denied the bishop of Rome's authority in England) whether Linus, Anacleus, and Clement, that were bishops of Rome, were not good men; and he answered, Yes, and divers others; but he said, they claimed no more authority in England, than the bishop of Canterbury doth at Rome; and I strive not with the place, neither speak I against the person of the bishop, but against his doctrine, which in most points is repugnant to the doctrine of Christ.

Thou art an arrogant fellow indeed, said the bishop. In what article is the doctrine of the church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Christ?

To whom Mr. Marsh answered, Oh, my lord, I pray you judge not so of me. I stand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my cafe hath no cafe to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my record.

And as concerning the disaffirmation of the doctrine, among many other things, the church of Rome ereth in the sacrament. For where Christ in the institution thereof did as well deliver the cup as the bread, saying, Drink ye all of it, and Mr. Mark reporteth, that they did drink of it: in like manner St. Paul delivered it unto the Corinthians. And in the fame oath it was used in the primitive church for the space of many hundred years. Now the church of Rome doth take way one part of the sacrament from the laity. Wherefore if I could be persuaded in my conscience by God's word, that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this point.

Then said the bishop, There is no disputing with; hereunto I will but add, if this Mr. Marsh's answers were read, he asked him whether he would stand to the fame, being as they were full of heresy, or else forfie them, and come unto the catholic church.

To whom he made this full answer, That he held the mystical opinion, but utterly abhorred all kind of heresy, although they most untruly so did slander him. And he defined all the people there to bear him witness (if any hereafter should slander him, and say that he held any grievous heresy) that in all articles of religion he held no other opinion than was by law established, and publickly declared in the church of England, at the time of king Edward the sixth; and in the fame pure religion and doctrine he would, by God's grace, stand, live, and die. Here the chancellor spake to one Leach, who stood near to Mr. Marsh, and bade him stand farther from him; for his protection, he had no good.

This being ended, the bishop took a writing out of his bosome, and began to read the sentence of condemnation: but when he had read almost half thereof, the chancellor called him, and said, Good my lord, stay, stay: for if you proceed any farther, it will be too late to call it again, and so the bishop stayed. Then his pupil priests, and many other of the ignorant people, cried upon Mr. Marsh, with many earthen words, to recant, and amongst others, one Pulleyen, a shoe-maker, said to him, For shame man remember thyself, and recant. They made him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him: so they knelt down, and he desired them to pray for him, and he would pray for them.

The bishop then asked him again, whether he would not have the queen's mercy in time; and he answered, he did gladly forfie the fame, and did love her grace as faithfully as they did, but yet he durst not deny his Saviour Christ, lest he lose his mercy everlasting, and be win everlasting death.

Then the bishop put his spectacles on, and read forward his sentence about five or six lines, and there again the chancellor with flattering words and finding countenance, to try him again. And for the third time the king's lord, once again stay for if that word be spoken, all is past, no relenting will then serve; and the bishop (pulling off his spectacles) said, I would stay if it would be.

How much thou, said he, wilt thou recant? Many of the priests and ignorant people bade him do so, and call to God for grace; and pulling him by the sleeve, bade him recant and save his life. To whom he answered, I would as fain live as you, if in doing so I should not deny my master Christ, and then he would deny me before the world.

Then the bishop read out his sentence unto the end, and afterwards said unto him, Now I will no more pray for thee, than I will for a dog. Mr. Marsh answered, That notwithstanding he would pray for his lordship; and after this the bishop delivered him unto the sheriffs of the city. His late keeper fai'd, Farwel good people, called weeping eyes, which caused the officers to carry him to a prison at the north-green, where he was very strictly kept until he went to his death, during which time he had small comfort or relief of any worldly creature.

For being in the dungeon or dark prison, none that would do him good could speak with him, or at least durst enterprize so to do, for fear of accusation: and some of the citizens who loved him, for the
the gospel's fake, (whereof there were but few) although they were never acquainted with him, would sometimes in the evening at a hole upon the wall of the city (that went into the said dark prison) call to him and ask him how he did. He would answer them most cheerfully, that he did well, and tell them, God most highly that he would have of his mercy appointed him to be a victim of his truth, and to suffer for the fame, wherein he did most rejoice; bezeeming him that he would give him grace not to faint under the cross, but patiently bear the fame to his glory, and comfort of his church: with many other like assurances, which would minister that might be defined to be with Christ. Once or twice he had money cast him in at the fame hole, about ten pence at one time, and about two shillings at another time; for which he gave God thanks.

When the day and time appointed came that he should suffer, the sheriffs of the city, whose names were Anary and Cottis, under three seal, and a great number of poor simple barbers with dusty bills and collars, went to the north-gate, and there took out Mr. George Marsh, who came with them most humbly and meekly, with a lock upon his feet. As he came upon the way towards the place of execution, some folks professed him money, and looked that he should have gone with a little purs in his hand (as felons were accustomed in that city in times past, at their going to execution) to the end to gather money to give unto the poor, and to make for them after their death, whereby they might have a preference. But Mr. Marsh said, he would not then be troubled to receive money, but defined some good man to take the money, if the people were disposed to give any, and to give it to the poor or poor people. So he went all the way with his book in his hand, looking upon the fame, and many people said, This man goes to his death as a thief, or as one that devieth to die.

Now when he came to the place of execution without the city, near unto Spittal-Boughton, one Cowberry, being a deputy chamberlain of Chester, fetched Mr. Marsh with a great deal of rage, saying, That it was a pardon for him if he would recant. Whereat he answered, That he would gladly accept the fame, and said further, that he loved the queen but forsooth as much as it tended to pluck him from God, he would not accord to that condition.

After that he began to speak to the people, dwelling on the caufe of his death, which would have exhorted them to fly unto Christ. Whereupon all the people of the city were very sad. Mr. Marsh said, we must have no simony now. To whom he said, Father, I cry you mercy; and so kneeling down said his prayers, put off his clothes unto his thighs, and his shirt to his bosom, and chained to the post, having a number of faggots under him, and his shirt made like a fernkin, with pitch and tar in it, over his head and before the fire was unskillfully made, and that the wind did drive the fame to and fro, he suffered great pain in his death, which notwithstanding he bore very patiently.

We must here observe, that when he had been a long time tormented in the fire, when moving, having his self so broiled and puffed up, that the people with fore him, could see the chain wherewith he was fastened, and therefore supposed no liver that he had been dead; notwithstanding suddenly he spread abroad his arms as if he died, and those who had seen him, set his spirit into the hands of the Lord.

Upon this, many of the people said he was a martyr, and died marvellously patient. Which caused the bishop shortly after to make a sermon in the city church, and therein affirmed, that the said Marsh was an heretic, burnt as such, and was a fire-brand in hell.

The Rev. Mr. Marsh wrote besides his examinations while in prison, several letters to divers persons, of which the following are true copies.

No. 13.

L E T T E R I.

From the Rev. Mr. George Marsh to his Friends.

H e re you have, dearly beloved friends in Christ, the chief and principal articles of christian doctrine briefly touched upon. I hope you believe, professed, and taught, and yet do believe, profess, and declare your purposed, by God's grace, to continue in the fame until the last day. I do want both time and opportunity to write out at large the probations, cases, parts, effects, causes, or consequences of every single article, which whoo declareth to know, let them read over the compass of the whole whole of the famous and learned men, Philip Melancthon, and Erasmus Rous, the two most learned men of religion I do chiefly follow and lean unto. The Lord give us understanding in all things, and deliver us from this evil world, according to the written and taught of the most excellent writers of the old testament, and the most excellent writers of the new testament. Amen.

Though Satan be suffered as wheat to sift us for a time, yet our faith shall triumph through Christ's aid, and we are at all times able and ready to confirm the faith of our weak brethren, and always ready to give an answer to every man that asketh a reason of the hope that is in us, and that with meekness and gentleness, being armed with the whole armour of God, and being a wall of partition between good and evil, they may be abstained, and furnished as they have falsely accused our good conversation in Christ." I teach you that you must be ready to confess the name of Christ, and be not afraid to speak of Christ in the mouth of the lion, and to suffer with the Lord, and keep us unto his everlasting and heavenly kingdom. Amen.

As I said before, I am now of late well pleased under my most loving and most gentle Mr. Laurence Saunders, bishop of Laughton. But the Lord of his great mercy would not suffer me to depart from you, though for the time I was in his vineyard, I was not an idle worker. When the good providence of God had provided me, I perceive it, to taste of a farther cup by which I was yet once again driven me out of that pleasing Babylon, that I could not take so much of her wanton pleasures, but with his most duly beloved diocese I am so inwardly rejoicing in the crofs of his Son Jesus Christ: that I was with the grace of God as fast I could, and in the sight of all I declared I could see it well, standeth not in the hornamorous sound of bells and organs, nor in the glittering of mirrors and coes, neither in the shilling of their cloth, which is to the blind popish do judge it, but in continual labours and daily afflictions for the same's sake.

As at this present here in England, hath his fan in his hand, and after his great harrow wherein these past years hath he fent his labours, is now finking the corn from the ebb, and purging his floor, and ready to gether the wheat into his garner, and of such shall we have amongst us, in their day fire.

Take heed and beware of the least of the exactions of the fackles; I mean the erroneous doctrine of the papists, which went forth in the nations, and so it continues. For to the apostle St. Peter doth teach us, There shall be false teachers, among you, which privily shall bring in damnable seducers: and he, that maketh false doctrine, which abominable and damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of, and that through covetousness, they shall with feigned words make merchandise of us: and Carnally warmeth us, to beware of false prophets, which come to us in fleshly apparel, but inwardly they are devine wolves. By their fruits you shall know them. The fruits of the prophets are their doctrine. In this place are we chriliians taught, that we should try the prophets, and others that come under colour to set forth tre true religion unto us, according to the faying of St. Paul, Try all things, hold fast that which is good. Also the evangelist St. John faith, Believe not every spirit, but prove the spirits of them whether they are of God or not; for many false prophets, faith he, are come out into the world. Therefore if thou wilt know the true prophets from the falses, try the spirit of them by the words of God: and as the godly Brethren did, fearfully and piously scrupulose, whether those things which he preached unto you be even so, or whether by the outward conversation of them ye ealely be deceived.

L E T T E R II.

From the Rev. Mr. George Marsh, to the Faithful Professors of Laughton.

G race be unto you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of our Lord, Amen. I thought it my duty to write unto you, that you may be the better acquainted with the Lord as Laughton, to lift up your minds, and to call to your remembrance, what my name has been told you before, and to exhort you (as that good man, and of the holy God, Barnabas did the Antiochians) that with purpose of heart, P. p.
continually cleave unto the Lord, and that ye stand fast, and be not moved from the way of the truth. Wherefore, God be thanked, ye have had plentiful preaching unto you by your late pastr Mr. Saunders, and other faithful ministers of Jesus Christ. For we are not of those that follow the multitude of corrupt words, do not fall away like flattering children, and forsake the truth, being ashamed of the gospel whereof they have been taught. But we have no more to do with the multitude of corrupt words (which are Christ's mystical body) to forsake not only the principal delights of this life, (I mean) their native countries, their friends, their riches, and all the things that are here (whereas the unnot, that is to wit, with their painful imprisonments and blood-beddings, if need shall require, to confirm and seal Christ's gospel again), but shall have more strength to bear and to stand in the unnot, that is to wit, with their painful imprisonments and blood-beddings, if need shall require, to confirm and seal Christ's gospel again, whereas the true followers of Christ and the true followers of Christ and the apostles, are they who receive the word of God. They only receive the word of God, who believe it, and on the point of obedience and keeping it, do form a mark of advercity for the name of the Lord, as Christ and all the apostles did, and as all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must do; for there is no obedience into the kingdom of heaven, but through much tribulation. And if we suffer any thing for the kingdom of heaven's sake, and for righteousness' sake, we have the prophets, Christ, the apostles, and martyrs, for example to comfort us; for they did enter the kingdom of heaven at the fairest gate and narrow way that leadeth unto life, which few do find. And unless we will be content to deny our own fews, and take up the cross of Christ, and his fains, it is an evident argument, that we shall never reign with him. As angels in heaven, and hearts punitiously to suffer persecutions and tribulations, it is a sure token of the righteous judgment of God, that we are counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for whom God is preparing a city; of great beauty and a thing with God, to recommence tribulation to them that trouble us, and reel to us that be troubled: for after this life, the gods being delivered from their trammels, shall have a rest. And so, whereas the wicked and ungodly contrariwise shall be tormented for evermore with intolerable and unpeaceable pains, as Christ, by the parlors of the rich gluton and wretched Lazarus, doubtlessly plainly declare and teach. Theye ought to have before our eye always, that in the time of adversity and persecution we may stand fast in the Lord, and endure unto the end, that we may be saved. For unless we, like good warriors of Jesus Christ, will endeavour ourselves to please him, who hath chosen us to be followers, and fight the good fight of faith, to withstand all the wiles and lies of the devil, through the righteouness, which the Lord, that is a righteous judge, shall give to all them that love his coming. And so we do receive the word that is graft- ed in us, which is able to save our souls, and ground ourselves on the sure rock Christ. For (as the apostle faith) other foundations can man lay, but the end and end of these is laid, which is Jesus Christ. If any man build on this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, timber, hay, fluffable, every man's work shall be made manifest in that day; and every man's work, whether it be wood, or stone, or gold, or silver, or precious stones, shall be known; for the fire shall try every man's work what it is. If any man's work that he hath builded upon abide, he shall receive a reward; if any man's work burn, he shall fully suffer: and the work shall be laid in the fire. And the fire shall try every man's work what it is. If any man's work that he hath builded upon abide, he shall receive a reward; if any man's work burn, he shall fully suffer: and the work shall be laid in the fire. But the fire shall try every man's work what it is. If any man's work that he hath builded upon abide, he shall receive a reward; if any man's work burn, he shall fully suffer: and the work shall be laid in the fire. And the fire shall try evey man's work what it is.
LETTERS written by the Rev. Mr. George Marsh.

They fin willingly, which of a fore notice and purpose do hold the use of the right and open truth, which either they do perfectly the know that in all the world there is none other facer for the know in that all the world is none other sacrifice for you, not, but only that one which they will not commit themselves wholly unto it, without offering them to the ignominy of being without that which they abide fill in their wickedness and sin, remaineth with a most horrible and dreadful judgment. This is that fin unto in death, for your death should not be that which now is known, and hath great wrath, because he knoweth his time is but thine, and whereas the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, have had it, and how was then, and now is, and yet we hold not the truth in unrighteousness, believing, doing, or speaking any thing against our knowledge and conscience, we say it is, it is a wilful and obstinate infidelity, and a fin unto death; and as our Saviour Christ saith, "If ye believe not, ye shall die in your sins." Our souls we hold not full of life, both believing it, and also bringing forth fruit worthy of repentance, we shall have the unprofitable figures, which did not number the ground, be cut down, and our heart taken from us, and given unto another that shall put it to a better use: and we, through our own unthankfulness put from the mercy of God and keep, bringing forth fruit with patience; and we shall altogether be lost and undone. For the earth that drinketh in rain that cometh upon it, bringing forth herbs meet for them that dred it, fruit bearing ofat and good, is that which beareth bread is reseed and is night unto curing, whole end is to be burned. Nevertheless, dear friends, we traut to fee better of you, and not to cast you away; for all your failings seem but like the good ground, watered with the meekness of God's word plentifully preached among you, will with a good heart hear and keep, bringing forth fruit with patience; and be some of those forgetful and hypocritical hearers, which also they hear the word, yet the devil tempteth, and catcheth them, by which they are bowing in their heart, either having no root in themselves, endure but a season, and as soon as tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, and the persecution of the world and discontents of riches choke the word, and so are unfruitful. Read the parable of the sower, and among other things see how they that hear the word of God, and hear it, but not the word, and hear the word without any fruit or profit, yea, only to their greater condemnation; for only the fourth part of the seed doth forth fruit. Therefore let us not be minimizers, or proficients, and followers of God's word, be discouraged, though very few do give credit, and follow the doctrine of the gospel, and be fayed. And yet we therefore have ears to hear, let him hear: for whatsoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but whatsoever hath not, from him shall be taken away, even as he said that is to every man that is the chief of righteouhs, and of the truth, shall be more and more illuminated of God: on the contrary part, they that do not hear, and after truth, and that which is right, and blindly, though they feem unto themselves mefit woman. For God doth here follow an example of a loving Father, who, when he feemeth his children, foweth out, and fowitzes them, feeding them, and feeding them to their correftion: he giveth them over unto themselves, suffering them to live as they lift. But we traut to fee better of you, my dearly beloved, and that ye like very Gadarines, for fear of losing your worldly substance, farther end of this way: "For Christ and his gospel from among you: but that ye with all diligence of mind will receive the word of God, taught you by my mouth, and my doctrine, and the doctrine which is in the word, are not ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus, but are constant to suffer affirder with the gospel, and therein to suffer trouble as evil doers, even unto bonds. And if ye refuse this to do, your own blood shall be upon your own heads. And as ye have had plentiful preaching of the gospel, and from your fathers have had, so ye shall be, if we be not, and bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, to be for ever ploughed, and to receive greater vengeance at God's hand, that is, this gospel, shall be preached among you, and ye given to another nation, which will bring forth the fruits thereof. And many of you dearly beloved in Christ, take heed to your, and ponder well in your minds, how fearful and horrid a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God. And fear ye receive not the word of God in vain, but continually laboring, as those which are faithful witnesses of the true justifying faith, which is never idle, but watcheth by clarity. And see that ye commonly set yourselves into all manner of good work.
not feeling the praise of men, or our own glory or profit. And although the scriptures in some places make mention of a man's being 'taunted with the loss of his name,' this only means that we are not to merit or deserve any thing: but that we ought to acknowledge, that God in his mere mercy rewarded us for all our good, and gave us all things, and bestowed his grace upon us, though we had not received it. Then that he giveth to a poor man of an humble manner of things, giveth not of his own, but of those good things which he himself hath prepared for them that love him, faith, the apostle, that thou hast not received it? if thou hast not merited it, why rejoicest thou, as thou hadst not received it?" This sentence ought to be held as the true essence of all man. For if we do not know, but that which we have received is of God; then do we can we desire or receive or do we can we desire or receive? observe we our own work, or our own merits? it cometh of the free gift of God, that we love, that we know, that we desire, we walk by faith, and not by sight. And the you observe then? We must also in this our spiritual warfare war us ourselves with continual prayer, a very necessary, fruitful, and invincible weapon, to contend against the wiles of the devil, and against the wiles of our flesh. For our godly men, cry heartily unto God in faith, in all our difficulties and anguish. Let us go boldly to the feast of grace, where we shall be face to receive mercy, and find grace to help in time of need. For now is pride and perfection increased; now is the time of destruction and wrathful displeasure.

Wherefore, my dear brethren, be ye fervent in the last of God, and venture your lives, if need be, for the soul of the fathers, and so shall ye receive great honour, and everlasting name. Remember Abraham: was not he faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness; and Isaac? Joseph in time of his trouble kept the commandment, and was exalted to a Prince over Egypt. And let the loving of the Lord be the fervent for the honour of God, that he obtained the covenant of the Priesthood. Joshua for the fulfilling of the word of God, we made the captain of Israel. Caleb bare record before the congregation, saying, let us go up and possess it; for we are able to go up, and to deliver the land into the hand of the inhabitants thereof. Neither can the servant of God at any time come and stand before God, that is, lead a godly life, and walk innocently before God, but Satan cometh also among them; that is, he daily accuseth, findeth fault, vexeth, perverteth, and troublth the go: for his end is to hurt, and do mischief, unless he be forbidden of God: for unless God doth permit him, he can do nothing at all. Let us therefore, knowing Satan's deceits and rancour, walk so as to avail us of the fluid of faith, whereby we may be able to quench and to overcome all the fiery and deadly darts of the wicked. Let us take to us the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, and learn to use the same according to the example of our great captain Christ. Let us fall and pray continually. For this frantic kind of devils goeth not our otherwise, as Christ dith teach us, but by faithful prayer and fasting, which is true abstinence and fervour of living, if we use the fame accordingly. And good men shall be acceptable to God, if it be done without hypocrisy, that is, if we use it to this intent, that thereby this mortal body may be consumed and delivered from the corruption of the spirit: and again, if we fall to this intent, that we may spare where with to help and succour our poor needy brethren. This fall do the christians ill all the days of their life, Sith who attend, that the day of their fall is the day of their infallibility, this kind of fasting, which God so earnestly reproved by his prophet Elijah. For as for true chastening of the body, and abstinence from vice, with having mercy to our needy neighbours, we will neither understand nor hear of it, but still think with the Jews, that we do God a great pleasure when we fall, and that we the world, when we abstain from one thing, and fill our bellies with another. And verily in this point doth our perfection much exceed the superfluity of the Jews: for we never make our word fast from one thing, and eat other fish or white-meat, as they fall. To fasting and prayer must be joined alms, and mercy towards the poor and needy: that many may be acceptable unto Christ, which is chiefly required.

First, That we give with a cheerful and joyful heart; for the Lord loveth a cheerful giver. Second, Let us give liberally, putting aside all niggardliness, knowing that he that foweth little, shall reap little, and he that foweth plentifully, shall reap plentifully. Let every man give according unto his ability, so far as he is able. For the poor are in every age a necessary part of this world; and the church in the world may give as great and acceptable alms in the fight of God, as the richest man in the world can do. The poor and needy are the children of their benefactor, and as such did highly please Christ: inform that he himself affirmed, that the fine of her penury had added more to the offerings of God, than the abundance of the rich. We are all bound to be very much. "For if there be first a willing mind, (as St. Paul faith it) it is accepted, according to what a man hath, and not according to what a man hath not.

Thirdly, We shall give without hypocrisy and ostentation,
LETTERS written by the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH. 157

Parents of Tobi the younger, and Satharia did teach their chil-
dren, that it is even a heinous sin to reverence God according to his
law, and to abtain of his favor, providing, that they should be
brought up in idleness and wantonness, seeing ye reckon
them to be children of God, and look for the life which
God shall give them, and this they can never remove from
you. See that ye even fear God, and keep his commandments,
and though the pledge of grace charge upon you, yet remain ye fleet-
ful, and fit for all sorts of suffering, even in his hands, and
think him, and serve him in such holiness and righteousness as are
embrace of all the days of your life. Comfort yourselves in all your ad-
oration, for your glory, and to the comfort of all the Holy
Church; for all honour and power for evermore. Amen.

From the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH, to JENKIN
CRAMPTON, JAMES LEIVER, ELCIE
FOGGE, RALPH BRADSHAW, and others.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God,
and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.

After fatigues in Christ, and hearty thanks for your friendly
letter and other remembrances towards me, beleeving God
may increase in faith, fear, and love, and all good gifts,
and the increase of grace in Christ; and pray ye al.
trust me not, for God will prosper you. For God will not be
bothered with the amends and traditions of men, neither yet by any other
was appointed, prescribed, and taught us, but by his holy
word. And though all men, the most part of all who are
in the wicked traditions of men, and ordinances after the
other, and not after Christ yet do ye after the example of Christ.
Daniel and his three companions, Matthias and his
desire to be at a point with yourselves, that ye will not be
frightened with the unclean meats of the heathen; I do mean the
kinds of idolatry, and the very heathenism ceremonies of the
idolaters: but as the virtue of love and the word of God in spirit and
truth, according to the sacred scriptures, which I would with
myself above all things continually and reverently (as will of God), and to you) to search after them, and
on the holiest monastries of the same: to teach, exhort, comfort,
edly one another, and your brethren and neighbours, now
for this reason, that I have a strong affection over the
faithful, for want of the food of God's word. Well,
the merciful Lord, who hath promised to be with us even
to the end of the world, and that whenever two or three be
gathered in my name, he will be in the midst of them
and you, and teach you the right meaning of the face
of us, as he hath faithfully promised.

Ye must think yourselves unable to teach, yet at the
appointment of Christ, now in time of famine, the hungry
people being in a wilderness far from any towns, which if they
fall away falling, are sore to fasten and perish by the way,
and in the end can nothing be compared with that hunger
mutilate, although it nothing mean to many. And he that increased the five loaves and two
and in the end, besides woman's heart, he will add all his gifts in you, not only to the edifying
and of Christ in Chrift, but also to go exceeding great in
creation, and his love, and his power, and his riches.
And not your adversaries; for either according to heaven
in manner God shall blind their eyes that they shall not spy
you, or get you favour in their sight, or else graciously deliver
you, and also your enemies, and your enmity. If with reverence all your superiors, unless they command
you or ungodliness. Make provision for your household,
but also of your own, and be taught in the word of God in a
way your wives even as your own, and as Christ loved
and forgive. Love your children, but abuse them not,
left they run into contempt, and bring you in the nurture
information of the Lord, that you may teach them even as the godly

LETTER IV.

LETTER V.
appointed to suffer for his Son's sake;—Wherefore edifieth yourselves, and be of good comfort, and be not terrified, nor be ye affrighted, knowing that ye are appointed therunto. For our part we are the more greatly conformed and inward joy unto us in our adversity to hope that ye were in Jerusalem, and the successful issues of God's dealing with you hath not been in vain; for ye have a good remembrance of us always, praying for us as we do for you. And as the apostle saith of the Theophalalians, say- ing, Now and ever. And if indeed, as we say, ye be good shepherds, do always count the welfare and prosperity of your flock to be their own: for it goeth with them as with the flock that is rejoiced with them. And we will not cease from them alit in what manner our affliction or adversity be: but when they fee the church in any peril or distress, then are they weary of their own minds that we can have any matter of counsel. For who is weak (says St. Paul) and I am not weak? who is offended, and I do not burn? but this affliction is not in them that feel their own burden alone.

And as much as the life of a man is a perpetual warfare upon earth, let us run with joy into the battle that is set before us, and not as Japhet, the son of James, who Ishmael took his children and his flocks and left the tree, but as Christ Jesus must be tried, even as gold and fire is proved in the fire, and whereof all the scriptures have given us so much warning. For God is wont for the most part to warn his elect and chosen, what affliction and trouble shall happen unto them for his sake, not to affright them thereby, but rather to prepare their minds against the boisterous storms of persecution. As we have a notable example in the apostle himself, whom God Agamemnon, who prophesied unto him of the imprisonment and bonds that he should suffer at Jerusalem; in whom we have also a grand example of the church, that were at all times prepared, not the tears of his familiar friends, nor yet the peril of his own life, but through fire and water went on still to the gate of death, and knew not the ends of the wicked and bloody-thirsty enemies, and that so many times in conclusion fain to commit himself to the rough waters of the sea, where he was a long seafaring in all peril and jeopardy of his own life. But God was always (to the great comfort of all that shall hear it) most ready to help and succour him. First, he did send him a most friendly and sweet company, I mean Arisbas and Lucas, so ruling the under of the captain Julius, that he courteously treated him, and gave him liberty to go to and from the place where he was committed, and he was himself unto him at all times. In like manner was he with Joseph, and delivered himself from all his adversities, and gave him favour and wisdom in the fight of Pharaoh king of Egypt, intimating that he did win an emperor over all Egypt, and over all his household. In like manner was he with Jeremy and Daniel, in their great troubles, and appointed men for them in their trials, to relieve, succour, and help them, to their litigial comfort.

Also when Peter was in Herod's prison, sleeping between two fencers, bound with two chains, and the keepers before the door keeping the prison, the same night that Herod had intended to have brought him out to the people the day following, and to have accuse him to the people packed by the multitude, and to have brought him to the judgment of the people before he had killed James the brother of John with the sword, God sent his angel, and the chains fell off from Peter's hands, and all his bonds did fall down, and his feet were thereupon unbound, and Peter wonderfully delivered by God. For it is the true living God that looths all hands, and delivereth out of prison, and pot that unfoged god St. Leonard. On that true god did Peter set his faith, and declare the power of his delivering grace, saying, Now I know of a truth, that God hath sent his angel, etc. These things are written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope. The God of patience and comfort that we be like minded one toward another, as the example of Christ Jesus, that was agreeing together, may with one mouth glorify God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

A poor prisoner for Christ.

GEORGE MARSH.

L E T T E R V I.

From the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH, to his friends.

T HE grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy-Ghost, be with you good brother in Christ, Robert Langley, and with all them that love the Lord Jesus Christ with them alit.

After heartily commendations to you, with thanks for that ye do visit me a prisoner in Christ, although unequipped; to you a prisoner in Christ, but you have a care for me also; I thank you for your ministration, and for your affectionate attention, and your affectionate attention, to me from mine examination and handling at Lathom, and the cause of mine imprisonment, according as I did promisely you and the Lord to persay. I purpose to send you a former letter, as some one of the Bradshaws of Bolton within this evenyngh, willing to shew the fame to such faithful men as are about Manchester, and others, where you doe, take to be fauourers of true religion, and

Christian's holy word, and then to deliver it again. And when you do deliver it, as your speech, it is true if it will come into this my country and painful affliction I give you sententious. I write to you with the dearest heart and the sweetest love, as I would be with all you that are desirous to see me, and hope to see me. It is not for me to want with you and others, to feel for the content of the mind, to send a thankful and heartily help and in my necessary; deferring you in the name of Jesus Christ, I do wish that you would shew this thing which I have shewed you, with the best afferention and learning, and may with boldness confess Jesus Christ, and fight the good fight of faith.

Yours,

GEORGE MARSH.

L E T T E R V I I.

From the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH, to his Brethren, an epistle from him, his friends.

G RACE be with you, and peace may be multiplied in the knowledge of God, and Jesus the Lord.

After hearty commendations and thanks to you, and for your large tokens, but much more for your prayers, full of consolation to me as touching my unknown place; these shall be to certify you that I rejoice more and more whenever I do perceive heart, as I do now perceive. Saviour dithen up the minds, not only of my family and times past, but also of sundry and divers hereticks, and of many ungodly and unchristian persons, with this my painful and costly imprisonment. I have never done anything in public, nor in private, not only necessary for this present life, but also commendable in the sight of the public, nor in private, and committing me to continue good, and established in the faith, in the love of the gospel, wherein, according to my talent, I have been a minister, and daily I cry and call upon Him, who in the last time will do, consequently as he hath given me, that I may believe on him, but also to protect for his sake. The knowledge of me, to shew that the number of their friends, which endurings to the end face not.

And whereas you say, that my sufferings of imprisonment Christ is a thing to you most uncomfortable, I make known that it is in all mine adversity and necessity nothing otherwise than in God. And the faith and love of others, and how they have good grace of us always, even as the apostle reporteth, Theophalalians, saying, Now are we alive, if ye be dead in the Lord. For my truth in the Lord is, that thebenefices shall happen to be the furtherance of the gospel, that you will be none of those forsaken as I have been, but shall be commended for the future of God, of the God who will to your consolation gloriously by one means or other his oppressed. Only the greatest mercy he; be strongly in my heart as a comforter, and wait ye still for the Lord, that he will come; look for him therefore and faint nor, and never fail you ever.

Yours,

GEORGE MARSH.

A L E T T E R

From JAMES BRADSHAW, a godly Brother, to the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH, lately at Prin.

G RACE and peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, by you, with all Amen.

We had a letter from you, which is a great comfort to us, for we take the care of you so thankfully. For the affection doth prove, try, infringe, conform, and then on the thith, prouide and fir up to pray, drive and to the words of life, to the good of God, to our patience, to consolatory, to gentleness, to patience, to the pompe, and to all manner of virtues, and are the end of all things well as very trifling as they do in this world as in the world to come. It is not nor bad, godly nor ungodly, but he hath one craft, as though some there be that can fill with a will and ingenuity, and make your enemies, or by force of yours, in the faith, and will fail you. And seeing that all the troubles and sorrows in this world, are a thousand times more light and easy,
C H A P. VIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIVES, CRUEL TREATMENT, SUFFERINGS, AND MARTYRDOM OF MR. WILLIAM FLOWER, the Rev. Mr. JOHN CARDMAKER, Mr. JOHN WARNE, Mr. JOHN SIMSON, and Mr. JOHN ARDELLY, under the Persecution of the Inhuman BONNER, in the Bloody Reign of MARY I.

WILLIAM FLOWER, otherwise named Branch, was born at Snow-hill, in the county of Northamptonshire, where under a gentleman he taught children to write and read. But departing from those parts he came to London, and there remained for a certain space. After that, being devious to see his country, he returned to Snow-hill, where he was born; from thence to Brankfriery in Essex, then to Coxall, where he taught children; and coming to Lambeth near London, he hired a house, where he and his wife did dwell together: however for the most part he was always abroad, except once or twice in a month, to visit and see his wife; where he being at home upon Easter-Sunday, about ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the same day, came over the water from Lambeth into St. Margaret's church at Welfmifinster; when seeing a priest, named John Chelstam, administering and giving the sacrament of the altar to the people, and therewith being greatly offended in his conscience with the priest for the same, did strike and wound him upon the head, and also upon the arm and hand with his wood knife, the priest having the same time in his hand a chalice, with certain consecrated hosts therein, which were sprinkled with the blood of the said priest.

In which action as indeed he did not well or evangelically, so afterwards, being examined before bishop Bonner, he did not confess his not well doing in the same, submitting therefore himself willingly to punishment, when it should come. Howbeit touching his belief in the sacrament, and the popish ministration, he neither would nor did admit himself.

Whereupon Mr. William Flower, being first apprehended and laid in the Gaolhouse at Welfmifinster, (where he had given two groats the same day a little before to the prisoners, saying, he would shortly after come to them) with as many more as he could, near; afterwards was summoned before bishop Bonner his ordinary, April 19, 1555, where the bishop, after he had sworn him upon a book, (according to his ordinary manner) ministered articles and interrogatories to him. But before we speak of them, we shall relate a conversation that passed between Mr. Flower and Mr. Robert Smith, a fellow-prisoner, the substance of which is as follows.

A CON.
A CONVERSATION between Mr. ROBERT SMITH and Mr. WILLIAM FLOWER, concerning the Crime with which the latter was charged, of breaking the clock and undressing a Popish Priest, while officiating before the ALTAR, at Westminster.

Smith. FRIEND, forasmuch as I understand that you profess the gospel, and also have done so for a long season, I hold you to be my brother; and, in the way of communication to demand and learn a truth at your own mouth, of certain things by you committed, to the affrontment not only of me, but of divers others that also profess the truth.

Flower. God, for his great goodness in shewing me the light of his holy word; and I give you hearty thanks for your visitation, intending by God's grace to declare all the truth that you shall demand lawfully of me, in all things.

Smith. This will I defere to you to shew me the truth of your deed, committed on John Chelham, priest, in the church, as near as you can, that I may hear from your own mouth how it was.

Flower. I went from my house at Lambeth over the water, and entering into St. Margaret's church, and there facing the people falling down before a most detestable idol, being moved with extreme zeal for my God, whom I saw before my face dishonoured, I drew forth my hand that I should strike the priest with the scimitar on them; whereupon I was immediately apprehended; and this is most true, as the act is manifest.

Smith. Did you not know the peril that you struck, or was you not zealous upon him for any evil will he committed between you at any time?

Flower. No, verily, I never to my knowledge saw the peril before that time, neither had evil will or malice; for if he had not had, another should, if I had at any time come where the like occasion had been ministration to God, I would have permitted me to do it.

Smith. Do you think that thing to be well done, and after the rule of the gospel?

Flower. I do confess all flesh to be subject to the power of Almighty God, whom he maketh his ministers to do his will and pleasure; as in example, Moses, Aaron, Phineas, Josua, Zimri, Jehu, Judith, Mattathias, with many others, not only changing decrees, but also planting zeal to his honour, against all order and respect.

Smith. Think you, that you must commit for me, or any other, to do the like by your example?

Flower. No verily, neither do I know if it were to do again, whether I could do it again, or no: for I was up very early at St. Paul's church upon Chelham's day in the morning, to have done it in my jealousy; but when I came there, I was no more able to do it, than not to undo that which is done; and yet now being compelled by the Spirit, not only to come over the water, and to enter the church, but being in mind fully content to do for the Lord, gave over my flesh willingly without all fear, I praise God. Wherefore I cannot teach you to do the like. First, Because I know not what is in you. Secondly, Because the rules of the gospel command us to suffer with patience all wrongs and injury; yet nevertheless, if he makes you worthy, that hath made me zealous, you shall not be hindered, judged, nor condemned: for he doth in his people his unspeakable works in all ages, which no man can comprehend, and I hold it to be a part of the Spirit, and condemn not God's doings: for I can not express with my mouth the great mercies that God hath shewed on me in this thing, which I repent not.

Smith. Are you not afflied to have death ministered unto you for the fame acht committed, and even with extremity?

Flower. I did, before the deed committed, adjudge my body to die for the fame: whereupon I carbied about me, in writing, my opinion of God and the holy scriptur; that if it had pleased God to have given me power to have killed my body in the church, they would in the said writing have seen my hope, which I had in God, is laid up safe within my breath, not withstanding any death that may be ministered upon my body in the world, to be fully confirmed of everything of this life (besides Christ our Lord, and being most holy and just) in all my offences committed in this flesh, and shall shortly, through his mercy, to escape from the same.

Smith. I need not examine or commune with you of the host of things that you have any further: for I grant (God be praised) you are in good state, and the more, befooch God, for his mercies, spread his wings over you, that, as for his love you have been zealous, contrary the tos of this life, and he may give you his Holy Spirit to take you out of this world into a better life, which I think will be shortly.

Flower. I hunger for the fame, dear friend, his fully ascertained that they can kill but the body, while I am afflied shall receive life again everlasting, and no more deaths, intirely defying you and all that be the Lord, to pray with me to Almighty God, to perform the fame in me shortly. And thus Robert Smith departed, leaving him in the dungeon, and went up to the High Court. And this is the truth, as near as they could report it.

Now to return again to the matter of his examination. We showed before, how this William Flower, striking the priest, first was in the Gatehouse; he being examined before bishop Bonner, had most ministration against him, the copy whereof here follow.

ARTICLES exhibited by Bishop BONNER, ag. Mr. WILLIAM FLOWER, late of LAMBETH in the County of SURRY.

1. THAT thou being of lawful age and discretion, at the least seventeen years old, was a professed monk in the late abbey of Ely, wherein after profession thou remainedst until the age of twenty years, using all the mean time the habit and religion of the same house, and well reputed and taken natural for such a person.

2. That thou wilt ordained and made priest, according to the laudable custom of the catholic church, and afterwards thou didst execute and minister as a priest and most commonly reputed, named, and taken in priest.

3. That after the premisses thou, forgetting thy conscience, honesty, and the laudable order of the catholic church, didst, contrary to thy profession, venture into thy wife, one called Alice Pulon, in the parish of Chesterton in the diocese of Gloucester, with whom thou hadst licen singular cohabitation, as man and wife, and had by her childbirth.

4. That thou being a religious man and a priest, didst, contrary to the order of the ecclesiasticall law taken upon thee to practife in divers places within the diocese of London, physic and chirurgery, when thou not admitted expert nor learned.

5. That upon Easter day last past, that is to say the 14th of April, within the parish church of Margaret's, at Westminster, within the county of Middlesex, and diocese of London, thou didst maliciously and wilfully wound the said Pulon, with a sword and a hanger. And whereas the priest and minister there, called John Chelham, was executing him in that behalf, and charge, especially in doing his service, and also suffering the sacrament of the altar to be committed therein, thou didst maliciously and wilfully hinder the said Pulon, giving no occasion why thou shouldest not be guilty him: the people being grievously offended thereby, and the said church polluted thereby, so that the said Pulon, his wife, and his children, his servants, and other persons, were compelled to repair to another church to communicate, and receive the said sacrament.
he be so excommunicated or accurst, as is contained in this article; he referreth himselfe hereunto the ecclesiastical laws.

To the seventh he answereth and faith, That by the space of six and twenty years now past, he hath always been, and yet is of this opinion touching the said sacrament of the altar, as followeth; namely, that in the sacrament of the altar, there are the words of consecration, there is not truly, and in very deed, contained under the form of bread, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

To the eighth he answereth and believeth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the ninth he answereth as aforesaid, and herein he referreth himselfe to the said laws, customs, and ordinances specified in this article, that is to say, the canonical laws.

To the tenth he answereth and believeth, That the said things before by him confessed be true, and those which he hath denied, be untrue; and that the said common voice and fame hath and doth only labour and go upon those things by him before confessed.

By me WILLIAM FLOWER.

After this examination, the bishop began to instruct him, and to exhort him to return again to the unity of his mother the catholic church, with such reasons as he is commonly wont to use to others, promising many fair things if he would do so, besides the forgiving of what was past.

To this William Flower answering again, thanked him for his offer: and where it was in his power to kill or not to kill his body, he stood therewith contented, let him do therein what he thought; yet over his foul he had no such power, which being once separated from the body, is in the hands of no man, only to God and either to faze or defray. As concerning his opinion of the sacrament, he said he would never go from what he had spoken, do he with him what he would.

Then the bishop assigned him again to appear in the place where he had been before, between the third and fourth, and in the mean time to consider well of his former answer, whether he would stand to the fame his opinions or not: which if he did, he would further proceed against him, &c.

In the afternoon the said William Flower appeared again before the said bishop, at the hour and place appointed. To whom the bishop fitting his cassonary, spake these words: Flower, you was this forenoon here before me, and made answer to certain articles; and thereupon I refulged you till now, to the intent you should consider well thereof with your conscience, and to remember while you have time, both your abominable act, and also that evil opinion which you have conceived touching the verity of Christ's true natural body in the sacrament of the altar.

To whom the said Flower answered as followeth: That which I have said to; and therefore I require that the law may be put in force against me. Whereupon the bishop commanded his scribe (Harward by name) to read to him again his articles, as before. Which being read, the said William Flower persifling in his sentence, answered to all parts of the articles, as in the forenoon before, save only that he requested the bishop concerning the fifth article, he might alter something his answer therein, after this tenor and manner of words, to wit, "And moreover confessith and faith, that whereas he struck the same on Easter day last past, in St. Margaret's church in Walfamton, he hath since that time, and yet doth mislike himself in that doing, and doth now judge and believe that the same act was evil and wrong. Howbeit he faith and believeth, that for the matter and cause whereof he so struck the said priest, (which is a thing to be repaired to another to receive the said sacrament.) And further, when demandeth and examined, whether he intended to have killed the said priest, or no; he said he had not answer thereunto. And being further examined whether he did well or evil in striking the said priest, he would make no answer thereunto.

To the sixth he answereth and faith, That whether No. 14.
which request, Bonner granted to the altering of both the articles according as he desired, and so put in the acts.

After this, the bishop turning again to his old manner of examining, was desirous he should be translated to submit himself to the catholic church, and to the faith thereof. Notwithstanding all his persuasions, he still remained constant and firm, saying, that he would not be removed from what he had spoken, though he should suffer death for it. Whereupon to the bishop referred him the next day (being the twentieth of April) to appear in the same place, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, then and there to hear the sentence pronounced in cafe he would not receive.

The next morning the said William Flower was brought by the keeper belonging to the warden of the Fleet, before bishop Bonner, who, according to his usual manner, endeavoured to reduce him to his catholic church and the unity thereof; that is, from Christ to Antichrist; sometimes alluring him with fair promises, and sometimes with menaces, terrors, and threatenings. To which he answered, Do what you will, I am at a point; for the heavens shall as soon fall from the firmament as will I from my opinion.

Whereupon the bishop, after he had commanded the said words to be registered, called for the depositions of certain witnesses, produced for the better information of this manner, the names of which witnesses were these: William Jennings, John Bray, Robert Graunt, Richard Dod, William Pampion, Robert Smalood, the parish priest of St. Margaret's at Westminster. The sum and effect of whose depositions hereunto.

Robert Graunt of Westminster, examined upon the said answers of William Flower, faith and depositions, That he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognize the said answers, and subscribe to the fame with his own hand, and also was present in the church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, when the said answers were signed and subscribed, he did desire and did request the priest, when he was administering the sacrament, and how this examinant among others prefixed towards him to take him, and was hurt thereby upon his chin, and after he was taken, this examinant did help to conduct him to the Gatehouse.

Richard Dod of Westminster, examined upon the said answers, faith and depositions, That he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognize the said answers, and subscribe to the fame with his own hand, and also did see and was present, when the said Flower upon Easter day last past drew his wood-knife, and struck John Chelton, and found the priest's hurt, and wounded on the head, hand, and arm, by the said wood-knife, and the said persons and people in great heaviness by reason thereof. Also many people did report, as this examinant faith, that Flower, the deed, as the priest had the chalice in his hand, ministring the sacrament to the people.

William Jennings of Westminster, being examined upon the answers of William Flower, faith and depositions, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognize the said answers, and subscribe the fame with his own hand, and contrary place: and further depositions, That the said Easter Day last past was present in the church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, where Flower struck John Chelton, priest, first upon the head, and afterwards upon his arm, whereby the said priest was to lose his life. Also these jurate depositions, that John Chelton had a chalice with certain excreted holes therein in his hand, which were spitted with the blood of the said priest, and after the said Flower was apprehended by this examination and other, they carried him immediately to the Gatehouse of Westminster.

John Bray, one of the churchwardens of the parish church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, sworn examined upon the said answers, faith and depositions, That he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognize the said answers, and also subscribe the same: and further depositions of Flower's faith, the priest, in effect, as the rest of the examination, and the said jurate was present then at the place thereof.

After the depositions of these witnesses were published, and denounced, the said bishop sought William Flower, and asked him, if he knew any matter or cause why sentence should not be read, and to be pronounced as an heretic. Whereunto he answered as follows: I have nothing at all to say, I have already said unto you all that I have to say, what I have said, I will not go from: and therefore what you will, &c.

Which when he had spoken, the bishop proceeded in the sentence, condemning and excommunicating him for heresy; and after proclaiming the same publicly degraded, and so committed him to the secular power. Upon the 24th day of the aforesaid month of April, which was St. Mark's eve, he was brought to the place of martyrdom, which was in St. Margaret's church yard, to Westminster, where Flower, with other persons, and there coming to the stake where he should be burned, first he made his prayer to Almighty God.

O Eternal God, most mighty and merciful Father, didst send down thy Son upon the earth, to save men all mankind, who ascended up into heaven again, and thy blessed Spirit coming behind him, to dwell in sins, have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, for that Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, in whom I confess only to be all savion and justification, and that there is no other name, way nor condition, by which any man can be saved in this world. This is my faith, which I believe all here to bear witness of.

Then he said the Lord's prayer, and so made an end.

Then Mr. Cholmeley came to him, desiring him to recant his whereby, whereby he might do good to people, or else he would be damned.

The which answered as follows: Sir, I do confess God's faith to be a contented: for what I have said, I have said, and I have been of this faith from the beginning: and I trust to the living God he will give me his Spirit to continue to the end. Then he delivered all world to forgive him whom he had offended, as he gave all the world.
This done, first his hand being held up against the fire, was struck off, his left hand being fastened behind him. At which striking off of his hand, some were present, and some assembled addressing the same, three and to his speech being taken from him, he made no more, lifting up notwithstanding his stump with his other arm as long as he could.

And thus the extremity of the fire, being therein so diminished, with reason, by reason that the few laming before brought being not sufficient to burn him, they were fain to strike him down into the fire. Where he was then, which was doleful to behold) upon the round, his lower part was consumed in the fire, whilst in upper part was without the fire, his tongue in all his light still moving in his mouth.

May 3, 1555, a letter was sent to George Colte and Thomas Daniel, to make search for and apprehend John Ferrand, and John Wallis, who used to repair to Sudbury, and carrying about with them the bones of Pygott that were burnt, threw them to the people, persuading them to be constant in his religion; and upon examination to commit them to further ordering, according to the laws.

This day Stephen Appes was committed to the Little Isle in the Tower, there to remain two or three years. He had further examination.

The 14th day, Mr. Thomas Rof, preacher, was by his council's letters delivered from the Tower to the diocese of Norfolk, to be conveyed and delivered to the bishop of Norwich, and he either to reduce him to emolument, or else proceed against him according to the law.

The 16th, a letter was sent to the lord treasurier, figuring what the lord lieutenant had done for Rof; that order should be given, according to his lordship's request, for letters to the bishops: and as for others, whom the lieutenant of the Tower reporteth he had, his lordship perceiving the fame to be true, would commit him to Bedlam, there to remain till further order.

The 26th, a letter was sent to the lord treasurier, to see the books with the bishop of London, and the justices of the peace of that county, wherein they were to be exressed that they were already condemned for religion, and an agreement of places, to give order for their execution accordingly.

The 26th, a letter was sent to the lord treasurier, to make preparation to be made of such money as was appointed for such persons as should carry the joyriding of queen Mary's good delivery of child, to the princes, that they be not compelled to pay when time shall come. The ambassadors were, the lordcesso to the emperor, the lord Fitzwalter to the north king, Sir Henry Sidney to the king of the Romans, Richard Shelley to the king of Portugal, whose purpose to be to parage through London Dr. Wotton was ordered to procure.

The 39th, a letter was directed to Sir Francis Inglefield, to make search for one John D. at London, and apprehend him, and send him to the council, and make search for such papers and books as he think may touch the fame D. or one Benger.

MARTYRDOM of MR. JOHN CARDMAKER, and MR. JOHN WARNE, who suffered both together in SMITHFIELD, May 30, 1555.

UPON the 30th day of May, John Cardmaker, otherwise called Taylor, prebendary of the church of Wexton; and John Warne, upholifter, of the parish of John in Walbrook, suffered together in Smithfield, whom it remaineth now particularly to treat, beginning with Mr. Cardmaker, who first was an obser vant friar before the disolution of the abbey: afterwards was a married minifter, and in king Edward's time appointed a reader in St. Paul's, where the papists were so enraged against him for his doctrine's fake, that in his reading they cut and handled his gown with their knives. Mr. Cardmaker being apprehended in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, with Mr. Barlow, bishop of Bath, was brought to London, and put in the Fleet. After King Edward's laws being yet in force. But after the parliament was ended, in which the pope was again admitted as supreme head of the church, and the bishops had also gotten power and authority, officially, to exorcise their tyranny, these two were brought before the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, who, being appointed by commissio, (as before is mentioned) to examine the bill of attainder was then prisoner; and as unto others before, so now it was the chancellor offered the queen's mercy, if they would agree, and be conformable, &c.

To this they both made such an answer, as the chancellor with his fellow commissioners allowed them for catholics. Whether they of weakness were whipt or, or he of subtlety would so understand their answer, that he might have some forged example of a glirking brother to lay in the ditty of the reft, which were to be executed. It may easily be perceived by this, that to all them which followed in examining, he objected the example of Barlow and Cardmaker, committing their forbearers, discretion, and learning. But whatever their answer was, yet notwithstanding Barlow was led again to the Fleet, from whence he afterwards being delivered, did by excommunication bear witness to the truth of the gospel. Cardmaker was committed to the Comptier in Breadstreet, the bishop of London was then to be publish'd, that he should shortly be delivered, after he had subscribed to tranubstantiation and certain other articles. To the fame prison where Cardmaker was, Lawrence Saunders was brought, after the sentence of excommunication and condemnation was pronounced against him where the two prisoners had further conference, that whatsoever the breath of the bishop bluffed, and the fickle ears of the people too lightly believed, in the end they both fowed themselves constant confessors of the truths of Christ; so Law rence Saunders is already written. After the departure Cardmaker remained there prisoner, to be bailed by the papists, who would needs seem to have a certain hope that Cardmaker was become their's. Continual and great conferences divers of them had with him, with reasoning, persuading, and threatening, but all to no effect. To the end that these things might appear, he required them to put their reasons in writing, and promised by writing to answer them.

Dr. Martin, who bare also a part in those.pageants, took upon him to be the chief doer by writing, whose long unfavour letters and sharp reasons for transubstantiation, and such papistical truth, Mr. Cardmaker answered largely, learnedly, and substantially, confuting the fame, opening the fallibility of his arguments, and delivering the sentences of the fathers (which Martin abhored for his purpose) to their true understandings; which answer was the more harmful to our hands. This contumely abode this good man, and at last, he did also the death which he suffered in Smithfield in London: whereof an account shall be given. But first we will survey the matter and manner of the articles objected against him by bishop Bonner, with his answers annexed to the same, as followeth.

ARTICLES objected by Bishop BONNER against JOHN TAYLOR, alias CARDMAKER.

1. Edmund, bishop of London, object against thor, John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, that thou wait and art of the city and diocese of London, and do the jurisdiction of certain Edmund, bishop of London.

2. Item, That thou in times past didst profane the rule of St. Francis, and didst by vow promise to keep
keep poverty, chastity, and obedience, according to the rule of St. Francis.

4. Item, That thou after thy said entry into religion, and profession and orders aforesaid, didst take to wife a widow, and with her hadst carnal copulation, and didst get of her a woman child, breaking thereby thy vow and order, and also the ordinance of the church.

5. Item, That thou hast believed and taught, and so doft believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the visible signs there, that is to say, under the forms of bread and wine, there is really and truly the true and very natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

6. Item, That the belief of the catholic church is, that in having the body and blood of Christ really and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, is to have (by the omnipotent power of Almighty God) the body and blood of Christ invisibly and really present under the said sacrament, and not to make thereby a new God, or a new Christ, or a new body of Christ.

7. Item, That it may stand well together, and so is the faith of the catholic church, that the body of Christ is visibly and truly furnished into heaven, and there is in the visible form of his humanity; and yet the same body in substance is invisibly and truly contained in the said sacrament of the altar.

8. Item, That Christ at his last supper taking bread into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his apostles, and saying, Take, eat, this is my body; did institute a sacrament there, willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament, no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof.

Mr. CARDMAKER’S ANSWERS to the aforesaid ARTICLES.

To the first article he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the second article he answereth and confesseth, that he being under age, did profess the said order and religion, and afterwards by the authority of king Henry VIII., he was dispensed with for the same religion.

To the third he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the fourth he answereth, but that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

To the fifth he answereth, and confesseth, that he hath believed and taught as it is contained in this article, but he doth not now so believe or teach.

To the sixth he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

To the seventh he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

To the eighth he answereth, and doth believe, that it is true; that is to say, that Christ taking bread at his last supper into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his disciples, and saying, Take, eat, this is my body, did institute a sacrament there. And to the other part of this article, namely, willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament, in substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof, he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true.

By me, JOHN CARDMAKER.

Mr. Cardmaker calling to mind afterwards the ready cavillings of the papists, and thinking himself not to have fully, and according to his true meaning answered the latter part of the last article, did the next day, after the aforesaid answers, exhibit unto the bishops in a schedule this here following:

"Where in my answer to your articles I deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament, I mean not the sacramental presence, for that I confess; but my belief is of his carnal presence in the same. Yet I and all the faithful men in this world have been taken by us from our holy fathers, not only for bread and wine, but for the whole administration and receiving of the gifts according to Christ’s institution; so I say, that Christ is present spiritually too, and in all them which are in the sacrament of the altar, under the visible signs there, of the real, carnal, and corporal presence in the sacrament, and not of the sacramental nor spiritual presence.

This I have thought good to add to my last answer, because no man should misunderstand it."

By me, JOHN CARDMAKER.

ARTICLES objected against JOHN WARNE, Under-treasurer, of the Parish of St. JOHN, in WALBROOK, with his ANSWERS to the same.

FIRST, That you John Warne, being of the age of 29 years, and of the parish of St. John Walbrook, in London, hath believed, and doth firmly and sedulously, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the true and natural body and blood of Christ in substance, under the forms of bread and wine.

Item, That thou hast believed, and dost believe, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest there is not (as the church of England doth believe, and teacheth) the body of Christ; but that there only remaineth the substance of material bread, and before the consecration, or speaking the words of consecration; and that the said bread is in no wise altered or changed.

Item, That thou hast said and dost believe, that the catholic church do believe and teach, that he is in the mass now used in England, and in the places of Chriflendom, a sacrifice containing the body and blood of Christ really and truly; but that the priest and faith of the church is taught, and against the truth and the scriptur-y.

Item, That thou hast said, that about a twelve years ago and more, a rough friar of thine was among your head, and had a crown like a priest made on the nose thou didst laugh at it and like it, though thou dost it not now.

Item, That thou neither this Lent last past, nor any time since the queen’s majesty’s reign, haft entered into the church, or heard mass, or been confessed, or received the sacrament of the altar; and hast said thou art not for the reason that thou hast been so done, but that thou hast been on the other art glad, because thou hast not therewithin defiled conscience, which otherwise thou shouldest have done.

Upon all which articles John Warne being called by the said bishop Bonner, in the presence divers witnesses, May 23, 1555, did confess and believe the same, and subscribed hereto his name as his own hand.

By me, JOHN WARNE.

It was also objected against the said John Warne by the aforesaid bishop, as followeth.

Item, That thou John Warne wert in time past in the city of London, accused in Guildhall sorely against the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the laws of this kingdom of England; and that you did refuse to receive the sacrament of the altar at the time of King Henry VIII., and when alderman Barnes then sheriff, and the Thursday after that Anne who was burnt in Smithfield; and thereupon thou fent a prisoner to Newgate, to whom Edmund, then at London, did repair with such mechanism, to fructize thee in the true faith of Christ, touching the said sacrament of the altar, and to bring thee from error, which was, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the body of Christ, nor any corporal..."
The people who before had heard that Mr. Cardmaker would recant, and beholding this, were greatly afflicted, thinking indeed that Mr. Cardmaker would now recant at the burning of Mr. Warne. At length Mr. Cardmaker departed from the sheriff, and came towards the flakes; and (in his garments as he was,) kneeled down and made a long prayer in silence to himself. His prayers being ended, he rose up, put off his clothes unto his shirt, and went with a bold courage unto the flakes, and killed it; and taking Mr. Warne by the hand, he heartily comforted him, and so gave himself to be bound to the stake most gladly. The people feeling this so suddenly done, contrary to their fearful expectation, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for joy, saying, God be praised, the Lord strengtheneth the hand of Jesus to receive the death. And this continued while the executioner put fire to them, and both passed through the fire to the blessed rest and peace among God's holy saints and martyrs, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory prepared for the elect soldiers and warriors of Christ Jesus in his blessed kingdom. To whom be glory and majesty for ever. Amen.

The CONFESSION and FAITH of MR. JOHN WARNE, which he wrote the Day before he suffered, May 30, 1555.

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth."

A Father, because he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the everlasting word, whom before all worlds he hath begotten of the Father; which word was made flesh and therein also manifested to be his Son; in whom he hath adopted us to be his children, the inheritors of his kingdom, and therefore he is our Father; an Almighty God, because he hath of nothing created all things visible and invisible, both in heaven and in earth, even all creatures contained therein, and governeth them.

"And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord."

The eternal word, perfect God with his Father, of equal power in all things, of the same substance; of like glory, by whom all things were made and have life, and without whom nothing liveth: he was made also perfect man, and so being very God, and very man in one person, is the only Saviour, Redeemer, and Comforter of them which were lost in Adam our forerunner. He is the only means of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the surety of our salvation.

"Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary."

According to the Father's most merciful promise, this eternal Son of God, for the sake of the heavenly glory, humbled himself to take flesh of a virgin, according to the scriptures, uniting the substance of flesh and blood to the word of the Father, by which he took of the substance of that blessed virgin Mary in one person, to become thereby the very Meffiah, the anointed king and priest, the unblemished and spotless image of the Father's wrath, which was justly gone out against us all for sin.

"Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into hell."

He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate the ruler of Jewry, and so unjustly accused of many crimes, that the ruler judged him innocent, and taught means to deliver him; but contrary to known justice, he did not go thither with the meekness of a servant, but delivered Christ to be crucified, who deferred no death; which doth manifestly declare unto us, that he suffered for our sins, and was buried for our offences,以至于 propitiate de saints, whereby to have it manifested to all men, that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Therefore suffering for our sins, he received and did bear our deferred condemnation, the pain and distress, the rale of abj ection, the very terror of hell, yielding his Spirit to his Father, his body to be buried in the earth.

"The third day he rose again from death to life."

To make full and perfect the whole work of our redemption and justification, the same crucified body which was laid in the grave, was raised up the third day from death, by the power of his Father, and glory of his Godhead: he became the first fruits of the resurrection, and got the victory over death, that all by him might be raised up from death. Through whom all true present sinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remission of their sins.
He ascended into heaven and fitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.

After that in his death and resurrection he had conquered sin, death, and the devil, and had been converted forty days in the earthen vessel of his body, and as many as five hundred brethren at once, in the same body in which he wrought the work of our salvation, he ascended into heaven with great glory, and therein, solemnly thrice in the same body, over every death, over hell, and leaving the paffage upon, by which all true believers may and shall enter into his kingdom, where he now fitteth at his Father's right hand, that is to say, in power and glory equal, in majesty ever.

From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

He shall appear again in great glory to receive his elect unto himself, and to put his enemies under his feet, changing all living men in a moment, and setting all that he dealt that shall have brought to his judgment. In this shall he give to each man according to his deeds. They which have followed him in regeneration, which have their fins washed away in his blood, and are clothed with righteousness, shall receive the everlasting kingdom, and reign with him for ever; and they which after the race of the corrupt generation of men have followed faith and blood, shall receive everlasting damnation with the devil and his angels.

I believe in the Holy Ghost.

I do believe that the Holy Ghost is God, the third person in the Trinity, in unity of the Godhead equal with the Father and the Son, given through Christ to inhabit our spirits, by which means we are made to feel and understand the great power, virtue, and excellencies of Christ our Lord. For he illumineth, quickeneth, and certifieth our spirit, that by him we are fed up unto the day of redemption, and that in us we are regenerate, and made partakers of the same.

The holy catholic church.

This is the holy number of Adam's posterity, elected, gathered, washed, and purified by the blood of the Lamb from the beginning of the world, and is dispersed in all the nations of the world in the tyranny of Gog and Magog; that is to say, the Turk, and his tyranny, and Antichrist, otherwise named the bishop of Rome, and his angels, as this day also doth teach.

The communion of saints.

Which must holy congregation, (being, as St. Paul teacheth built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head and corner stone) thou it be by tyranny of Satan and his ministers perverted, fome by imprisonment, fome by death, and fome by other afflictions, and therefore shall be in the flesh, and to shall continue until they all do meet in the kingdom, where the head Jesus Christ, with all his holy members, (of which number three Christ belief I am one) shall be fully complete, knit, and united together for evermore.

The forgiveness of sins.

I do believe that my sins, and all their fins which do rightfully believe the holy scripture, are forgiven only through Jesus Christ, of whom only I do profess that I have whole and full salvation and redemption, which St. Paul faith, excepteth nor these works and sufferings, but freely by grace, lest any should boast himself. Tho' the blood of the crows all things in heaven and earth are reconciled, and set at peace with the Father; wherein no heavenly life given, nor forgiven.

The reurrection of the body.

I do believe, that by the fame my Saviour Christ, and I all men shall rise again from death, that he, as St. Paul faith, is risen again from the dead, and become the first fruits of them which sleep. For by a man came death, and by a man conset the resurrections of the dead. This is the body and soul of the power of Christ, through the resurrection I believe that we shall all rise again in the same bodies; the godly clothed with immortality to live and suffer for ever; the wicked with a new body, mortal to live with the devil and his angels in death everlasting.

And the life everlasting.

Thou the same Jesus, and by none other, I am sure to have life everlasting. He only is the way and entrance into the kingdom of heaven. "For God so loved the world, that he did give his only Son Jesus Christ, to the end that so many as believe in him may have everlasting life." Which I am sure to partake for soon I am dilouped, and departed out of this ta-

This is my faith; this I do believe; and I am constant to God's grace to confirm and seal the truth of the same with the blood.

By me, JOHN WELLE.

Mr. CARDAMAKER'S LETTER to his FRIEND.

The peace of God be with you. You shall right well perceive that I am not gone back upon your command to esteem me, but as ready to give my life, as any of your brethren. If you have done me wrong, I am gone before you, altho' by a policy I have a little pointed it, as far as the best, as already apprehended you. But now, at thy shallst appear unto all. That day that I received of doctrine, I shall suffer twenty kinds of death, the Lord be mine affliction, as I doubt not but he will. Command thy men to keep him no life. Thou knowest, I myself, and all his elect; my riches and poverty are as they were wont to be, and I have learned to rejoice in poverty as well as riches, and to account now to be more contented in the well in Christ. Save me all my brethren in my name. I am conferred with fame of my unfairities, learned men, and let that be but scoffs and libels.

Mr. Cardamaker being condemned, and in Newgate, one Mr. Beard came to him two or three days before he suffered death, and said unto him, Sir, I am implored by the council, to know whether you will recant or no? Cardamaker. From which council are you come? I think you are not come, nor yet from the great council, but rather from the commissioners, unto whom (as I suppose) you belong. And whereas you will know whether I will recant or no, thus I pray you, part of me to those whom you said fent you. I tell you, you are a taylor by your occupation, and have endeavoured yourself to be a cunning workman, and that by to get your living: so I have been, before, as preacher or tradesman, and ever since this God in his mercy hath opened mine eyes to see his eternal truth.

I have by his grace endeavoured myself to call upon him, to give me the true understanding of his word, and I thank him for his great mercy; I hope have discharged my conscience in the fear of God, and for the sake of that little talent that I have received. Beard. Yea, sir; but what say you to the blee sacrament of the altar? Cardamaker. I say, and mark it well, that Christ at night before his bitter passion, ordained the holy unleavened communion, and hath given commaundments that his death should be preached before the receiveth thereof, in remembrance of his body broken, and precious blood shed for the forgiveness of our sins, as many as faithfully believe and trust in him.

And furthermore, to conclude the matter briefly in God, he asked of him, Whether the sacrament be fent of, had a beginning or no? Whereunto when he was granted and affirmed the same to be, then Mr. Cardamaker again thus inferred therefrom: If the sacrament be fent of, he fent before you confess, he fent while you confessed, he fent after you confessed, he fent when you confessed, and then it cannot be God; for God had no beginning in ending; and so offending him well to note the same; departed from him.

The fifth day, Mr. Secretary Bourne, the master of the manor, Francis Englefield, sir Richard Bead, Dr. Hughes, authorised them; or two or three of the at the leaf, to proceed to further examination of Cardamaker, Cary, D. and Field, upon such points as they did.
ARTICLES objected by Bishop Bonner, against John Simson and John Ardeley, Husbandmen, at Fulham.

1. THAT thou John Simson (or John Ardeley), husbandman, of the age of 34 years or thereabouts, wast and art of the parish of Great Wigboro, within the diocese of London, and thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that there is here in the publick and universal church, which doth hold and believe all the faith and religion of Christ, and all the necessary articles and sacraments of the same.

2. Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that thou hast necessarily bounden, under the pain of hell, to give full and effectual credence unto the said catholic and universal church, and to the religion of the same, in all necessary points of the said faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in the said faith or religion, or in any part thereof.

3. Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that that faith and religion, which both the church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being the members and parts of the said catholic and universal church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the catholic and universal church, and the faith and religion of Christ, and also is the very true faith and religion which all christian people ought to believe, observe, follow, and keep: but to the contrary, thou hast believed, and dost believe, that that faith and religion, which the said catholic church, and all the other churches aforesaid have heretofore believed, and do now believe, is false, erroneous, and naughty, and in no wise ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed by any christian man.

4. Item, That albeit it be true, that in the sacrament of the altar there is the fulness of the very body and blood of Christ under the forms of bread and wine, and albeit that it be fo believed, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the said church of Rome, and all other the churches aforesaid, yet thou hast not believed, nor dost believe; but contrariwise, thou hast and dost believe firmly and steadfastly, that there is not in the said sacrament of the altar, under the said forms of bread and wine, the very fulness of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the fulness of material and common bread and wine, with the forms thereof; and that the said material and common bread and wine, are but the shadows and tokens of Christ's body and blood, and by faith to be received, only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any such fulness of Christ's body and blood at all.

5. Item, That thou hast believed and taught, and thou hast openly spoken, and to thy power maintained and defended, and so dost believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Christ's body and blood, is only to take material and common bread, and to break it, and to distribute it amongst the people, remembering thereby the passion and death of Christ only.

6. Item, That thou hast likewise believed, taught, and spoken, that the mafs now used in this realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatries, and is of the ordinariness of the popish mafs, not of the institution of Christ, and hath no goodness in it, seeing the glory in the highest, and the epistle and the gospel: and that therefore thou hast not, and wilt not come to be present at the mafs, nor receive the sacrament of the altar, or any other sacrament of the church, as they are now used in this realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid.

7. Item, That thou hast in time past believed precisely, and obstinately affirmed and said, and so dost now believe and think, that auricular confession is not needful to be made unto the priest, but it is a thing superfluous and vain, and ought only to be made to God, and to none other person: and likewise thou hast condemned as superfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church and the service of the same, and hast said, that no service in the church ought be said
said but in the English tongue, and if it be otherwise said, it is unlawful and naught.

JOHN SIMSON and JOHN ARDELEY's AN- SWERS to the aforesaid ARTICLES.

To the first, they believe, that here on earth there is one catholic and universal holy church, which doth hold and believe as is contained in the first article, and that this church is dispered and scattered abroad throughout the whole world.

To the second, they believe, that they be bound to give faith and credence unto it, as is contained in the second article.

To the third, as concerning the faith and religion of the church of Rome, of Italy, Spain, France, Ireland, Scotland, and other churches in Europe, they say, they have nothing to do with that faith and religion: but as concerning the faith and religion of England, that the said church of England be ruled and governed by the word of life, then the church of England hath the faith and religion of the catholic church, and not otherwise; and do say also, that if the church of England were ruled by the word of life, it would not go about to condemn them and others of this heresy.

To the fourth they answer, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is very bread and very wine, not altered nor changed in substance in any wise, and that he receiveth the said bread and wine, doth spiritually and by faith only receive the body and blood of Christ, but not the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance under the forms of bread and wine.

To the fifth they say, they have answered, in answering to the said fourth article, and yet nevertheless they say, that they have believed, and do believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but only the substance of the natural bread and wine.

To the sixth they say, that they believe, that the mass is not of the pope, and not of Christ; and therefore it is not good, nor having in it any goodness, saving the Glory in the highest, the epistle and gospel, the creed, and the Lord's prayer; and for this cause they say they have not, nor will they come and hear mass.

To the seventh John Ardeley answereth and faith, That he believes the contents of the same to be true; but John Simson doth not answer, that he is not as yet fully resolved with himself, what answer to make thereunto, and further, that as touching the common and daily service of divine service and used in the church, he faith that he never said that service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue; neither did he ever say, that if it be otherwise said and used than in English, it is unlawful and naught.

JOHN ARDELEY and JOHN SIMSON.

These articles being thus objected to them, and their answers made unto the same, as before, the bishop, according to his usual manner, refuted them to the afternoon, between the hours of two and three. At which time the bishop repeating again the said articles unto them, and beginning with John Ardeley, did usurp and solicit him to recant.

To whom John Ardeley answereth in the following words: My lord, said he, neither you nor any other of your religion, is of the catholic church; for you be of a false faith: and I doubt not but you shall be deceived at length, bear as good a face as you can. You will through the innocent blood, and you have killed many, and yet go many more.

He added further, saying, If every hair of my head were a man, I would suffer death in the opinion and faith I now profess. Thee with many other words he spake. Then the bishop yet demanded if he would inquire of his erroneous opinions (as he called them) by reduced again to the authority of the church. He answered, No, God forbid that I should do so, for then I should lose my soul.

After this the said bishop read the sentence of excommunication against him, as also did John Simson, standing likewise in the same cause and matter. And John Ardeley, after asking him in his usual manner, if they knew why he should not be pronounced against them, he answered, that he had done the 25th of May, and so were both compassed with the secular power, that is, to the hands of the lord for to be delivered to the place where they should be executed. But before I come to their execution, I must not omit what happened in the clothes up the execution of these good men, which is this.

At the time of the examination of John Simson, John Ardeley aforesaid, there were assembled five persons, a great multitude of people, that because the causes was not able to hold them, they were faint to stand the church, near about the said colloquy, waiting of the prisoners when they should depart. It happened, in the mean time, that the bishop being set in with the float and bold answer of the said two priests, especially John Simson (burst) out in his face, and angry voice, and said, Have him away, have him away.

The people in the church hearing these words, thinking (because the day was far spent) that the prisoners had their judgment, they being desirous to go to the prisoners had to Newgate, fevered them themselves, some running one way, others another way, what caused such a noise in the church, that they in the colloquy were all amazed, and marvelled what it was all mean; wherefore the bishops also being somewhat afeard of this sudden fir, asked what there was to do. To the answer of aforesaid, said, That there was like to fame insurrection or tumult, for they were all together by the cars.

When the bishop heard this, by and by with his heart in his heels, and leaving his seat, he with the rest of the court betook them to their legs, hastening with all possible to recover the door that went into the bishop's house; but the rest being somewhat lighter of foot the lord my lord, did sooner recover the door, and thought it necessary to get in, kept the bishop still out. Save my lord, save my lord; but meaning yet faster, I gave themselves if any danger should come, whereby they gave the fanners, by good matter to laugh at, of this God of aforesaid was said.

Now John Simson and John Ardeley being delivered (as is aforesaid) to the sheriff, were shortly after brought down from London to Elyfex, where they were both put to death in one day, but not in the same place, for John Simson suffered at Rochford, and John Ardeley at Railey.

For the better consideration of the rigorous cruelties of these catholic days, this is furthermore worthy of all men to be noted, and known to all posterity, concerning the examinations of John Ardeley and his company, how that they being brought before the common councilors, were by them greatly charged with Rubbish and vain-glory. Unto whom they answered in defence of their own simplicity, that they were commonly willing to yield to the queen all their goods and lands, that they might be suffered to live under her, keeping their conscience free from all idolatry and popery. Yet this could not be granted, although they had suffered all to their heart's blood; so grovely and so Christ the perfecutors of christian blood. The Lord give such repentance if it be his will, and keep from thence the just reward of such cruel dealing. Amen.
PROCEEDINGS in the CASE of JOHN TOOLY.

C H A P. IX.

After the PROCEEDINGS of Bishop Bonner against the PROTESTANTS, together with the LIVES, EXAMINATIONS, and MARTYRDOMS of THOMAS HAUKE, THOMAS WATS, THOMAS OSMOND, WILLIAM BAMFORD, and NICHOLAS CHAMBERLAIN, who were all inhumanly Burnt in the Bloody Reign of Queen Mary I.

The ridiculous PROCEEDINGS of Bishop Bonner, against JOHN TOOLY, whose Body being taken up on his Grave, gave reason to the Secular Power, and so learned for an HERETIC.

About the same time of the burning of John Symonds and John Ardeley, in the beginning of the month of June, fell out a solemn process, and much ado was made about the pope's spirituality, against John Tooly in a cafe of heath.

The story is this: There was about the time that the Spaniards began first to make a flirt in England, one John Tooly, a cooper and putter in London, who was suddenly called, and put to the mark, upon three or four occasions, by the pope's writs, and the grand inquisitor, for heresy, and having committed any heresy committed in the church of England, which he both suspected and her whole court did highly favour. The pope being known, and brought into judgment, Tooly was found guilty, and adjudged to be hanged, whereas notwithstanding in this realm there are many of them that commit no heresy.

The question of Tooly being led to the gallows, which stood near Charing-Cross, a little before he died, standing on the cart, read a certain prayer in a printed book, and two other prayers written in two several papers: who then having the halter about his neck, desired he might be hanged, and be burned, for his having thus committed this great injury to the church of Rome, and maintaining the same, and also the same Tooly, and two others his fellows which were there hanged with him, did steal and rob for covetousness, to the bishop of Rome did fell his maffes and tresses, with such patry, for covetousness, and there being in a great anger, as appeared against the bishop of Rome, Ipse and with a loud voice the following words: "From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his defeatable enormities; from the doctrine and heresy, and from the contempt of thy word and commandment, good Lord deliver us.

And then adding further to the fame, he spake unto the people; All you that be true christian men, say with me, Amen. And immediately thereupon three hundred persons and more, to the judgment and extortion of those that were there present, answered and said, Amen, three times together at it.

After this, it is said, that when John Tooly had read the bill the first time, it fell from him, and a certain young man who was thought to be an apprentice stepped down and took up the bill, and climbed up the cart, and delivered it to Tooly again, which he again did not to the people. That done, he delivered unto one of the marshal's officers, the book aforesaid, and desired him to deliver it to one Mr. Haukes, saying, that it was his book. Furthermore, he delivered one of the prayers, written in a paper, to one Robert Bromley, a ferret, who was to have torn the pages; and then wrote a line, containing these words, Beware of Antichrist; and subscribed under his name, by me Thomas Harold, prisoner in the Marshalsea, enemy to Antichrist. For the bill aforesaid. Robert Bromley was afterwards brought, and was found with the paper of the book, and to detest all the words of Tooly, and said, for to etceote. Thus while Tooly had made his prayers, as is above-said, to be delivered from the pope's tyranny, by the same prayer he fell into great tyranny. For so soon as the report of this fact came to the ears of the priests and inward prelates, they were not a little mad thereat, thinking it not tolerable that so great a reproach should be done against the holy father. Calling therefore for a council together, as though it had been a matter of great importance. Tooly's talk at his death was debated among them. At last (after much pro and con) they all consented to those men's judgment, who thought it meet that the violating of the pope's holiness should be revenged with fire and faggot. And it is very probable that cardinal Pole was no small do in this influence for as Wickelet and Bonner did always twist after the blood of the living, so Pole's lightning was for the most part kindness against the dead; and he referred this charge only to himself. I know not for what purpose, except perhaps adventure being clothed in it to make it seem as the other, he thought not elsewhere by this means to discharge his duty towards the pope. By the fame cardinal's orders, the bones of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, which had been almost two years in their graves, were taken up and burnt in Cambridge, as Tooly's carelessness was at London. And besides this, because he would have some token of his diligence in both universities, he caused Peter Martyr's wife, a woman of worthy memory, to be digged out of the church-yard, and to be buried on the hill. Of these two prodigiously adds you shall hear more hereafter. But now to our purpose of Tooly, who having ended his prayer, was hanged and put into his grave, out of which he was digged again, by the command of the bishops; and because he was so bold as to deny the authority of the bishop of Rome, at the time of his death, it pleased them to judge and condemn him as an heretic, upon the commandment of the council's letter, as here appeareth.

The COUNCIL'S LETTER to Bishop Bonner.

After our very hearty commendations to your lordship, you understanding that of late amongst others that have suffered about London for their offences, one lade person that was condemned for felony, died very obstinately, professing at the time of his death hundy heretical and erroneous opinion; like as we think it is not convenient that such a matter should be overpassed without some example to the world, so we thought good to pray your lordship to cause further inquiry to be made thereof, and therupon to proceed to the making out of such processes as by the ecclesiastical laws is provided in that behalf. And so we bid your lordship heartily well to fare. From Hampton-Court, April 26, 1555.

Your lordship's loving friends,

STEPH. WINTON, Chan. R. ROCHESTER
F. SHREWSBURY W. PETER
JOHN CAGE R. SOUTHWELL
THOMAS CHENEY

Soon after a citation was set up upon St. Paul's church door, under the bishop of London's great seal; the tenor whereof here ensueth.

The WRIT or MANDATE of Bishop Bonner, for the arrest of Charing-cloes, St. Paul's Church Door, and at St. Martin's in the Fields, for the citing and further inquiring into the CASE of JOHN TOOLY.

EDMUND, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London, to all and singular persons, vicars, canons, and others, clerks and learned men, being within our diocese of London, and especially to those who are called Charing-cloes, for the citing, petitioning, remonstrance, and benefaction. Forasmuch as it is come to our hearing by common fame, and the declaration of several credible persons, that one John Tooly, both citizen and putter of London, the son of perdition and iniquity, coming to the profoundity of malice at the fall same time in which he should have as supposed his escape, was delivered from the pope's tyranny, by the
enough (for him) and after that commeth the executio
nactus, that is, no man shall eat or drink
him, or if any man do eat or drink
him good morrow, and besides that he should be
cluded from the communion of the church. The
things being prepared in such a manner, as in fact do
till wisely they use to do, at length one flood
people the same person to certain articles, reheard in juries
, and that in the benefit and to his good, and in
time when the poor dead man could neither be
ner nor do (as they said) sufficiently answer the one
other, to avoid the name of an heretic; first with
him, whose names were Eld.
Crack, Elq, Thomas Lay, keeper of the Marshalls,
and Philip Andrew, under-marshal; William Halter
, sithmonger; William Gallard, William Walk
chandler; Richard Longman, merchant-taylors; Brint
, John Burton, brewers; Thomas Smile
jeans, for his unchristened, excommunicated, and
him, to the benefit of the Church of London, who with the like diligence went about
execute their charge. Therefore receiving the
the following, namely, for a continual remembrance
thereof, was this done the fourth day of June.

The LIFE and MARTYRDOM of THOMAS HAUKES, Gentleman.

Immediately after the story of Dr. Taylor, mention
was made of six men brought before bishop Hume
the eighth day of February, whose names were
Stephen Knight, W. Pyg, Thomas Tomkins, J.
Lawrence, William Hunter. In which number
Thos Haukes, and condemned likewise with
them the 9th day of February. But because his execu
tions followed but justly follow their's, but was protracted
to the 30th day of June, it follows therfore no
consequuntly give an account of, first, beginning
brily with his pious conversation and last, if
then shearing of his troubles, with his examination
, and conflicts with the bishop and other adversaries, ac
ordering as the order of the story doth require.

As touching therefore his education and his order and
of his life, he was of the counti of Essex, born of an honest
, in calling and profession a country Gentleman, for
dantly from his childhood, and like a gentle
, he was of such comendities of fortune, so all
ended with such excellent qualities, that he might seem in
every side a man (as it were) a model for the purpose,
his gentle behaviour towards others, and especially his
move study and tenganile way to enforce religion and
iety did forborne all the rest. Whereas as God did
tly adorn him; even so he, being such a valiant
of the church and his truth of themselves, bright and
clear, more gloriously to shine by his ex
ample.

If the conquests of martyrs are the triumphs of
, (as St. Ambrose doth notably and truly write)
undoubtedly Chrift in it: for, in both either conquered
more notably, or triumphed more truly, than a
this young man: he stood firm in his faith, and
famous the life, and to confound in his death.

But the declaration of the matter: first Thos
Haukes following the oration of the court, as he grew
years, entered service with the bishop of Oxford, where
remained a good space, being there with great effect and
and by all the houhold, so long as Edward lived. He
thick. But he dying, all things began to go back
smooth, occasion to decay, true piety not only to
cold, but also to take no longer every where, and chiefly
in the houses of great men. His was a mghting the face
, and especially in such men, as he was more than
they would change the profession of true godliness
which he had taile, thought to change the place; and
for, forsoaking the noblemen, house, departed thence.

When the time of this citation was expired, and this
Toolly being cited did not appear; next in order of law
the sumpfenion, (whereas one sumpfension had been
Dated at London under our seal, the last day of April,
1555: and of our translation the 11th.

170 THE NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS. (Q. MARY, A.D. 1555.)
MARV. A.D. 1555-J CONVERSATION between Mr. HAUKEs and Bishop BONNER.

My own home, where more freely he might give him- self to God, and use his own conscience.

But what place in this world shall a man find so secret, where he may be free from the scoundrels of the gods? Now, in the mean time, in a mean place, keeping his house at home, had born unto him, young son, whose baptism was deferred to the third Sunday, by the pappal manner, which thing the adversaries, as I may say, was able to suffer, laying hands upon him, and bring him to the earl of Oxford, there to be reasoned with, as not in religion, in that he feared to concern the fam- ily of the church.

We are not either intending to trouble himself in matters, or else seeing himself not able to weigh him in such cases of religion, sent him up to Lon- don, with a messenger, and letters, and, willing to have his own hands, put him in the hands of Bonner, Bishop of London, the contents of which his letter sent Bonner, are as follow.

POST: reverend father in God, be it known unto you, that I have faith you are Thomas Haukes, dwelling in the city of Exeter, who hath a child that hath remained un- bap- tized more than three weeks; who, being upon the fame day, hath been delivered to him, and now I do as- sent, and think well, by your good direction.

Then the bishop had perused this letter, and after- wards read it to Mr. Haukes, hearing the fame, with all the good he should not be very un- kind, facing him, he put his case to his discretion. Then as the bishop a letter again to him that fent the other, with many great thanks for his diligence in getting forth the queen's proceedings. Then the king began to enter communication with Mr. Haukes, asking him what should be done to leave his child to him so long? To whom Mr. Haukes answered again as followeth.

Because we are bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God.

Boner. Why, baptism is commanded by the word of God.

Baukes. His institution therein I do not deny.

Boner. What deny you then?

Baukes. I deny all things invented and devised by men.

Boner. What things are those that be devised by men, that you do offend withal?

Baukes. Your oil, cream, fat, spittle, candle, and spring of water, &c.

Boner. Will you deny that which all the world of men have been contented withal?

Baukes. What my father and all the whole world have done, I have nothing to do with, but what God commanded me to do, to that end I.

Boner. The catholic church hath taught it.

Baukes. What is the catholic church?

Boner. It is the faithful congregation, whereof I differ from throughout the whole world.

Baukes. Who is the head thereof?

Boner. Christ is the head thereof.

Baukes. Are we taught in Christ, or in the church?

Boner. Have you not read in the eighth of St. John he said, He would send his Comforter which should teach you all things?

Baukes. I grant you it is so, that he would send his Comforter, but to what end? For to this end, that should lead you into all truth and verity, and that is to teach a new doctrine.

Boner. Ah sir, you are a right scripture man. For you have nothing but the scripture. There is a number of your adversaries of your opinion. You know one Knight and Pygot?

Baukes. Knight I know, but Pygot I do not know.

Boner. I thought you were acquainted with him: it doth so by your judgment. What preachers do you know in Exeter?

Baukes. I know none.

Boner. Do you know one Baget?

Baukes. Yes, forsooth, I know him.

Boner. What manner of man is he?

Baukes. An honest man so far as I know.

Boner. Do you know him if you see him?

Baukes. Yes, that I do. Then I saw one of his servants, I call me Baget hither; and then fainted to me, You seem to be a very proud man and stubborn. He that brought me up, flood all this while by.

Baukes. What should move your lordship so to fay?

Boner. Because I see in a man that came with you much humility and lowness.

Baukes. It seemeth your lordship finketh that to me, because I make no courteously to you: and with that came Baget. Then the bishop fainted to Baget, How fay you, sir, you are a humble, and to be frequented and used in the church or not.

Baukes. I befeech your lordship to pardon me, he is old enough, let him answere for himself.

Boner. Ah knave, are you at that point with me? Or do I call the good Peter, to go to Bed? No, you thus shall lie in the flockes, and have nothing but bread and water. I perceive I have kept you too well. Have I made thus much of you, and are you at this point? Then came the bishop's man, and said, The porter is gone to London: then fainted the bishop to Baget, Come with me, and he went away with him, and commanded me away, and bade one of his gentlemen to talk with me, (who was one of his own teaching) who declared amongst other things to know of me, with whom I was acquainted in Exeter, and what men they were that were my teachers.

Baukes. When I see your commissary, I will make you answer. And then immediately came the bishop again: but before he came, his man and I had much talk. Then the bishop sat down under a vine in his orchard, and called Baget to him, whom he carried away and, and brought again, and called me also, and fainted to Baget, How fay you now unto baptism? Say whether he be to be frequented and used in the church, as it is now, or no?

Baukes. Forsooth, my lord, I say it is good.

Boner. I beteal your heart, could you not have fain fo before? You have wounded this man's conscience. Then the bishop turned to me, and fainted: How fay you now, sir? this man is turned and converted.

Baukes. I build not my faith upon this man, neither upon you, but only upon Christ Jesus, who (as St. Paul faith) is the founder and author of all men's faith.

Boner. I perceive you are a stubborn fellow. I must therefore go to work another way with you, to win you.

Baukes. Whatsoever you do, I am ready to suffer it; for I am in your hands to abide it.

Boner. Well, you are so, come on your ways, you shall go in, and I will use you christlian-like: you shall have meat and drink, such as I have in my house: but in any wise I talk not.

Baukes. I purpose to talk nothing but the word of God and truth.

Boner. I will have no hereby talked on in my house.

Baukes. Why is the truth become hereby? God hath commanded you that you should not other talk in our houses, in our beds, at our meat, and by the way, but all truth.

Boner. If you will have my favour, be ruled by my counsell.

Baukes. Then I trust you will grant me my request.

Boner. What is that?
Hahkes. That your doctors and servants give me no occasion; for if they do, I will freely utter my confi-
ence. Then he commanded his men to take in Bager, that Hahkes and he might not, have an opportunity to
talk together. And fo thus we departed, and went to
dinner, and I dined at the steward's table.
After dinner, his chaplains and his sons began to talk
with me. But, amongst others, there was one named
Darbhile, principal of Broadgates in Oxford, and the
bishop's kinman, who said to me, that I was too curi-
sous: for you will have (said he) nothing but your little
pretty God's book.
Hahkes. And is it not sufficient for my salvation?
Bunno. Yes, it is sufficient for our salvation, but not
for our instruction.
Hahkes. God send me the salvation, and you the in-
struction. And as we thus reason came the bishop, who
said unto me; I gave you a commandment that you
should not talk.
Hahkes. And I desired of you that your doctors and
servants should give me no occasion. Then we went
into his orchard again, he and I and his doctors.
Bunno. Would you be contented, provided your
child shall be christened after the book that was
set out by king Edward?
Hahkes. Yes, with a good will; it is the thing that
I desire.
Bunno. I thought so: you would have the same
thing. The principal is in the name of the Father,
the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and in necessity it
may serve.
Hahkes. Christ did use it without any such necessity:
and yet we lack the chiefeff point.
Bunno. What is the thing?
Hahkes. "Go teach all nations, baptizing them, &c,"
Bunno. Thou speakest that because I am no preacher.
Hahkes. I speak the text: I do not mean you. Then
said all the doctors, and his men that were with him,
He spake it of you, my lord (with a great noise that
they made).
Bunno. Will you be content to tarry here, and your
child shall be baptized, and you shall not know of it,
so that you will agree to it?
Hahkes. If I would have done, I needed not to
have come to you: for I had the same counsel given
before.
Bunno. You seem to be a lusty young man; you
will not give your head for the washing; you will stand
in the defence of it for the honour of your country.
Do you think the queen and I cannot command it
to be done in spite of your teeth.
Hahkes. The queen and you can do it, I will not
stand in it: but you get my consent never the sooner.
Bunno. Well, you are a stubborn young man: I
perceive I must work another way with you.
Hahkes. You are in the hands of God, and fo am I.
Bunno. Whatsoever you think, I will not have you
speak such words unto me. And fo we departed until
even-fong time: and before even-fong was begun, my
lord called for me to come to him in the chapel, and
said that I sate, he was a proper young man, and God
had done his part unto thee; I would be glad to do
thee good. Thou knowest that I am thy patron, and
one that should answe for thee. If I would not teach
thee well, I should answe for thy soul.
Hahkes. What, if I have said, I will stand to, God
willing; there is no way to remove it.
Bunno. Nay, nay, Hahkes, thou shalt not be fo
willful. Remember Christ bade two go into his vine-
yard: the one said he would, and went not; the other
said he would not, and went.
Bunno. The last went.
Bunno. Do thou likewise, and I will talk friendly
with thee; how sayest thou? Is it in the sixth of St.
John; "I am the bread of life, and the bread that I
will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of
the world. And whosoever eateth my flesh and drink-
eth my blood, hath everlasting life. My flesh is very
meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. And he
that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth
in me, and in me."
Do you believe this?
Bommer. Alas, you know not how it began, neither of the instruction.

Hawkes. Then I would be glad to learn.

Bommer. Mary, we will teach you; but you are so stubborn you will not learn.

Hawkes. Except you teach me by the word of God, I never will credit you, nor believe you: and thus we proceeded. Then the bishop and his chaplains laughed and said, Jefé, Jefé, what a stubborn and arrogant man is this? and this was in his chamber where he lay. Then said the bishop to me, Go you down and drink, for it is a fasting day; it is midsummer eve, but I think we must both be fasting, for praying, that it be done as it ought to be done, and without me you shall see vain glory.

Bommer. I like you the better for that: and so we are, for that night.

The next day the bishop went to London; for Mr. Bacon was made dean that day, and I tarried still at Asham.

Then did the bishop's men desire me to come to them, but I utterly refused it, answearing them as I did my master.

The same night the bishop came home to Fulham.

CONVERSATION between Mr. HARPSFIELD and Mr. THOMAS HAUKEK.

UPON Monday morning very early, the bishop called for me. There was with him Mr. Harpsfield, a Boundsman of London, to whom the bishop said, This is the main which I told you of, who would not have his child chrismated, nor will have any ceremonies.

Harpsfield. Christ used ceremonies. Did he not take bread from the ground, and took spittle, and made the man to see?

Hawkes. That I well know, but Christ did not use baptism in baptism. If ye will needs have it, put it to the use as Christ put it unto.

Harpsfield. Admit your child die unchristened: what care you stand in?

Hawkes. I admit if it do, what then?

Harpsfield. Mormer, then are you damned, and your child both.

Hawkes. Judge you no farther than you may by the squares.

Harpsfield. Do you not know that your child is born original sin?

Hawkes. Yes, that I do.

Harpsfield. How is original sin washed away?

Hawkes. By true faith and belief in Christ Jesus.

Harpsfield. How can your child being an infant be free in faith of his parents.

Hawkes. The deliverance of it from sin slandeth in faith of his parents.

Harpsfield. How prove you that?

Hawkes. By St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 14. "The unbelieving man is sanctified by the believing woman, and the unbelieving woman is sanctified by the believing of, or else were your children unclean."

Harpsfield. I will prove that they whom thou puttest in, will be against thee in this opinion.

Hawkes. Who are those?


Hawkes. If they do it by the scriptures, I will believe them.

Bommer. Recant, recant: do you not know that Christ said, Except ye be baptized, ye cannot be saved?

Hawkes. Doth Christliness conflict in outward ceremonies, or not?

Bommer. Partly it doth: what say you to that?

Hawkes. I say as St. Peter faith, "Not the washing water purgeth the filthines of the flesh, but a good science condescending unto God."

Harpsfield. Beware of brother, beware of pride.

Hawkes. It is written, "Pride forsoth not for men, but for the sons of men."

Let us make an end here. How say you to the word of the faith? 15.
Bunyan. No, no, he will have nothing but the scriptures, and God knows he doth not understand them. He will have no ceremonies in the church, no not one: what say you to holy water?

Bunyan. Why, it is as to the left, and to all that be of his making that made them.

Bunyan. Why, the scriptures do allow it?

Hawes. Where prove you that?

Bunyan. In the book of Kings, where Eliafi threw salt into the water. Hawes. You say truth, that it is written in 2 Kings, chap. ii. the children of the prophets came to Eliafi, saying, "The dwelling of the city is pleasant, but the waters be corrupted." This was the cause that Eliafi threw salt into the water, and it became sweet and good: and I feel the same be corrupted, if you can by putting in of salt make them sweet, clear, and wholesome, we will the better believe your ceremonies.

Bunyan. How say you to holy bread?

Hawes. Even as I said to the other. What scripture have you to defend it?

Bunyan. Have you not read where Christ fed five thousand men with five loaves and three fishes?

Hawes. Will ye make that holy bread? There Christ dealt fish with his holy bread.

Bunyan. Look, I pray you, how capacious this man is.

Hawes. Christ did not this miracle, or other, because we like miracle; but because we should believe and credit his doctrine thereby.

Bunyan. We believe no doctrine, but that which is wrought by miracles.

Hawes. No forsooth, for Christ saith, "These tokens shall follow them that believe in me: they shall speak with new tongues, they shall call out devils, and they shall drink any deadly poison, it shall not hurt them."

Bunyan. With what new tongues do ye speak?

Hawes. Forsooth, where before that I came to the knowledge of God's word, I was a foul blasphemer and filthy talker; since I came to the knowledge thereof, I have been changed, by grace of God, even with the same tongue, and is not this a new tongue?

Bunyan. How do you call out devils?

Hawes. Christ did call them out by his word, and he hath left the same word, that whosoever doth credit and believe it, shall call out devils.

Bunyan. Did you ever drink any deadly poison?

Hawes. Yes forsooth, that I have; for I have drunk of the peltential traditions and ceremonies of the bishop of Rome.

Bunyan. Now you shew yourself to be a right heretic?

Hawes. I pray you, what is hereby?

Bunyan. All things that are contrary to God's word.

Hawes. If I stand in any thing contrary thereunto, then I am worthy to be so called.

Bunyan. Thou art one, and thou shalt be burned, if thou stand and continue in this opinion. You think we are afraid to put one of you to death: yes, yes, there is a brothhood of you, but I will break it, I warrant you.

Hawes. Where prove you that Christ or his apostles did kill any man for his faith?

Bunyan. Did not Paul excommunicate?

Hawes. Yes, my lord; but there is a great difference between excommunicating and burning.

Bunyan. Hark you not of that? You read not the woman in the Acts of the apostles, whom Peter destrouyed.

Hawes. Yes forsooth, I have read of one Annaia, and Sapphira his wife, who were destroyed for lying against the Holy Ghost, which verily nothing to your purpose.

Bunyan. Well, you will grant one yet.

Hawes. Well, if you will have us to grant you be of God, then shew mercy unto us: for that God requireth.

Bunyan. We will shew such mercy unto you as ye shewed unto us: for my benefice or bishippic was taken away from me, when I had not one penny to live upon.

Hawes. I pray you, my lord, what do you give him that was in the bishippic or benefice before you came again to it? Whereunto he answered me never a word; for he turned his back upon me, and talked with other men, saying that he was very sorry for me, that he trusted that I would turn with St. Paul, who was no earthen: and to be departed and went to ordain me to the porter's lodge again.

Bunyan. Why to ordain you into the hall again, and de bishopp decribed the old bishopp to take me to his chap- ber; for I would be glad (sai he) if you could do me some good: you are a young man, I will give you to go to go too far, but learn of elders to bear somebott.

Hawes. I will bear nothing that is contrary to the word of God. And I looked that the old bishopp that have made me an answerer, but he was fell asleep.

Then I departed out of the chamber alone, and so to the porter's lodge again, and to the old shop left: I suppose he is not yet awake.

The next day Dr. Fecknam came to me and say:

Are you he that will have no ceremonies?

Hawes. What mean you by that?

Fecknam. You will not have your child christned, but shall EP Fitil, and you will have no ceremonies.

Hawes. Whatever the scripture commandeth done, I refuse not.

Fecknam. Ceremonies are to be used by the scriptures.

Hawes. Which is the like of this, by Paul's breethes?

Fecknam. Have you not read in the Acts of the apostles, how things went from Paul's body, and received health thereby?

Hawes. I have read in the 19th ch. of the Acts, where went handkerchiefs and napkins from his body; is it that you mean?

Fecknam. Yes, the same it is: what say you to ceremonies?

Hawes. I say nothing to the ceremonies; for they be not by the faith, that God did so work by the hands of Paul and the handkerchiefs and napkins from his body. So that it is forbidden by the law, that it was God wrought, and not the ceremonies.

Fecknam. How say you to the woman that came hind Christ, and touched the hem of his vesture? I not her diseased depart from her by that ceremony?

Hawes. Forsooth: for Christ turned back and said to Peter, "Who is it that touched me?" Peter said, "Thou seekest the people that asketh thou, who touched me?" "Some body is touched, say Christ, for virtue hath gone out of me: I pray you, what was it that virtue that ed this thing or his vesture?"

Fecknam. Both.

Hawes. Then is not Christ true: for he said, "thy way, thy faith hath made thee whole."

Bunyan. Away, away, to the sacrament, for these but mere trifles to that.

Fecknam. How say you, firrah: Christ took him and brake it, and said, "Take, eat, this is my body."

Hawes. I grant Christ said fo.

Fecknam. And is it not fo?

Hawes. No forsooth, I do not understand it fo.

Fecknam. Why, then, is Christ a liar? Hawes. Does Christ think you will fo prove him.

Fecknam. Will I, why, have spoken the that Christ spake.

Hawes. Is every word to be understood as Christ spake it? Christ said I, a door, a vine, a king, a way, &c.

Fecknam. Christ spake those words in parables.

Hawes. And why spaketh er he this in parables? he said, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way, &c. when he said, This is my body? For after fame phrase of speech, as he faith, This is my body he is, a door, a vine, a king, a way, &c. and I am to live like a door, live like vine, &c.

Then Fecknam stood up, and said I had faith before me the other day. Alas! those places serve for your purposes. But I perceive you harf build on them that be at Oxford.
Hawkes. What mean you by that? Newcomen. I mean Linther, Cramer, and Ridley. Hawkes. I know not what they be, but that they be both godly and learned.

Bunyan. Wilt thou trust to such dolts? One of them has written a book wherein he affirmeth a real presence in the sacrament.

Hawkes. What he hath done I know not, but what he doth I know. Ridley hath preached at Paul's Cross openly, that the devil believeth better than you: for he believeth that Christ is able of stones to make bread, and you will not believe Christ to be in the sacrament, and yet thou buildest thy faith upon them.

Hawkes. I build my faith upon no man, and that ye shall know; for if thofe men, and as many more as they be, should recant and deny what they have said or done, yet will I stand by it, and by this ye shall know that I build my faith upon no man.

Bunyan. If any of thofe recant, what will you say as to it?

Hawkes. When they recant, I will make you an answer. Bunyan. Then thou wilt say as thou dost now for all.

Hawkes. Yes indeed will I, and that truth to it by God's grace.

Bunyan. I dare say, Cranmer would recant so, that he might have his bread. And so the bishop and Fcaam departed from me with great laughing, and I went again to the porter's lodge.

The next day Dr. Chedsey came to the bishop and him. They desired me to know that I had told flibbery in the defence against the christening of my child, and against the ceremonies of the church, and that I would not have it christened but in English.

Then said Dr. Chedsey, he denies the order of the catholic church.

Bunyan. Yes, he thinketh there is no church but in England and Germany.

Hawkes. And you think that there is no church, but the church of Rome.

Chedsey. What say you to the church of Rome?

Hawkes. I say it is a church of a sort of vociferous carmelites, priests, monks, and friars, which I will never credit, nor believe.

Chedsey. What say you to the bishop of Rome?

Hawkes. From him and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us.

Chedsey. What say you then, may we say, from king Henry VIII., and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us.

Hawkes. Where were you while he lived, that you would not say so?

Chedsey. I was not far.

Hawkes. Where was you in his son's days?

Chedsey. In prifon.

Hawkes. It was not for your well doing.

Bunyan. He will by no means come within my chapter, nor hear mass: for neither the mass, nor the fummary of the altar can be abide, neither will he have any service but in English.

Chedsey. Christ never spake in English.

Hawkes. Neither did he ever speak any Latin, but always in such a tongue as the people might be edified thereby: And St. Paul, "That tongue profit is nothing." He maketh a similitude between the pipe and the harp, and except it be understood what the harper meanceth, who can prepare himself to the battle? So if I hear a tongue that I do not understand, what profit have I thereby? no more than he hath by the sight of a thing he doth not know what it meaneth.

Chedsey. If you understand St. Paul's saying, he seeth it under a prophecy, "If one prophecy to be in tongues," &c.

Hawkes. Forthost St. Paul speaketh plainly of tongues: but it is not for them that believe. Chedsey. I tell you St. Paul speaketh altogether upon prophecy.

Hawkes. St. Paul maketh a distinction between prophesying and tongues, saying, "That if any man speak with tongues, let him do this, when he will; let others interpret it. But if there be no interpreter, let them keep silence in the congregation, and let himself pray unto God: and then let the prophets speak two or three, and that by course, and let the others judge: and if any revelation be made him that fifteth by, let the fift hold his peace." So that it seemeth that St. Paul maketh a distinction between tongues and prophesying.

Bunyan. The order was taken in the catholic church that the Latin tongue should serve through the whole world, because that they should pray all generally together in one tongue, and that to avoid all contention and strife, and to have one universal order through the whole world.

Hawkes. This did your councils of Rome conclude.

Bunyan. Underland ye what the general councils of Rome mean.

Hawkes. Indeed all your general councils of Rome be in Latin, and I am an Englishman: therefore I have nothing to do with them.

Chedsey. You are to blame, being an unlearned man, to reprove all the councils throughout all the world.

Hawkes. I reprove them not, but St. Paul rebuketh them, saying, "If any man preach any other doctrine than that which I have taught, do you hold him accursed." Chedsey. Hath any man preached any other doctrine unto you?

Hawkes. Yes, I have been taught another gospel since I came into this house.

Chedsey. What gospel have you been taught?

Hawkes. Praying to saints, and to our lady, and trusting in the nuns, the mons, holy water, and holy oil.

Chedsey. He that teacheth you so, teacheth you not amiss.

Hawkes. Cursed be he that teacheth me so: for I will not trust him, nor believe him.

Bunyan. You speak of idols, and you know not what they mean.

Hawkes. God hath taught us what they be: for, whatsoever is made, graven, or devished by man's hand, contrary to God's word, the same is an idol. What say you to that?

Chedsey. What be those that are so offended within them.

Hawkes. The crofs of wood, silver, copper, or gold, &c.

Bunyan. What say you to that?

Hawkes. I say it is an idol. What say you to it?

Bunyan. I say, every idol is an image, but every image is not an idol.

Hawkes. I say, what difference is there between an idol and an image?

Bunyan. If it be a false god, and an image made of him, that is an idol: but if an image be made of God himself, it is no idol but an image, because he is a true God.

Hawkes. Lay your image of a true God and of your false god together, and you shall see no difference. Have you not your images feet, and go not; eyes and see not; ears and hear not; hands and feel not; mouths and speake not; and every one that makest an idol.


Bunyan. Where can we have a godlike remembrance when we ride by the way, than to see the crofs?

Hawkes. If the crofs was such a profit unto us, why did not Christ's disciples take it up, and set it on a pole, and carry it in procession?

Chedsey. It was taken up.

Bunyan. What took it up? Helene, as you say: for the fect a piece of it to a place of religion, where I was with the visitors when that house was suppressed, and the piece of the holy crofs (which the religious had in such estimation, and had robbed many a soul, committing idolatry in it) was only the wood, and all come to all, it was but a piece of a lath covered over with copper, double gilded, as it had been clean gold.

Bunyan.
Booner. Fear, fear, I dare say thou flanderest it.

Haukes. I know it to be true, and do not believe the contrary. And thus did the bishop and the doctor depart in a great flame: and Cheafey said unto me, as he was about to depart, It is a pity thou shouldst live, or any such as thou art. I answered, In this case I desist not to live, but rather to die.

Cheafey. You die boldly, because you would glory in your death, as Joan Butcher did.

Haukes. What Joan Butcher did, I have nothing to do with it; but I want no behaviour to be reproved. God make you in a better mind, said they both, and so they departed, and I went to the porter's lodge with my keeper.

The next day Dr. Cheafey preached in the bishop's chapel, and did not begin his sermon, until all the service was done: and then came before the porter for me, and said, My lord would have you come to the sermon, and so I went to the chapel door, and stood without the door.

Booner. Is not this fellow come?

Haukes. Yes, I am here.

Booner. Come in, man.

Haukes. No, I will not. He called again, and I answered I will come no nearer, and so I stood at the door. Then said the bishop, Go to your sermon.

Then Dr. Cheafey put on the stole about his neck, and carried it on the back. I went to the bishop, who blessed him and gave him holy water, and so he went to his sermon.

The time that he treated on was the 16th of St. Matthew, 'Whom do men say that I am the Son of Man am? Is he said, Some say that thou art Elias, some say that thou art John the Baptist, some that thou art one of the prophets. But whom say ye that I am?' Then said Peter, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God. Then he left the text there, and said, Where sins fowe ye bind, are bound: which authority (said he) is left to the head of the church, and so I went into the rest that he underneath him. But the church hath been much kicked at since the beginning: yet kick the heretics, spurn the heretics ever so much, the church doth stand and flourish. And then he went straitway to the sacrament, and said his mind on it, exalting it above heaven (as most of them do) and returning to his place again, saying, Where sins do ye remit, are remitted and forgiven: and so he applied it to the bishops and priests to forgive sins, and said, All that be of the church will come and receive the fame. And this he proved by St. John, chap. xi. saying that Christ came to be the true vine, who else he was the shadow, who was bound in bands: then said Christ to them that were in authority, (who were his disciples) Go ye and loose him, let him go. And this was the effect of his sermon, applying all to them, that they have the same authority that Christ spake of to his apostles! and so ended his sermon, and they went to dinner.

Another CONVERSATION between THOMAS HAUKES, BISHOP BONNER, and Others.

AFTER dinner I was called into the chapel, where were severall of the queen's servants, and other strangers whom I did not know.

Booner. How like ye the sermon?

Haukes. As I like all the rest of his doctrine.

Booner. What, are you not edified thereby?

Haukes. No, surely.

Booner. It was made only because of you.

Haukes. Why, then I am hereby made, who had no more whereby to call you as you call them: I am forry, and ye have bestowed so much labour on me, and so little regarded.

Booner. Well, I will leave you here, for I have business, I pray you talk with him: for if you could do him good, I would be glad. This the bishop spake to the queen's men, who said unto me, Alas! what mean you to trouble yourself about such matters against the queen's proceedings?

Haukes. Those matters have I answered before them that be in authority: and unless I fee you have a further commiffion, I will answer you nothing at all. Then said the bishop's men, (which were many) My lord hath commanded you to talk with us.

Haukes. If my lord will talk with me himself, I will and I shall. They erred. Forgetting him, led him, to prison with him, it is pity that he had his iron and irons upon him; and with a great noise they spake his words. Then in the midst of all their rage I depended from them, and went to the porter's lodge again.

The next day the bishop called me into his chamber and said, You have been with me a great while, and you are never the better, but worse and worse: therefore I will delay the time no longer, but send you to Newgate.

Haukes. My lord, you can do me no better plea, or favour.

Booner. Why would you go so far to prison?

Haukes. Truly I did look for none other when I came to your hands.

Booner. Come on your ways, you shall see what I have written. Then did he show me certain articles, and the contents of the same.

Whether the catholic church do teach and believe that Christ's real presence doth remain in the sacrament or no, after the words of consecration, according to the words of St. Paul, which are these; "Is not the bread which we break the partaking of the body of Christ, and the cup which we blesse, the partaking of the blood of Christ?" which if it were not so, St. Paul would never have said it.

Haukes. What your church doth, I cannot tell: I am sure that the holy catholic church doth not take it, nor believe it.

Booner. Whether doth the catholic church teach and believe the baptism that now is used in any church, or no?

Haukes. I answered to it as I did to the other question before. Then did the bishop with much more crounful me to consider how I would answer the next letters of the post, of which I was the writer, for I was to the king's command to send them. And I supposed that the next day I should have to prison, and so I had, except for the archdeacon of Canterbury, whose name is Harpsfield, whom the bishop had desired to talk with me, and began to persuade me concerning the sacrament and the ceremonies; and after much talk he said, that the sacrament of the altar was the same body that was born in the virgin Mary, which did hang upon the cross.

Haukes. He was upon the croes both alive and dead: which of them was the sacrament?

Haukes. The archdeacon answered, alive. Haukes. How do you prove that?

Harpsfield. You must believe. Doth not St. John say, "He is condemned already that believeth not?"

Haukes. St. John faith, "He that believeth not the Son of God, is already condemned;" but he faileth. He that believeth not in the sacrament, is already condemned.

Harpsfield. There is no talk with you: for you do both without faith and learning, and therefore I will talk no more with you from scripture.

Booner. Then I took two tongues, and made me enter farther in talk with him; and I said unto him, Why is the blood of Christ shed between the body of the church and the chancel?

Harpsfield. I cannot tell: for you have asked me a question which you cannot answer yourself.

Booner. Then I said, that I cannot, and I am one of my own doctors. That the body of the church doth represent the church militant, and the chancel the church triumphant: and so because we cannot go from the church militant to the church triumphant, but we must bear the cross of Christ; this is the cause of the rood-loft being between the body of the church and the chancel.

Harpsfield. This is well and learnedly concluded.

Haukes. As all the rest of your doctrine is; and with many persuasions on his part we ended, and departed: and I to the porter's lodge again.

The next day in the morning, which was the 17th of
Haukes. "Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Sir, here is none excepted.

Mr. Huggard. What shall we go to teach children?

Haukes. That child doth trouble you; it might be left out full well: it is too much for you to teach. Is not your name Miles Huggard?

Mr. Huggard. So I am called.

Haukes. Be you not a hoister, and dwell in Pudding-lane?

Mr. Huggard. Yes that I am, and there I do dwell.

Haukes. It should seem so, for you have more skill in eating puddings, and selling flookings, than in disputing from the scriptures. With that he was in a great rage, and claid up and down. Then I defined that some person would undertake to appease the gentle-man, he did so fret for anger. Then on one that fled by me (who was parson of Horn-church) to Rumbold in Essex said, Alas, what do you mean? A young man to be so stubborn! there seemeth much pride in you.

Haukes. Are you not the parson of Horn-church?

Parfau. Yes; that I am.

Haukes. Did you not set such a priest in your benefice?

Parfau. Yes, for a thief.

Haukes. Like matter, like man. For I know the priest to be as vile a man as can be. I asked the parson, what kin he was to the weather-cock of St. Paul's; and he fell into a great laughter with the rest of his companions. He said I did rail.

Then said another that flood by unto me, What books have you here? I answered, the New Testament. May I look in it, said he? Yes, that you may, said I; and so he looked into my book, and said it was corrupt. I answered him, if the things contained in it be true, then ye are false prophets. He said that he would oppose me in the first word of the Testament, saying, Here is the generation of Christ; and Isaiah faith, no man can tell his generation.

Haukes. What meaneth Isaiah by that?

I would learn of you, said he.

Haukes. You would be angry if the scholar should teach the matter: but if you will have me to teach you, I will tell you Isaiah's meaning.

Then said he, No man can tell the generation between the Father and the Son: but you (I dare say) did know it before.

Isaiah denieth not the generation.

Then said he, why is Christ called Christ? Is he called Messiah?

Haukes. Because he is the Messiah.

Then said he, Why is he called the Messiah?

Haukes. Because he was so prophesied by the prophets.

Then said he, Why is your book called a book?

Haukes. These words do breed more fire then godly edifying.

Beware, said he, that you do not decline from the church, for if you do, you will prove yourself an heretic.

Haukes. Even as you do call us heretics, that do incline to Christ's church from your church; for ye are all false prophets that do decline from Christ's church to your own church. And by this shall all men know you to be false prophets, if ye say, This faith the church: and will not say, This faith our Lord: and so he went away as though he had been in fear.

Then came another, and said unto me, he would talk with me; for he perceived (as he said) that I was angry, and out of patience.

Haukes. I will see your commission, before I talk with you, or with any more. For I knew not how to be rid of them, they came so thick about me. And I said, I came to talk with my lord, and not with any of them.

With that came the bishop, bringing a letter in his hand, which he had written in his name, and read it unto me, after this manner: 1 Thomas Haukes do here confess and declare before my said ordinary Edmund, bishop of London, that the same is abominable and detestable, and full of all superstition; and also as concerneth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ (commonly...
monly called the sacrament of the altar) that Christ is in no part thereof, but only in heaven: this I have believed, and this I do believe, &c.

Haukes. Stop there, my lord: what I have believed, with God and faith, that I do believe, and that I do believe, that and will. Then he took his pen, and said that he would scruple it out for my pleasure, and so he did to my thinking.

Then he went further with his writing, and said, I Thomas Haukes have talked with my said ordinary, and with certain good, godly, and learned men. Notwithstanding I stand still in mine opinion.

Haukes. Shall I grant you to be good, godly, and learned men, and yet grant myself to stand in a contrary opinion? No, I will not grant you to be good, godly, and learned men.

Bonner. You will grant that you have talked with us: the other I will put out for your pleasure. Then said all his doctors, if your lordship be ruled by him, he will cause you to put out all together: and then read more to me. Here unto this bill have I set my hand; and then he offered me the bill and his pen, and bade me set my hand to it.

Haukes. You shall not have my hand to any thing of your making or devising.

Bonner. Will thou not yet set thy hand? It shall be to thy shame, if thou darest deny it.

And then he called all his doctors, and said, he would have every man's hand to it that was in the chamber; and he had all their hands to it, and said, He that will not set his hand to it, I would he were hanged; and he would hang all with a great noise.

Then the bishop thruff me on the breast with great anger; and said he would be even with me, and with all such proud knaves in Exefox.

Haukes. You shall do no more than God shall give you leave.

Bonner. This jee shall not be unpunished, truth to it.

Haukes. As for your curtailing, rallings, and blasphemies, I care not for them: for I know the moths and worms shall eat you, as they eat cloth or wool.

Bonner. I will be even with you at a future time.

Haukes. You may in your malice destroy a man: but when you have done, you cannot do so much as make a finger; and you are mete with some of us already.

Bonner. If I do thee any wrong, take the law of me.

Haukes. Solomon faith, "Go not to law with a judge, lest thou be judged according to his honour."[23]

Bonner. Solomon faith, "Give not a fool an answer."

Haukes. What, do you count me a fool?

Bonner. Yes, by my troth do I, and do not thou me too: but God forgive thee, and so do I.

Haukes. Thought is free, my lord. Then the bishop took it up, and with his hand, and when he saw that he would not have my hand to it, then he would have had me to take it in my hand, and to give it him again.

Haukes. What needeth that ceremony? neither faith it come into my hand, heart, or mind. Then he wrapt it up, and put it in his bosom, and was angry, and called for his horse, for the same day he rode on his visitation into Exefox: and so I went to prison again with my keeper. This was the second time of my examination.

Written by me Thomas Haukes, who defirith all faithful men and brethren to pray unto God, to strengthen me in his truth unto the end. Pray, pray, pray, gentle brethren, pray.

After all these private conferences, persuasions, and long debates with Mr. Haukes in the bishop's house, as hitherto hath been declared, the bishop seeing no hope to win him to his wicked ways, was determined to proceed openly against him after the ordinary course of his popish law. Whereupon Mr. Haukes was shortly after cited and brought before the cell of his other companions abovementioned, namely, T. Tomkins, S. Knight, W. Pygott, J. Lawrence, and W. Hunter, to appear in the bishop's consistory, the eighth day of February, 1555. Upon which appearance was laid against him, in like order as to the others, the bill of his confession, written with Bonner's own hand, to which bill you hear ahead by this worthy man refused to subscrib.

This bill of confession being read, and he haussed, individually to the fame, the bishop then allied him, that the said Thomas Haukes, which was 9th of February, to appear before him, again to give an answer what they would think to. When he was coming, and the aforesaid six prisoners being called really called before the bishop, at the coming of Thomas Haukes, the bishop desired him to remember what was said to him yetext at, which had time and space, to advise with himself what he would do, and to stand upon his life and death. Well, said Mr. Haukes again, I will willingly receive whatsoever shall be laid upon me. Then certain interrogatories or articles were read against him, and then the bishop, (in the manner as to the others) to the number of forty and another bill alfo which bishop Bonner brought out of the holm, containing privy matters against the said Thomas Haukes, which the bishop called hereticks and traitors, but we may better call them christian verities, in which matter being read, the said Haukes answered openly again, saying that it was true, and that his glad it was to true as it was, with more words to the effect. And this was in the forenoon, the 9th day of February.

In the afternoon again, the said Haukes being being called and bearing the above mentioned bill, with the articles and interrogatories read unto him, like constancy in answering again to the bishop; Mr. John faith he as you being my friend have cause to say my sayings to be written; so do you cause them to be read; and I am never so glad of it. And then being exhibited by the bishop, with many fair words, return again to the holm of the mother church: for my lord, (said he) that will I not: for if I had an hundred bodies, I would suffer them all to be torn in pieces rather than I will abjure or recant. And so continuing still in the same form, now and then laying down some or other of the articles, and lawyers were ever calling upon him to come again to the unity of the church, he ever kept them off at this answer, that he would never go from the belief he was in, so long as he lived. Whereupon bishop Leter as last read the sentence of death upon him, and was he condemned the same day with the residue of his fellows, which was the 9th of February. Nevertheless his execution was prolonged, and he remained in prison till the 10th day of June. Then was he committed to the fourth degree of the lord Rich, who sufficiently afflicted with powerful fire, had the aforesaid Thomas Haukes down in Exefox, with six other fellow prisoners whose stories hereafter follow, there to suffer martyrdom, Haukes Coxelith, the others in several other places.
LETTERS written by Mr. THOMAS HAUKEs.

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L E T T E R I.

From Mr. HAUKEs to his WIFE.

GRAMPE with you, and peace from God the Father, and peace from our Lord Jesus Christ, be always with you all.

For I have left you nothing, but this one thing, to keep you in the way of Christ, to stand fast, and to the end. For the Lord whose grace is in me, saith that he will be with you unto the end.

And the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

THOMAS HAUKEs.

L E T T E R II.

Mr. THOMAS HAUKEs to the CONGREGATION.

RETURNING from the house of God, and meeting with the good people there assembled, I was greatly rejoiced, and feared that the Lord would bless them as he did his people of old.

For the Lord, whose grace is in me, saith that he will be with you unto the end. And the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

THOMAS HAUKEs.

I cannot keep my holy precepts and laws, and the uttermost of your power call for the help of abominations with the wicked world, and no one to be sure that your part with the wicked world in the end was not dishonored.

Therefore beware of idolatry, which doth most of all hinder the face of Almighty God, and was by all good men most detested from the beginning. For which, what kingdoms, nations, and brimstone, hunger, sword and publick execution, were but little to them. For, what of them, is manifestly to be done through the window for such a thing, when they fell from them. And, if you have served other gods, contrary to his commandment, he utterly detesteth them. And, if you be not from out of the earth; and as many as died in that damnable实实在在, he will be with you. Amen.

And the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

THOMAS HAUKEs.
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

Q. MARY A.D. 1555.

not suffer) my desire is, that it be brought up in the fear of God to the uttermost of your endeavor, with some honest man that hath the fear of God before his eyes; and let us give thanks unto God which hath given them unto you, encreasing him in every thing they may be of that stock that shall stand on the right hand of the majesty of God, when he shall judge the world, Amen.

Your love to them, that thou hast in several places, as I said before; then shall ye be sure, that God even of his own mercy, according as he hath promised, shall be an husband unto you, and provide better for you than ever I was able to do for myself, because I can only with the slight knowledge you may learn to come to a more perfect knowledge of God, and I doubt not but God will provide that such will be glad to receive you, and will have no fault to find, and go forward in this truth.

Finally, and to make an end, I desire you that you take heed with whom you couple yourself. See that he be a man that frequents God, that doeth God's laws, and walketh in the same. It is the fear of the uttermost of his power; such a one as can be content to love you, and to care for you. Take heed he be no brawler, no scoundrel, no wicked person, not given to licentiousness, no worldling, no deceit, nor sinner: in fine, no filthy person; but such a one as God may be glorified in both your lives. And again on your part, love him, love him, obey him in all goodness, as long as God shall give you life in this world.

Then shall you both be sure to obtain that kingdom which God the Father hath prepared, and Jesus Christ obtained for you, which shall have an end, and to abide your coming, Amen.

By your husband,

THOMAS HAUKE.

L. L. L.

From Mr. THOMAS HAUKE, to Mr. CLEMENT THROGMORTON.

G RACE, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, and with all your souls in your thoughts, words, and works, that he in all things, as worthy to be glorified, and the blessing of Almighty God may be poured plentifully on you and all your posterity.

Whereas the love of God hath moved you to require my son to be brought up before your eyes, and the sole fame love hath also moved me in like case to leave him in your hands, as unto a father in my absence, I shall require you in God's behalf according to your promises, that you will ye bring him brought up in the fear of the Lord, and instructed in the knowledge of his holy word, that he may thereby learn to leave the evil, and to know the good, and always to be pricked forward with fatherly instructions to follow my footsteps, that as Almighty God hath made me worthy, through his special grace, to work his will in obedience, he may learn to follow me in his father in the like, to God's honour and praise: and this I require you in God's behalf to fulfill, or cause to be fulfilled in like manner, and that the little child may make answer for the same. I have left for the child certain books which shall be delivered unto you, wherein his instruction and salvation lieth; if he learn and practice the same. And thus much hance I have once again, to be as good unto him, as your promise was unto me, that is, to be a father, and a wall of defence unto him in all troubles, I leave him in your hand. And the Lord Jesus, who led him to bless both him and you according to his good promise: and all that good which ye shall do unto him, I shall most heartily desire the everlasting God to recompense unto you in his kingdom, where I hope to meet both him and you among all God's elect. To which God be all praise, honour, and glory, Amen.

Your's, and all men's in Christ Jesus,

THOMAS HAUKE.

The History of Mr. THOMAS WATS.

THOMAS WATS, of Billeryca within the county of Essex, of the diocese of London, was by his occupation a linen-draiper; who, before he was apprehended, had fold and made away his cloth in his floup, his things being set in order for his wife and children, and gave away one-sixth of his house of clothing to the poor. For he was expected to be taken by God's adversaries and his, shortly after came to pass; so that upon the 26th day of April, he was apprehended and brought before the lord Rich, and other commissioners at Chelsmford, and there being accused for not coming to the church upon the same examined before the lord Rich, Henry Tyrel, Anthony Brown, Edmund Tyrel, Thomas Mildman, John Witman, Roger Appleton, Richard Wethon, justice Gaudy, &c. The sum and principal effect of which examination hereunder follows, he exprest.

When Thomas Wats came before the lord Rich, the justices, whose names are specified in the following letter, when, as they sent unto the bishop of London (it being a day of the feasting at Chelmsford, the lord Rich spoke to him as follows:—

"Wats, you be brought hither, as I understand the cause of dolofedence to the king and queen's majesty. If you come to this sentence, you will not masf, &c. but have your convenience in the several corners, contrary to the king's and queen's pleasure." To which Mr. Wats answered and said:—

"My lord, if I have offended a law, I am fully to be punished; and although your justice, as you say, Wats, I pray thee, tell me who hath been schoolmaster to teach thee this religion, or whom you first learn it from?" Forsooth, said Wats, even of a fire, you taught it me, and none more than you: the king Edward's days in open seculion you spoke this religion now usecl, no preacher more. You said the mass was abominable, and all their preachers, withithing and earnestly exhorting that none believe therein, and that our belief should be on Christ! and you said then, whatsoever should bring any opposition to rule of faith, and your creed, and to be suffered. Then Mr. Brown said to me: He belies me, my lord. What a knave is that to will fully bely me behind my back, when I do before my face. And my lord Wats again, he say he doth not so. After these words, Mr. Wats took occasion to say somewhat of king Philip and of his coming in, what it was I could not justly learn. But this was heard, that after those words spoken, the ban and every thing was put up, and fined one to send to Trefon; except one good man called justice, and the man, who a little before was about to speak; but when he heard them cry Trefon, he held down his hand, one grieved and troubled at their doing.

In conclusion, the commissioners being weary of the or else not willing to meddle further in such matter, sent him up to the bishop of London, together with letter, declaring the cauice of his being sent up, as the contents thereof may be seen.

A L. L. L. L.

Sent by certain justices in ESSEX, to BONNIE, BISHOP OF LOTHIAN.

AFTER our most hearty commendations to your goodness, these shall be to advertise you, that at our last of oyer and terminer held at Chelsmford, the 26th of April instant, there was held open court, Thomas Wats of Billeryca within your diocese proceeding, and then there being examined why he rebels come to his parish church, and there to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, before he came to the church, he openly there answered generally; that as the service of the church for out in the days of the late Edward VI. was said by use to be abominable, heretical, schismatical, and naught; he so said, that all that was not done in the church, is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and wicked; with divers other errors and unscriptural words: and therefore we have thought proper to send your lordship, to be further examined by you of his principal opinions, and they to your patriarchal office shall be convenient, tending further, that in our opinion he is one of the most arrogant heretics, that hath been heard speak, or ever was heard of in the church, you are not meet to be kept here in any jail, as we fear for the safety of others, as divers and sundry others may cause hereafter to be more declared. Thus leaving to you, your good lordship, we commit you to the Holy Ghost.

Given at Chelsmford, April 26."

The bishop of London's answer follows. Your good lordship's most affection, R. RICH, L. L. L. L.

THOMAS MILDMAN
THOMAS BROWN
THOMAS WATSON
ANONYTHON BROWN ROGER APPLETON
EDMUND TYREL RICHARD WESTON.

Now when the bishop had received him, how he it is easy (by his common practice with other) judge. What his private confidences were, it be not ordered that was publicly done in the confession of Paul's, (the common flag for their tragedies) you here see.
The EXAMINATION of Mr. THOMAS WATS, in the BISHOP’S CONSIORTY.

FIRST APPEARANCE of Mr. THOMAS WATS, in the BISHOP’S CONSIORTY.

FIRST upon Thursday, the 2d of May, Mr. Thomas Wats was brought before the bishop of London, and there being examined upon his words said before Lord Rich, the bishop, as he has already affirmed the same to be true. Whereupon the bishop objected, and examined him upon these following, to which he answered as hereafter shall appear.

ARTICLES objected against Mr. THOMAS WATS, of BILLERICA, in the County of ESSEX, within the Diocese of LONDON, by Bishop BONNER.

THAT the said Thomas Wats is of Billerica, and so of the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

1. Item, That he believest not in the sacraments of the holy and catholic church, as the catholic church at Rome, and all the other churches, members of the same,arethitherto have believed, and is taught by all good and faithful people: nor hath allowed the sacraments, as they hang on the positions of the said church, but defended the same.

2. Item, That he believest, and also hath taught, that the substance of material bread and wine do大战 in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration, and that the said material bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ, and that the visible parts of Christ’s body and blood there is, that his blood there shed; and that in the said facracter there is only a memory or remembrance of Christ’s body and blood, and nothing else.

3. Item, That he believest, and doth precisely affirm, as he doth the preface of the said church, and to confess himself unto God, about any such preif or ministrant at any time, though he have the preif to confess him unto.

4. Item, That he believest, affirmeth, and faith, the same usueth in the church of Rome, here in England, and in other places, is full of idolatry, abomination, and seditions, and this church did never institute it, nor doth it, nor yet allow it to be as a good and laudable thing to be used in his church.

5. Item, That he believest, affirmeth, and saith, that Luther, Wickliffe, and others, and all others that have held against the faith of the church, and suffereth death by fire or otherwise for the maintenance of the said faith, were good men, and faithful servants and martyrs of Christ in fighting and dying.

6. Item, That he hath and doth believe, that faith, so or so many alms-deeds, is a thing utterly unprofitable; for if a man shall be faved, he shall be saved withal doing of them; and he shall be damned, they all not help him, or do him any good at all.

7. Item, That the said Fats of late coming into open at the feiffions before the lord Rich, til Henry Towne, Anthony Brown, equire, and others, and there with and there examined, did openly confess, that he had refused to come to the church, and to hear there divine service, and to receive the sacrament, according to the order of the church: because that at the fervice of the church fet out in the days of the King Edward VI. was faid and alledged to be absconned, schismatical, and altogether naught: as the said Thomas Wats, and then and there have openly said before the said commisioners, that all that is now used done in the church, is abominable, heathetical, scifical, and altogether naught: and that he did also utter, before the said commisioners, other erroneous and arrant words, to the hurt of his soul, and the evil example of many people there present.

8. Item, That he is taught the said Thomas Wats, by reason of the smiles, was, and is to be taken, had, reputed, and said as a heretic, and for the same, by order of ecclesiastical laws, is to be declared accursed; and being obstinate and incorrigible, is to be delivered to the secular power, to be punished as an heretic.

11. Item, That he, over and above all these offences and trifles aforesaid, had also added this trifles, namely, That he had believed and deliberately said, that the bishop of Rome, in her rites, ceremonies, facraments, institutions, and traditions, is the synagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had affented and agreed in opinion with one John Tooley, of late hanged at Charing-crofs, who at the time of his execution delivered the people to pray to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, with all his enormities; as much as to say, that his authority and doings were tyranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

12. Item, That the prayers and every part thereof be true, notorious, manifest, and openly spoken and talked of as such; by honest and credible persons in great multitude; and that all that do sing the fame the same within Billerica aforesaid, and other places thereby, about, being of the diocese of London, there is a common voice and fame thereof.

The ANSWER of Mr. THOMAS WATS to the aforesaid ARTICLES.

TO the first he said and confessed the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the second article he answered, that he believed in all the sacraments according to Christ’s institution, and the church of Rome; but not according to the bishop of Rome’s church: and further said, that he doth not believe now as he had done in times past; for in times past he believed as the church then believed, but now he doth not fo believe; for the church of Rome had deceived us, and therefore he said he did not believe as the church of Rome believed, but as Christ hath taught him; and further said, that he was taught to believe by the preaching of Mr. Alvey, and others whom names he remembereth not, who did preach the word of God truly and sincerely.

To the third he answered, that he hath and doth believe, that Christ’s body is in heaven, and no where else: and further, that he never will believe that Christ’s body is in the sacrament.

To the fourth he answered, confessing and firmly believing the same to be true.

To the fifth, that he did believe that the mafs is abominable, and that he will not go one jot from that his belief.

To the sixth, that he neither did, nor yet doth believe, that the priest can absolve him from his sins: howbeit, he denieth not that it is good to ask counsel at the priest’s mouth.

To the seventh he said, that he knew not what the opinions of the said persons named in the said article were; and in case the said persons did believe, that the body and blood of Christ were really and in very deed in the sacrament of the altar, then that they were not good men. But in case they did believe that the body and blood of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar really and truly, then he believed that they were good men.

To the eighth he said, that he had not spoken as is contained in this article; but he hath and doth believe, that fasting, prayers, and alms-deeds be works of a lively faith.

To the ninth he confessed, that he did utter and speak, as in this article is contained, and further he declared God that he might die in that faith and belief wherein he now is.

To the tenth he answered and said, that he will submit himself to the order of the law: and further said, that he trusted that with God he shall be blessed, although with men he be accursed.

To the eleventh he said, that he believed that the bishop of Rome is a mortal enemy to Christ and his church. And as for Toole he said, he did never see or know him: but in case the said Tooley did with and pray as is contained in the article, then he did likewise with and content with him therein.
To the twelfth he answered, That all which before he confessed to be true, is also true; and all that he hath denied to be true, he denieth again to be true; and believeth the same to be according to such things as he hath confessed.

By me THOMAS WATS.

These articles thus propounded and answered, the bishop commanded him to appear again in the same place at three o'clock in the afternoon, upon the same day. At which our being brought thither by his keeper, the bishop began with him in this wise:

Wats, you know what I said unto you the other day, and what I appoistened unto you at this time. The time is now come; weigh and consider with yourself, that you are but a man, and albeit that you will wilfully call away your body, yet call not away your soul, but while you have time return and confess the truth.

Whereunto Thomas Wats answered and said, I am weary to live in such idolatry as you would have me to live and to stand. Upon which answer the bishop caused his articles again to be read. He thereto answered as before, and farther, falsified the same with his own hand.

The bishop, after many prayers, and in all manner of ways to caute him, did not recant, or make him to depart, and to come again on Saturday at eight o'clock in the morning, where the bishop being absent, Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, as then being his deputy, did sit, and earnestly exhorted him to deny his opinions, to whom in the end he answered thus:

Well, you have a law to condemn me, and I submit myself to the laws of the church (as you call it): and farther I do affirm, and still stand to the answers I have made.

Whereupon Dr. Harpsfield ordered him to appear there again upon Friday, being the 1oth day of the same month of May. Upon which day the bishop privately sent for the said Thomas Wats into his chamber, and there with many fair promises tempted and tried him, whether he would revokede all his errors, as he then trembled him of some thing of a more weighty nature. But Wats answered him on this fort: I will not believe your church, neither the Romish church, and therefore you do but labour in vain thus to travail with me. He was hereto again dismissed for that time until Friday the 17th of May, and then commanded to appear in the consistory, which command he obeyed, and having there commissioned former articles ministered unto him, made them such answers as before.

Being thus toil to and fro from day to day, and hour by hour, he was at the last, the 18th of May, brought into the consistory, where first was made a brief recital of all that was foreward proceeded: and there the said Wats being (by the bishop and others) denied to deny his profession, made this final answer; God keep me from the doctrine that you would have me unto which you have now declared. And I beseech God that I may persevere in that, that I have done; for I will stand to mine answers.

The bishop perceiving his fair flattering pretences prevailed not, (and having no great store of other reasons to perforce with) put forth his law and strongest argument of condemnation. Whilom being asked, he was delivered to the trust of London, and by them was sent to Newgate, where he remained until the 6th of June, or (as some affirm) to the 12th of May: at which time he was carried to Chelmsford, and there was brought to Mr. Scott's house, keeping then an inn in Chelmsford, where as they were eating with Mr. Haakens and the roll that came down to their burning, they prayed together both before and after their meat.

Then Mr. Wats went and prayed privately by himself, and afterwards came to his wife and his five children: there, and to the words in effect as Wife, and my good children, I must now depart from you. Therefore hencelour know I you no more, but as the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you again unto the Lord, whom I charge you ever to obey, and fear: and beware of not to do to this above, which I shall anon, by God's grace, give my blood. Let not the murdering of God's people cause you to receivé, but take occasion thereby to be the more wary. I love you, and I doubt not but he will be a saulful Father unto you. All these and such like, I spake he unto them, and they unto him: of which as it is said, offered to be burnt with him. In this he bade them farewell, and kissed them all, and carried them forth by fire.

At the flake, after he had killed it, he spake as the Lord Rich thefe or the like words: My Lord, fear, beware, for you do againith your own conscience herein, and without you repent, the Lord will say it: for there the care of one soul is death. Then this good martyr offered his body to the fire, in the true gospel of Jesus Christ.

We will now return to the proceedings of the same in the cafe of queen Mary's suppofed child, as we have already treated of in a former part of this work. Long persecution had been in England with great perturbation, for the space of half a year or more, the queen was conceived with child. This report was by the queen's physicians, and others about the court, so that several were punished for saying the contrary. And all who could was permitted to do the same, which confession and prayer should be made for the queen's delivery: the certificate whereof you may read in the letter of the council sent to bishop H. And also the same moreover may appear by personal act of parliament of that time.

And now forasmuch as in the beginning of the month of June, about Whitsuntide, the time was thought to be nigh that this young matter should come into the world, and that midwives, rockers, nurses, with cradle and all, were prepared and in readiness: and what caused or occasion it was, a certain vain rumour was spread abroad in London of the delivery of the queen, and the birth of the Infomuch that the bells were rung, bonfires and effigies made, not only in the city of London, and the hundred of Newington, but also at Harwich, and at Antwerp, guns were shot off upon the river by the lidh ships, and the mariners thereof rewarded with hundred pilfles or Italian crowns by the lady who was the queen of Hungary. Such great noise and triumph was made for the queen's deliverer, that there was a prince born. Yet, divers parts, particularly the parson of St. Ann within Alders after procession and Te Deum sung, took upon them to describe the proportion of the child, how fair, how beautiful, and how great a prince he was, as the like hath been never.
PROCLAMATION for refraining PROTESTANT BOOKS. 183

And any such child. Which, if the would, her fon, her fead, should be well provided for, the should do take care for, it, with many fair offers if she would part with the child. After came some women also, of whom one should have been the robber; but she in no wise would let go her son, who at the writing hereof was being sold, and called Timothy Maif, was of the age of 13 year, and upwards. The truth, I say, I heard of the woman herself. It is credit to be given to her relation, I deal not withal, but leave to the liberty of the reader, to believe it they that lift; to them that lift not, I have no farther warrant. And in all other great preparations made for the safe delivery of child, there was a cradle very magnificently and gorgeously trimmed, upon which cradle for the child appointed, those verses were written, both in Latin and English.

Quam Maria fedebant, Denu optime, fomine deffeil, Agnus inclemens redit, inven, Rege.

The child which thou to Mary, O Lord of might, doth lend, To England’s joy, in health preserve, keep and defend.

About this time there came over into England a certain English book, giving warning to Englishmen of the Spaniards, and all other enemies in all parts of the world, the delivery of child, that was called A Warning for England. In consequence whereof, in the 13th of this month, the following proclamation was issued.

PROCLAMATION by the KING and QUEEN for the refraining of all BOOKS and WRITINGS, tending against the Doctrine of the POPE and his CHURCH.

Whereas by the statute made in the second year of King Henry IV. concerning the repressing of heresy, there was provided and a great punishment, not only for the print, sale, and importing of books containing wicked doctrines and erroneous and heretical opinions, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the holy church, and likewise to the favourers and supporters; but also for such as shall or shall keep any such books or writings, and not make delivery of them to the ordinary of the diocese or his ministers, within certain time limited in the said statute, which all of statutes by authority of Parliament of late years, was also approved of; and the said statute, to the intent the subjects of the realm upon such proclamation should the rather elsesee the danger and penalty by such book or books, was by the several ministers of each church, and in the name of the Pope, John Calvin, Martin Luther, John Allen, Bullinger, Beza, and others. Also of many of the English books, written and printed in the name of the Pope, and other learned men, are to be found, and printed to bring or convey, or cause to be brought or conveyed to this realm, any books, writings, or works hereafter mentioned, it is therefore to be known, that this statute, or statute, or acts of Parliament, or acts of the Pope, or statute, are contrary to the Catholic faith, and are to be destroyed.

ARTICLES to be inquired upon by the Wardens of every Company, touching sedition Books, especially concerning the Book called, A WARNING for ENGLAND.

1. Whether they have seen any of the aforesaid books.
2. Whether they have heard of any of the said books.
3. Where they were, and in what place they have seen them.
4. Whom they know to have lately come from beyond the sea, especially from Zurich, Strafsburg, Frankfort, London, and Doeburg.
5. Whom they know or have reason to suspect to be common carriers of letters, or money thither from hence.
6. That they bring to my lord mayor all such sedition books as they have, or shall have found hereafter.

In this proclamation the reader will easily discover the profound knowledge and learning of the Roman Catholic church, that we books, and their contents, as being the doctrines and opinions of heresy, schismatical, and pernicious. On which catastrophe of the learned fathers, we have not leisure at present to enlarge; neither is it necessary in this place to enter into a particular defence of the authors here condemned. So much as it is needful to take a general view of the ridiculous (not to say blasphemous) matter contained in some of the popish books; which by being contrasted with the doctrines of the opposite side, may give an opportunity of judging the better, which is most agreeable to God’s holy word and truth, and of determining between the true catholic church and the mother of abominations.

And first to begin with the primer in English for children, printed with a privilege according to the king and queen’s majesty’s letters patent, in the reign of queen Mary. Let us repeat and survey some of the said primer (for to express all, would be too tedious) beginning with the first lesson of our lady, in these words:

"Holy Mary, mother of virgins all; Mother and daughter of the king celestial, So comfort us in our delatation. That by that which is done in holy mediation, We may enjoy the reward of thy heavenly reign."

Compare this with the scriptures, good reader, and judge uprightly whether this doctrine be tolerable in the church or not.

It followeth, in the second Leffion.

"Holy Mary, of all godly the godliest, Pray for us, of all holy the holiest;"

That
That he our prayers may accept in good wise,
Which of thee was born, and reigneth above the skies," &c.

In the third Leffon,
"Thy Son bequeath with humble intercession,
To thy dominion of our transgression,
That so being redeemed we may the place ascend,
Where thou dwellest with him world without end."

The Vericle.
"Pray for the people, interreat for the clergy, make interces-
sion for the devout woman-kind; let all feel thy help, that
worthily索尼sh thy memorial," &c.

Another Vericle.
"Holy mother of God, make thy petition, that we may de-
serve Christ's promissiön," &c.

And in the Anthem after Benediction, thus it followeth:
"We bequeath thee of thy pity to have us in remembrance
and to make means for us unto Christ, that we being supported
by thy help, may deerve to attain the kingdom of heaven."

Furthermore in the Collect after it followeth:
"And grant, that through the gracious intercession of
the virgin thy mother, we may be delivered from this present heav-
iness, and have the fruition of eternal gladness."

It followeth moreover in the said Primmer thus, con-
cerning the material crofs.
"O God, which didst confide thy most holy crofs, and didst
thereby divide the darkness of the world, vouchsafe by the virtue
of thy crofs to illuminate, visit, and comfort both our hearts
and bodies," &c.

Moreover, in the name of St. John the Baptist, thus it prayeth:
"O Lord, defend us always through the continual succours
of St. John the Baptist. For the more frail we be, the more
needed we have to be delivered with necessity prayers," &c.

In which words note (good reader) not only the ab-
fludity of doctrine, but also the fulness and affectiön of the rea-
son. For where the doctrine pretendeth that St. John the
Baptist should pray for us, here we pray to God for
St. John the Baptist, that he will hear his prayer pray-
ing for us. It followeth furthermore in the name of
Peter and Paul:
"Hear us mercifully, and grant that through the merits of
them both, we may obtain the glory everlasting," &c.

Of St. Andrew.
"So let him, O Lord, be a continual petitioner for us," &c.

Of St. Laurence, thus.
"St. Laurence the deacon did work a great work. For by
the virtue of the holy crofs, he gave light to the blind," &c.

But how can this be true, when the holy crofs was
not yet found in the time of St. Laurence? For Helen
which first found the crofs, as they say, came after St.
Laurence more than forty years.

To Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.
"By the blood of Thomas, which he for thee did drench,
Make us, Christ, to climb, where Thomas did attend." &c.

Of St. Nicholas.
"O God, which didst glorified blest St. Nicholas, thy holy
bishop, with incomparable miracles, etc.
Grant us, etc."

Another Prayer to our Lady.
"The dolorous passion of God's sweet mother,
Bring us to the bliss of Almighy God the Father," &c.

Another Prayer in the said Primmer to our Lady.
"Enflablis in peace and tranquility,
And change the name of sinful Eve:
Logo the prisoners from captivity,
Unto the blind give light again.
Deliver us from malady,
To the end we may some grace obtain.
Show thyself to be a mother,
So that we accept our petition.
Deliver us from bondage of sin," &c.

Item.
"Holy mother, succour the miserable, comfort the
spiritual, give courage to the desperate, pray for the praying, etc.
intercession for the clergy, and be a mean for the devout
woman-kind." &c.

Another Blasphemous Prayer.
"O thou meek mother, have mercy thereon,
On wretched for whom thou didst thee gains all,
Seest thou Son that vine-chafed prefixed fore,
And from the pitfiess of death eternal
Keep us, by vouching the fond impië, And
Join us with them which rewarded be
With eternal life, seeing the Deity."

Another Blasphemous in the said Primmer.
"Hail queen, mother of mercy, our life, our comfort,
Hope. Unto thee we do cry, and that weeping and with
Come off therefore our patroness; can we give the deified
And after this our banishment flew to us the blessed first
womb. O gate of glory, be us a reconcilATION mean
Father and Son. Even that which reached their fault we
wip the spot of sins unclean," &c.

Item, to our Lady.
"The fruit of thy womb everlasting,
We may behold through thy deservings." &c.

Item.
"Grant, we bequeath thee, that by her merits and per-
ners we may attain to that unspeakable joy, where the
attended death now rejoiced with thee in heaven for ever."

And thus much hitherto of this catholic Prinme
called our Lady's Mattins. Whereunto, if it is not yet
not fixed for the reader, we would also adjourn
Lady's Plater, to the intent that all indifferent
ners, as they have seen what books these catholi-
thers have condemned and do condemn for heretics,
they may also see and judge, what books on the
side they approve as lawful and catholic. And as
much as it is not known to all, what the
Lady's Plater, or what it meaneth; yea, and
parendventure will deny any such book as our Lady
Plater to be written or approved, here will we
produce the name of the author, who was Bonaventure
a scriptural doctor, bishop of a certain, and cardinal, etc.
moreover by pope Sixtus IV. in the year 1488, in
faint in the kalender. In the second part of
whole works, (which were printed at Agerino in
493) to Otho a devout fervent of his holiness,
held taken every plaidim of David's Plater, (which
peculiarly made, and referred to Almighty God),
hath in several of the said plaidims, put out the
name of the Lord, and hath subtilised the name of
Lady. This being done through the whole Plater
them, is now called our Lady's Plater, said to be sung
and faire in the praise and service of our Lady. A brief specimen whereof, for
ample's sake, we thought proper here to exhibit
the reader, as followeth.

The Title of the Plater in English. 
"Here beginneth the Plater of the blessed virgin, made
the saffrical doctor St. Bonaventure, bishop of Albis,
cardinal of the Holy church of Rome.
1. "BLESSED is the man which understandeth thy
Virgin Mary, thy grace shall comfort him.
Thou that bring forth in him the most excellent fruit of just
being watered as it were with fountain of water. All who
thou didst fell in beauty of thy body, all angels and arch-
angels in the excellency of thy holiness. Thy mercy and thy
glory is magnified every where. Glory be to the Father, &c.
2. Why do our enemies fret and imagine vain things stu
us? Let thy right hand defend us, O Mother of God, thy
confounding and destroying them as a sword. Come unto
all ye that labour and are troubled, and the will give to
thy soul a heart of stone unto her in thy temporalion,
and her countenance shall enlublith and comfort you. Blest be
thy heart, for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the
Father, &c.
3. Why are they so many, O lady, that trouble me
thy fury thou that perforce and destroy them. Lodge
the habitation of our impiety, and take away the burden of our
infirmities, O lady, and heal my infirmity. Take away
thine sorrow, and the anguish of my heart. Deliver me not into
hands of mine enemies, and in the day of my death comfort.
O lady, have mercy upon me; for thou art the light and hope of all that put their trust in thee. 51. Have mercy upon me, O lady, which art called the mother of mercy, and in the bowels of thy great compassion cleanse me from mine offences. 52. O lady, in thy name fave me, and from mine unrighteousness deliver me. 53. Make hallo, O lady, to help me, &c. Have mercy on thy servants, by which they may be inhabited. 54. In thee, lady, have I put my trust; let me not be confounded for ever, in thy mercy deliver me. 55. The Gentiles are come into the inheritance of God, whom thou didst join unto Christ by thy merits, &c. 56. Thou that rulest Israel, &c. The favour of life cometh from her, and all thy love falleth out of her heart, &c. 57. Wondrous dwelleth in the help of the mother of God, shall dwell in the shadow of her protection, &c. Cry unto her in your danger, and the flour of your prayer shall appear in your tabernacle. The fruit of grace shall be to him who shall honour her, and the gate of paradise shall be open unto him. 58. Come let us rejoice to our lady, &c. Receive our fouts at thy last end, and bring them into everlastine rest, &c. 59. Praise our lady, and call upon her name, &c. Everlasting salvation is in thy hand, O lady, &c. 60. The Lord is unto our lady, &c. Sit here, my mother, on my right hand, &c. 61. In the palling of my soul out of this world, come and meet, O lady, for the bulwark &c. 62. Sit thou at the kingdom of heaven, and a right way to the paradise of God, &c. 63. The whole earth is full of thy mercies, and therefore I will search out the way of thy judgments, &c. I will cover over for to praise thee, O lady, when thou shalt teach me thy judgments, &c. 64. They that put their trust in thee, O mother of God, shall not be afraid of the face of their enemy, &c. 65. Except our lady shall build the house of our heart, the bickering thereof, &c. 66. Blessed be every one that feareth our lady, and blessed be all they which know to do her will, &c. 67. Of the deep of I have called unto thee, O lady; hear my voice, &c. 68. O lady, remember David, and all them that call upon thy name, &c. 69. Behold and blest now our lady, all ye that put your trust in her holy name, &c. 70. At the floods of Babylon, &c. There is no propitiation to be found without her, &c. 71. Deliver me, O lady, from all evil, and from the internal enemy defend me, &c. 72. Our eyes look up and trust in thee. Do thou send us meat and food in plenty, &c. My tongue shall speak thy praise, and shall blest thee for ever. 73. Praise thou our lady, O Jerusalem, and glorify her also, O thou Son of God. Thy peace is with thy servant children. Her grace maketh thee fat, and giveth peace unto thy children. 74. I could recite other things of like blasphemy, following immediately after this psalter of our lady, in the lef Raphael doctor aforesaid, as thefelf: 75. Behold my lady my Saviour, I will be hold in thee, and will not fear, &c. 76. Behold and bless thou thy servant. And art become my salvation, &c. 77. Rejoice, O all mankind, because the Lord thy God hath given unto thee such a mediator, &c. 78. I will confesse to thee, O lady, because thou hast hid these things from the wise, and hath revealed them to the little ones. 79. O thou wicked and pestilential generation, acknowledge our lady thy Saviour. Is not she the mother that hathpossessed thee, and in faith hath begotten thee? 80. O thou blest one, the words is laid up our salvation, &c. 81. To thy name, let every knee bend, in heaven and earth, and in hell. 82. Like as an infant cannot live without the nurse, so neither canthou have salvation without our lady. 83. Who shall be faved, before all things he must needs hold this belief of our lady: which belief, unless every one shall hold perfect and found, he shall perish without doubt for ever. Moreover, after these so horrid things and intolerable to be heard, in the next place followeth the rotary or garland of our lady, compiled by the said Bonaventure; wherein these words are to be read as followeth: 84. O mediatrist between God and man, the Lord hath worshipply magnified thee, that thou shouldest haveccond his Son. Wherefore, O good Mary our mediatrix, mother of grace, and mother of mercy. 85. And moreover, within few lines we find these following words: Y 86. Therefore,
Therefore, O our empress and lady most bountiful, by the authority of a mother command, command (I say) thy well beloved will up our words from the love of worldly things, to heavenly delivers, etc.

Iron, O those advocate of the miserere, the eyes of thy fervent to thee, etc.

To these premises, I might also join the following blesphemous words of the said Bonaventure in the said book:

"What greater goodness can be, than that Christ is content to be captive upon the altar?"

Whereupon he feakeith in the person of Jeremy, saying,

"Behold I am in your hands, do with me as you see good, As you please, for that faith and faith's Duke or prince is taken prisoner for his subjucks, he is not let go, before he pay some great sum of money for his ransom. Even so neither we ought to let Christ go out of your hands, be our prisoner and captive, except he be given to us remission of our sins and his heavenly kingdom. The priest therefor lifteth up the body of Christ upon the altar, as though he said this, Behold him whom the whole world is not able to comprehend, he is hidden here our captive, wherefore let us hold him fast, and not let him go before we obtain of him our requital, etc.

Is not here good catholic fluff, (christian reader) think you? Compare, I beseech you, this doctrine with the doctriines, and endites, which tell us that we are fully complete in Christ, and I will refer me to no better judge than to your own conscience. And now therefore if any man have been in doubt in times past of the doctrine and proceeding of the church of Rome, whether it be rightly charged with blind errors, with blasphemy intercalated, and idolatry abominable or not, now here he may be fully certified and resolved. For where was ever idolatry or blasphemy to be found, if it be not here in this natis and pater of our lady? If idolatry be to make an idol to be worshipped as God, which is no god, what do we here but make an idol of our lady, (as we call her) to be worshipped with no lees dignity, glory, authority, reverence, and service, than is the Lord God himself? And as he is called our Lord, so is the called our Lady. And if he be king, you is the queen of heaven, though he have the name of God, yet the beaten to the title of the mother of God: that is to say, as mothers have authority over their children, so the is willed to shew herself to be his mother, to caufe him to grant our petitions. Finally, if he be our patron, yet like is our patron. The commandment faith, Round worship the Lord thy God, and him only flaut thou serve." And what worship or service can we give to God, more than we do acribe unto her? and what benefit is to be asked at the hands of Christ our Saviour, which is not obtained wholly after a free our souls, to give us peace, to grant grace, to comfort the hopeless, to loose our captivity, to release our sins, to deliver from the fiend, to bring to heaven, &c. To her we pray, we cry, we weep, we sigh, we grieve, and knock and kneel, to her we trust, and if we believe not in our lady, we are no less than heretics. Furthermore, as Christ our only Lord and Saviour hath his church and congregation which profess his name, of whom we are called christians; so neither is the likewise without her chapels, her chaplaincy, her chapeles, and brotherhoods, which professing her name in like fort, are called our lady's brethren, or white friars, besides an innumerable sort of other patron's of churches, of whom every one hath his peculiar church and religion by himself; yet all these to good end, under the general devotion of our lady their supreme patroness and governors.

Now to proceed further to the other part of the commandment, which faith, "He only shall thou serve." What service hath the Lord in all the church, but our lady? No more with him hath the mand, her majesties, her even-fong, her hours and compline, her rofaries, her anthems, her collects, her prifer, her holy-days likewise, yeke to five to one. Finally, as the Lord hath his prayer called the Lord's-prayer, so hath she her Ave Marys, even Ave from one Peter to another, and read further in the said Bonaventure, and you shall see her also to have her Te Deum, her Benedictus, her Magnificat, and also her Quem vult, etc.

The Lord our God had not expresssed unto us own will by plain words, limiting unto us by express injunction what to believe, what to follow, where to worship and ferve him, and how to receive from his salvation; but had left us to the imagination of our conscience, every man to hit all for himself after his policy, and thererence this way take the sun, the said church, to make friends and mediators between God, us, for reconciliation, remission, and salvation, and have some shadow of reason; but now God's words begin to be more precise and Lin the most point touching salvation, what to believe and what to do, fewe us plainly that we cannot be saved of the blood of his Son only, neither can be justified to faith only in the fame Christ his Son. Whereof are we sure that which is not seen, and is hid, is invisible, and to follow any other belief than he hath set us, is idolatry. Which two special errors most commonly follow the doctrine of the Romish church, as we see in this prister and pater of our Lady aloft, he also in all their proceedings, teachings, and preachings, besides may well appear. For where the scripture is perfectly promishe and pronounce us to be justly through our faith in Christ, and willeth us to ferve salvation no where else, but only in the merits of the church of Rome, why should not the church of Rome receive what God hath fruitefully given his church (sacramental fidility) neither yet will fcape the fame there where fluid, but in the merits and prayers of our lady; John Baptist, St. Peter and Paul, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and by the many se of the material craft, and blythe and happy means, which is no less than plain idolatry. And such books as these can be suffered among the catholic to be current, as good wholsome and lawful and whereas the others, which lead us the true way from fidity and blind idolatry to true christianity, in so can be suffered. But of this to complain, is neede. Wherefore to pass from this proclamation, let us <ed (God willing) in the course of our history.

The History of THOMAS OSMOND, WILLIAM BAMFORD, and THOMAS OSBORNE, &c.

MENTION was made before in the story of Thomas Haukes, of six prisoners before, which were sent down with him to Exell the fame time as less to execution. Of which six prisoners, three were to be burnt, the other three to retract, and to declare, in name of what they follow them next to our soule, to give us peace, to grant grace, to comfort the hopefuls, to loose our captivity, to release our sins, to deliver from the fiend, to bring to heaven, &c. To her we pray, we cry, we weep, we sigh, we grieve, and knock and kneel, to her we trust, and if we believe not in our lady, we are no less than heretics. Furthermore, as Christ our only Lord and Saviour hath his church and congregation which profess his name, of whom we are called christians; so neither is the likewise without her chapels, her chaplaincy, her chapeles, and brotherhoods, which professing her name in like fort, are called our lady's brethren, or white friars, besides an innumerable sort of other patron's of churches, of whom every one hath his peculiar church and religion by himself; yet all these to good end, under the general devotion of our lady their supreme patroness and governors.

Now to proceed further to the other part of the commandment, which faith, "He only shall thou serve." What service hath the Lord in all the church, but our lady? No more with him hath the mand, her majesties, her even-fong, her hours and compline, her rofaries, her anthems, her collects, her prifer, her holy-days likewise, yeke to five to one. Finally, as the Lord hath his prayer called the Lord's-prayer, so hath she her Ave Marys, even Ave from one Peter to another, and read further in the said Bonaventure, and you shall see her also to have her Te Deum, her
brought before the said bishop the 17th of the said month, to be examined upon divers and sundry articles inferred and objected against them; whereunto they were called to answer, and to put their hands to the fame, the copy of which their articles and answers, was all in one form and effect, here folowed.

COPY of the ARTICLES objected against THOMAS OSMOND, WILLIAM BAMFORD, and NICHOLAS CHAMBERLAIN.

1. Item, That thou Thomas Osmond, fuller, waft and art of the parish of Cosshall, within the diocese of London, and thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that there is here in Christendom, and in this the kingdom of God, the sacred and venerable church, which dost hold and believe all faith, and religion of Christ, and all the necessary works and sacraments of the same.

2. Item, That thou hast not believed nor dost believe, that thou art necessarily bounded under the pain of the excommunication of the foul, to give full faith and credence to the said catholic and universal church, and to the faith and religion of the same in all necessary points of faith and religion, without doubting or wavering in the said faith and religion, which thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that the faith and religion, which both the church of Rome, Italy, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all churches in Europe, being true members and parts of the said catholic and universal church, do believe, is the faith and religion, with the faith and religion of all other churches aforesaid, and also is the very true faith and religion, which Christian people ought to believe, observe, follow and keep; but contrarywise, thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that that faith and religion which the said church of Rome, and all the other churches aforesaid, therefore believe, and do believe, is false, erroneous, and naught, and in no wise ought to be believed, observed, followed, and followed by any Christian person.

3. Item, That albeit it be true, that in the factum which is pleaded the said church is in substance the very body and blood of Christ under the forms of bread and wine; and that it be so believed, taught, and preached subletly in the said church of Rome, and all other churches aforesaid, yet thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, nor hast not believed, nor dost believe firmly and steadfastly, that there is not said sacrament of the altar, under the said forms of bread and wine, the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the substance of material common bread and wine, with the words of Christ, that Christ's body and common bread and wine are only the signs and tokens of Christ's body and blood, and are by faith received only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, and without any such substance of Christ's body and blood.

4. Item, That thou hast believed and taught, and openly spoke and defended, and dost believe, maintain, and defend, that the very true receivement of Christ's body and blood, and common bread, and to break it and divide it among the people, remembering thereby the passion and death of Christ only.

5. Item, That thou hast likewise believed, thought, spoken, that the said body is used in the realm of God, and other the churches aforesaid, is abominable, naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordure of the pope, and not of the institution of Christ, but no goodnews in it, saving the Gloria in Excelsis deo, and gospel, and therefore thou hast not, nor dost not, nor wilt not, receive the said body, nor any other sacrament of the same, as they are now used in the realm of England.

6. Item, That thou hast in times past believed, and do to this day believe, that the common conclusion is not necessary to be made unto the peace, but is a thing superfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church, and the service of the same, and hast said that no service in the church ought to be said but in the Englishe tongue, and if it be otherwise, it is unlawful and right.

7. Item, That thou being notoriously and openly suspected for an heretic, and a perfoon culpable in the premises, waft of late called and brought before the earl of Oxford, and Mr. Philip Paris, and there waft charged with the said heresies, and would not come to be confected, and receive the said sacraments of other Christian people did, but utterly did refuse to do the same, thou wast by the said earl of Oxford, and Mr. Philip Paris, lifted up by a confectible unto me bishop of London, and was there again denounced to me, and it was put up to me as an heretic and misbelieving person.

8. Item, That thou hast known and believed, thou dost know and believe, or at least thou hast credibly heard reported, spoken, and said, that all and all manner of persons, which do teach, preach, or hold any thing concerning the sacraments of the church, or any of the articles of faith, otherwise than is found already established and determined by our mother the holy church, or doth call into doubt or question that thing which is already decreed or determined, or that he will or does will or does wish, or that willingly or wittingly do utter, openly or privily, any scandalous or blasphematic words concerning the said sacraments or any of them, or that do preach, teach, or keep any sect or kind of hereby against the wholesome doctrine of the church, and do willingly or obstinately defend the sect or kind of hereby, and of heresies against the whole and universal catholic church, and also by the ecclesiastical laws of this church of England, by their proceeding, accursed with that curse, which doth separate them from the entry into the church, from the receiving of the sacraments, and from the company of faithful people, and are (in continuing in this said sect and hereby) to be pronounced, declared, and taken for heretics, and to be delivered to the secular power, and by the laws temporal of this realm of England, and the custom of the same, to be burned for the said false doctrine, and are put to death, and burnt for this said sect and hereby.

10. Item, That thou by reason of the premises wast and art to be pronounced, taken, had, reputed, and judged for a maniflet and open, willful and obstinate heretic, for a wicked and cursed person, and to be punished accordingly for the same, according to the said canon laws, usages, and customs.

The ANSWERS of THOMAS OSMOND, WILLIAM BAMFORD, and NICHOLAS CHAMBERLAIN, to the aforesaid ARTICLES.

To the first they answerd and confessd the same to be true, except that they do believe that there is here in earth one catholic and whole church, and that the same church doth hold and believe, as is contained in this article.

To the secondd they answerd and believe the said articel not to be true; for they say, that they have and do believe that they are necessarily bounded, under pain of excommunication of their soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said catholic church, and to the faith and religion of the same, in all necessary points of the same faith and religion, without waverung or doubting in any part thereof.

To the third they answerd, That the church of Rome, and other churches mentioned in this article, be not true members and parts (as they be used in faith and religion) of the catholic church of Christ, and that the faith and religion used in the said churches, is not agreeable with the church of Christ, but is false and erroneous.

To the fourth they answerd and say, That howsoever the said churches of Rome and others of Christendom have and do believe touching the sacrament of the altar, yet they do believe that in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine, ther is not the true body of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the substance of material bread and wine, and that the same material bread and wine be only the signs and tokens of
of Christ's body and blood, and are to be received only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any subsistence of Christ's body and blood at all. To the third article they answer, That the true receiving and eating of Christ's body, according to Christ's institution, is to take, distribute, and eat material bread, and thereby to remember the passion and death of Christ, and so receive by faith (as they believe) Christ's body and blood, and not otherwise. To the sixth they answer, The fame to be true in every part thereof, except that over and beside the Gloria in Excelsis, the epistle and gospel, which they believe to be good; they believe the Father-niello and Creed used in the mass, to be also good. To the seventh they answer and confesse, That auricular confession is not necessary to be made to the priest; nevertheless they think it is necessary to go to such a priest as is able to give good counsel, and that for a lawful only, and not otherwise. And as concerning the ceremonies of the church, they answer the fame to be vain and unprofitable. No service in the church ought to be said, but only in the English tongue. To the eighth they answer, and believe the fame to be true in every part thereof, except that they do not believe that they be hereticks, or suspected of heresy. To the ninth Olford and Bamford answered, That they referred themselves to the said laws mentioned in that article; but Chamberlain made no answer at all to them, to determine. To the tenth, the said Olford and Bamford answered and said, That by reason of their belief before by them confessed, they are not to be reputed, taken, or adjudged for willful and obstinate heretics, nor to be punished therefore, as is declared in that article. The other answered nothing.

REMARKS upon the aforesaid ARTICLES.

These articles, in the fame form and manner of words, are commonly objected to all others that follow after, with the fame answers thereto annexed. In which articles thou mayest note, reader, the crafty and subtle handling of these lawyers and re- gisters, who so deceitfully frame their articles and positions, that unless a man do adviscly consider them, it is hard for a simple man to answer to them, but he shall be ensnared and entangled. So they paint their church with such a fage of universal, holy, catholic, as it should seem, he that denieth Rome, denieth the holy church of Christ here on earth. Likewise in examining them, and especially the simple ington of the mass of the sacrifice of the spiritual bread and sacrifice they put the word [only] very erroneously, fraudulently, to take them at the world's advantage, making the people believe that they take the holy sacrifice to be no better than only common bread: when they do not, but make a difference between the same, both in the use, honour, and name thereof.

Again, when the examinations hold only against erroneous points of Romish religion, the saids, their interrogatories give out the matter so generally, as though the said examinations in general speak against them, as all the articles taught in Rome, Spain, England, France, Scotland, &c.

Moreover, concerning Latin service, in such cause form of words they propound their article, that might appear to the people thence men do deny service to be lawful in any place, country, or language, but only in English. And as these articles are crafted, capriciously, so deceitfully in form of words devised by the bishop others, their notaries; to the answers again to the fame they refer to be lawful in any place, country, or language, but only in English.

And as these articles are thus propounded and answered, so were dismissed till the afternoon. At which time it did again appear, and there were examined and contended by fair and flattering speeches, as well as a bishop as others his and their very, to recall and restric their opinions, who norwithstanding remained solid and firm; and therefore, after the common use of their ecclesiastical laws, were sent away again until next day, being Saturday, the 18th of May. The forenoon, the bishop used his accustomed manner of proceeding, which he had used before, as well as them as with others, did likewise dismiss them at last in the afternoon did condemn them as heretics, and so delivered them to the sheriffs, in whose court they remained till they were delivered to the sheriff of Essex, and by him were executed, Chamberlain Colchester, the 14th of June; Thomas Olford and Williaming scarce; and William Bamford, alias Butler, at whose, the 15th of June.

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C H A P. X.

The LIFE, ACTS, and MARTYRDOM of the Rev. Mr. JOHN BRADFORD, also, together with J o h n Leaf, was burned in SMITHFIELD, in the Bloody Reign of QUEEN MARY I.


M R. John Bradford was born at Manchester. He was at the same time as his parents brought him up in learning from his infancy, until he attained such knowledge in the Latin tongue, and skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living in some honest condition. Then he became servant to Sir John Harrington, knight, who in the great affairs of the reigns of VI. and VII. which he had in hand when he was treasurer of the king's camps and buildings, at divers times in Boulogna, had such experience of Mr. Bradford's activity in writing, his expertise in the art of auditors, as also his faithful truthfulness, that not only in those affairs, but in many others of his private business, he trusted Mr. Bradford before others.

Mr. Bradford continued several years in an honest and thriving way, after the course of this world, if his mind could have so liked, or had been given to the world as many others be. But the Lord which elected him unto a better function, and pre-ordained him to prophesy the gospel of Christ, called this his chosen servant to undertake so great a work of writing and printing of the fame gospel, which call he was so truly taught, that forthwith effectual call was perceived by the fruits. For he forsook his worldly affairs and forwardness in worldly wealth, and after a just account given to his master all his doings, he departed from him, and with much labour, and further the kingdom of God by the ministrity of his holy word, he gave him wholly to study of the holy scriptures. And the better to explain his design, he departed from the Temple at London, and went to the university of Cambridge, by God's law how to further the building of the Temple. In Cambridge his diligence in study, ingenuity in knowledge and pious conversation, to all men, that within a few years after he had been in the university gave him the degree of master of arts.

Immediately after, the master and fellows of Pembroke Hall gave him fellowship in their college with them
railing against King Edward. Among whom one gentleman said thereof to him: "Ah Bradford, Bradford, you have done thee wrong, for thou hast not sent wheat bread, yet give this barley bread, or whatsoever else the Lord hath committed unto thee. And while Mr. Bradford was persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr. Ridley, at worthy bishop of London, and glorious martyr of the gospel, required the order that then was granted, that he might therefore be called to the deacon, order, because it was not without some abuse, to which Mr. Bradford would not consent, and the deep perceiving that he was willing to enter into the ministry, he ordained him deacon without his consent, even as he desired. In this he gave offence from him a licence to preach, and gave him a book in his cathedral church of St. Paul's.

In this preaching office Mr. Bradford diligently laboured for the space of three years. Sharply he reproved, and severely he punished, and to such degree, that if they had not cause, they took occasion to add this. As an act, as among Turks and Infidels would have been rewarded with thankfulness, and with great favour, so, as indeed it did not lead to their correction.

The 27th of August, in the first year of the reign of queen Mary, Mr. Bradford, then bishop of Lincoln, made a fideistic sermon at Paul's Cross London, a point is declared before, to fet popery abroad such fort, that it moved the people to great indignation, being almost ready to pull him out of the pulpit. They so much reverence of the place, nor the person of bishop Bonner, who was by then his master, nor the command of the mayor of London, who the people sought to have obeyed, stay their rage: but the they spake, the more the people were incensed. Although Mr. Bourne feeling the people in such a fury, in such peril, (whereof we were sufficiently warned by the burning of a drawer at him) to the pulpit; and that he was even giving his sermon, fearing left (against his will) he sold and his very wretched life, desired Mr. Bradford, in the pulpit behind him, to come forth, and stand in his place and spake to the people. Good Mr. Bradford, his heart was consumed, and therefore he spake the people of godly and quiet obedience, and as soon as the people heard begin to speak unto them, they are so glad, they gave a great shout, and cried, Bradford, Bradford, God save thy life, Bradford: well not only what all affection they bare unto him, but also what regard they gave unto his words. For he he had begun to preach a little to them, unto quietness and patience, the tumult soon passed, and in the end each man departed quietly to his place. Yet in the mean season, for (as it was for a long time) men in such a multitude could not depart) Mr. Bourne bought a bed, and truly he was not fully sure of his life, for he was falsely houled, notwithstanding that the mayor and aldermen of London were there at hand to help him, whereas he desired Mr. Bradford not to depart till he were in safety; which Mr. Bradford acceded to his promise performed. For while the mayor of Berli said he would return to the schoolmaster's house, which is next to the pulpit, Mr. Bradford went back, shadowing him from the people with his man, and so set him fane.

Let the reader now consider the peril of Mr. Bourne, and of Mr. Bradford, and the headiness of the multitude, and also the uncommon minds of some, who yet still remained behind, greatly grieved in their minds, to see that so good a man should suffer the life such a popish priest, so impudently and openly

16.
things prepared for him for that journey, and the party in readiness that should ride with him: but God prevented him by sickness that he went not at all.

One of his old friends and acquaintance came unto him while he was prisoner, and asked him, if he would get him out, what then he would do, or whither he would go? Unto whom he made answer, not as caring whether he went or not: but if he did, he said he would be safe, if he would abide in England: more feerily, thinking the people as the time would suffer him, and occupy himself that way. He was had in great reverence and admiration with all good men, that a multitude, which never knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death. Though Mr. Bradfofd neer a multitude of people wished heartily his life. There were few days in which he was not thought to spend some tears before he went to bed, neither was there ever any prizoner with him, but greatly profited by his company.

One circumstance, which ought not to be omitted, is the following. Bishop Farrar being prizoner in the King's-Bench, as before you have heard, was perused by the papists in the end of Lent, to receive the sacrament at Easter in one kind, who after much persuasion yielded to them, and promised to do so. Then, (so it happened by God's providence) the Easter-eve, the day before he should have done it, Mr. Bradford was brought prizoner to the King's-Bench, where the Lord making him his instrument, Mr. Bradford only was the next morning, and bisaid by the prisoners that was, and word, and would never after yield to be fotted with that papistical pitch; so effectually the Lord wrought by this worthy servant of his.

The next, before he was had to Newgate, which was the night before, the night, he was fore troubled desire, he would fly in his sleep by dreams, how the chain for his burning was brought to the Compter gate, and how the next day being Sunday he should be had to Newgate, and on the Monday after burned in Smithfield, as indeed came to pass accordingly, as shall hereafter be showed. Now he began to be more occasions in this frame of mind. In these dreams about three o'clock in the morning he awoke him that lay with him, and told him his unquiet sleep, and what he was troubled withal. Then after a little talk, Mr. Bradford rose out of the bed, and gave himself to his old exercise of reading and praying, as always he had used before: and at dinner according to his accustomed manner he did eat his meat, and was very merry, no body being with him from morning till night but he that lay with him, with whom he had many times on that day great discussion of death, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the rigentness of sin in that time.

In the afternoon the two walking together in the keeper's chamber, suddenly the keeper's wife came up as one half amazed, and seeming much troubled, being alight out of breath, said, Oh Mr. Bradford, I come to bring you some heavy news, how the chain for his burning was brought to the Compter gate...

To-morrow, said he, you must be burn'd; and your chain is now a-buying, and you must soon go to Newgate.

With that Mr. Bradford put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, I thank God for it; I have look'd for the flame a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord made me worthy thereof! And so thanking her for her kindess, departed up unto his chamber, where he continued in private prayer for some time; which done he called to his friend in the same chamber, and took divers writings and papers, and flied him his mind in those things what he would have done; and after they had thus spent the afternoon, at night half a dozen of his friends came to him; with whom he spent all the evening in prayer and other good exercises.

A little before he went out of the Compter, he made a notable prayer of his farewell, with much plenty of tears, and abundant spirit of prayer, that it ravished the minds of all that heard him, when he told them how a clean shirt that was made for his burning (by Mr. Walter Marlar's wife, who was a good nurse to him) he made such a prayer of the wedding garment, that some of those that were present were struck with admiration, so that their eyes were as thoroughly occupied in looking upon him, as their ears gave place to hear his prayer. At the parting out of his chamber, he made likewise a notable prayer to every servant and officer in the house, with exhortation to them to fear God, and not unlaboriously to effect all manner of things. 

He was then carried to Newgate about 12 or 1 o'clock at night, when it was thought he should be thronged; and yet, contrary to their expectation, there was in Newgate and other places (where Mr. Bradfo and Newgate was going) a great multitude of people that came to see him, who met him and asked his peace, and said, He was well, praying for him with most lamentable cries and tears; and he again as gently bade them farewell, saying most heartily for them and their welfare. He received a command from the queen and council, or from Bonner and his auditors, or whoso it were merrily devised by the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, I cannot tell; but great was there was over night about the city by several, that Mr. Bradford should be burnt the next day in Smithfield at four o'clock in the morning, before it should be given to know to any. In which rumour many heads had very minds; some thinking the fear of the people to the cause thereof; others thinking, that it was because the papists judged his death would convert many to their religion, and would be a check to the kingdom. Some thought one thing, and some another, and no conjecture of the cause could be known that ever heard yet. But this was certain, the people press the advice suspected; for the next day, at the half of four o'clock in the morning, there was in Smithfield such a multitude of men and women, that many in admiration thereof, thought it was not possible they could have notice of his death, being too great in number in such short time, unless it were by the presence of Almighty God.

Well, this took not effect as the people thought; it was nine o'clock in the morning before Mr. B. was brought into Smithfield; who, in going to Newgate thitherward, eplied a friend of his who loved, standing on one side of the way, unto whom he said be had crossed the river over the people, and quickly him, and delivered him to his head his velours cap, and also his handkerchief, with other things. After a little private talk with him, they parted, and immediately came to him a brother in law of his, who was a great friend to him, to whom Mr. Bradford by the hand, one of the sheriffs of London, Mr. Woodrofe, came with his tall and bade Roger Bellwick's head, that the blood ran about shoulders. Which friends Mr. Bradford beholding gave him his brother face, and desired him to mend him to his mother, and that he would speedily go to some surgeon; so they parted little or no talk together. Then was he led out of Smithfield, with a great company of armed men, and some, as the like was not seen at any no burning: for in every corner of Smithfield there were some, besides those that stood about the flame. Mr. Bradford being come to the place, fell flat to the ground secretly making his prayers to Almighty God. It was reported that putting off his clothes unto his feet, he went to the fire, and there fell and was a man of twenty years of age, joyfully and comfort whole name was John Leat. Concerning the man and order of whole burning, more shall be said (I trust) hereafter. In the mean time we will turn to the fire examinations, contrivances, and the agreement between Mr. Bradford and his adversaries during imprisonment, which was in all two years lacking month and a half. Which examinations here follow.

It was a little above declared, that John Brad was made the cause of all. He was examined by order of the council committed to the Tower, where he remained from the month of August, 1557, the 22d of January, 1558, upon which day he was called out to examination before Stephen, bishop of Winchester, and other commissioners, the clai
which examination and communication which passed between him and them, proceeded in manner as followeth.

The FIRST EXAMINATION of Mr. JOHN BRADFORD before the LORD CHANCELLOR, and other of the COUNCIL.

After the lord chancellor, and the rest of the queen's council in communion with him, had asked and was told by Farrar, late bishop of St. David's, and under-marshal of the King's Bench, being commanded to bring in John Bradford, who being in the presence of the great council, kneeling down on his knee, but the lord chancellor immediately commanded him to stand up, and so he did.

When he was risen, the lord chancellor spake thus to him: That he had been a long time unjustly imprisoned for his holy and religious exercises, at Paul's Cross, the 17th of August, in the year 1553, for his falling in and arrogancy, taking upon him to preach without authority. But now, said he, the time of mercy is come, and therefore the queen's highness, ministration to thee, mercy hath sent for thee, to declare and shew thee, if be so be will with us return: And if I do as we have done, you shall find as we have found, I warrant you. This was the sum of his words, and in manner the same words which he spake. To these words Mr. John Bradford spake thus in his manner: My lord and lords, I certify you that I have been long imprisoned, and with humble reverence be it spoken unjustly, for that I did nothing seditionally, falsely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwise, but rather with true and humble reverence, and all godly quietness, as an obedient and faithful subject, both in going about to save the life of Bath now, then Mr. Bourne, the preacher of the cross, and in preaching for quietness accordingly. At the words, or rather before he had fully finished, and declared, and declared he be thy: for said he, the fact was fictitious, as you lord of London can bear witness.

Bourne. You say true, my lord, I saw him with my own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and all the people impudently, thereby declaring that he was the author of the sedition.

Bradford. My lords, now showing my lord bishop being and saying, yet the truth I have told, as truly the Lord God Almighty shall reveal to all the end, when we shall all come to appear before him: then ye will see I can be believed by you, I must and am ready to suffer, as now your sayings, whatsoever God shall license you to do unto me.

Lord Chancellor. I know thou hast a glorious tongue, and godly thes thou makest, but all is less thou speakest. And again, I hope, I hope you shall have to say, than when thou wast before us in the Tower, whereupon we were committed to prison concerning religion; it is not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, for which thou hast been kept in prison, as one that was not a thing, except thou shouldst do as I say, thou shall desist of me, except I would be forsworn, which God forbid.

Secretary Bourne. Haft thou been sworn six times? what office haft thou borne? 

Bradford. I was three times in Cambridge, when I was admitted fellow of Pembroke-hall, and when I was there, the visitors came thither, and swere the university. Again, I was sworn when I entered into the ministry, when I had a prebend given me, and when I was sworn to serve the king a little before his death.

Lord Chancellor. Truth, Herod's oath a man should make no conscience at.

Bradford. But, my lord, there were no Herod's oaths, no unlawful oaths, but oaths according to God's word; as you would have well affirmed in your book, "Of true obedience."

Mr. Rochefler. My lords, (said another of the council that stood by the table, Mr. Rochefler I think) I never knew wherefore this man was in prison before now: but I fee well that it had not been good that this man had been abroad? when he was made to be a cause of prison, I know not; but I now well know that not without a cause he was, and is to be kept in prison.

Secretary Bourne. Yes, it was reported this parliament time by the earl of Derby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and extortions, than that have come to him in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curseth all that teach any false doctrine, (for so he calleth that which is not according
The NEW and COMPLETE Book of MARTYRS. [Q. MARY. A.D. 1555]

...ing to that he taught) and most heartily exhorted them to whom he writhe to continue still in that they have received by him, and such like as he is. All which words old Mr. Bourne understood. Whereunto the said Mr. Bourne added, saying, How say you, sir, have you not thus fidiously written and exhorted the people? Bradford. I have not written, nor spoken any thing fidiously, neither (I think God then fore) have I admonish'd, nor judg'd, nor corrected, nor ever shall do. Secretary Bourne. Yea, thou hast written letters. Lord Chancellor. Why spakest thou not? Hast thou not written as he faith? Bradford. What have I written, I have written. Lord Chancellor. What have I written, I have written. What of God, what of an arrogant and stubborn boy is this, that thus stoutly and dallyingly behaveth himself before the queen's council? Whereat one looked upon another with disdainful countenances. Bradford. My lords and masters, the Lord God which is, and will be judge of all, knoweth, that as I am certain I stand now before his Majestie, so with reverence in his fight I stand before you, and unto you accordingly, in words and gestures I desire to behave myself. If you otherwise take it, I doubt not but God in his time will reveal it: in the mean season, I shall suffer with all due obedience your sayings and doings too, I hope.

Lord Chancellor. Thine be gay and glorious words of reverence, but as in all other things, so herein also thou dost nothing but lie. Bradford. Let it stand so. I would God the author of truth, and abhorrence of lies, would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, and then a terrible judgment on me here present, if I have purposed, or do purpose to lie before you, whatsoever you shall ask me.

Lord Chancellor. Why dost thou not answer? Hast thou not written such letters as here are objected against thee? Bradford. As I said, my lord, what I have written: I stand now before you, which either can lay my letters to my charge, or no: if you can lay anything to my charge that I have written, if I deny it, I am then a liar. Lord Chancellor. We shall never have done with thee, I perceive now: be short, be short, wilt thou have mercy? Bradford. I pray God give me his mercy, and if therefore you will extend your's, I will not refuse it, but otherwise I will have none. Here now was much ado, one speaking this, and another that of his arrogance, in referring the queen's pardon, which so lovingly did offer unto him: whereunto the said lord answered thus:

My lords, if I may live as a quiet subject without egl of conscience, I shall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwise I behave myself, than I am in danger of the law: in the mean season I ask no more than to be delivered to that judge which God hath ordained as his servant for the good of the commonwealth. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done.

Upon these words my lord chancellor began a long process of the false doctrine wherewith the people were deceived in the days of King Edward, and so turned the end of his talk to Bradford, saying, How sayst thou? Bradford. My lord, the doctrine taught in King Edward's days was God's pure religion: which as I then believed, so do I now more believe than ever I did, and therein I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it, both in words and even as he will, to the world, than I was when I first came into prison.

Durham. What religion mean you in King Edward's days? What year of his reign?

Bradford. Fortho, even the same year, my lord, though I was a printer, and I was a preacher to the common people. Secretary Bourne I know not what.

Now after a little pausing, my lord chancellor began again to declare, that the doctrine taught in King Edward's days was hereby, using for probation and demonstration, the scriptures of both testaments, no scripture being given, but this that it ended with treason and rebellion, so that (said he) the very end were enough to prove that doctrine to be naught.

Bradford. Ah, my lord, that you could enter into God's sanctuary, and mark the end of this present doctrine that you now so magnify.

Lord Chancellor. What meanest thou by that? I think we shall have a factious rebellion even now.

Bradford. My lord, I mean no such end as you gather: I mean an end which no man feels, but as enter into God's sanctuary. If a man look on such proceedings, he will soon deceive himself.

Here the lord chancellor answered him, and said, that Bradford answered as before: Mercy with God's grace should be welcome, but otherwise he should be punished. Whereupon the lord chancellor rang a little bell, and in some body: for there were few present but those before him and the queen's council; and, when one was come in: it is befit, said Mr. Francis Bourne, that you give the keeper a charge of him low. So the under marshal was called.

Lord Chancellor. You shall take this man to you, and keep him close, without conference with any man, by your knowledge, and suffer him not to write letters, &c. for he is of another manner of character now than he was before. And do they departed, but looking as clearly as any man could do, and Mr. Bate was to give his life for a confirmation of his faith and doctrine.

The SECOND EXAMINATION of the Rev. JOHN BRADFORD, in St. MARY OVER, CRICKET, Before the Lord Chancellor, and Bishop, January 29, 1555.

After the excommunication of Mr. John Rogers, Mr. John Bradford was called in a standing before the lord chancellor and another the fald lord chancellor spake thus in effect.

Lord Chancellor. Whereas before the 22d day of June the said Roger was called before them, and they offered unto him the queen's pardon, yet he had comitted the same; and further said, that he would firmly and stoutly maintain and defend himself in the doctrine taught in the days of King Edward VI., in consideration that the queen's highness was fully satisfied, they thought that he had no more mercy again, before it was too late: therefore advising well, said he, there is yet space and grace before you, that you be committed to the secular power as we must, and will do, if you will not follow him. Mr. Baylow and Mr. Cardew, when we were commanded, adding many arguments of reduce the said Mr. Bradford to yield to the religion set forth.

After the lord chancellor's long talk, Mr. Bush bore in such a manner: My lord, and my lord, as I have said in your fight by the law, I beseech your honours to consider, that you sit in the presence of the Lord, who (as David doth witness) is in the congregation of judges, and fittest in the midst of the judgment: and as you would have your place to be taken at God's table, so demonstrate yourselves to bow him in your fitting; that is he, no guileless he neither hunt by questions to bring into a furnace which are out of the fame. At this present I before you guilty or guileless, then proceed and condemn: and if you do not, give me the benefit of a judge, which hitherto I could not have.

Here the lord chancellor replied, and said, that said Bradford began with a true sentence, That the Lord is in the midst of them that judge. But, said this and all thy gesture declareth but hypocrisy and glory. And further he endeavoured to clear him that he sought not guileless blood, and so began a process how that Bradford's fact at St. Paul's-Court, preposterous and arrogant, and declared a taking in hand the people, which could not but be much difficult and fit, in that those that was so relate and flout in religion at that place For which as thou wert then committed to prison, the very end were enough to prove that doctrine to be naught.

Thus the present was kept in prison, where the written letters to the great hurt of the queen's faith and good was declared by the executioner and declaration of the parliament-houfe. And to this he added, that the said Bradford...
ask me wherein you will, and you shall hear that I will answer you as flatly as ever any did that came before you. I am not afraid of death, I thank God; for I look, and have always for nothing else at your hands a long time: but I am afraid when death cometh, I should have matter to trouble my conscience, and to bring on the guilty

of perjury, and therefore do I answer as I do. Lord Chancellor. These are gay glorious words, full of hypocrisy and vain-glory, and yet doth thou not know that I sit here as bishop of Winchester in mine own diocese, and therefore may do this which I do, and more too?

Bradford. My lord, give me leave to ask thee this question, that my conscience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tell me, here before God, all this audience being witnesses, that if I demand of them any thing whereby mine answering should confound to and confute the piece of jurisdiction for the bishop of Rome here in England, and then your honour shall hear me give as flat and plain answers briefly, to whatsoever you shall demand of me.

Here the lord chancellor was greatly offended, and said that truly the bishop of Rome’s authority needed no confirmation of Mr. Bradford’s answering, nor any such a thing as he was; and turned his discourse to the people, saying, that Mr. Bradford followed crafty covetous merchants, which cheaters and usurers they would lend no money to their neighbours when they were in need, but said that they had often sworn, that they would never lend any more money, because their debtors had so often deceived them. Even so thou, said he to Mr. Bradford, dost at this present, to call a mift in the people’s eyes, to clear them with an heretical doctrine (which is greater and more hurtful to the common wealth of the other) pretend thy oath, whereby the people might make a conscience, whereas they should not. Why speakest thou not?

Bradford. My lord, as I said, I say again, I do not answer you for fear of perjury, from which God defend me, or else I could tell you that there is a difference between oaths. Some are according to faith and charity, as the oath against the bishop of Rome; and some against faith and charity, as this, to deny by oath my help to my brother in his need.

Here my lord chancellor again was much offended, still saying that Bradford durst not answer, and further endeavoured to prove that the oath against the bishop of Rome was against charity.

But Bradford answered, that howsoever his honour took him, yet he felt no ill of his own meaning, that no fear but the fear of perjury made him unwilling to answer: for as for death, my lord, said he, as I know there are twelve hours in the day, so with the Lord my time is appointed. And when it shall be his good time, then I shall depart hence, but in the mean season I am safe enough, though all the people had no fear of death. In to his hands I have committed it, and do, his good will be done. And faving mine oath, I will answer you in this behalf, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was not, nor is against charity.

Lord Chancellor. How prove you that?

Bradford. Forsooth, I prove it thus: Nothing is against charity, which is with God’s word, and not against it.

The oath against the bishop of Rome’s authority in England, is with God’s word, and is not against it. Therefore the oath against the bishop of Rome’s authority in England, is not against charity, Lord Chancellor. Is it against God’s word, that a man should take a king to be supreme head of the church in this realm?

Bradford. No, saith mine oath, it is not against God’s word, but with it, being taken in such form as it may well be taken: that is, attributing to the king’s power, the sovereignty in all his dominion.

Lord Chancellor. I pray you, where find you that?

Bradford. I find it in many places, but especially in the 13th chap. of the Romans, where St. Paul exhorteth every soul to be subject to the higher powers. But what
what power? ‘The power verily which beareth the sword; which is not the spiritual, but the temporal power.’ As Chrysostom full well noteth upon the same place, which is in Cores 1. In 1 Pet. 2. 10, (Chrysostom I mean) there plainly reflecteth that bishops, prophets, and apostles, are obedient to the temporal magistrates.

Here the lord chancellor was angered yet more, and saith, that now Mr. Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the queen for his oath; and so, said he, this man would make God’s word a warrant of his disobedience; for he will answer the queen on this point, that when the faces, now swear to the bishop or his deputy obey his authority. No, (will he say) for I should be forsworn, and so he makes the queen no queen.

Bradford. No, I go not about to deny all obedience to the queen’s highnesses, but deny obedience in this part, if the should demand. For I was sworn to king Edward, not simply, that is, not only concerning his own person, but also concerning his successeors, and therefore in denying the queen’s request herein, I deny not her authority, nor become disobedient.

Lord Chancellor. Yes, that thou dost, and so he began totell a long tale, how if a man should make an oath to pay me a hundred pounds by such a day, and the man to whom it was due would forget the debt, the debtor should pay, No, you cannot do it; for I am forsworn then.

Here Mr. Bradford defined his lord chancellor not to trifle it, saying, that he wondered his honour would make solemn oaths made to God trifle in that fort; and make to great a matter concerning vows (as they called) made to the bishop for marriage of priests.

And he says the lord chancellor was much offended, and said he did not trifle; but, says he, the goet about to deny obedience to the queen, who now requires obedience to the bishop of Rome.

Bradford. No, my lord, I do not deny obedience to the queen, but I differ between, gender and species. Because I may not obey in this, therefore I may not obey in the other, is no good reason. As if a man eat or fell a piece of his inheritance, yet this not withstanding, all his inheritance is not left or sold; and so in this case, all obedience I deny not, because I deny obedience in this branch.

Lord Chancellor. I will have none of these similitudes.

Bradford. I would not use them, if you were not about to perclude the people, that I meant that I never meekly or meekly not only made obedience, but will give example of all most humble obedience for the queen’s highness, so long as the queen does not dis obedience against God.

Lord Chancellor. No, no, all men may freely your meaning well, with him, have your gentlenes that I may for hitherto I have never felt it.

As soon as ever he had spoke thus, the lord chancellor, perhaps thinking that Mr. Bradford would have mercy and pardon, said that with all his heart only he, but the queen’s highnesses would find mercy, if with them he would return.

Bradford. Return, my lord? God gave me from going back: I mean it not, but I mean, that quarters of a year in the Tower; you forbid my pen, and ink, and never in all that time, nor I could not beneficences. I have rather his found, as I looked for, extremity. And I trust that I perceive you now have kept me in prison long, not for any matter you had, but for many would have, God’s good will be done.

Here now were divers telling my lord it was time. And so he rose up, leaving Mr. Bradford, sitting, saying, in the afternoon they would speak with him, and he was had into the vellty, and all that day until night, when he was carried to prison.

In the mean time, about four o’clock in the noon, a gentleman, called Mr. Thomas Hulley, of colnhaire, who was once an officer in the duke of folk’s house, came into the vellty to inquire for Stoneing; and when it was answered him by the marshal’s officers of the King’s-bench, that thou was none fitch, he entered into the house, and made a quittance with Mr. John Bradford, saying, they would commune and speak with him the next day for old acquaintance.

The next day, about seven o’clock, this gentleman came into the chamber wherein Mr. John ford lay, and being with him, he began a long soliloquy how that of love and acquaintance he came to that which he would further utter. You did (I suppose) soliloquy behave yourself before the lord chancellor, and other bishops yesterday, that even these enemies you have, did see that they have no aim against you; and therefore I advise you, (for I see)
Dr. Seton hearing this, called Bradford arrogant, proud, and unalterably he pleased him.

Then Bradford, although he would have neither him leave to talk with God, and to beg wisdom for his guidance; for, if he, otherwise I am helpless: and so they shall see from his trial that much ado departed.

Then Mr. Bradford went and made his prayer to God, which the Lord of his goodness graciously accepted in his stead. praised therefore be his holy name. Shortly after they were gone, Mr. Bradford was led to the aforesaid church, and carried uncalled for till eleven o'clock, that is, till Mr. Saunders was communicated.

The Last Examination of Mr. Bradford, in the Church of St. Mary Overies.

AFTER the communication of Laurence Saunders, John Bradford was called in, and being brought in before the lord chancellor and other bishops, therewith the lord chancellor began to speak; thus in effect: That if Bradford, being now come before the court with an answer with modesty and humility, and conform himself to the Catholic church with them, he yet might find mercy, because God was ready to receive the repentance of his heart. Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, that Bradford would recant his doctrine.

After the lord chancellor had ended his long oration, Mr. Bradford began to speak thus: As yesterday I besought your honours to set in your sight the majesty and presence of God, by remaining with me, who seeketh not to subvert the simple by subtle questions; for humbly before every one of you to do this day: for you know well enough, that guiltyless blood will cry for vengeance. And this I pray not your lordships to do, as that it taketh upon itself to condemn you utterly herein, but that ye might be more moderate in doing that, which none doth so much as he should do: for our nature is so much corrupt, that we are very forgetful of God. Again, as yesterday I pleaded mine oath and oaths against the bishop of Rome, that I should never confute to the praetorship of any imputation to him, or on his behalf in the realms of England, do I again at this day, left I should be perjured. And last, as yesterday the answer I made, were by protection and saving mine oath, so I would your honours should know that mine answer shall be this day: and this I do, that when death (you look for at your hands) shall come, I may not be troubled with the guilt of perjury.

At which words the lord chancellor was offended, and said, that they had given him reprieve to delibcrate this day, whether he would recant his errors of the biformal facrumment, which yesterday, said he, before you uttered.

Bradford. My lord, you gave me no time for any such deliberation, neither did I speak any thing of the facrumment you do disallow. For when I had declared a prescence of Christ to be there to faith, you went from that matter, to clear yourself that you were not arsed, and to want to dispute to you. Lord Chancellor. What? I perceive we must begin all again with thee. Did I not yesterday tell thee plainly, that thou madest a confrence where none should be? Did I not make it plain, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was an unlawful oath?

Bradford. No, indeed, my lord: you said so, but you have not proved it yet, nor ever can.

Lord Chancellor. O Lord God, what a fellow art thou! Thou wast go about to bring into the people's heads, that we, all the lords of the parliament house, the knights and burgesses, and all the whole realm be perjured. O what an atheist is this! I here good people, you may see what a senseless heretic this fellow is. If I should make an oath I would never help another, nor lend him money in his need; were this a good opinion to tell my neighbour defying my help, that I had made an oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it?

Bradford. O my lord, differet betwixt oaths that are against charity and faith, and oaths that be accord-
ing to faith and charity; as this is against the bishop of Rome.

Here the lord chancellor made much ado, and a long time was spent about oaths, which were good, and which were evil, he capiously asking often of Bradford a direct question about oaths, when Omerford would not give any, but with a distinction. Whereat the chancellor was much offended; but Bradford still held him by the eart, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was a lawful oath, using thereto the lord chancellor’s own book. Of such obedience, for confirmation.

At length they came to this issue, who should be judge of the lawfulness of the oath; and Bradford said, the word of God, according to Christ’s word, John xix. My word shall judge; and according to the testimony of St. John, that God of Jerusalem, shall give sentence among the Gentiles. By this word, said Bradford, my lord, I will prove the oath against the bishop of Rome’s authority, to be a good, a godly, and a lawful oath. So that the lord chancellor left his hold, and as the other day he pretended a denial of the queen’s authority and obedience to her highness, so did he now.

But Bradford, as the day before, proved, that obedience in this point to the queen’s highness, if the people did not give an oath to the bishop of Rome, because denied, was not a general denial of her authority, and of obedience to her; no more, said he, than the sale, gift, or leaf of a piece of a man’s inheritance, proves it a sale, gift, or leaf of the whole inheritance.

This argument was made as much ado, in this matter: the lord chancellor talking much, and using many examples of debt, of going out of town to-morrow by oath, and yet tarrying till Friday, and such like. Which trifling talk Bradford did touch, saying, That it was as foolish as his honour weighed confidence no more in this, and would be so cornel in views of priests marriages made to bishops, and be careles for solemn oaths made to God and to princes. In short this was the end. The lord chancellor said, the queen might dissent from it, and that the people were not called to it. But Bradford replied, it is, by the queen’s highness, you could do no more but remit her right, for as the oath made to God, the queen could never remit, forasmuch as it was made unto God.

At which words the lord chancellor chafed wonderfull, and said, that in plain face I flandered the realm with perjury; and therefore, said he to the people, you may see how this fellow taketh upon him to have more knowledge and confidence than all the wise men of England, and yet he hath no confidence at all.

But, my lord, said one of the landholders by he who hath confidence: I have been a year and a half in prison: now before all these people, declare wherefore I was imprisoned, or what causers you had to punish me. You said the other day in your own house, my lord of London witnessing with you, that I took upon me to speak to the people undeserved. There he fitteth by you, I mean my lord of Bath, who defined me myself, for the effusion of Christ, I would speak to the people. Upon whose words I coming into the pulpit, had like to have been unhelmed with a daggart (which I think) for it touched my finge. He then prayed me I would not leave him, and I promised him, as long as I lived, I would take hurt before him that day, and so went out of the pulpit and intreated with the people, and at length brought myself into an house.

Besides this, in the afternoon I preached at Bow church, and there going up into the pulpit, one deponent said he did not require to stop the people; for, said he, you would never come down alive, if you do it. And yet not standing in that formant, and called it sedition at least twenty times. For all which my doing, I have received this recompence; imprisonment for a year and a half; and more, and death now, which you are plotting. Let all men be judges with me.

They endeavoured to interrupt him while he was speaking these words, but Mr. Bradford still spake on, and gave no place till he had made an end. And then the lord chancellor said, that for all that fair tale, his fact at the crose was culpable.

Bradford. No, my fact was good, as you yourself may bear witness. For when I was at first before the Tower, you yourself did say, that my fact was good, but my mind evil. Well, said I, then my lord, you cannot say the fact, and condemn my mind. But then I rather declare my mind than your facts. I am in paying and doing: God one day, I will give you to my comfort, what my mind was, and your’s was.

Here the lord chancellor was offended, and said, his never said so. I had not so little wit, said he, as to discern between meaning and doing; I have brought forth many examples little to the purpose, to prove men confesse things by the meaning of men, and not by their doing. But when this would not serve, the lord chancellor said, that the Bradford we put in prison at first because he would not yield, was conformable to the queen’s religion.

Bradford. Why, my lord, your honour knoweth the you would not reason with me on religion, but fact, time should afterwards be found out, when I should talk with. But if it were as you yourself said that I was put in prison for religion, in that my religion was then authorized by public laws of the realm, could confidence punishe, or call me in prison therefore? Wherefore let all men be judges, in whom confessor is judging.

Here came forth Mr. Chamberlain of Woodforde, and told my lord chancellor, that Bradford had been a serving-man, and was with Mr. Harrington.

True, and did he. Seven score pounds, and because of this, he was called a goffer and a preacher, good people, and yet how he pretendeth confidence.

Bradford. My lord, I am ready to face him, whatever he may say, but I can come forth with a fully vouch, he ever did my matter. And as you are chief justice by office in England, I desire justice upon the that so flander me, because they cannot prove it. Here my lord chancellor and Mr. Chamberlain were silent, and said they heard it. But, my lord chancellor, we have another manner of utter than this against you: you are an heretic.

Yea, added the bishop of London, he wrote him to Mr. Pendleton, who knoweth his hand as well as own; your honour did fee the letters.

Then came another, (I believe they call him Mr. Allen, one of the clerks of the council) putting the lord chancellor in remembrance of letters written in Lancashire.

Lord Chancellor. You say true: for we have had to shew.

Bradford. I deny that you have my hand to these letters sent in Lancashire, otherwise than before an all I will stand to, and prove them to be good and lawful.

The lord chancellor began a new matter. Sir, said he, in my house in other day you did most contemptuously despise the queen’s mercy, and you would maintain the erroneous doctrine in king Edward’s days against all men, all this you do most floutly.

Bradford. Well, I am glad that all men see now you have no matter to impiro me before that day jublie.

Now say I, that I did not contemptuously despise the queen’s mercy, but would have had it, (though if Julian man, I need it not,) so that I might have had it with God’s mercy, that is, without doing or feigning any thing against God and his truth. And so maintenance of doctrine, because I cannot tell you how will fretch this word maintenance, I will repeat after that which I foreseate. I said it was more religion set forth in king Edward’s days, than ever was: and if God so would, I truth I should declare by giving my life for the confirmation and testament thereof. So I said then, and so I say now. As for other
which God leaveth free? as you do in making it a necessary commandment, once a year for all that be of discretion, to receive the sacrament.

Here the lord chancellor called him again Diabolus or Calumniator a morum, to begin, from these words, "Let a man prove himself, and so eat thereof." (yea bread, said Bradford) and drink of the cup." to shew that it was no commandment to receive the sacrament: or when (said he) if it were a commandment, it should bind all men, in all places, and all times.

Bradford. O lord, differences between commandments: some be general, as the ten commandments, that they bind always, in all places, and all persons: some be not so general, as this of the supper, the sacrament of baptism, of the thrice appearing before the Lord at Jerusalem, of the offering of Isaac, &c.

Here the lord chancellor desired the cup to be commanded by Christ: for then, said he, we should have eleven commandments.

Bradford. Indeed I believe you think as you speak: for else you would not take the cup from the people, in that Christ faith, "Drink ye all of it." But how say you, my lord? Christ faith to you bishops especially, "Go and preach the gospel: feed Christ's flock," &c. Is this a commandment, or no?

Here was my lord chancellor in a heat, and said as he pleased him.

Then the bishop of Durham asked Bradford, when Christ began to be present in the sacrament? whether before the receiver received it, or no?

Mr. Bradford answered, that the question was curious, and not necessary; and further said, that as the cup was the New Testament, so the bread was Christ's body to him that received it duly, but yet so that the bread is bread. For, said he, all the scripture ye shall not find this proposition, There is no bread. And so he quoted Chrysostom, to prove his affirmations. Much ado was there, they calling Bradford heretic, and he denying them to proceed in God's name, he looked for that which God had commanded them to do.

Lord Chancellor. This fellow is now in another heresy of fatal necessity, although all things were ordained to be done together, that of mere necessity all things must come to pass.

But Mr. Bradford desired him to take things as they be spoken, and not wrest them to a contrary sense. Your lordship, said he, doth differ betwixt God and man. Things are not by fortune to God at any time, though man they seem so sometimes. I speak not but as the apostles did, "Lord (said they) see how Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the prelates, are gathered together against thy Christ, to do that which thy hand and counsel hath before ordained them to do."

Here the lord chancellor began to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford, Jay-man: Why, (said he) art thou no priest?

Bradford. No, nor ever was either priest, or beneficed, or married, or any preacher, before public authority had established religion, or preacher after public authority had altered religion, and yet I am thus handled at your hands: but God, I doubt not, will give his blessing where you curfe. And so he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God that he had counted him worthy to suffer for his name's sake; and prayed to God to give him repanceance and a good mind. After the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the sheriff of London, and so had to the Clink, and afterwards to the Compter in the Poultry, in the City of London, this being proposed by his murderers, that he should be delivered from thence to the earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Ireland, and there to be burned in the town of Manchesther, where he was born: but their purpose concerning the place was afterwards altered, for he suffered in London.

After the condemnation of Mr. Bradford, which was the last day of January, Mr. Bradford being sent to prison, remained in the Prison of the first of July, during which time he sustained divers other controversies and conflicts with sundry adversaries, who repaid him in the pri-
On the 4th of February, the same day Mr. Rogers was burned, Bonner, bishop of London, came to the Poultry Compter to degrade Dr. Taylor, about one o'clock in the afternoon. Before he spoke to Dr. Taylor, he talked to John Bradford who was prisoner there, whom when he saw, he put off his cap, and gave him his hand, saying, Because I perceive that you are diligent to converse with some learned men, therefore I have brought my dr. Archdeacon Harpsfield to you. And I tell you, you do like a wise man. But I pray go roundly to work, for the time is but short.

**Bradford.** My lord, as roundly as I can I will go to work with you; I never desired to confer with any man, nor yet do. Howbeit, if you will have any one to talk with me, I am ready.

**Bonner.** What! (said the bishop in a fume to the keeper) did you not tell me that this man desired conference?

**Keeper.** No, my lord, I told you that he would not refuse to confer with any; but I did not say that it was his desire.

**Bonner.** Well, Mr. Bradford, you are well beloved, I pray you consider yourself, and refuse not charity when it is offered.

**Bradford.** Indeed, my lord, this is small charity, to condamn a man as you have condemned me, who never brake your laws. In Turkey a man may have charity, but in England I could not yet find it. I was condemned for a heretic heresy, as I uttered it at your requisit, before I had committed any thing against the laws. And as for conference, I am not afraid to talk with whom you will. But to say that I desire to confer, that do I not.

**Bonner.** Well, well. And so he called for Dr. Taylor and Dr. Bradford went his way.

Another day in February, Mr. Willerton, chaplain to the bishop of London, came to confer with Mr. Bradford; but when he perceived that Mr. Bradford desired not his company, and therefore rather wished for his departing than his stay: Well, Mr. Bradford, said he, I pray you let us confer a little, per-chance you may do me good, if I can do you none. Upon which words Mr. Bradford was content, and so they began to talk. Willerton spake much of the doctors, of the fathers, of the bread in the fifth of St. John's, how he long to preserve transubstantiation, and that wicked men do receive Christ.

But Bradford on the contrary disapproved his authorities, so that they came to this issue, that Willerton should draw his reasons out of the scriptures and doctors, and Bradford would peruse them; and if he could not answer them, then he would give place. Likewise also Mr. Bradford should draw his reasons out of the scriptures and doctors, to which Willerton should answer if he could: and so they departed for that day.

The next morning Mr. Willerton sent half a sheet of paper written on both sides, containing no reasons how he gathered his doctrine, but only bare sentences; "The bread which I will give is my flesh:" and the places in the xxvi. of Matthew, the xiv. of Mark, the xxii. of Luke, and the x. and xi. of the Corinthians, with some sentences of the doctors, all which made as much against him as for him.

In the afternoon he came himself, and there they had a long talk to little effect. At length Willerton began to talk of the church, saying, that Bradford desired from the church.

**Bradford.** No, that I do not, but you do. For the church is Christ's poule, and Christ's obedient poule, which your church is not, which robbeth the people of the Lord's house, and of service in the English tongue.

**Bonner.** Why? It is not profitable to have the service in English, for it is written, "The lips of the priest should hold the law, and out of his mouth shall go knowledge."

**Bradford.** Should not the people then have the scriptures? Wherefore forsweth this laying of Christ, this speaking of the scriptures?

**Willerton.** This was not spoke to the people, he gave the scriptures and learned men.

**Bradford.** Then why then the people must not have the scriptures?

**Willerton.** No, for it is written, "They shall feed upon the word of God."

**Bradford.** And must we learn all from the priests?

**Willerton.** Yea.

**Bradford.** Then I see you would bring the people, hang up Christ, and let Barabba go, as the people do then persecute the people. At which words Mr. Willerton was so offended, that he had no defere to talk more. In the end Mr. Bradford gave him the reason, which he had gathered against transubstantiation, as defiref he framed his into the form of reason, and then, said Bradford, I will answer them.

**Willerton.** Well, I will do it; but first I will answer your's. Which he never performed.

On the 14th of February, one of the earl of Der- servants came to Mr. Bradford, saying, My lord Upton sent me to you. He defiref you to tender yourself, as he will be a good lord to you.

**Bradford.** I thank his lordship for his good will, but in this case I cannot tender myself more than God's honour will allow.

**Servant.** Ah, Mr. Bradford, consider your neighbours, friends, kinsfolk, and country, what a great comfort will it be unto them to see you die as an heretic? I have learned to fear this. For you are my brother, father, friends, and all that ever I have, and I can make none what for the sake of Christ's service. If my lord should obtain for you that you might depart the realm, would you not be contented at the queen's appointment, where she would send you beyond the sea?

**Bradford.** No, I had rather be burned in England, than be burned beyond the sea. For I know if she send me to Paris, Louvain, or some such place, I mediateley they would burn me.

Upon the 14th of February, Pervicis Croft, an old acquaintance of Mr. Bradford's, came to bring with him a kinman of Mr. Peckham's, after many words said:

**Croft.** I pray you let me intercede for you.

**Bradford.** You may do what you will.

**Croft.** But tell me what suit I shall make for you.

**Bradford.** Forthwith, what you please, I do not raise request, for I desire nothing at your hands. If you please to give me life, I shall embrace it. If you shall banish me, I will thank her. If the will burn me, I will thank her. If she will condemn me to perpetual imprisonment, I will thank her.

Hereupon Croft went away, and about 1 o'clock he and the other man came again, and brought a letter written by one More, desiring Mr. Bradford to make over.

**Bradford.** taking the book, said, Good Pervicis, am unmercifully pointed in this article.

**Croft.** O, if you loved me, do one thing for me.

**Bradford.** What is that?

**Croft.** Define and name what learned men you may have to come unto you. My lord of York, my lord of Lincoln, my lord of Bath, and others I gladly come unto you.

**Bradford.** No, never will I define them, or any other to come to confer with me; for I am as certain in my doctrine as I am of any thing. But for your pleasure that all men may know that I am not able to have my faith fitting and true, I will speak with them. So they went their way.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, Dr. Harde, who was then the bishop of Lincoln's chaplain, came Mr. Bradford, and after great and solemn protestation declaring that he had prayed to God before he came to him, that he might be well, and if possible good, began to read good opinion he had of Bradford, and spent the time...
Mr. A.D. 1555]

CONVERSATION between Mr. BRADFORD and Bp. BONNER.

Bradford. All this is truly spoken.
Harpfield. Now then tell me whether this church of Christ hath not been always?
Bradford. Yes, since the creation of man, and shall be for ever.
Harpfield. Very good. But tell me whether this church is a visible church, or no?
Bradford. It is no otherwise visible, than Christ was here on earth; that is, by no exterior pomp or show that fetteth her forth commonly, and therefore to see her we must put on such eyes, as good men put on to see and know Christ, and he walked here on earth; for as Eve was of the same substance, that Adam was of, so was the church of the same substance that Christ was of. "Flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone;" as St. Paul, Eph. v. See therefore how Christ was visibly known to be Christ when he was on earth, that is, by considering him after the word of God; so is the church known.

Harpfield. I do not come to reason at this present, and therefore I will go on forward. Is not this church a multitude?
Bradford. Yes, that it is. Howbeit, the finite lies hid in the grafs, as the proverb is. For in your question is a febedy. What visible multitude were there in Eljah's time, or when Moses was on the mount, Aaron and all Israel worshipping the calf?

Harpfield. You wander from the matter.
Bradford. No, nothing at all. For I do prevent you, knowing well what I go you. And therefore fewer words might very well serve.

Harpfield. Well, I perceive you have knowledge, and by a little I see the more. Tell me yet further whether this multitude have not the ministry or preaching of God's word.
Bradford. Sir, you go about the bush. If you understand preaching for the confessing of the gospel, I will go with you: for else if you will, you may know that perlection often hindereth preaching.

Harpfield. Well, I mean it so. Tell me yet more, hath it not the sacraments administered?
Bradford. I hath the sacraments, howbeit the administration of them is often hindered. But I will put you from your purpose, because I see whereabout you go. If heretics have baptism, and do baptize, as they did in St. Cyprian's time, you know this baptism is baptism, and not to be reiterated. This Mr. Bradford make that the man who might obserue, that though the popish church hath baptism, yet were we have receiued of them, yet notwithstanding it is not the true church, neither need we be baptised again.

Harpfield. You go far from the matter, and I perceive you have more errors than one.

Bradford. So you say, but that is not enough till you prove it.

Harpfield. Well, this church is a multitude. Hath it not the preaching of the gospel, and the administration of the sacraments? And yet more, hath it not the power of jurisdiction?

Bradford. What jurisdiction is exercised in perfections and affliction?

Harpfield. I mean by jurisdiction, administering one another, and so forth.

Bradford. Well, go on, what then?
Harpfield. It hath also succession of bishops. And here he made much ado to prove that this was an essential point.

Bradford. You say as you would have it; for if this part fall you, all the church you go about to set up will fall down. You shall not find in all the scripture, this your essential part of succession of bishops. In Christ's church Anitchir will fit. And Peter tells us, as it went in the old church: was there Christ's coming, so it will be in the new church since Christ's coming: that is, as there were false prophets, and such as beare rule were adversaries to the true prophets: so shall there be (fain he) false teachers, even of such as are bishops, and bear rule amongst the people.

Harpfield. You go always out of the matter: but I will prove a further succession of bishops.

Bradford.

Upon the 25th of February, Percival Crefwell came to Mr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and a servant waiting upon him. After formal salutations, he made the following declaration of his doctrine of justification was subtil doctrine, but otherwise he neglected it. And he inveighed against marriage, priests, and against Peter Martyr, Martin Burth, Luther, and such, who for breaking their vows were entirely given up to heretics (as he said); Mr. Bradford among them. After admiring him thereof, he said farewell.

Bradford. You speak truly.

Harpfield. Well, then, here is the matter, to know what way to heaven.

Bradford. We are not to invent ways. There is but one way, and that is Jesus Christ, as he himself doth say: "I am the way." 

Harpfield. What you say is true, and also false. I say what you mean by Christ, is believing in Christ. I have learned to discern between faith and filth. Albeit I confess, that who so believeth in Christ, shall be saved.

Bradford. No, not all that believe in Christ; for some say, "Lord, Lord, have we not cast out devils," but Christ will answer in the day of judgment to them, "Depart from me, I know you not."

Harpfield. You must make a difference between believing and believing and saying I believe; as for example, if one should say to a man, he loves you, all his saying and swearing what he will, he does not love him, when you see he goeth about to slander and do all the evil against you that he can.

Harpfield. Well, this is not very material. There but one way, Christ. How came we to know him? how shall we seek to find him? 

Bradford. Forsooth, we must seek him by his word, and in his word, and by his spirit.

Harpfield. Very good; but tell me how first we come into the company of them that could tell us this, by baptism.

Bradford. Baptism is the sacrament, by which outside we are ingrafted into Christ: I say outwardly, that is, I care not excluded from Christ all that die without baptism. I will not tie God, where he will not bind. Some infants die, whose parents desire baptism for them, and cannot have it.

Harpfield. To thee we may perceive that thou dost them mercy.

Bradford. Yes, the children whose parents do commit baptism will not I condemn, because the child shall not bear the father's offence.

Harpfield. Well, we agree, that by baptism then we are brought, and as man would say) begotten to live? or is Christ our father, and the church, and his wife is our mother. As all men naturally have Adam for their father, and Eve for their mother; and as Eve was taken out of Adam's side, so was the church taken out of Christ's side, whereout flowed blood for the pardon and purgation of our sins.
Bradford. Do fo.
Harpsfield. Tell me, were not the apostles bishops?
Bradford. No, unless you will make a new definition of a bishop, he is, give him no place.
Harpsfield. Indeed, the apostles office was not the bishop's office; for it was universal, but yet Christ instituted bishops in his church, as St. Paul faith, he hath given pastors, prophets, &c. So that I think it may be proved from scripture, that the succession of bishops is an essential point.
Bradford. The ministry of God's word, and ministers, are an essential point. But to translate this to the bishops and their succession, is a plain subterfuge: and therefore that it may be plain, I will ask you a question. Tell me, whether the scripture knew any difference between bishops and ministers, which ye call priests?
Harpsfield. No.
Bradford. Well then, go on forwards, and let us see what you do get now by the succession of bishops: that is, of ministers which can be understood of such bishops as minister not, but lord it.
Harpsfield. I perceive you are far out of the way.
By your doctrine you can never shew in your church, a multitude which mimifteth God's word and his sacraments, which hath jurisdiction and succession of bishops, which hath from time to time been believed as you believe, beginning now, and so going upwards, as I will do of our doctrine: and therefore are you out of the church, and so cannot be saved. Perhaps you will bring me down to this, to blind people's eyes: but to go upwards, that you can never do, and this is the true trial.
Bradford. You must and will, I am assured, give me leave to follow the scriptures and examples of good men.
Harpsfield. Yes.
Bradford. Well then, Stephen was accused and condemned as I am, that he had taught new and false doctrine, before the fathers of the church, then as they were taken, Stephen for his defence disprove their acculation. But how? doth he it by going upwards? no, but by coming downwards, beginning at Abraham, and coming to Christ in Sion's time, and the people's captivity. From whence he maketh a great leap until the time he was in, which was about 400 years, and called them by their right names, hell-hounds, rather than heaven-hounds. In this manner will I prove my faith, and that you can never do yours.
Harpsfield. Yes sir, if we knew that you had the Holy Ghost, then could we believe you. Here Bradford would have answered, that Stephen's enemies would not believe he had the Holy Ghost, and therefore they did as they did: but as he was speaking, Mr. Harpsfield rolly stood up, and ordered others that flood by, began to talk gently, praying Mr. Bradford not to take heed to what Mr. Archdeacon spake, who still said that Mr. Bradford was out of the church.
Bradford. Sir, I am most certain that I am in Christ's church, and I can shew a demonstration of my religion from time to time continually. So saying, Mr. Bradford uttered this short prayer.
"God our Father, for the name and blood of his Son Christ, be merciful unto us, and unto all his people, and deliver them from all false teachers, and blind guides, through the Lord Jesus Christ! I fear, much hurt will come to this realm of England. God order it, is given to us, and keep us in his truth and poor church for ever." Amen.
Then the archdeacon departed, saying, that he would come again the next morning.

Upon the 16th of February, in the morning, the archdeacon, and the other two with him, came again, and after a few introductory words they sat down.
Mr. Archdeacon began a very long oration, first repeating what they had laid, and how far they had gone over what he had begun to prove upwards, a succession of bishops here in England for 800 years; in France, at Lyons, for 1200 years; in Spain, at Hulpn, for 800 years; in Italy, at Milan, for 1200 years, labouring by this to prove his church. He used all his succession of bishops to the Eaff church for the better confirmation of his words, and ended concluded with an exhortation and an interrogation: the exhortation was, that Mr. Bradford would obey the church; the interrogation, whether Bradford could shew any such succession, or the demonstration of his church (for so he called it).
Upon this long oration Mr. Bradford made this answer: My memory is bad, so that I cannot particularly answer your oration.
Therefore I will do it generally, because your case is rather to persuade than to prove, and therefore your answer will serve. If Christ or his apostles, being on earth, had been required to prove the prelacies of the church, then to have made a demonstration of that church's succession of such high priests as had appointed to the office which he taught, I think that Christ would have done as I do: that is, have alluded that which upon his being here, even the verity, the word of God, true and believed, not by the word of men, which of old had perverted it, but by the prophets and the good simple men which perchance were consulted by the church of the church: which church was not tied to the succession, but to the word of God. And thus to that St. Peter gave me occasion when he faith that and went in the church before Christ's coming. So I will go in the church after his coming: but then the church of the church were perfectors of the church: therefore the like we must look for now.
I can gather and prove succession from the rufalem of the high-priest from Aaron's time.
Bradford. I grant it, but not such succession as you have alleged the truth.
Harpsfield. Why, did they not allow Mose's law?
Bradford. Yes, and keep it, as touching the books of the holy and holy scriptures. But true interpretation and meaning of them did come as you have done and, and therefore the perfection which they stirred up against the prophets and Christ was not for the law, but the interpretation of it. If you do now, that we must fetch the interpretation of the scriptures at your hand. But not an end, death I look for daily, yea hourly, and my time is but very short; therefore I had need as much time with God as I can: I wish to have it, to help and comfort; and therefore I pray you but me, that I do not now particularly and in more answer your long talk. If I saw then not so near, it is, I would then weigh every piece of your oracle, you would give me the sum of it, and I would ask accordingly: but because I dare not, and will not be arraigned and preparing for that which is at hand, shall defer it to hold me excused, though I shall do, and I heartily thank you for your good will: I shall heartily pray God our Father to give the same light and life which I wish to myself. To fo Bradford began to rise up.
Bradford. Archdeacon, you began to tell him he was a very perilous case, and therefore I am very sorry to see him settled. As for death, whether he be nigh or far, know not, neither matters it, so that you die well.
Bradford. I doubt not in this cafe, but that I shall die the death as I hope and am certain my death pleases the Lord, so I trust I shall die cheerfully of his comfort of his children.
Harpsfield. But what if you be deceived?
Bradford. What if you should say the fun does not time? (The fun line through the window they fast.)
Harpsfield. Well, I am forry to see you so secure careles.
Bradford. I am more carnally secure, and care that I should be: God make me more vigilant. But in this cafe, I cannot be so secure, for I am matured I am the truth.
Harpsfield. That you are not; for you are out of catholic church.
Bradford. No, though you have excommunicated out of our church, yet I am in the catholic church, and by God's grace shall be, and I know it. I am an obedient child of it, for I have no lefs care for me, than he had for the blind excommunicated out of the synagogue: and further...
made his supper only to the twelve apostles, not admitting his mother or any of the seventy disciples to it. Now the apostles did not know the priest.

Bradford. I think you speak as you would men should understand it: for else you would not keep the cup away from the laity. We have great cause to thank you, that you will give us of your bread. For I perceive you order the matter so, as though Christ had not commanded it to his whole church.

Then Harpsfield would have proved elevation by a place of Balius.

Bradford. I have read the place, which seems to make nothing for elevation: but be it as it is, this is no time for me to learn the delightful places of the doctors with you. I have been in peril long enough with your books and all necessaries for study, and now death draws near, and by your leave I must now leave off, to prepare for it.

Harpsfield. If I could do you good, I would be right glad, either in soul or body. For you are in a perilous case both ways.

Bradford. Sir, I thank you for your good will. My case is as it is. I thank God it was never so well with me; for death shall be life.

Craford. It were well for you to desire Mr. Archdeacon that he would make fait for you, that you might have a time to enjoy it.

Harpsfield. I will do the best I can; for I pity his case.

Bradford. Sir, I will not desire any body to sue for time for me. I am not wavier, neither would I that any body should think I were so. But if you have the charity and love you pretend to, you would do me, and do think I am in an error, I think the fame should move you to do as you were done to. As you think of me, so do I of you, and that you are far out of the way, and I do not only think it, but I also thereof most affrighted. And with this and such like talk they departed.

On the 23d of the month, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Chichester came to the Comper to speak with Mr. Bradford. When he was come before them, they both, and especially the bishop of York, used him very gently: they desired him to sit down, and because he would not, they also would not sit. So they all stood, and whether he would or not, they would needs have him put on, not only his night-cap, but his upper-cap also, laying unto him. That obedience was better than facine.

While they were thus standing together, my lord of York began to tell Mr. Bradford that he came to him out of pure love and charity, without any fear or hope of himself also, for the acquaintance he had with Mr. Bradford, more than the bishop of Chichester had: and after commending Mr. Bradford's godly life, he concluded with this question, How he was certain of salvation and of his religion?

After thanks for their good will, Mr. Bradford answered, By the word of God, even by the scriptures, I am certain of salvation and religion.

Tork. Very well said: but do you know the word of God and the scriptures, by the church?

Bradford. Indeed, my lord, the church was and is a means to bring a man to know the scriptures and the word of God, as the woman of Samaria was the means by which the Samaritans knew Christ: but when they had heard him speak, they said, Now we know that he is Christ, not because of thy words, but because weourselves have heard; so you can come to the hearing and reading of the scriptures shewed unto you, as informed by the church, we do believe them, and know them as Christ's sheep, not because the church faith they are the scriptures, but because they be so, being assured thereof by the fame spirit which wrote and spake them.

Tork. You speak not clearly nor: for Christ No. 17.
not that it is simply so; but in respect of the apostles, which being alive and subject to infirmity, attributed to the written word more weight, as where with sin could not be found, whereas for the infirmity of their persons men pers hance might have found some fault at their preaching; although in very deed no less obedience and faith ought to have been given to the one, than to the other; for all proceedeth from one spirit and one mind.

Tork. That place of St. Peter is not so to be understood of the word written.

Bradford. Yes, Sir, that it is, and of none other.

Chichele. Yes, indeed, Mr. Bradford doth tell you truly in that point.

Tork. Well, you know that Ireneus and others do magnify much, and alledge the church against the heresies, and not the scripture.

Bradford. True, for they had to do with such heresies as did deny the scriptures, and yet did magnify the apostles, so they were enforced to use the authority of those churches wherein the apostles had taught, and had still retained the same doctrine.

Chichele. You speak the very truth; for the heresies did refute all scriptures, except it were a piece of St. Luke's gospel.

Bradford. Then the addulcage of the church cannot be principally used against me, which am so far from denying the scripture, that I appeal to them utterly, as to the only judge.

Tork. A pretty matter, that you will take upon you to judge the church! I pray you, where hath your church been hitherto? For the church of Christ is catholic and not hitherto, if you will.

Bradford. My lord, I do not judge the church when I discern it from the congregation, and those which be not the church; and I never denied the church to be catholic and visible, although at some times it is more visible than at others.

Chichele. I pray you tell me where the church which allowed your doctrine, was there 1000 years?

Bradford. I will tell you my lord, or rather you shall tell yourself, if you will tell this one thing. Where the church was in Elijah's time, when Elijah said he was left alone.

Chichele. That is no answer.

Bradford. I am sorry that you say so: but this I will tell your lordship, that if you had the same eyes where with a man might have espied the church then, you would not see it were no answer. The fault why the church is not seen by you, is not because the church is not visible, but because your eyes are not clear enough to see it.

Chichele. You are much deceived in making this objection. What does the church there and now?

Tork. Very well spoken, my lord; for Christ said, 'I will build my church;' and not I do, or have built it: but I will build it.

Bradford. My lords, St. Peter teacheth us to make this comparison, saying, 'As in the people there were false prophets, which were most in estimation before Christ's coming, so shall there be false teachers among the people after Christ's coming, and very many shall follow them.' And as for your future tenet, I hope yet there will not thereby conclude Christ's church not to have been before, but rather that there is no building in the church but Christ's work only: for Paul and Apollos be but waterers.

Chichele. In good faith I am sorry to see you so light in judging the church.

Tork. He hath taken upon him as they do all to judge the church. A man shall never come to certainty that doth as they do.

Bradford. My lords, I speak simply what I think, and am bound to answer my objections. Your affections and forbearances cannot be my rules. If you consider the order and case of my condemnation, I cannot think that it shall something move your honours. You know it well enough, (for you have heard it) no manner was brought against me, but was gathered upon mine own confession. Because I denied transubstantiation, and the wicked to receive Christ's body in the sacrament, therefore I was condemned and excommunicated, but not against the church, although the pillars of the church (as you before said) did it.

Chichele. No; I heard say the cause of my imprisonment was, for that you excommunicated the people, and took the sword in one hand, and the mattock in the other.

Tork. Yes, and you behaved yourself before the court at first, that you would defend the religion; and therefore worthily you were imprisoned.

Bradford. Your grace heard me answer my lord the cellor to that point. But supposing I had been for so long as they and your grace make it, were not the law then in my tide? When I heard before I was imprisoned: only that which my lord chancellor pronounced, was my confession of Christ's truth and transubstantiation, and of that which the wicked receive, as I said.

Tork. You deny the preference.

Bradford. I do not, to the faith of the worthy receivers.

Tork. Why? what is that to say other than Christ lieth not on the altar?

Bradford. My lord, I believe no such preference.

Chichele. It feemeth that you have not read Confession: for he proveth it.

Bradford. Hitherto I have been kept well out of the works of others: howbeit this I do assert, that he feareth that Christ lieth upon the altar, as the eraphisms with their tongues touch our lips with the costs of the altar in heaven, which is an heretical speech, of which you know Chrysofom is full.

Tork. I suppose it is evident that you are too far gone; but we come then to the church, out of which you speak not to communicate.

Bradford. I am not excommunicate out of Christ's church, my lord, although they which seem to be the church, and of the church, have excommunicate me, as the poor blind man was, John ix. I am to Christ receiveth me.

Here, after much talk of excommunication, the Preb. Mr. Bradford said:

Affirmly, as I think you did well to depart from Romish church, so I think you have done wickedly couple yourselves to it again; for you cannot pass that, which you call the mother church, to be Christ's church.

Chichele. Ah, Mr. Bradford, you were but a little when this matter began. I was a young man, then coming from the university, I went with a world; but I tell you it was always against my conscience.

Bradford. It was but a child then, howbeit as I am, you think I have done evil. For you are one and have brought others to that wicked man with the title in the temple of God, that is, in the church; it cannot be understood of Mahomet, or any out of the church, but of such as bear rule in the church. See how you build your faith upon false places of scriptures as are most obscure, to deceiving self, as thou wert in the church, where you were not.

Bradford. Well, my lord, though I might by him judge of you and others, yet will I not utterly cut you out of the church. And if I were in your cab, would not condemn him utterly that is of my faith in the sacrament, knowing as you know, that at least 40 years after Christ's, as my lord of Durham writeth, was free to believe or not believe transubstantiation. Why this is a toy that you have found out of your own brain, as though a man not believing in church doth, that is, transubstantiation, were of the church.

Chichele. He is an heretic, and so none of the church, that doth hold any doctrine against the definition of the church, as a man to hold against transubstantiation. Cyprian was no heretic, though he be believed not the rest of them who were gathered upon mine own confession. Because I denied transubstantiation, and the wicked to receive Christ's body in the sacrament, therefore...
Tork. Lo, you go about to shift off all things.
Bradford. No, my lord; I mean simply, and God knoweth I spake so.
Tork. St. Augustine doth here talk of successio,
even from St. Peter’s seat.
Bradford. Yea, that fea was not so much cor-
rupt as it is now.
Tork. Well, you always judge the church.
Bradford. No, my lord, Chrift’s church is discernible of Chrift’s
voice, but they judge it not; so they discern the church,
but judge her not.
Tork. Yes, that they do.
Bradford. Not so, please your grace; and yet full
may one not conclude, but judge also of the Ro-
mith church; for the obeyed not Chrift’s voice, as
Chrift’s true church doth.
Tork. Wherein?
Bradford. In Latin service, and robbing the laity of
Chrift’s cup in the sacrament, and in many other things,
in which it committeth most horrible sacrilege.
Czecheler. Why? Latin service was in England
when the pope was gone.
Bradford. True; the time was in England when
the pope was away, but not all popery; as in king Henry’s
time.
Tork. Latin service was appointed to be sung and
used in the church, where only were the clergy, that is,
such as underfoot Latin, the people sitting in the
body of the church praying their own private prayers;
and so for the sake of the church and
choir, so as the people could not come in, or hear them.
Bradford. Yea, but in St. Chrysofom’s time,
also in the Latin church in St. Jeron’s time, all the
church, said he, answered again mildly, Amen.
Whereby we may see that the prayers were made so,
that both the people and the clergy of the church,
Czecheler. You are to blame, to say that the church
robbed the people of the cup.
Bradford. Well, my lord, term it as you please; all
men know that the laity hath none of it.
Czecheler. Indeed, my lord, the church would define
again, that they might have it, for my part.
Bradford. If God make it free, who can define
to make it bond?
Tork. Well, Mr. Bradford, we lose our labour;
for you feek to put away all things which are told you
for your good; your church no man can know.
Bradford. Yes, that you well may.
Tork. I pray you whereby?
Bradford. Forsooth Chrysofom faith, only by the
sacrileges: and this your well know he spakeeth very
often.
Tork. Indeed that of Chrysofom is an imperfect
work, which may be doubted of. The church is best
known by succession of bishops.
Bradford. No, my lord, Lyra upon Mathew writeth
full well, that “The church confileth not in men by
reason either of secular or temporal power, but in men
endued with true knowledge, and confession of faith; and
of verity.”
And in Hilary’s time you know he writeth to Auxen-
tius, that the church was hidden either in caves and
holes, than did glitter and shine in thrones of pre-eminence.
Then came one forth, and told them, the
my lord of Durham married for them at the archbishop
of York’s house; and this was after that they had been
three hours with Mr. Bradford. And after the
man was come, they put up their written books of common
places, and said that they lamented his case: they deu-
ised them to read over the book; but Mr. Grome good;
and so as what him good in words, they went their way,
and poor Bradford to his prison.
After this communication with the bishops was ended,
within two days following came into the Comper
the Spanish friars in London, and Bradford, sent (as
they said) by the earl of Derby; of whom one was the
king’s confessor, the other was Alphonius, who had be-
fore written a popish book against heretics, the effect of
which their reaening here likewise followed.

Upon the 25th day of February, about eight o’clock in
in the morning, when these two friars came to the Comptor where Mr. Bradford was prisoner, they declared his case, and put in their defense. One of the friars, who was the king's confessor, asked in Latin (for all their discourse was in Latin) of Bradford, whether he had not seen or heard of one Alphonus that had written against heretics.

Brafford. I do not know him.

Comptor. Well, this man (pointing to Alphonus) is he. We are come to you of love and charity, by the means of the earl of Derby, because you refuse to confer with us.

Brafford. I never defined your coming, nor to confer with you, or any other. But seeing you are come of charity, as you say, I cannot but thank you: and as concerning conference, though I define it not, yet I will not refuse to talk with you if you will.

Alphonus. It were requisite that you did pray to God, that he would suffer you to follow the doctrine of God's Spirit, that he would inspire you, for that you be not added to your own self-will or will.

Whereupon Mr. Bradford made a prayer, and besought God to direct all their wills, words, and works, as the will, words, and works of his children for ever.

Alphonus. Yes, you must pray with your heart. For if you speak with the tongue only, God will not give you his grace.

Brafford. Sir, do not judge, lest you be judged. You have heard my words; now charity would have you love the least of my children, the least of the heart of God.

Alphonus. You must be as it were a neuter, and not wedded to yourself, but as one standing in doubt: pray and be ready to receive what God shall inspire; for in vain labourn our tongue to speak else.

Brafford. Sir, my sentence, if I mean it for religion, must not be in doubting or uncertainty, as I thank God I am certain in that for which I am condemned: I have no cause to doubt of it, but rather to be more certain of it; and therefore I pray God confirm me more in it, that I may be certain and true, and that it may abide the light, I dare be bold to have it looked on, and confer with it, or any man; in respect whereof I am both glad of your coming, and thank you for it.

Alphonus. What is the matter whereof you were condemned? we know not.

Brafford. Sir, I have been in prison almost two years: I never transgressed any of their laws for which I might justly be imprisoned, and now I am condemned, only because I frankly confess, whereof I repent not, my faith concerning the sacrament, when I was demanded in these two points: one, that there is no transubstantiation; the other, that the wicked do not receive Christ's body.

Alphonus. Let us look a little on the first. Do you not believe that Christ is present really and corporally in the form of bread?

Brafford. No, I do believe that Christ is present to the faith of the worthy receiver, as there is present bread and wine to the faithful and outward man: as for any faith presence of including and placing Christ, I believe not, nor dare I believe.

Alphonus. I am sure you believe Christ's natural body is circumscriptible.

And here he made ado of the two natures of Christ, how that the one is everywhere, and the other is present there; and confuted such questionings as no wise man would have spent any time about. At length, because the friar had forgot to conclude, Mr. Bradford put him in mind of it, and such then at last he concluded, How that because Christ's body was circumscriptible, concerning the human nature in heaven, therefore it was so in the bread.

Brafford. How hangeth this together? Even as if you should say: Because you are here, therefore it must needs follow that you are at Rome. For thus you reason, because Christ's body is in heaven, therefore it is in the sacrament under the form of bread: which no wise man will grant.

Alphonus. Why? will you believe nothing but that which is expressly spoken in the scriptures?

Brafford. Yes, sir, I will believe whatsoever is demonstrated out of the scriptures declared concerning the same, quoth Alphonus to his fellows; then turning to Bradford, said to him: Is not God able and will Bradford. Yes, but here the question is of God's and not of his power.

Alphonus. Why? he doth not say plainly, Thine own self, God, shall they say? Bradford. Yes, and I deny not but that it is the faith of the worthy receiver.

Alphonus. To the faith! how is that? Bradford. Forbiddith sir, as I have no tongue to speak to, I know you have no ears to hear and find it. For faith is more than man can utter.

Alphonus. But I can tell all that I believe. Bradford. You believe not much then. For if believe the joys of heaven, and believe no more than you can tell, you will not yet deny to confer with them. For as the mind is more capable and receivable than the mouth, so it conceiveth more than the mouth can express.

Alphonus. Christ faith is it his body.

Brafford. And so I say, after a certain manner.

Alphonus. After a certain manner! that is, another manner than it is in heaven.

Brafford. St. Augustinelle telleth it more plainly: it is Christ's body after the same manner as circumcision was the covenant of God, and the sacrament of faith and grace; hence it is more plain, as baptism and of baptism is regeneration.

Alphonus. Very well said: baptism and the same, there is a sacrament of God's grace and spirit in water cleansing the baptized.

Brafford. No, sir, away with your inclosing; I grant, that after the same form Christ's body is in bread, in which form the grace and spirit of God is in the water.

Alphonus. God's grace is in the water by signifies.

Brafford. So is the body in the bread; in the form of bread.

You are much deceived, in that you take no difference between the sacraments; that baptism and the sacraments that are transitory and perfect.

As for example, the sacrament of orders, which is not, though St. Augustin affirment it, is a form, although the ceremony be past. But in baptism, in the body is walled, the water ceaseth to be a form.

Brafford. Very good, and so it is in the figure of the Lord; no longer than it is in use, it is Christ's sacrament.

Hence the friar was in a wonderful rage, and his loud (as he had often done before) that the whole rang again. This friar had the character of being a very learned man, but fully by his behaviour he had very little patience, for if Bradford had been himself, he would have house could not have held them. Length they came to this point. That Bradford could find in scripture that baptism and the Lord's form any similitude together. And here he triumphed before the conquest, saying, that these men would nothing but scripture, and yet are able to prove not by their own discourse.

Brafford. Be patient, and you shall see that by scripture I will find baptism and the Lord's form coupled together.

Alphonus. No, that thou cannot do. Let me a text of it.

Brafford. St. Paul faith, That as we are baptized into one body, so were we put into one spirit, I have drank of one spirit, meaning the cup is in the Lord's supper.

Alphonus. St. Paul hath no such words.

Brafford. Yes, that he hath.

Comp. I think he hath not.

Brafford. Give me a Textament, and I will there.

So a priest that by them gave him his Testament, and he showed them the plain text. Then they did excuse it not to be together. In fine, the friar made this fruit, that St. Paul spoke not of the sacrament.

Brafford. Well, the text isplain enough, and then...
Bradford. Sir, be not you overwiser: in all the scriptures you cannot find their words. There is not bread.

Priest. Your Grace can, in few words.

Bradford. Then I will eat your book. So the book was opened, but no place found: and he went his way fnilling. God help us all.

It followed after this, upon the 3d of March, that by means of one of the earl of Derby's men, there came to the Company to dinner there Mr. Collier, once warden of Manchefelt, and the said servant of the earl of Derby, of whom Mr. Bradford learned, that Dr. Welton, dean of Wemflinr, would be with him in the afternoon about two o'clock. At dinner time, when the said warden had the intended king Edward, and went about to set forth the authority of the pope, which Bradford withstood, defending the king's faith, that it was catholic; and that the authority of the bishop of Rome's supremacy was usurped, bringing forth the testimony of Gregory, which affirneth the name of suprême head, to be a title of the forerunner to Antichrist; a woman prisoner was brought in, whereupon the said Bradford took occasion to rise from the table, and so went to his prison chamber to pray to God for his grace and assistance therein, continuing there till he was called down to speak with Dr. Welton, who was then come in.

Mr. Bradford was being called down, as soon as he entered into the hall, Dr. Welton very gently took him by the hand, and asked how he did, with such other talk. At length he desired them to go out of the chamber: so they all went out, save Dr. Welton himself, Mr. Collier, the earl of Derby's servant, the sub-dean of Wemflinr, the keeper, Mr. Claydon, and the parson of the church near the Company.

Now when he began with Mr. Bradford, to tell how that he had often intended to have come unto him, being desired by the earl of Derby: and (said he) after I perceived by this man, that you could be contented rather to speak with me, than with any other, I could not but come to desire you, to let the good I can; for you may be sure I will never yield you.

Sir, replied Mr. Bradford, when I perceived by the report of my lord's servant, that you did bear me good will, more (as he said) than any other of your fort, I told him then, that that I could be better contented and more willing to talk with you, if you should come unto me. This did I say: otherwise I desired not your coming.

Welfon. Well, Mr. Bradford, now I am come to talk with you: but before we enter into any talk, certain principles we must agree upon, which shall be this day's work.

First, said he, I shall desire you to put away all vain glory, and not hold any thing for the praise of the world.

Bradford. Sir, St. Augustine maketh that indeed a piece of the definition of an heretic; which if I cannot put away clean, (for I think there will be a place of it remain in us, as long as this flesh liveth) yet I promise you by the grace of God, that I will do no thing to yield to it. God I hope will never suffer it to bear rule in them that strive against it, and desire all the drags of it utterly to be driven out of us.

Welfon. I am glad to hear you say so, although indeed I think you do not so much esteem it as others do.

Secondly, I would advise you to put away singularity in your judgment and opinion.

Bradford. Sir, God forbid that I should think thine singularity or private judgment in God's religion. Hither to I have not defined it, neither do, nor mind at any time to hold any other doctrine than is public and catholic (understood as catholic as good men do) according to God's word.

Welfon. Very well, this is a good day's work, I hope to do you good: and therefore now thirdly, I shall pray you to write me the heads of those things whereupon you stand in the sacrament, and to send them to me betimes this and the next: until which time, yeas, until I come to you again, be assured, if you are without all peril of death. Of my fidelity, I warrant you, therefore away with all doubts, &c.

Bradford. Sir, I will write to you the grounds I went to...
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

Q. MARY. A.D. 1553.

in this matter. As for death, if it come, welcome be it, which you require of me, shall be no great hindrance to me therein.

Wetton. You know that St. Augustine was a Mani- chean, yet he was converted at length; so that I have good hope of you.

Bradford. Sir, because I will not flatter you, I would you should flatly know, that I am even settled in that religion for which I am condemned.

Wetton. Yes, but if it be not the truth, and you see evident matter to the contrary, will you not then give place?

Bradford. God forbid, but that I should always give place to the truth.

Wetton. I would have you to pray.

Bradford. So I do, and that he will more and more confirm me in it, as I thank God I have done and doth.

Wetton. Yes, but pray with a condition, if you be in it.

Bradford. No, sir, I cannot pray so, because I am not- tled and affrighted of his truth.

Wetton, as the learned bishop anfwerved St. Augustine's mother, that though he was obstinate, yet the tears of such a mother could not but win her son: so also I may beg your prayers (for then Bradford's eyes did flow that he had wept in prayer) cannot but be heard by God, though not as you would, yet as best shall please him. Do you not remember the history thereof?

Bradford. Yes, sir, I think it is of St. Ambrose.

Wetton. No, that it is not. And here Wetton would have had a wager, and began to triumph, saying to Bradford, As you are overween herein, so are you in other things.

Bradford. Well, sir, I will not contend with you for the name. This (I remember) St. Augustine writeth in his confessions.

After this talk Dr. Wetton began to tell Mr. Bradford, that the people were prevailed by him to with- stand the queen.

Whereunto Bradford anfwering again, bade him hang him up as a traitor and a thief, if ever he encouragéd any to rebellion: his keeper and the priests that were there, affirmed the fame. At that time there was much talk to little purpose. Dr. Wetton declared moreover, that he had laced men going in the cart to be hanged, and such like.

The end was this, that Bradford should send unto him the heads of the doctrine of the supper, and after Wed- nessday he would come unto him again; and thus he departed, he burnt him in beer and wine.

We omit here talk of Oxford, of books of German writers, the fear of death, and such other talk, which are to no purpose.

In the mean time, when Mr. Bradford had written his resons and arguments, and had sent them to Dr. Wetton, soon after, about the 28th of March, there came to the Compt Mr. Pendleton, and with him the aforeaid Mr. Collier, sometimes of Manches- ter, and Stephen Becke. After falations, Dr. Pendle- ton began to speak to Mr. Bradford, that he was forry for his trouble. And further, said he, after that I knew you could be content to talk with me, I made the more speed, being as ready to do you good, and serve you what I can, as you would with.

Bradford. Sir, the manner how I was content to speak with you was on this fort: Mr. Becke often asked me whom he should bring unto me, and named you amongst others; and I said I would rather speak with you than any other. Now the cause why I so would, I will briefly tell you. I remember that once you were, (as far as any man might judge) of the relig- ious that I am of at prent, and I remember that you have evidently set forth the same. Gladly therefore would be a hint of you what thing it was that moved your confidence to alter, and gladly would I fee what thing it is that you have seen face which you saw not before.

Pendleton. I do not know for what you are con- demned.

Bradford. Transubstantiation is the cause for which I am condemned, and because I deny that wicked manna received the body where I would declare you shew me what reasons which before you knew not, to move your confidence now to alter. For once (as I tell you were as I am in religion.

Here Mr. Pendleton, half amazed, began to turn himself, as though he had not fully denied trans- substantiation indeed, although I said, says he, that word was not in scripture; and so he made an essay to alter his thing that moved me; and after thing that moved me (but he) I will gather you the places which moved me to send you them. And here he declared Mr. Bradford that he might have a copy of that which he sent to Dr. Wetton; which Mr. Bradford promised.

Some resounding also they had, whether evil did receive Christ's body. Bradford denying, Pendleton affirming. Mr. Bradford said, that they reso- not the spirit: therefore, not the body; for it is no carcase. Hereto Mr. Bradford brought also St. An- geline, how Jesus received "the bread of the Lord" and that in Christ's body, which must receive the body of Christ. Pendleton went about to put it away with Jesus not Ad idem, and how that In Corpore Christi was menton, all that are in the church of Christ. Mr. Bradford denied this to be St. Augustine's meaning, and said also that the allegation of Ad idem, could not make for that purpose. They talked more of transubstantiation, Pendleton quoting Cyprian. The nature of bread is changed, he, and Mr. Bradford said, that in that place nature signifies substance. As the nature of an herb is a substance of it, so the bread changed in nature is to be taken for changed in substance: for now it is dainned not for food of the body simply, but rather the spirit. Here also Bradford alluded the case of Galatians. Pendleton said, he was a pope. Ye, Mr. Bradford, but his faith was my faith in the face, if you would receive it.

They reasoned also where accidents were things no. If they are then, said Mr. Bradford, then they substance; and if they be substances, they are accidents, and there are earthly substances in the same as Irenicius says, which must needs be bread. But Pendleton said, that the colour was the earthly thing, called it an accidental substance.

We omit what passed about our lord of Canterbury's book of Peter Martyr's; of Pendleton's letter his Bradford's change when he was condemned, with the talk about the church, whether Dr. Echea is of the universal church, or of a particular church; in length Mr. Pendleton granted that it was spoken of a particular church also of vain-glory, which he deems Mr. Bradford to beware of, and such like talk. As little before his depairing Mr. Bradford said the Master Doctor, as I said to Dr. Wetton before, I to you now, that I am the same manin religion against transubstantiation stail, as I was when I came ion; for hitherto I have been nothing in one can to convince me of the contrary. At which words Pendleton was something moved, and said it was catholic doctrine. Yes, says Mr. Bradford, and that will I prove even by the testimony of the catholic faith, until the council of Lateran, or thereabouts. Then Pendleton went his way, saying that he would often go over to Mr. Bradford.

The same day in the afternoon, about five o'clock, Dr. Wetton came to Mr. Bradford, and after falations, he declared every man peace, and they sat down. And after he had thanked Bradford for his writing to him, he pulled out before the writing which Mr. Bradford had sent him.

The writing is as follows:
am the more ready and glad to pity you. So he began to read the first, to which he said, that though the word tranubratification began but lately to be known, and that it was a thing always had, and hath been since Christ's institution.

Bradford. I do not contend, or insist upon the word only, but upon the thing which is as new as the word.

Then Dr. Wotton went to the second, and there brought out St. Augustine, how that the evil man going to the devil, did make his will, his foner and the other would not lay his father did lie in it, or speak tropically: much more Christ, going to God, did never lie, or use any figurative speech in his law will and testament. Do you not remember what place of St. Augustine said he.

Bradford. Yes, first, that I do not remember he hath those words tropically, or figuratively, as you rehearse them: for any man may speak a thing figuratively and not lie: and so Christ did in his last supper.

After this Dr. Wotton went to the third, and brought forth Cyprian, how that the nature of bread is turned into flesh. Here, says he, my lord of Canterbury expounded nature for quality, by Gelasius. Which interpretation serves for the answer of your argument, that Christ called bread his body; that is, the quality, form, and appearance of bread. And further, the scripture is wont to call things by the same names which they had before, as Christ doth: but then he was not at that time, but because he had been so.

Bradford. Cyprian wrote before Gelasius; therefore Cyprian must not expound Gelasius, but Gelasius Cyprian; and so they both teach, that bread remaineth still. As for things having still the names they had, it is no answer, except we could shew how at this time our bread, as easily as a man might have known and feign to be the Son of God, to have been healed and clear from his leprosy.

After this Dr. Wotton went to the fourth, of which he did not fully read, but digressed into a long talk of Cyprian's epitaph De Aquatibus: also of St. Augustine, especially of his breaking of bread by Christ to his two disciples going to Emmaus. Therefore Mr. Bradford prayed him, that as much as he had written the reasons that established his faith against tranubratification, so he would likewise do to him, that is, answer him by writing, and shew him more reasons in writing to confirm tranubratification. This Dr. Wotton promised to do, and said that he would send or bring it to Mr. Bradford again within three days.

Thus when he had read over the arguments, and here and there spoke little to the purpose for the avoiding of them, and Mr. Bradford had prayed him to give him his answer: he began to tell Mr. Bradford bow and what he had done for Mr. Grindal, and that Mr. Bradford needed not to fear any reproach or slander he should suffer, meaning probably to have Mr. Bradford secretly to come to them as Grindal did; for he subscrib'd.

Bradford. Mr. Wotton, I would not have you conceive I minds the blame of men in this matter: I would rather have you think as the very truth is, that hitherto I have not heard or seen any thing to weaken my faith against tranubratification, so I am no less settled in it than I was at my first coming hither. I love to be plain with you; and to you at first as you shall find at the last.

Well. Indeed, Mr. Bradford, I write the better for your plainness: and do not think otherwise of me, but that you still find me plain in all my talk with you.

Here Wotton began to ask Mr. Bradford of his imprisonment and condonation; and Mr. Bradford told him aloud, that he had been handled. Whereat Wotton seemed to wonder: yet, Mr. Bradford said, that Mr. Bradford had been handled otherwise than he had given cause; and so showed him, that his lord of Bath reported that he had deliver'd a benefit at the queen's hand, and at all the council's. In this kind he spent almost an hour, and Mr. Bradford, being weary, rose up, and Wotton called the keeper, and before him he bade Bradford be of good comfort, and he told him he was in no danger of death.
Sir, says the keeper, but it is in every man's mouth that he shall die to-morrow.

Whereat Weltion feemed half amazed, and, said, he would go fare even long before the queen, and speak to her in his own behalf. But it is to be thought that the queen had almost fupped at that time; for it was past fix o'clock.

Before the keeper, Mr. Bradford told Weltion again, that this was one man, and, even as he was at the first; and still he should be fure to teach to tender his conftidence, and the contrary, he faid he must needs go continue.

The keeper defired Mr. Bradford to hearken to Mr. Doctor's counfel, and prayed Mr. Doctor to be good unto him; and fo after they had drank together, Dr. Weltion with mefll gentile words took his leave for three days.

Now when he was gone, the keeper told Mr. Bradford, that Mr. Doctor fpake openly, that the faw no caufe why they should burn him. Which efemence, for the ambiguity of the meaning, made him somewhat forry, for he had gathered any conformity to them in their doctrine, which God knoweth, faid Bradford, I never as yet did. God our Father bleff us, as his children, and keep us from foul evil for ever. Amen.

Upon the 9th of April, Dr. Weltion came to the compo-uter about two o'clock in the fafternoon, who excufed him for being fo long absent; partly by ficknefs; partly for that Dr. Pendleton told him, he would come to him; partly for that, faid he, I withfhold myfelf unto him, which would have come again into Welt-erfon, which which would have come again into Welt-erfon till the hour, fo that the pope was dead, and alfo declared unto him, that he had fpoken to the queen in his behalf, and that death was not to neare him.

Lest all, he excufed himfelf for not anfwering his arguments againft tranfubftantiation; becaufe my coming to-day, faid he, was more by fortune, than of purpofe.

Bradford. I would gladly, Mr. Doctor, if it please you, fec your anfwers to my arguments that I fpake to you, when I was laft with you.

Weltion. In good faith I cannot fec any other or better way for you, than to fubmit yourfelf to the judgment of the church.

Bradford. Indeed, fo will I, fir, if be by the church understand Christ's church.

Weltion. Lo, you take upon you to judge the church.

Bradford. No, fir, that I do not: in taking upon me to difcern, I do not judge the church.

Weltion. Yes, that you do; and make it ineffible.

Bradford. I do neither.

Weltion. Why, who can fee your church?

Bradford. Thine, fir, that have spiritual eyes, where- with they might have diered Christ's visible conver- fation here upon earth.

Weltion. Nay, Christ's church hath three tokens, that all men may look well upon: namely, unity, antiquity, and conflant.

Bradford. Thofe three may be as well in evil as in good, as well in profe, as in virtue, as well in the devil's church as in God's church. As for example, idolatry among the Israelites had alfo thofe three. Chriftfam says plainly, as you well know, that the church is well known only by the Scriptures.

Weltion. If you make your church ineffible, when you have it known only by the Scriptures.

Bradford. No, fir, the Scriptures do plainly set forth to us the church, that all men may well enough know her thereby, if they please to look.

Weltion. The church is like a tower or town, that all men may fee.

Bradford. True, fir, all men that are not blind. Vifible enough is the church, but men's blindnefs is great. Impute not therefore to the church, that is to be reproached to men's blindnefs.

Weltion. Where was your church forty years ago? Or where is it now, except in a corner of Germany?
yet for all my fearfuls, I heard them not: therefore I could not be much afraid, if I slept so fast.

Servant. Do you lack any thing towards your necessity? Bradford. Nothing but your prayers, and I trust I have them, and you mine.

Servant. I saw a priest come to you to-day in the morning.

Bradford. Yes, he brought me a letter from a friar, and I am writing an answer.

Servant. Then we hinder you, therefore the living God be with you.

Bradford. And with you also, and blest you.

Servant. Amen, amen; and gave him thanks and departed.

Mr. Bradford continued still in prison, until the month of July, in such labours and sufferings as he always before had sustained in prison. But when the time of his determined death was come, he was suddenly conveyed out of the Compter where he was prisoner, in the night season to Newgate, as is declared before, and from thence he was carried the next morning to Smithfield, where he calmly abiding in the fame truth of God, which before he had confessed, earnestly exhorting the people to repent, and to return to Christ, and sweetly comforting the young man of nineteen or twenty years of age, who suffered with him, cheerfully ended his painful life to live with Christ.

The EXAMINATION of Mr. John Leaf.

WTH Mr. Bradford was burnt John Leaf, apprentice to Humphrey Gaudy, tailor-chandler, of the parish of St. Botolph-without, in London, born at Kirkby Morefield, in the county of York; who upon the Friday before Palm-Sunday was committed to the Compter in Bread-street, by an alderman of the ward where the said John Leaf dwelt. Afterwards he coming to examination before bishop Bonner, gave a firm and Christian testimony of his doctrine and profession, answering to such articles as were objected to him by the said bishop.

First, as touching his belief and faith in the said sacrament of the altar, he answered, that after the words of consecration spoke by the priest over the bread and wine, there was not the very true and natural body and blood of Christ in substance; and further did hold and believe, that the said sacrament of the altar, as is now called, used, and believed in this realm of England, is idolatrous and abominable; and also said further, that he believed, that after the words of consecration spoke by the priest over the material bread and wine, there is not the self-same substance of Christ’s body and blood there contained; but bread and wine, as it was before. And further said, that he believed, that when the priest delivereth the said material bread and wine to the communicants, he delivereth only material bread and wine; and the communicants do receive the same in remembrance of Christ’s death and passion; and spiritually in faith they receive Christ’s body and blood, but not under the forms of bread and wine: and also affirmed, that he believed conferment not necessary to be made unto a priest; neither that the priest hath any authority given him by the scripture to absolve and remit any sin.

Upon these points, order, and testimony of his faith, he was at that time disappointed, with orders to appear again the next Monday, June 10, in the said place, and there to hear the sentence of his condemnation. At which time the aforesaid bishop propounded the said articles to him as before, endeavouring by all manner of ways to bring him to renounce his religion; but notwithstanding all his perfidious threats, and promises, found him the same man still, firm upon the sure rock of truth, that no words or deeds of men could remove him.

Then the bishop, after many words passing between them, at last asked him, if he had been Mr. Rogers’s scholar? To whom the aforesaid John Leaf answered again, granting it to be so; and that he believed in the doctrine of the said Rogers, and in the doctrine of the bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their opinion, ...
who were lately burned for the testimony of Christ; and he did in that die a doctrine that they died for. The bishop did the same by persuading him to return to the church; but he would not, as he said in those words: My lord, (saith he) you call mine opinion hereby; but it is the true light of the word of God. And again repeating the same, he professed that he would never forsake his bayed and well-grounded opinion, while the sun and the moon should shine, and the earth should be inhabited; whereupon the bishop being too weak, either to refute his sentence, or to remove his contenacy, proceeded conformably to read the sentence of condemnation; whereby this pious and constant young man being committed to the secular power of the thief, was there judged, and not long after suffered, the same day with Mr. Bradford, confirming with his death that which he had spoken and professed in his life.

It is reported of the said John Leafe, by one that was in the Competer at the same time, and saw the thing; that after his examination before the bishop, when two bills were sent unto him in the Competer in Bread-street, the one containing a recantation, the other his confessions, to know to which of them he would put his hand; first hearing the bill of recantation read unto him, (because he could not read nor write himself) that he refused the same; but after the bill of his recantation was read unto him, instead of a pen he took a pen, and to pricking his hand, sprinkled the blood upon the said bill, desiring the reader thereof to fly the bishop, that he had feared the same bill with his blood already.

The BEHAVIOUR of Mr. BRADFORD and JOHN LEAF at their MARTYRDOM.

First, when they came to the stake in Smithfield to be burnt, Mr. Bradford lying prostrate on one side of the stake, and the young man John Leafe on the other side, they lay flat on their faces, praying to themselves the space of a minute. Then one of the sheriffs said to them, Anon, and make an end; for the prayers of the people is great.

At that word they stood up, and Mr. Bradford took a faggot in his hand and killed it, and likewise the stake. And when he had so done, he desired of the sheriffs, that his servant might have his raiment. For (said he) I have nothing else to give him; and besides that, he is a poor man. And the sheriff said he should have it. Then Mr. Bradford immediately took off his raiment, and went to the stake; and holding up his hands, and casting his eyes towards heaven, he said thus, "O England, England, repent of thy sins, repent of thy sins; beware of idolatry, beware of Antichrist, for he doth not deceive you." And as he was speaking these words, the sheriffs ordered his hands to be tied if he would not be quiet. O Matter Sheriff, said he, I am quiet: God forgive you this, Matter Sheriff. And one of the officers who was to make the fire, hearing Mr. Bradford to speaking to the sheriff, said, If you have no better learning than this, you are but a fool, and you had best hold your peace. To which Mr. Bradford gave no answer, but asked all the world to forgive and forgive all the world, and desired the people to pray for him: then he turned his head to the young man that followed him, and wept, But for otherwise, for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night: and then embracing the reeds, he said thus, "Strait is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it." And thus they both ended this mortal life, like two lovers, without any alteration of their countenances, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the prize that they had long run for; to which I beseech Almighty God happily to conduct us, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, Amen.

Mention was made a little above how chirurgical Mr. Woodrofe the sheriff answered Mr. Bradford at the stake, not troubling him to speak, but commanding his hands to be cut off. He did so at extremity, or worse, he used, alfo before to Mr. Rogers.

The said Woodrofe was sheriff together with Sir Wil...

liam Cheffler, in the year 1555, who was a much beloved man, both in temper and religion; he behaved great courage towards those pious martyrs, who were theretofor for their conscience, very much forfees to die at any time misused. But Woodrofe, he was such a character and ill-natured that he was wont to abudge the said those who were going to die; he would not so much let them take hands with their departing friends, as to make them feel the misbehaviour, and the vileness of criminals under professant government.

But now, by the way, let us take notice of the free punishment which God inflicted on this cruel prelate. Mr. Woodrofe: it is said, that within half a year after the burning of this blessed martyr, the said sheriff was to die a very poxful place, and within the term of eight years after (all his dying day) he was not allowed to turn himself in his bed, but needed two men to carry him; and withal such an infatiable deviation upon him, that was monstrous to behold. And he continued for eight years together.

On the DEATH of Mr. JOHN BRADFORD.

Let no disciple 'bave his master's be, for the servants are not from affections free. God, whom he loves, chastises even his servants: Strait is the way to the celestial throne.

Whole words whilt, Bradford, thou dit ruminate, Not two bear's meat, no Tears, no sighs, no sobs, Could thock thy deadly soul; so faw this day. Of Satan's malice wound thy confiant heart; But the souls of men that didst fam (and with grace divine) Thy body to the flaming pile return. Mr. Bradford, during the time of his imprisonment wrote several comfortable treatises, and many pious letters, of which, some were directed to the city of London, Cambridge, Walden, to Lancashire and Cheshire, and divers to his other private friends. Which to the intent it may appear how well this good man occupied his time in prison, when the special seal he had from the state of Christ's church, what he did to perform his office, how earnestly he admonished all how tenderly he comforted the heavy-hearted, how fully he confirmed them whom he had taught, we do not have to introduce: all the letters that he cannot be here exhibited, being so many in number, they alone would make a large volume; however, the satisfaction of the pious reader, we will inform that are judged the best and most excellent among them.

It has been mentioned before how the Earl of Derby commanded, that the parliament house, of certain letters written by Jo Bradfurd, to his friend, to London, and he was likewise charged by the bishop of London, and Mr. Allen, with some other letters. Now we are to report, that the reader may more perfectly understand the former letters of which, he wrote to his noble brother, and sitters, out of the Tower, before his condemnation, we will here produce the copy and come as followeth.

LETTER.

From Mr. BRADFORD, to his MOTHER, a PICTON, dwelling in MANCHESTER, and BRETHEREN and SISTERS, and other FRIENDS.

Our dear and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, whose praises at this present (pened be his name) I am prepared to keep you very good mother; with my brothers and sisters, fathers John T—, Thomas S—, Lawrence and Richard, with their wives and families, &c. now and ever, Amen.

I am in prison, figure enough from flattering, not what I have preached unto you, as I am ready (think me) to feel the same with my life and blood, if God shall vouchsafe me the effect of that honour. For, good mother and brethren, it is a special privilege, as far as my name's sake and gospel, as now I do: I heartily thank God, and am sure that with him I shall be partaker of his glory; if we follow with him, we shall enjoy him. Therefore be not faint-hearted, but rather count on my life left for my cause, who am now in the right and highest place of all, all which we must enter into the gates of heaven. Now will God make known his children, who do not blow a noise, any cannot know the wheat that chafe; but when the blast cometh, then the chaff is entirely consumed.
of our faith, that his body was broken for us, and his blood shed for the pardon of our first sin: but in the case of the faith, ye eat: No faith, the priest, Gape, peep. Here (in the mafs) is a false, ye, crucifying Christ again as much as they can. Here is idolatry, in worshipping the brazen image of bread and wine; here is all in Latin, you cannot tell what is faithful, and all in English, nothing as God ordained. Wherefore (my good mother) be not come nor nor.

I premise some will say, that it will be worse for you, if you refuse to go to mass, and do as others do. But be assured, that God will afford you, as you would please by day and night; he hath promised to whom he suffer for his cause, his heaven and hell in this world, and in the world to come to live eternally. You shall be more beloved of God; but they are the heretics that so call you, whose praise is a fearful sin; you are not able to reason against the prelates, but God will say that they shall not be able to withstand you. I doubt not but father Travas, and all of his brother priests and fillers will com­fort and affright you by their counsel and promises; but if they do not, you, you, them, for you, that I may be constant; rejoice in my suf­ferings, for it is for your faves, that thereby I may come to be the truth I have taught. Beware that this letter come not abroad, but only into father Travas's hands: for if it should be known that I have pen and ink in pilon, it would be much worse for me. Therefore keep it to yourselves, and command me to God's mercy through Jesus Christ, and pray that he would make me worthy of him, and for the face of his church and gospel. From the Tower of London, this 23rd day of May, 1553.

My name write not, you know the reason well enough: like the letter never the worse. Command me to all my good brethren and friends, here and elsewhere. Do ye obey the more directly, that is, in no matter of holy or bodily nature or rebel, but rather if they command that which with good cause, and you cannot obey, lay your head on the block, and suffer whatsoever they shall do or lay. By patience potentise your souls.

After the time that Mr. Bradford was condemned, and sent to the Compter, his adversities purposed (as ye heard before) to send him to Manchester to be burned. Whereupon he writeth to the city of London, thinking to take his last farewell of them in this letter.

LETTER II.

From Mr. Bradford, to the CITY OF LONDON.

To all that professe the gospel and true discipline of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in the city of London. Mr. Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in prison, but also excommunicated and condemned to be burned for the same true doctrine, writeth and commendeth to God's mercy and grace, peace, with increase of all godly knowledge and piety, from the Father of mercy, through the merits of our alone and insufficient Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

My dearly beloved brethren in our Saviour Christ, although the time is not to live is very little, (for I look hourly when I shall be had hence) I have converse with my Lord and Master Lancashire there to be burned, and to render my life by the Lord and by the world, where I received it) and although there is great charge given to me from the things whereby I might dignify any thing to the world of my efface, as I now have, and am to think good to write a short confession of my faith, and join thereunto a little exhortation to you all to live according to your profession. Firt, For my faith, I do confess and pray all the whole congregation of Christians, to bear witness with me of the fame, that I believe certainly, by means of the gospel of God, (for faith is God's only gift) all the twelve articles of the Christian religion, to believe and to confess, to both and creed, commonly attributed to the collection of the apostles. This is the Christian faith, I particularly declare and express to the confirmation and confession of all the faithful among you by faith! Fasts and death I write in manner what I write, and therefore I shall defray you all to take this brevity in good part.

And this faith I hold, not because of the writing of the bishop, but because of the word of God, which teacheth and confirmeth you accordingly. This word of God, written by the prophets and apostles, which is the word of God, and, left of all the sacred and mystical books of the whole holy Bible, I do believe to contain plenteous and many words of salvation, to that nothing (as necessary to salvation) ought to the congregation, ought to be burt under the same false doctrine, than that which hath its foundation and ground from the testimony of this faith, I render and give my life, being condemned as a heretic, for detractioning the Antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar general, and to the church catholic and universal church here or elsewhere upon earth; as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of transubstantiation and Christ's real, corporal, and carnal presence in his body.
mercy unto our sins, for they are great: O help us, and save us for thine honour. Let not the wicked people say, When will God, etc.

For, that my right dearly beloved, be thou breathe in our first, repent us of our former evil lives, henceforth al-

ways purport to amend our lives in all things, continually prayer our selves, and not in our heat, nor in the hear, and

most holy scriptures, labour after our.vocation to amend.

Let us repay the works of darkness.

Lest we become partakers of the same, or be

servile, despise the popish masts, renounce them, and

after with the apostles, it is much easier to regret than to

sin. Howbeit never for any thing reffit, to the

manifiest. Avenge not yourselves, but commit ye to them who vengeance belongeth; and he shall in the end will reward it. If you feel in yourselves an affection to God, that he will never tempt you above that he will not be able to bear all hurts. But if you were able, then give you hence, rather than by your tarrying

If in sum, call your care on the Lord, knowing for mat-

tain, that he is careful for you; with whom all the bar-

Your brother in bonds for the Lord's fake, JOHN BRADFORD.

E T E R I I.

From Mr. BRADFORD to the UNIVERSITY.

To all that love the Lord Jesus and his true doctrine.

T"
peace, and mercy, with inness of all godliness from the Father of all me, through Jesus Christ our Lord, by the lively working of the Holy Spirit in grace.

I come, although it took me hourly when I should be had to the face of the Lord and although the charge of the body was press and life, yet having the providence of God of the pen and the ink, I could not but signify unto you yo view which I esteem thee, as I may. You have often and clearly heard the matter in this respect where I am condemned and preached, through the power of the Holy Spirit. For albeit you defers and love is pressed on you infidel, unhallowed, and carnal, whereby I make my confession to the world, that before you was at Christ by his grace. And which is not unlike death and hellfire, more than this much afflic

I set prepared for me yet my dearly beloved, it is not for any of these things, for which the prelates do peract. I entreat you not to give up Christ himself as the same for which I am now condemned, and shall be burned as heretics, because I will not grant the Antichrist to Rome to Christ as the general and supreme head of the church. Therefore you ought heurfully to rejoice with me, and to give me, that God the eternal Father hath vouchsafed our redemption, and that it is in Christ's church in the holy name as he doth, and I hope it shall not be in the truth of my faith, to do me in and by me. Oh! what shall I answer on earth can it be, that as I deferred death by mere contemplation, so shall I be delivered to demonstrate and testify, and confession of God's verity and truth? Thus make the university hath not only the truth of God's knowledge, but also the means of it, and of the denial thereof, but now to make it know against such, and as it were, almost to fix against the Holy Spirit, that thou put to thy helping hand with the Romish root of the school. But to make thee sure, if thou wilt be confounded, or else to confess and bear witness against thee, if thou wilt take part with them, mine eyes, which have seen the glory of God, and more especially the concernations of his glory the prophets and apostles, that all the right head from Abel to Bradford, shed upon earth, may be re

Therefore, dear mother, receive some admonition of one or thy poor children, now going to be burnt for the sake of the earth, for Jesus. One is gone out of Babylon; and so our dear child, doth not, as it is saith, which we have seen and heard, which was, that we must not be taken for the earth, poor Noah and his family, or all the others that were destroyed by the flood: Who was taken for the earth, the Lord, or the others? And do not Christ say, "As it was then, so is it to this day?" What meaneth Christ when he said, Iniquity shall have the upper hand? Doth not the like false faith, that is now in the world, and in all the greater strength of false prophets, who would be now taken for Christ's true catholic church. All that fear God in this realm call more of this than I can write, that I write.

Therefore, dear mother, receive some admonition of one or thy poor children, now going to be burnt for the sake of the earth, for Jesus. One is gone out of Babylon; and so our dear child, doth not, as it is saith, which we have seen and heard, which was, that we must not be taken for the earth, poor Noah and his family, or all the others that were destroyed by the flood: Who was taken for the earth, the Lord, or the others? And do not Christ say, "As it was then, so is it to this day?" What meaneth Christ when he said, Iniquity shall have the upper hand? Doth not the like false faith, that is now in the world, and in all the greater strength of false prophets, who would be now taken for Christ's true catholic church. All that fear God in this realm call more of this than I can write, that I write.
Lord look merely upon us, for his mercy's sake in Christ: then that goodly face will have pity upon us. For he is himself gracious and merciful, of great pity and compassion; he cannot be chiding for ever: his anger cannot last to the pavement. Though we weep in the morning, yet at the right time we shall hear the joyful sound from our sorrow to cease. For he is merciful, and hath no pleasure in the death of a sinner: he would rather have him turn from his wicked life.

Oh turn ye now and repent, yet once again I humbly beseech you, and then the kingdom of heaven shall draw nigh. The wine is drawn, the feast is ended, nor is the heart of man able to conceive the joys prepared for us, if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if you repent not, then, in a few ye of days, ye shall appear before the judgment. 

Following the fashions of the world, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers, you shall perish in your wickedness, your blood will be required of you, and mine, and, your lives shall be brought before the hypocrites, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; you shall be call from the face of the Lord for ever and ever: eternal shame, for bread, and milk, and mercy, and life, and soul to you without end. Oh therefore, right dear to me in the Lord, turn, turn you, repent you, repent you, amend, amend your lives, depart from evil, do good, follow peace, and purify it. Come out from Babylon, call off the works of darkness, put on Christ, confess his truth, be not ashamed of his gospel, prepare yourselves for the crooks, fight of God's cup before it come to the dogs, and then shall I wish you and you, rejoice in the day of judgment, which is at hand; and therefore prepare yourselves therefor, I hereby hearken to the voice that speaks in me, that I may appear before the Lord in this present life, mine own dear hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful and sure meeting in his kingdom, Amen, Amen.

Out of prison, February 11, 1555.

Your own in the Lord for ever,

JOHN BRADFORD.

LETTER IV.

From Mr. BRADFORD, to LANCASHIRE and CHESTERS.

To all those who profess the name and true religion of our Saviour Christ in Lancashire and Cheshire, and especially abiding in Manchester and thereabouts. John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now me not only in bonds, but also considered as an enemy to true religion, come to me with mercy and grace and with a sincere and inoffensive affection, of all Godfathers from God the Father of all pity, through the defects of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the working of the most mighty and lively Spirit the Comforter for ever, Amen.

I heard it credibly reported, my dearly beloved in the Lord, that my heavenly Father is known to good to provide, that as I have preached his true doctrine and gospel amongst you by word, so shall I testify and confirm the same by deed, that is, I shall leave my life with you, which by his providence I first received there, (for in Manchester I was born) for a seal to the doctrine I have taught with you and amongst you: so that if from henceforward you have the same, you have no excuse at all. As it is written of Christ's preachers: He that preaches Christ crucified to me, (I speak in respect of mine offence, which is none to them) think by killing of me amongst you, to hinder you and others, lest they should attempt to do it. To be thankful to God, and believe his doctrine hereafter. But I doubt not but my heavenly Father will by my death more confirm you in his truth. And therefore I go with joy and rejoicing to Sistar and his fellows implored in their own widows, which is plain foolishness amongst the wise indeed, that is, amongst such as have heard God's word; and do follow it: for they only are counted wife of the widows of God our Saviours.

Indeed if I should simply confine my life with that which it might seem to have been, and do God in his law and providence, then could I not but cry as I do, Righteous art thou, O Lord, and all thy judgments are true. For I have much grieved thee, and transfigured my heart, percepts, not only in the profane godspeed, but for all: yea, since my coming into prison I do not excuse, but accuse myself before God and all his church, that I have grievously offended my Lord God, I have not loved him at the right time, I have fought myself, and not his glory only, and my brethren's good, I have been too unthankful, ful, unkind, carnal, hypocritical, van: thing, &c. All which my ministers and all my heart, with all my mercy pardon for Christ's sake, if they believe; and hope and certainly believe he hath done for his great mercy in Christ our Redeemer.

Confident in the cause of my condemnation, I cannot but lament, that I do no more rejoice than I do: for it is God'sverity and truth. So that the condemnation is not a condemnation of God, but of the condemnation of Christ and of his truth. Bradford is nothing else but an instrument in which Christ and his doctrine is condemned. And then go your way, it is my thanks with all me and for me, that ever God did vouchsafe to great a benefit to our country, as to chide the mott unworthy (I mean myself)
LETTER V.

From Mr. BRADFORD, to the TOWN OF WALDEN.

To the faithful, and such as profess the true doctrine of our Saviour Jesus Christ, dwelling at Walden and thereabouts, John Bradford, most of the good part of whom are now in bonds and condemned for the same true doctrine with grace, mercy, and peace, with the increase of all good works in knowledge and living by the grace of God and Christ Jesus our Lord, through the merits of our only Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the mightily working of the most Holy Spirit, the Comforter, for ever.

Ararat.

When I remember, how that by the providence and grace of God I have been a man by whom it hath pleased him, through his mercy and grace, to send me to this place of Somerville, I am bound, yea, and I must be, to bring thee and all such as shall read this, something, even as it is foamed, and to show amongst you your true doctrine and religion, left that by my affliction, and forms now written to me and to thee, and to comfort them to the image of the Son of God, since whom we are enclosed, ye might be faint-hearted; I could not but out of privity secret (for my keepers must not know that I have pen and ink) write unto you a signification of the desire I have, that you should be more confirmed in the doctrine I have taught you, which I am affurred is the plain and infallible truth of God, and also that you be warned to govern your lives and conversation agreeable thereto. Dearly beloved in the Lord, had I taught you tables, tales, or lies, instead of this truth, I should not in willingly feel it with my blood. Indeed, to confound the truth to you and all the church of Christ, I do think of myself that I have not only most justly defected this kind of faith, but also of the way of life I do follow, that externally, for mine hypocrisy, vain-glory, uncharitableness, falsehood, covetousness, ill-nature, unthankfulness, and carnal profiting of God's holy gospel, living therein not so purely and industriously as I thought, and may never have a part in that blood and pardon me through the merits of Christ's blood, as I hope, yea, I certainly believe he hath done. My dearly beloved, you and all the worthy and unworthy, who are cut off, and shall be cut off, to the praise of him that calleth you, that the prelates perfecite Christ in me: they do not trouble thee for the evil I have done, but for the good I have endeavoured to do, in standing up for the honour of God and his gospel; and because I cannot, dare not, and will not confede transubstantiation, and that wicked men, ye mice and dogs of the tribe of the old serpent of the antichrist, as they term it utterly overthrow Christ's holy supper eat the natural and real body of Christ which was born of the virgin Mary: I say, because I will not come into such adulterous notions, I am deemed an heretic unworthy to live. To believe and confess as God's word teacheth, the primitive church believed, and all the catholic and godly fathers taught, 500 years at least after Christ, that in the supper of the Lord, which the masl overthroweth, as it doth Christ's priesthood, sacrifice, death, and passion, the ministry of his word, true faith, repentance, and all godliness whole Christ, God and man, is present by grace to the faith of the receivers, but not to the standers by or ear openers, and wrote to their fruits, will not serve: and therefore I am condemned, and shall be burned out of hand at an heretic. Wherefore I hereby thankfully this God, that will doth vouchsafe me to suffer the flesh to be himself doth suffer. For you see my affliction is not simply, because I have defended too few, but much more at his hands and justice: but you shall know that my burden is increased by his grace, I am not afraid to do, that you also may be confirmed in his truth. Therefore, my dearly beloved, I do heartily desire you, and all that sincerely love me in God, to give hearty thanks with me and for my heavenly Father, through our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ: for this is exceeding great mercy towards me and you also, your faith waver not from the doctrine I have taught, and you have received. For what can you define more to allure your confidences of the verity taught by your preachers, than their own lives forgave? Therefore, my dear friends, waver not in Christ's religion truly taught you, and set forth in the days of King Edward. Never depart from the command to burn in bonds: they may bind and burn us as they please, as long as God shall give them leave; but our cause, religion, and doctrine which we profess, the truth of God, shall be able to stand, and that idolatry and popish religion shall never be built in the confessions of men that love God's truth. And for those that love not his gospel, that will not play their game in his ways, over their doth shall prevail: for God will give them up to strong delusions that they may believe lies. Therefore, dear brethren, I humbly beseech you, who are of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Ah good brethren, take in good part these bold words unto every one of you. Pardon me mine offences trespasses in behaviour amongst you. But let us all give glory to God, as you have now shown us our Saviour Jesus Christ's faith. Of prison ready to come to you, the 11th of February,
You know that we were gospellers in lips and not in life. We were gospellers and lovers of God the maids in the wilderness; and therefore as the Lord's wrath waxed hot with them, and smote them with death. So that there is no other remedy, but that (for it is beforehand,) we must confess, our faults even from the bottom of our hearts, and with hearty repentance (which God grant to us all) we run unto the Lord, and with all that we are, and all that we have, and for the evil poured out upon us; and cry unto him with Daniel, saying, We have sinned, we have sinned grievously, O Lord. We have соглашались, we have sinned grievously, O Lord. For thy name's sake, forgive our iniquity, upon iniquity: the measure of our transgressions floweth out to that thy vengeance and wrath is justly fallen upon us. For we are very miserable, for we have covered our faces, and that for we have heartened our hearts like Pharaoh, to have eyes and see, and our hearer nor understandeth, left we should turn and be saved. O be merciful unto us; spare us, good Lord, and all thy people whom thou haft dearly bought. Let not three enemies triumph altogether, and agains thee, for then they will be puffed up. Look down and behold the pitiful complaint of the poor; let the sorrowful fighting therefore ample come into thy light, and be not angry with us for ever. Turn us, O Lord God of hosts, unto thee, and turn thou unto us, that thou mayest be justified in thy sweet sentences and overcometh when thou art judged, as now thou art by our adversities. For they say, Where is thy God? Can God deliver them now? fore unto thee? O Lord, how long? for thy honour's sake, and for the bowels of David my son, I John Chau, we humbly beseech thee, come and help us, for we are very miserable. In this manner let us publicly and privately bewail our sins; and at the same time endeavour to avoid them as much as poflibly, especially all willful and habitual sins; for if we nourish them, God will not live long, for the prayer of the wicked is abominable in the sight of God, faith the prophets. And in St. John it is written, The impenitent finners will perish. And they are impenitent which purpose not to amend their lives. They which with a false spirit for a favour of men, worship God in a falfe manner, and contrary to their own confciences or the confciences of the Romish rage, and refent to the perfect religion, and to the great and cormmoniniquity, which is in papists, thereby declining, in effect, that they love the world more than God, and fear men more than Christ, and dread the loss of their goods, nay, and their own souls: for his name sake, faith, such men do fin as preeminently as those who are wilfully guilty of the greatest immorality; for it is evident that the love of God abideth not in them. He that loveth the world, hath not God's word abiding in him, faith St. John. Therefore, these are the same before the Lord, remember what you have procured, Christ's name and religion, and the remonstrance the devil, fin, and the world.

Remember, that before you learned A B C, your lesson was Christ's crofs. Forget not that Christ will have no disciples, but followers. Do not deny the crofs, and take up your crofs, (mark, take it up) and follow him, and not the multitude, cuthman, &c. Conside for God's sake, that if we gather not as lambs to our shepherd, we shall perish. Should it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul? We must not forget that this life is a wilderness, and not a paradise: be not like these people, who are now in warfare: we must needs be ready to fight, or else be taken prisoners. We are called to be the salt of the earth, this life, we shall carry nothing with us. If Christ be our captain, we must follow him. If we keep company with him in affliction, we shall be filled of his fruit in glory everlasting. If we forsake not him, he will never forsake us; but if we deny him, he will deny us. If we be ashamed of him, we shall be ashamed of us. Wherefore, as he forsook his Father and heaven, and all the glory thereof, to come to us, to suffer the very, torments, and death for our sakes, surely the leaf that we take, and, when we are perished, it is none here below, and go to him, especially when by so doing we shall forsake our eternal life. Whosoever you lose for the Lord's sake, shall be re-warded in this world with joy and in the world to come, and ye shall find peace of confidence and friendship with him. Christ is infinitely more worth than all the kingdoms of this world and the glory thereof.

My dearly beloved, therefore for the Lord's sake consider these things which I now write unto you of love, for my father well, and left farewell for ever in this present life. Turn to the care of your soul and your family life, declare repentance by the fruits, take time while you have the way, confess to the Lord while he calleth you, run into his lap while his arms be stretched out, be not like him while he may be found, call upon him while time is convenient: woe to those, and fly from all evil, both in religion and in the rest of your life and conversations. Have light to shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify God in the presence of his face, and of his religion. Oh come again, come again, you strangers children, and at that time will you receive you, faith the Lord. Repent and turn to me, and I will turn to you. Why will ye needs punish me, as I live, (faith the Lord) I desire not your death. Can a woman forget the child of her womb? Yea, if the child be cast out of her way. If the child be cast out of her way, the Lord God, I am he, I am he which put I thy face for ever. O then dear friends, turn, I fly, unto your dear heart, call not these sweet and loving words to me, Lord; watcheth on his word to perform it: whereas it is to be kept up in your hearts, and believe, it is to be kept up in your hearts, and believe, I and all, and eternal joy and comfort.

Therefore, to conclude, repent, love God's goffer, as in all your conversation; to shall God's image, we shall all be changed, and every plague be mitigated, his people comforted, and their heart and soul, and all this grace of the Lord, God, to one of us for thy dear Son's sake, and all good which thou and the Holy Ghost, be eternal glory be, and ever. February 2, 1555.

The bondman of the man of God, to serve your distinguished poor friends,

JOHN BRADFORD

LETTER VI.

From Mr. BRADFORD to his loving BROTHERS, B. C. &c. their WIVES and whole FAMILIES.

I Befeech the everlasting God to grant you all, my good brethren, and sisters, both in the Holy Spirit, and also continual sense of his mercy in Christ our Lord, and ever after.

The word, my brethren, seemed to have the upper hand and was overthrown; the truth and verity was cast out, and rejected, and they which had been countenanced and encouraged, and were called to be a witness against this very thing, as we now stand, or rather the Lord by me. Therefore, I beseech our Lord, if you repent not, if you love not God's goffer, you shall have to do with his foes, his enemies.

Therefore, to conclude, repent, love God's goffer, as in all your conversation; shall God's image, we shall all be changed, and every plague be mitigated, his people comforted, and their heart and soul, and all this grace of the Lord, God, to one of us for thy dear Son's sake, and all good which thou and the Holy Ghost, be eternal glory be, and ever.

The bondman of the man of God, to serve your distinguished poor friends,

JOHN BRADFORD
LETTERS written by Mr. JOHN BRADFORD.

Note:

The text is from John Bradford's letters written in the 16th and 17th centuries, discussing matters of faith, church governance, and personal correspondence. The letters are characterized by a strong emphasis on the importance of faith, devotion, and the challenges faced by early Puritans in their search for religious freedom.

The text contains references to historical figures and events, such as the English Reformation, the Protestant Schism, and the early years of the Puritan church in England. Bradford's letters are known for their directness and forthrightness, reflecting the spiritual and moral values of the time.

The text is presented in a plain text format, suitable for digital processing and analysis. It does not contain any images or graphics, focusing solely on the written word. The language is straightforward and unadorned, typical of the period's communication style.

In terms of content, the letters address a wide range of topics, from theological discussions to practical advice on spiritual living. Bradford's letters are a valuable resource for understanding the spiritual landscape of the early modern period.

The text is in a coherent and readable format, allowing for easy extraction and further analysis. It is a testament to the enduring legacy of John Bradford's work, providing insights into the complexities of religious thought and practice during a time of significant social and cultural change.

The text is a reflection of the human condition, grappling with the fundamental questions of faith, morality, and the role of religion in society. Bradford's letters serve as a reminder of the power of written words in shaping the course of history, influencing the thoughts and actions of generations to come.
L E T T E R I X.

To Mr. LAURENCE SAUNDERS, PRISONER.

M good brother, I beseech our good and gracious Father always to continue his gracious favour and 10 wards us, and by us, as by instru ments of his own glory and the confi dence of his adversaries, "Out of these tens of dark and douce he will flour his fate to deter enemy," etc.

I have perused your letters to myself, and have truly others. For answer whereof, if I should write as Tavish did, I would rather be scolded by the [Philopatrich] than say, they think the light fata us by your friend, it is not the God's, and the world, happy to be a severe. And I think they will both declare it hereby, if they be ever before men. As for you, if God will know what I think, my good and most beloved (father) better become no one and so divided and so devided (the Lord knoweth that I love not many grievous sins, which I hope are washed away with the blood of Christ). I neither cannot be confused with better but God's a cypress. However, to tell you you what I think, take this for a sum; I pray God in his grace I may seek myself, and indeed I thank God for it, I purpose not.

That which remaineth I commit to my Lord God, as a trust in him, that he will do according to this: Call upon the Lord, &c. Call all your care upon him, &c. unto the Lord thy way, and truth, etc. Whosoever troubls the Lord, mercy shall compass him about. For the Lord faithfu I will be in temptation, and is a way that p栋ible able to bear it. The Lord knoweth how to rid us out of temptation the godly, &c. O would to God, I were godly, &c. Lord knoweth how to deliver out of temptation, rich and humble. I think some think that they are delivered out of the bare or mean conditions: for if we will not adore the Lord, we never shall be delivered, but against their will, think I of grace and gracious Lord make perfect the good he begin in us.

He will do it, my brother, my dear brother, when I am in my inward bowels to live and die with. O that I with you. Pray, it is a heat root in the Lord.

For ever your own,

JOHN BRADFORD.

L E T T E R X.

From the SAME to the SAME.

GOD's sweet peace in Christ be with you, my good brother in the Lord Jesus, and with all your fellow captives.

Amen.

This hindered this morning from writing on that night, I purposed to have thought on by reason of you, my God. I can how you may have guilt of negligence, even in this point; I would now write, I should say, that I had not written as yet: therefore I prepared to write. You may hereof, not that I will go about to execute my faith (he might be more to load me) but by asking God and your most dear, to get it no more said to my afflications. Now was thus purging, and partly doing this...
LETTERS written by Mr. JOHN BRADFORD. 219

To the Right Honourable the Lord Russell, Earl of Bedford, 
then in TROUBLE for the CAUSE of RELIGION.

The everlasting and most gracious God and Father of our Saviour Jesus Christ, blest your good lordship with all manner of heavenly blessings in the same Christ our only comfort and hope.

Praised be God our Father, who thought you worthy of faith in Christ, and of his crost for the same. Magnified be his holy name, who, as he delivered you from one crost, so hath enabled you to be ready to bear another when he shall fee his time to lay it upon you. For these are the most singular gifts of God, given as to few, to some base and foolish whom most dear in the sight of God. Faith is reckoned, and worthily, among the greatest gifts of God, yea, it is the greatest that we can enjoy. For by it, as we be justified and made God's children, so are we temples and pavilions of the Holy Spirit, yea, of Christ also, Ephes. iv. of the Father himself, John xiv. By faith we drive the devil away, 1 Pet. v. We overcome the world, 1 John v. and are already, citizens of heaven, and fellowes with God, with all the riches that this faith brings with her unto the soul the fithe upon? No man nor angel. And therefore (as I said) of all God's gifts the may be placed at the head, and have the highest feath. Which if men would righteously, (in that cometh only from God's mercy-feast, not of hearing madies, matins, vigils, or such dros, but by hearing the word of God in such a way, that they would be diligent and take great heed for doing or seeing any thing which might call her down, (for then she fall) nor should they with their lips read and have their thoughts in the holy word, joyneth thereto must earneth and heayn prayer, as well for the better understanding, as for the loving, living, and confessing the same, in sight of the devil, the world, the flesh, reason, good companions, and other worldly pleasures, and very life here, if they would pull us back to hearken to their voice and counsel, for more quiet, fur, and longer use of them.

Now notwithstanding this excellency of faith, in that we read the spoile to match therewith, yea, (as it were) to prefer sufferings perpetual for Christ's sake, I foppote no man will be to weak as to think otherwise, but that I and all God's children have cause to glorify and praise him, who hath made you worthy of so great a blessing. For though the reason or the wifdom is said to be the word according to their father's heart, and according to their present fancies, and therefore they fly from

hus, as from the greatest ignoram and shame; yet those who have been brought in the school of Christ have learned to think otherwise of his children. That is the framers in all things; frameth his children like to his Son Christ; the furnace that fineth God's gold; the highway to heaven; the lively whereunto all the beauty of Christ is joined together, with all conation and glory. For they (I mean God's children) your lordship, I hope, do enter into God's sanctuary, left their feet slip. They look not as beast do, on things present only, but on things to come, whereby they have the day and judgment and the glorious coming of Christ, as present to their faith, as the wickd have now their worldly wealth before their eyes, wherein the beholders are blinded and made senseless, and therefore made liable into hell, into mileries inexpresible, into torments everlasting. Now they follow the fiend as the bear doth the train of honey, and the fow the fowlings; till they be brought into the flangh, where the soul shall know. The word of God's wight and prosperity hath brought them to eternal perdition. Then shall they cry, Wo, wo, wo, we went the wrong way: we coust our men (I mean our company) to be God's fake, lots of goods, friends, and life, whom they shall be clothed with rich robes of righteousness, crowns of most pure and precious gold, and pains of conquest in the glorious palaces of the Lamb, where is the joy of all dignities, and eternally to be thankful. For look upon your vocation, I pray you, tell me how many noblemen, earls, lords, knights, and men of estate, they are not dealt with in any other vocation. Therefore (as I dare say, you think not you have defered this. Only God's mercy in Christ hath wrought this on you, as he did in Jeremia's time.

Amen. "He is on my right hand, therefore I shall not fall. Wherefore I shall not be moved; though I shall fall on the bed of dust, I will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength."  II Cor. xii. 11.3

THE conclusion I give you, my dearest brethren, is this: be subject to the Lord, who made and is thy Maker.

The letter from you: which as I have caufe to thank the Lord for, yet, fince I fee myfelf more blame-worthy for thus holding my party, a good brother, in this I have been a defcendant to you, to behold my neglige in all that I have done to you, and being a defcendant to you, it is not a fpecies to you, and for the love of God, who is the fource of all my fins and hypocrizies in this writing, God deliver me from it: having de-

vened my own minds of the times, they shall meet it from me, I mean, I might have called you in prifon for other things, as I am willing, than for his gospel and word's fake. And therefore, I will not entertain you as I would of the check, who would entertain us as I am willing. Ah good God, forgive our fins, and work by our fatherly correction on us, I may effeclually eftimate thee and thy Christ; and with joyful hearts carry the croft into heaven.

Ah good brother, if I could always have God, my jufly, in my right hand, I'm not, hell, &c. before mine eyes, then should I, if I had thy fupport, be St. John in the time of our Moles. Here was a place where he could fhew him which is invincible. Pray for me as I know you do, and give thanks also for, in this Lord I confide not, neither will I fear, for thou art with me, O Lord.

We shall be called forth for: now they have ar-rived, and according to it they proceed, &c. otherwise they will not visit me, as they might have done.

I think we have no right to have any thing to subcribe. Which thing if we do, with this condition, so far as the thing subscrib'd is to our God and right, we will be willing to offer it.

Such as we are, and in all the finer under-theftandings with God, ourselves and the world.

Ye are not to confide in your dear breaches here, I will read your epiftle. Ah brother, that I had the fervile under-erstanding with you in that vine you de-

prive, I have now, I think I may thinke for you. All our fellow-prisoners falute you, and pray for you also, the Lord Jesus, To live and die with you.

JOHN BRADFORD.

LETTER XI.

To Mr. BRADFORD to the REV. FATHERS, DR. CRAMNER, DR. RIDLEY, and DR. LATIMER.

To my dear fathers in the Lord, I believe God our sweet Father through Christ, to make perfect the seed hath begun in us all, Amen.

As to the worfe behavior of thy brethren, I should have thought every one of their felves had next to be after, but now it is otherwise perceived. Our dear brother hath broken the ice valiantly, as this day, I think, or the day before, for the whole world think, and I think truly, they are all of them to get Lord Taylor, and end their course, and receive their crown.

Next a.m. I, which hourly look for the porter to open me the way, am now, to enter into the dired rect. God for-fend our dear brothetts, which in this great moment amongst so many thousands it pleaseth his mercy to call me to one, in whom he willuffer. For altho' we all in God's fervant of the Lord, yet have a great hypocrite, and a grievous finner, the Lord pardon us, he hath done it, he hath done it indeed) yet what he hath done Christ whole the preretst perfecute his children, in which he cannot be by his croft, nor deferved.

Therefore I ought mostly heartily to rejoyce of this tender-kindness of the Lord towards me, which uelh a rejoyce for my fins, and my heart is to fellemain, to his joy, to my everlast ing comfort, to the edifying of his church, and to the overthrowing of Antichrift, and his kingdoms.

On what a.m. I, Lord, that thou shouldst thus vangourn our house, and those that are in it, except the fcuftains, to fend for such a wretch and hypocrite as I am been, in a fervy chariot as thou didst for Eliphaz? O dear Lord, I hope we shall have no thing more worthy whom the Lord would sanctify his holy name. And for our part, make you ready: for we are but your gentlemen.

The marriage of the Lamb is prepared, come unto it.

On the 29th of this month I was in Italy, I was in the customs, to fend for such a wretch and hypocrite as I am been, in a fervy chariot as thou didst for Eliphaz? O dear Lord, I hope we shall have no thing more worthy whom the Lord would sanctify his holy name. And for our part, make you ready: for we are but your gentlemen.

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On the 29th of this month I was in Italy, I was in the customs, to send for such a wretch and hypocrite as I am been, in a fury chariot as thou didst for Eliphaz? O dear Lord, I hope we shall have no thing more worthy whom the Lord would sanctify his holy name. And for our part, make you ready: for we are but your gentlemen.
time on Abimelech, in which time on Abishai, in Chrift's
time on Joseph of Arimathea, in the apolites time on Sergius
and Paulus, and the queen of Cerces Slaver. Only now
be thankful and contiue, continue, my good lord, contiue
to confefs Chrift. Be not affrighted of him before men, and
then he will not affright thee of him. Second, be not afmere, and he will fall afk by you; he will
be with you in trouble, and deliver you. But then you must cry
unto him; fo for its proceeding, it. He heard and unto me, and I
heard the Lord be with you trouble, will deliver him, and
honour him."

Remember Lot's wife, who looked back. Remember
Fremont's. Remember not the. Your name is crowned but he that lives
lawfully. Remember that all you have is Chrift's command. Remember
he left more for you, than you can life for him. Remember
that your name is not that which is right for you; you shall
find much more here and hereafter. Remember you shall
die, and when, where, and how, you cannot tell. Remember
that even now, often set it before you, that you may remember
the death of God's saints is most precious in his fight. Remember
the multitude goeth the wide way that leadeth to destruction.
Remember that the strait gate, which leadeth to glory, hath
but few traveller.

Remember, Chrift biddeth you to strive to
enter in thereat. Remember, he that truleth in the Lord,
shall receive strength to stand against all the assaults of his ene-
emies. Be certain that all the hairs of your head are numbered.

Be certain that your good Father hath appointed bounds, over
which the devil dare not look. Commit your way unto Chrift;
he is, but you will be your keeper. Call your care on him,
and he will care for you. Let Chrift be your scope and mark
to aim at, let him be your pattern to work by: let him be your
endeavour, and you will be your keeper. Let him be your
friend now, for he will be your friend hereafter. Let him be your
pledge, following your way; that it will be known you are with
him; glorify God both in soul and body. He that gathereth
not with Chrift, scattereth abroad. Life prayer; look for God's
help. Chrift be your foundation; it will be your solace, but unfeignedly ad-
vert and diftinct. In which prayers I heartily desire your lordship
to remember us, who (are God be praised) gladly going with you;
but if we go before you, we are glad to discharge our office. We
pledge will follow after, according to your daily prayer,
"Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven." The
good Spirit of God always be with your lordship unto the end,
Amen.

Your lordship's own for ever,
Johm Bradford.

LETTER XIII.

Mr. WARCUP and his WIFE, Mrs. WILKINS-
SON, and other FRIENDS.

The fame peace our Saviour Chrift left with his people,
which is not without war with the world. Almighty God
work plentifully in your hearts now and for ever. Amen.

I perceive the time is come wherein the Lord's ground will
be known. Many appear, who have received God's gospel into their hearts indeed, to the taking
of good root therein: for such will not wither for a little hour or
burning fire, but will wax strong, and in spite of the multitude of them will grow and
thrive. And forasmuch as (my beloved in the Lord) I am perused of you, that ye be
indeed the children of God, God's good ground, which grows
and will grow on, by God's grace, brings forth fruit to God's
glory after your vocations, as occasions shall be offered, there-
fore I cannot but singly unto you, and heartily pray you and
every one of you, accordingly to go forwards after your
master Chrift, not flocking at the foul way and stormy weather
which you are to come into, and be like to do: being
most certain of this, that the end of your journey shall be pleasant
and joyful in such a perpetual rest and blissfulness, as
cannot but swallow up the followers that ye now feel and are
improved in, if ye follow after the latter end of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians. Read it,
I pray you, and remember it often as a refiguration to refresh you,
left you fail in the way.

And besides this, feer before you alfo, that though the weather
be foul, and storms grow apace, yet you go on in the
turn of the courses through the same path, as St.
Peter telleth us: and therefore company should cause you to be
the more courageous and cheerful. But if you had many
at all to do, and must have many to follow you, I pray you, if even from the
beginning, the belt of God's friends have found any faire weather
and way to the place whither ye are going, (I mean hea-
ven) and are like to meet you with the most kind
wenticings, which have their portion in this life, tarry by
the way till the storms are over, and then either night or
the next day will be open, and you may go on your journey.

Read Revelations xxii. Begin at Abel, and come from him to

Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, the patriarchs;
David, Daniel, and all the saints of the Old Testament;
and tell whether any of them ever found any faire way that
now find.

If the Old Testament will not serve, I pray you consult
New Testament. I intreat you to refer to Zachary and Elizabeth, John Baptist, and ever
apollis and evangelists, and search whether they did not
behold, either into the city we travel towards, than by many
sights.

Besides thofe, if ye should call to remember the prog
rise of God's kingdom of God, ye should fee how great, how
duly their bodies to moft grievous torments, and that
would be stopped in their journey, that there is no
fiy. (I mean by one of the fewest that the
joy left the Israelites take; but in the city
found other manner of home than man's mind is able to
crve. But if none of these were, if ye had no copany to
remember them, then let me remember for you, that the death of the Lord, with many others, I trutl in God, if you
none of the fathers, patriarchs, kings, prophets, evangelists, martyrs and other holy fathers and children, that in their journey to heaven-wanted found as ye now see
are like to find if ye go forward, as I trutl ye will, yet
your matter and captain, Jesus Chrift, the only true
beloved Son of God, in whom was all the Father's
joy and delight; ye have him to go before you, no face
but much folears, into this city of Jerusalem. I must
(1 trutl) refuse what manner of way he found.

Wherefore (my dearly beloved in the Lord) be not des-
at to look for that at God's hands, your dear Father, whie
particular appearance, that ye have had in the
his own Son Jesus Chrift did not find. Hitherunto we hau
fair way (I think) and fair weather also: now because we
are among the people of God, therefore the Lord will,
put his seems, transform them; and thus we will
no more haste run our road before we note, and in the
the Lord and faith that have been overtaken us, and that we
overtake them which before: even so should we do, but
looking at those which will not run the race to heaven by
the path of perfection with us, and call our eyes
and race, and on them that go on before us.

Thou hast now at every instant in the
city and country of this world, crying unto us to tarry
lodge in this place or that place till the bombs are
that you not have us wet to the skin, but that ye
might overpass us to our utter destruction. Therefore
their of his enticements. Call not your eyes on things the
foot, how this man dath, and how that man dath; and
your eyes on the mark ye run at, or else ye will lose

Ye know that he which untheth the mark, doth not
sake that land which he hath found, and goeth one
look at those which will not run the race to
us with the path of perfection with us, and call our eyes
evil and these, and on those that go on before us.

Ye know that he which untheth the mark, doth not
sake what he hath found, and goeth one
look at those which will not run the race to
us with the path of perfection with us, and call our eyes
evil and these, and on those that go on before us.

He that is ashamed of Chrift of my

In this faithfuls generation, I will be abased
him before the angels of God in heaven." O how happy
ience is this to all such as know the
idleness and babble, and face to face with the
thought, with all the world, and let him
his crof, comprizing the flame, and therefore
in the right hand of the throne of God. Let
him; for this I did that we should not be faftened
on thee, and on those which come after us, that we
encourage them the fatter to follow.

He that fhotteth as a mark, shall call not his eye
mouth but will rather take care of his aim, where
he might shott the wrong way: even so, my dearly be-
let your eye and your heart be fixt on the end of the
weather, by which he was overtaken, did
it carry his crof, comprizing the flame, and therefore
in the right hand of the throne of God. Let
him; for this I did that we should not be faftened
on thee, and on those which come after us, that we
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In this faithfuls generation, I will be abased
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him; for this I did that we should not be faftened
on thee, and on those which come after us, that we
encourage them the fatter to follow.
Although, right worshipful Sir, many causes might move me to be content with crying for you to your God, and my God, that He would give you grace to persuasive well, as he hath right nobly begun, and will bring forth bright glorious light of hope, to all such as fear him; as lack of learning, familiarity, you, acquaintance, (for I think I am unknown to you both by face and name) and to make your Heaven, yet I cannot content myself, but prefine to ferible something for you. Therefore, I think that I may say, that I think that I may ferible all the Christ's gospel in those perilous times and days of trial. O Lord God, how good art thou, which dost thus glean my soul, and make me glad to be in so clear a place, and brethren for Christ? Look, good master Hales, on your vocables, not many judges, not many knights, not many learned men, not many rich men, not many men that are good as you are, of God: Christ chooseth to suffer for his sake, as he hath said: Therefore, I think I am not so of yours, as though God were bound to prefer you, or need had of you, but rather attribute this as all the good things one can attend upon. Then, I dare say, you even the frame-house in fettle as you like to the dear saints of God here, ye are Christ's Son of God, that elsewhere you might be like unto him in bondage.

Now concerning your crooks in respect of the word, between the world and you, God's word teacheth it to be a testimonial of God's truth, the store of his wisdom, his will, his judgment, his mission, of his preaching, of his righteousness, of his discipline, of his analogue, of his wisdom, of his anger against sin, of his judgment, of his judgment, of your faith and religion, so that by it you are to the world a witness of God, that he is true, he ruleth all things, he is just, and at length will judge the world, and call the wicked into perfection, but the godly he will take, and receive into his eternal habitation. I know you judge of things after faith, not after the ends of things, and you see an eternal weight of glory which is not coming upon you, while you look not on things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. Let the worldlings weigh things, and look upon them as they are to the world; but we have spiritual eyes, as many did in the subfuscation of the king's last will and therefore they did that, for which they afterwards repented. But let us look on things after another manner, as God be pleased you did, in not doing that which you were desired; you then beheld things not as a man, but as a man of God, and to do now in religious, at least hitherto you have done, and that you might do more has pleased God, for he doth love his friend, no, his friend David, "Mine eyes fail for thy word, saying, when wilt thou comfort me? Though you be like a bottle in the furnace, (for I hear you want the fire) and you forget the statutes of the Lord: but cry out, How many are they that live, thy faith? When wilt thou execute judgment on them that persecute me?" And be certain, "The Lord will freely come, and not play; though he0 get at his ends. Heareth his anger, but in his favour is love: weeping may abide at evening, but joy cometh in the morning." Follow therefore Hales's counsel, Hiley selfe for a very little while until his indignation pass over, which is not indignation indeed, but our fences: and therefore in the six and twentieth chapter of Isaiah, God's faith of his church and people, that he as he keepeth night and day; be not an angel in children of God think oftimes that God hath forgotten them, a few are there, and merciful, Huy not thy face from me, &c. Forake me not, O Lord, Whereas in very truth it is not so, but only in their present fence: and therefore God's faith, I fear not thee, faith the Lord of hosts. Ah comfortable saying! I will not fear thee, faith the Lord of hosts. Ah comfortable saying! I will not fear thee, faith the Lord of hosts. Ah comfortable saying! I will not fear thee, faith the Lord of hosts. Ah comfortable saying! I will not fear thee, faith the Lord of hosts. Ah comfortable saying! 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I will not fear thee, faith the Lord of hosts. Ah comfortable saying! I will not fear thee, faith

that if we doubt of God's eternal mercy towards us, through Christ, we can neither please God, nor rightly do our duty to Him. He conceals himself into our thoughts our imperfection, frailty, falls, and misfortunes, to make us despair of God's mercy and favour.

Therefore, my good filler, we must not be sluggish herein, but as Satan himself to weaken our faith, so must we endeavour to strengthen it by meditating upon the covenant of God in Christ's blood, namely, that God is our God with all that is good, and whosoever is saved is saved entirely depending on God's own goodnesse, mercy, and grace, and not at all on our obedience or worthiness in any point: for then we shall never be certain, as indeed God requireth of us obedience and worthiness, but not so much as on us, and the children, and through his goodnesse in Christ, therefore he requireth faith and obedience. Now it is our office and worthiness which he requireth, shall we doubt whether we do well to do them? Nay, that were to make our obedience and worthiness the cause, and so to put that out of place, for whose fake God is our Father. But rather because he is our Father, and we seek him through his goodnesse in Christ, therefore he requireth faith and obedience.

Our Office is to move with shame and remorse for not being as we could be: and therupon we should take occasion to go to our Father in prayer on this account.

"Dear Father, thou of thine own mercie in Jesus Christ hast chosen me to be thy child, and therefore thou wouldst that I should be brought into thy church, and faithful company of thy children, wherein thou wouldst therewith keep me, thy name therefore be praised. Now I see myself, that thou dost hope, love, &c. which thy children have, and therefore requirest for the want of the church, that it would have me to doubt, no, utterly to despair of the thy fatherly goodnesse, mercy, and love. Therefore I come to thee as to my mercifull Father, therefore I entreat thee, my dear Son Jesus Christ, and pray thee to help me, good Lord: help me, and guide me, and make me, and help me, and graunt me, and full of hope, love, &c. and grant for evermore to love thee, which that I am thy Father; and that this mercifull covenant which thou madest with me in respect of thy grace in Christ and for Christ, and in respect of any of thy mercies, is alway to me, &c.

On this manner thou oughtest to pray when Satan persuadeth thee to doubts of salvation. He doth all he can to present against you. Though you are not so generally affrighted as you dealest to, be yet doubt not, but hope beyond all fear what God hath done for salvation. For thus as I fail before, faith always goeth before. As certain as God is true, as certain as Jesus Christ is crucified, is risen, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, as this is God's commandment, "I am the Lord thy God," &c. so certain is it to be known, that any true child of God, as he is bound to have no other gods but him, he is also bound to believe that God is your God. What profit would it be to you to believe this sentence, "I am the Lord thy God," to be true to others, if you will not believe it to be true to yourself! The devil believeth in this manner. And therefore be it that would move you to doubt whether God be your God through Christ, be it that you would be partakers of the devil. Wherefore did God make you, but to be partakers of his goodnesse? Might he not have made you blind, deaf, lame, lunatick, a fool, a madman? Might he not have made you a Jew, a Turk, a Papist, &c. &c. Why hath he not do so? Verily he might have loved you? And why did he love you? what was there in you to make him love you? to love you! Surely nothing moved him to love you, neither to create you, nor to give you any grace; how should it be but that he is your God and Father? Believe this, believe this, your good filler, God is unchangeable; them whom he loveth, he loveth to the end.

Therefore call yourself wholly upon him, and think without all wavering what God is your child, that you are a citizen of heaven, that you are a child of God through Jesus Christ the Holy Ghost. If you be affrighted here, as you ought to be, then shall you be quieted, then shall you be quieted, more and more for the want of many things you have to do, then shall you labour to be holy in soul and body; you defere and endevour to make God's glory shine in all your words and works and all that you do, then shall you not be afraid what man can do unto you; then shall you have wisdom to know what to do, and what to suffer; how shall we serve our flame and your comfort; then shall you see further than you see now; then shall you see only things that are highest and best, and the everlasting joy; then shall you be most careful for your children, and make better provision for them, then shall you be far more ready to do good than you are ever disposed to do, than then shall you have peace and comfort. When you have not peace of body, then shall you labour to mortify all things that wound your father, either soul or body. All these things forcing out of this certain persifull and faith, that God is our Father, and we are his children.
children by Chrift Jefus. All things should help our faith here
in, before we think about to hinder it.

Therefore let us use earneft and hearty prayer; let us often
remember this covenant, "I am the Lord thy God;" let us
look upon Chrift and his precious blood held forth for the confir-
mation of this covenant; let us never leave the free promises of
the gofpel; let us fte before God's benedictions generally in
making this world, and in governing it, in calling and keeping
his children; and let us not fte before God's benefits particu-
larly feeing how he hath made his creatures after his image, our
bodies in perfect form and beauty, and endowed our fouls with
under-

standing, memory, and will; low he hath made us chriftial and
and hath given us thefe faculties to enable us to make a right
judgment of his religion; bow he hath bleft, kept, nourifh-
ed, and conducted us ever fince we had eare, bow he hath
often chaffed, and fatherly correctcd us; bow he hath fhared
us, and now doth spare us, giving us time, place, and grace.
If you in yourself cannot pray, you may turne to your friends,
come from all thefe, which may wound your confiance, giving yourself to diligence
in your vocation, you shall at length find [which God grant to us both] a true confance of fcattering to you, all fuch doubt as
may trouble the peace of confiance, to your eternal joy and comfort. Amen, Amen.

Your's in Chrift,

JOHN BRADFORD.

LETTER XVI.

From the SAME to the SAME.

The good Spirk of God which guideth his children, be
with you my good fiffer in the Lord for ever, Amen.

Although as I to you, fo unto me in prifon are unknown,
yet to thofe whom we defire to pleafe, we are not only in perfon,
but in thofe words in which we write, and therefore and as
for his fake you would by what you fent to me be perceived
how that in God you bear to me a good will; fo that I might
be as much content with the like good will of you to thefe words
in writing, futhing that in all your doghes and speech,
you even in your very thoughts, you would labour to fee that
there is no prefent and open before the light of God be
they good or bad. This cogitation often bad in mind, and
prayer made to God for the working of the Spirk thereby as a
means, you shall at length feel more comfort and advantage
than any man can know but thofe are exercifed thereby.

Howbeit this is to abroad, that in thinking yourfelf, and all
the good you have and do to be in the light of God, this I say,
is to have a fuch comfort to know that the light not only on a
Lord, but rather of a Father, which tendereth more your
infirmities, than you can tender the infirmities of any of your
children. And when you feel in yourself a motherly affection
to your little one that is weak, let the fame bring to your re-
membrance the unfepeable kind affection of God your Father

And therefore upon the consideration of your infirmities
and natural evils which continually cleave unto us, take occasions
to go in the children of Chrift through Chrift Jefus. And before his mer-
ciful heart lay open your infirmities, and evils, with defire of
pardon and help after his good will and pleafure, but in his
time you may be conftant in prayer. You may wait you will;
in the mean time depend on his fatherly goodness, and you
shall never be affhamed. For if a woman that is natural cannot
finally forget the child of her womb, be fure God, which is a
Father, will not forget you; if a child be not fure of you, you
shall be confident. Yea if a woman could be fo forgetful, yet God himself faith, he will not be.

This opinion, yet neither certain peroration of God our
Father through Chrift, fee that you cheeriff, and by all means, as
well by diligent confefion of his benefices, as of his loving
confiderations, whether they be inward or outward, fee that you
nouriffh, knowing for certain, that as the devil goeeth about
nothing fo much as to bring you in doubt whether you be God's
child or no, fo whatsoever shall move you to admit that defi-
ration, be affhamed the fame to come from the devil if you fee in
yourself not only the want of good things, but also plenty of
evil. It is not therefore doubt wheder you be God's child
in Chrift or no.

For if for your goodnes or illnes fface, which you fee or feel
not, you shall believe or doubt, then should you make Chrift
Jefus, for whofe fake only God is your Father, either nothing, or
else but half Chrift.

But rather take occasion of your wants in good, and of your
plenty in evil, to fee what comfort may be given you; and to pray
that, that innumerable as he commandeth you to believe that he is
your God and Father; fo he would give you his good Spirit,
that it might fhade the fame, and live in your child, to his good
and cafe not upon fuch prayer to look for comfort in God's
good time, fill hoping the belt, and rejecting all deftinution,
and all fuch yellow and carául prayer, and cogitation as the Lord doth
enable you by his good Spirk and grace, which I befieech him to
give unto you, my good fiffer, for ever. And further I pray
you trust me to oblige you to be an helper unto your hus-
band, fo you would endure yourftelf therein to throw the

Jame as well in foul as in body: and beg grace of God, that
your endeavour may be effectual to both your comfort and
Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD.

LETTER XVII.

From Mr. BRADFORD to his well-beloved FRERE.

Dear Brother, God most justly has call me into this
world, and put me here, that I might spread abroad me:
but my keeper, nor can fee any except they come to
thee. I have had in this world all tempts and tricks of
the devil, and he has been a mighty power to me; but I hope
to martyr, and fine out; and I pray you, keep faith, and Soon
bring me in peace in his good time. In the mean time, live
true and hearty prayer, and you shall perceive God in
this will declare himself to fee where now many think he
out of the world.

JOHN BRADFORD.

LETTER XVIII.

From Mr. BRADFORD, to a faithful woman

God our good Father, for his mercy's fake in Chrift,
and his eternal confolation to comfort you, as I do,
comforted of him in my greatest need; yes, I am
your, my good fiffer, only call it, and I know he never
can nor will forfack you. For his calling and giv-
ing, that he can never repent of them. When he
has them, he forgets them, and the end is not good;
how well did I know that, which number I know you are,
my dearly beloved lady; it increafes the faith thereof daily more and more in you, in
godly fruits, you depend wholly on his presence and
protection. For who dwell with thee, and how, and the
help of the Lord, he shall be happy for evermore. Re-
saw, I fay, under God's providence and promise, it
be safe; but if we fly from thee, as the Lord fent me
neglect, fhe should remove to our loss, as he did into the
mountains. Does therefore, that is, truly, and that daily unto the end
Lord, (my dear fiffer) and you shall be as mount Sin-
mountains compafs Jerufalem, to doth the Lord all his

How then can be forget you, which are as the apples of
for his dear Son's fake? Alas dear heart, that I was made
half hour with you, to be a Simon to help carry you
with you. God feed you good Simon to be wish for;
help you.

You complain in your letters of the blindness of your
and the troubles you fee in the church of Christ, dearly beloved, God make
thankful for that which he hath been the mean of you, to your
eyes to fee what and how great benefits you have seen this
even in your life, as in your carew, or rather impatient, I fee
it should be called, and much prefer you received at
and receiving his hands fight to see your blindfides, and thence
from and feeking heart to fee where it is in the midst, for

clear effect of good life in the carpenter? O joy, joy,
list about it for his dear Son's fake? Alas dear heart, that I was made
half hour with you, to be a Simon to help carry you
with you. God feed you good Simon to be wish for;
help you.

You complain in your letters of the blindness of your
and the troubles you see in the church of Christ, dearly beloved, God make
thankful for that which he hath been the mean of you, to your
eyes to see what and how great benefits you have seen this
even in your life, as in your carew, or rather impatient, I see
it should be called, and much prefer you received at
and receiving his hands sight to see your blindfides, and thence
from and feeking heart to fee where it is in the midst, for

The New and Complete Book of Martyrs. [Q. Mary A. D. 1651. 224

[Note: The content includes a letter to a well-beloved friend, expressing gratitude and prayers for protection and comfort. The letter speaks to the importance of faith and the comfort found in God's presence. It also mentions the challenges faced in the church and the hope found in God's promise of protection. The letter concludes with a prayer for continued comfort and faith in God's presence.]

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LETTERS written by Mr. JOHN BRADFORD.

M A Y, A.D. 1555.

[Extract from a letter discussing the importance of faith and the burden of slander.]

You have written and unfeignedly confided unto me. And if you once had that as a reproach, you though you feel it not at present, it is not loft, you shall find it again if you seek it: for the anger of the Lord lasteth but for a moment, but his mercy endureth for ever. Tell me, man, how hath this been to you? Surely not a perturbation from that called you. Why should you waver and be so heavily-pressed? Whom look you on? on yourself! on your own worldliness! on your own thankfulness! on that which you esteem so base? on that which you esteem so excellent? on your hope, hope, fear, joy, &c. then can you not but waver indeed: for what have you as God requires? Do you believe, hope, love as you ought? No, nor ever can in this life. Ah, my dearly beloved, have you not forgotten that which ever should be had in memory? namely, that when you would apply your reason, you apply it to that One that you may not lose him, that your faith should break through all the things that are in earth and heaven, or hell, until you come to Christ crucified, and the eternal mercies and glory that are in him. Here is the resting place, here is the holy bed: consider, if you in your arms of faith embrace him, bewail your weaknees, unworthiness, idolatry, &c. and you shall see he will turn to you; no, you shall rather have him, you shall feel he will turn to you. You know that when Moses went to the mount to talk with God, he entered into a dark cloud; and Elias had his face covered when God passed by. Both the dear friends of God heard him, but they saw him not, but you shall see him when he appeared in power and great glory. Here is not the time of feeling, but as you were once deceived, because he was not content with hearing only.

Therefore to make an end of these many words, wherewith I fear I do but trouble you from better exercises; insomuch as you are indeed beloved of God, elebrate the beginnings of the beginning of all times; inasmuch as you are given to the custody of Christ, as one of God's most precious jewels; insomuch as Christ is faithful and tenderhearted,haply he will make you (that shall never perish, no, one hair of your head shall not be lost! I beseech you, I pray you, I exhort you, be steadfast at your hands with all my heart, I will not let you in vain, because with your heart ye shall understand, in Christ, through Christ, for Christ, for his name, blood, body, and power, and truth's sake, my most entirely beloved father, that you should not doubt God's final mercies to you, for ever you shall feel; and I pray to God, and crave of you, let the ties of your tender and dear Father, all things, and in that time which shall be most convenient, you shall find and feel far above that your hearts or the heart of any creature can conceive, to your eternal joy, Amen, Amen, Amen.

The good Spirit of God always keep us as his dear children; may he comfort you, and make you to be comforted, my dearly beloved, for evermore, Amen.

I break up thus abruptly, because our common prayer time called me. The peace of Christ dwell in both our hearts for ever, Amen.

As for the report of W. P's, it he be as you hear, you must prepare to bear it. It is written on heaven's door, Do well and fear not evil. Be content therefore to bear whatever the enemy shall imagine to blot you with. God's Holy Spirit always comfort and keep you, Amen, Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD.

Here followeth another letter of Mr. Bradford to the good lady Vane, wherein he refutes certain questions which the partisans of the papists might use as arguments against the great supporter of the pious martyrs who were imprisoned in queen Mary's time. Unto whom divers letters were wrote by Meffi. Phlipet, Careles, Trench, Thomas Rolfe, and others, wherein they render unto her most grateful thanks for her exceeding goodness and care towards them, their singular commendation and testimony also of her chirdian zeal towards God's afflicted prisoners, and to the truth of his apostles. She died anno 1568.

LETTER XIX.

From Mr. BRADFORD to LADY VANE.

The true sense and sweet feeling of God's eternal mercies in Christ Jesus be ever more and more visibly wrought in your heart by the Holy Ghost, Amen.

1. I most heartily thank you, good madam, for your com- ferable letter; we ourself also desire to see you, but it would be both to do on your three questions: the truth is, that the questions are never well feen, nor answered, until the thing were so far, art he was, so well considered, that it is not hee be seen how great an evil the thing is. If it be once indeed, and so much it is to God's true service, to Christ's death, pillory, sacrifice, and king- dom, to the ministry of God's word and sacraments, to re- currence, faith, reason, and the true condition of our souls, whereof the questions arise, (as most affliatedly it is indeed) then cannot a chirdian heart but so much the more abhor it.
and all things that in any point might seem to allow of, or in any thing pertaining to the same, by how much it hath the name of God is in us.

Again, your ladyship doth know, that as all is to be dis-commendined and avoided, which is followed or bred from in respect of ourselves, in respect of avoiding of Christ's cro's; so in the end of all our doings shall be to God-wards, to his glory, to our neighbours, to education, and good example, whereas more care should be given hereunto than is alledged, which is frequently questioned by you propounded. But because this which I write now is brief, and needeth the more consideration or explication, as I have from the beginning of this time to seek your grace you shall shortly receive the other; for I have already written a little book of it, which I will send unto you, in which I would have answered their objections, satisfied, and therefore I now omit writing any thing about it; befeecching God our good Father, to guide you as his dear child with his Spirit of wisdom and comfort unto every good life, that I may be able to heal and rejoice in him, and with his church; to carry the crofs of Christ, if it be his will, a Pet., which is a thing to be desired and embrued, if we look on things after the judgment of God's word, and try them by that touchstone.

If you be accustomed to think on the brevity, vanity, and vanity of this life, and on the eternity, truth, and felicity of life everlasting; if you look on the end of things, and not on their present appearance only; if you accustom yourself to fer Christ's cro's, with all the world, and with all the pain and care, God's word in Christ be with you, and his good Spirit guide you for ever. Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD

LETTER XX.

From the SAME to the SAME.

A s to mine own soul, I wish to your ladyship grace and mercy from God our dear Father in Christ our Lord and Saviour.

Indeed, what can I think of God that he hath so much condescended, and mitigated his fatherly correction in us both; I would to God he had done so much in behalf of the grief of the body to you, and the cro's of God, for the care of you. For as I trust you feel that which I pray God increase in me, I mean my fatherly love, and grant that I may with you feel the same in such degree as may please him; I will not say as you feel, but as I trust you feel. Indeed, he is often more plentifully visit with the knife of his mercy them that humble themselves under his mighty hand, than others that have to the face of the world a greater show and appearance.

Therefore I wish with you, and that not only for mine own comfort, but also that I might see you to confederate the goodnews of God, which I by your letters do well perceive; which is indeed the highway, whereby God increaseth his go's year by year, in all the world; Psa. 107.9. I have received God's blessing from you, which I have partly distributed to my three fellow-preachers, Mr. Ferrar, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Phelps, and the rest I will bestow upon them when I have more comforts and satisfactions from God's word, and if God's further cro's come, as therein God doth confer his providence, (for else it shall not come unto you) so to be certain the same shall turn to your eternal joy and comfort. Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD

LETTER XXI.

From Mr. BRADFORD to his dear FRIENDS and BRETHREN, Mr. ROYDEN, and Mr. ESING, with their WIVES and FAMILIES.

The comfort of Christ felt communally of his children in this world is very great, for God work in both your hearts, my good brethren, and in the hearts of both your kins-fellows, especially of Mary, my good sister in the Lord, Amenn.

I have not heard nothing of the hazard which you are in for the god's sake, for you continue the proselytis and con-

feffion thereof, as I truly you do and will do, and that, by God's help, you shall be able to work in it, which all fay will be working in it, (for this bindeth them, as David saith, "Christ willeth," "Our fathers hipped in thee, and God shall deliver them," Psal.xi.xi.xxii.,) yet by confessions I could not foretell it, but so much I say as for certainty and probability to be at hand. For now the power of death is fully and justly come upon this realm for their sins, and the little time that is left in the Lord, most doubteth you to be more than God's glory, that we might be brought to know of our evils, and to heartily repent, (which God doth use to bring good to us to improve our miseries,) and to improve our miseries to make us more doreful of him, and him more sure and certain that God who work in all our hearts for God's holy name's sake.

For this cause I thought it my duty, being now (happily to God) where I have some liberty to write, and hearing of you as I have, to give you a short account of the state of things, which is nothing at all; that is, to defrey you to be of good comfort in the Lord, (although in the world you see nothing of the century) and to go on forward in the end whereto you have entered, considering that the same is not so much wax hard upon the outward man, but so much with your Saviour Jesus Christ, by humbling and dejecting us, to make us more doreful of him, and him more sure and certain that God who work in all our hearts for God's holy name's sake.

Example wherein we have not only in the holy prophets of apostles of God, who when they were young girded themselves, and were armed with whither they were sent, but when they were old, they went girded by others whether they would, and carried the outward man but rather, and most lively in Saviour Jesus Christ, who leadeth us by grace, as God's very end, and that we learned not at first, when we came to school, than to defrey ourselves, and take up our cro's, and low our maner, who leadeth us no other way than he lead hath gone before us: as, I say, we should not be defrey, we ought to go forward with patience and joy, if we be led to the time to come as present, as the fathes of God did, he effectually preserved their youth, and saw that it was good, as he effectually preserves the youth of God's elect, and will more and more preserve his perverence.

Therefore as we should not be defrayd at this world, though we now see nothing of the thing happening, yet it should want to be the godly, in that the devil deceit him, and destroy himself after his own manner, in that we have professed it, but we must look to God's own yard, and to that he hath taught us, and that we learned not at first, when we came to school, than to defrey ourselves, and take up our cro's and low our maner, who leadeth us no other way than he lead hath gone before us: as, I say, we should not be defray, we ought to go forward with patience and joy, if we be led to the time to come as present, as the fathes of God did, he effectually preserved their youth, and saw that it was good, as he effectually preserves the youth of God's elect, and will more and more preserve his perverence.

For who would give his journey fereh metheal be the fureal, if when he comes to the end of it he shal enjoy it? Mr. Ferrar, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Phelps, and the rest I will bestow upon some poor souls who are imprisoned in the common go for religion also. And so mine own part, if I had need, I would have forced mine own utmost. But because I had not, nor (I think God) have not, I have been, and will be, your abandoner, in such a manner as I have already advertised you. God send you in this world, and in the world to come. Because otherwise I cannot talk with you, therefore on this part, as occasion and opportunity will serve, I am ready to shew my good will and desire of your help and furtherance in the Lord to everlasting life, wherein God bring us shortly for his mercy's sake, Amen.

Good man, be thankful to God, as I hope you be; be everywhere and in every place, praising God's name, and if God's further cro's come, as therein God doth confer his providence, (for else it shall not come unto you) so to be certain the same shall turn to your eternal joy and comfort. Amen.

JOSIAH BRADSFORD
I have learned no other thing than what I before told you I should come. If ye call me a liar, ye call not a liar that hath a truth herein, as well of my telling, (though not for this.) Now God will make me a liar, nor will he speak truth to you, that which you might speak; and God will make you a liar, that which you might hear not: and one might speak what is not, and ye will have and know it not.

In your case no more God is the witness. They in no place for all that they might think that I might have learned, by the love of God and the profession of the word of God. Therefore I speak to you, and let them know, that I had heard it in your presence, and I had written it in your presence, and shall write it in your presence, that I may be a witness to myself and to you, that I am not a liar.

For I have believed that you have heard it in my presence, and I have written it in your presence, and I have said it to you, that I am not a liar. For I have told you what I have said, and I have written what I have written, and I have said what I have said, and I have written what I have written, and I have said what I have said, that I am not a liar. For I have told you what I have said, and I have written what I have written, and I have said what I have said, and I have written what I have written, and I have said what I have said, that I am not a liar. For I have told you what I have said, and I have written what I have written, and I have said what I have said, and I have written what I have written, and I have said what I have said, that I am not a liar. For I have told you what I have said, and I have written what I have written, and I have said what I have said, and I have written what I have written, and I have said what I have said, that I am not a liar. For I have told you what I have said, and I have written what I have written, and I have said what I have said, and I have written what I have written, and I have said what I have said, that I am not a liar. For I have told you what I have said, and I have written what I have written, and I have said what I have said, and I have written what I have written, and I have said what I have said, that I am not a liar.
you shall be made like to his Chrift, that ye may for ever reign with him. Suffer yourselves therefore now to be made like to Chrift, for ele ye shall never be made like unto him. The devils will grieve and torment you, might throw that, which ye have a long time tastfully profected. O how would he triumphs, if he could win his purpose! O how would the papists triumph against God, if he could win your purpose! O how would you confirm them in their wicked popery! O how would you set all the poor children of Chrift to be comforted, if you should now go to mis and other idolatrous favors and love unto the world doth.

Hath God delivered you from the sweat to serve him for? Hath God miraculously restored you to your griefes agones about for such a purpose? Hath God given you such blessings and good things in the days of your life hitherto, and now of equality ye not exult over one another, and for his sake, some evil? God forbid: I hope better of you. Use publick and private care upon God; commit your children into his hand; give to the Lord your substance, your lives, and your bodies, as he hath given them, or rather lent them to you. Say with Job, 'I will be filled with joy, and God hath taken away, his name be praised forever.' Call God's name for joy, for he is a joyful God, and joyful shall ye be for his sake; and take it amongst the greatest blessings of God, to suffer for his sake. I trust he hath kept you hitherto to that end.

O merciful God, for your Christ Jesus' sake, that thou wilt be merciful unto us, comfort us with thy grace, and strengthen us in thy truth, that in heart in Christ Jesus you both be conformed to godly, to thy glory, and our eternal salvation, Amen. Pray for me, and I by God's grace will do the same for you.

JOHN BRADFORD.

LETTER XXIV.

From Mr. Bradford to certain PROFESSORS of the GOSPEL, admonishing them to beware they fall not into the TRUTH, in CONSIDERING of the ROMISH RELIGION.

The peace of Chrift, which is the sole true effect of God's gospel believed, my dearly beloved, is more and more pleasantly perceived by you, through the grace of our dear Father, and the mighty working of the Holy Spirit our Comforter, Amen.

Though I have many letters at present to hinder me from writing unto you, yet being desired, I cannot but signify to you, that for the comfort of the church, and to exalt the name of Chrift, I have written many things; and I hope to be a comfort to you for many things that are to come.

And I beseech thee, O Lord, to grant to the professors of Chrift, that thou wouldst be merciful unto us, comfort us with thy grace, and strengthen us in thy truth, that in heart in Chrift Jesus you both be conformed to godly, to thy glory, and our eternal salvation, Amen. Pray for me, and I by God's grace will do the same for you.

JOHN BRADFORD.

LETTER XXV.

From Mr. BRADFORD to his good Brother JOHN CARELESS, Prisoner in the King's Bench.

The father of mercy, and God of all comfort, vouchsafe thy eternal consolation, according to his great mercy Chrift our Saviour, Amen.

My dear and beloved brother, I never received so much comfort by anything since I came to know the God of grace, as from the letter, God be praised. I must confess that for my own soul's advantage, and for the glory of God, I have now a need of his grace, more than ever I had, even in my prison. So that I can say, that what we have felt in our hearts, and have said, before our God and our Father, we have not hid it any longer from our friends, for we have much to say to them, and much to comfort them in their hearts. We have much to say to them in their hearts, and much to comfort them in their hearts. We have much to say to them in their hearts, and much to comfort them in their hearts. We have much to say to them in their hearts, and much to comfort them in their hearts. We have much to say to them in their hearts, and much to comfort them in their hearts.
all the chief advantages? Dost not the scripture say, that "God doth connect us in this world, because we shall not be damned with the world? That God establisheth every one whom he loveth?" That the children of God are sealed with his Spirit? That the seal is in the hand of the Father? That the seal is a pledge and token of the inheritance? Dost not the scripture say, that you are now going the right way to heaven? That your suffering is Christ's suffering? That the only beloved, that the greatest advantages than these can a godly heart desire?

Therefore you are commanded to rejoice and be glad when you suffer as Christ's: for through your sufferings of God, great shall be your reward. Wherefore? For as the earth, first your children; for now they are in God's immediate protection. Never was father more careful for his children, as God is for yours, his children: the blessing, which he hath laid upon you, he will not leave to your children. Though all your providence for them shall be pulled away, yet God is not poor, he has promised to provide for them. He will be their Father, their God, and they shall be called upon me, faith, and I will bear it." Do you therefore call them, and commend them unto God your Father, and doubt not that he will die in your debt. He never was found unfaithful, and he will not now begin with you. The good man's feed shall not go begging their bread, for he will live mercy upon those good he hath begun to us.

Amen.

Therefore, as I said, God's reward, first, upon earth, shall be felt by your children even corporally, and so also upon you, if God see it meet for your souls, he shall feel it for the quietness of your conscience: And, secondly, after this life you shall find it so plentifully, as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, the heart cannot conceive how great God's reward shall be upon your bodies, much more upon your soul. God open our eyes to see and feel this indeed.

Thus shall we think of these crosses, which is an alms well kept for God's poor, and a purchase of so much in the world.

My dear hearts, if I could any way comfort you, you should be sure thereof, though my life lie thereon, but now I must do as I may, because you must all do. Would it that it would please our dear Father shortly to bring us where we shall never part, but enjoy continually the blessed fruition of his heavenly presence. Pity me, pray that it may be soon. I pray for you.

To overbear I will lend to you to know your estate; feed me word what are the chiefest things they charge you withal. From the Compass, by your brother in the Lord, John Bradford.

Our most merciful God and Father, through Christ Jesu our Lord and Saviour, be merciful unto us, and make perfect the good he hath begun in us to the end, Amen. Therefore, I commend you to rejoice and be glad when you suffer as Christ: for through your sufferings of God, great shall be your reward. Wherefore? For as the earth, first your children; for now they are in God's immediate protection. Never was father more careful for his children, as God is for yours, his children: the blessing, which he hath laid upon you, he will not leave to your children. Though all your providence for them shall be pulled away, yet God is not poor, he has promised to provide for them. He will be their Father, their God, and they shall be called upon me, faith, and I will bear it." Do you therefore call them, and commend them unto God your Father, and doubt not that he will die in your debt. He never was found unfaithful, and he will not now begin with you. The good man's feed shall not go begging their bread, for he will live mercy upon those good he hath begun to us.

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Amen.
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK OF MARTYRS. [Q. MARY. A.D. 1555.]

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therefore on his promise of God, who is an helper at a pin's head, and a most pleasant remedy to them that are besieged; yet be not cast about, or shall it be any hoping in the Lord was put to fail.

Therefore as I said, I lay again, dear sifter, do not only care-
ful for your answering, but also be joyful for your cause.
Confess Christ and be not ashamed, and he will confess you, and never be ashamed of you. Though lofs of goods and life be like here to you, yet if you be but right for Christ, (as doth most true) it is otherwise indeed: for he that loseth his life, faith he win-
neth it but he that faieth loseth it. Our friends have many a match to do with me, but if my God will make our defered death, a demonstration of his grace, a testimonial of his verity, a confirmation of his people, and overthrow the lies of the world, my Lord shall be very thankful! Be thankful therefore, good sifter, be thankful. Rejose and be merry in the Lord; be flout in his cause and quarrel, be not sithen, be not down; the Lord has not left out any of his faithful, and will not suffer Captain Body before your eyes. Behold how great your reward is. See the great glory and the eternity of felicity prepared for you. Strive and fight lawfully, that you may get the crown. Run to get the game, you are almost at your journey's end; I doubt not but our Father will us with few to you also, as he did to Elisha, a foory chariot, to convey us into his kingdom. Let us therefore not be dismayed to leave our cloak behind us, that is, our bodies to thee. God will one day reforme them to us like to the body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, when coming is now on the hounds to lay his hand for it and lift up our heads, for our redemption draweth nigh, Amen, Amen. The Lord of mercy grant us his mercy, Amen. I pray you judge and weigh between you, what your brother is made of by you. God's peace be with us all, Amen. Bless be the death that die in the Lord; then how much more they die for the Lord!

Your brother in bonds,

JOHN BRADFORD.

LETTER XXVII.

From Mr. BRADFORD, to a WOMAN that defered to know his MIND, whether he refrained from the mass, might be profec at the POPISH MATTINS, or no.

Blessed Almighty God our heavenly Father to be merciful and gracious unto you, for your great mercy and deep knowledge and love of his truth, and at this present give me grace to write you something of the fame, as may make to his glory and our own comfort and confirmation in us through Christ our Lord, Amen.

Whether you may come with faith confedence to the church now, that is, to the service used commonly, in part, as at mattins, or at even-fong, or no, it is your desire to have me write something for your further day. My dearly beloved, although your benefits towards me might perchance make you think, that in respect thereof I would bear with that which else were not to be borne wisely; yet by God's grace I am prepetted, simply, and without all flesh respect in no manner to you the truth and that, as you the truth according as it was, as I may be able to hand unto when I shall come before the Lord. Therefore, first, go about to learn perfectly the frist lefion to be learned, the lees of that, which is, to 'seek God in all things you shall leave undone.' Thirdly, know then, that you seek God, when in his service you follow his word, and not the fancies of man, custom, multitude, &c., and when with your brother you follow the rule of charity, that is, To do as you would be done by: in these is a fum of all the confer I can give you, if that hitherto I admonished you of the service now used, which is directly contrary to God's word. So that your going to the service, is a declaration that you have not learned your frist lefion, and never can learn it, so long as you go thither; and consequently the second lefion you will utterly lose, if you cease not the feeling of your self, that is, for company, custom, father or friend, life or goods, you seem to allow what God hath followeth. And this by God's grace, I purpose briefly to teach.

First, The matts and even-fong is a tongue forbidden to be used in the church, and the taking of communion, where it is underland not. Read what St. Paul faith, that pray in an unknown tongue is against God's commandments, 1 Cor. xiv. This one, I think, is sufficient for this point. For how can we glory be fought, where his word and commandment is willfully broken? How can charity to man stand, when charity to God, which is obedience to his word, is broken against even this.

Again, Both in matts and even-fong idolatry is maintained; for there is invocation and prayer made to saints departed this life, which is an idolatry of God that glory which we will give to none other.

Moreover, this service, and letters-ferth of it, condemn the Enemy's, by thereby falling into his curfe, which is threatened to all such as call good evil, and evil good; whereas they shall partake who communicate with them.

Besides, this Latin service is a plain mark of Antichrist's church, as (as you know) the name thereof, and his doctrine, and chiefly the sight of it declare themselves to be members of the same synagogue, and so cut off from Christ and his church, and the mark is the true administration of God's word and sac-

Furthermore, the example of your going thither to see the mass, and the reverence you render thereto, (as you heart you think) occasioneth the obbligation to be members of this teachable, the weak pupils to be more obbliged, the base pre-

evelopment of it, whether tongue can utter, nor pen deuide. All things are false which are of a false origin; from which you are admonished to fly. If Christ, shall follow you. Gather with him, let you come down in true spirit, but as the spirit, not only in the body, which is now a member of Christ, a member of Christ, but come out from amongst them, faith the Lord, and burnt unclean thing.

Confess Christ and his name, not only in word, but also in tongue, ye, in very deed, which you shall now do. Indeed many deny him, and therefore has need, left that Christ deny them in the last day; which, if ever were often before your eyes, the profit and pleasure of the world would be esteemed as mere trifles.

Therefore, good sifter, often have it before your eyes, let yourself and your doing, as it were, before the jealous feat of Christ, that hereafter you be not call'd into journers; I think that it will be little profit to you to win the whole world, and to lose Christ and his glory. When God shall have his day, shall loll it. 'The Father of heaven cannot bear to hear Christ, who faith, follow me: this you can do, do not follow idolatry, or idolaters. Fly from such fable scripture.

God grant this to you, to me, and to all God's children. Alas, now that I have accomplished this, I wish I might grant that as you have done me much good bodily, so that may be a little means to do you some good spiritually, and if I had once serv'd, I would have written more at any rate March 2, 1555.

JOHN BRADFORD.

LETTER XXIX.

From Mr. BRADFORD to the RIGHT WORSHIPFUL LADY VANE.

The good spirit of God our Father be more and more greatly beloved of you, especially, I take this ease perceived by your good ladyship, through the watching and meditation of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ, Amen.

Although your benefits towards me have defered all thevice I can do for you, yet (right worshipful, and deare lady, in the Lord) the true fear of God, and the love of him that I perceive to be in you, duth, in a more eateus manner, oblige me to respect you. This bearer hath this, that your desire is to have something sent you concerning your question about the supererogation of grace, which is undoubtedly that great Antichrist, of whom the apostle to much admonish us. Now, to strengthen your faith, see and consider what follows: you must be capable to render a reason of the hope that is in you, to write something to the purpose, which I desire you would and do.

The papists do place the pope in preheminence over our whole church, thereby unplacing Christ, who is the head of the church, that giveth life to the whole body, and the Spirit doth enliven every member of the same. This doth against all scriptures. For where they bring in this point Pot. Feed my sheep; I would gladly know whether this is not commanded unto others also. As for that (which you will urge) that he spake to Peter by name, I answer, and they had any learning, they might easily perceive it is not for any such cause as they pretend, but rather by a special commandment to reforme him to the honour of an apostle, who he was, thine own threefold denial. And how dare they in this word, My sheep, My hands to say that the head of Christ is? I think a man might easily by the like reason that Peter himself had refus'd that which Christ had given to him, and you to his fellow pasture. Is not this pretty stuff? Because Christ faith to Peter, Feed sheep, therefore he ought to rule the universal and whole flock of this. It is not reasonable. For he do truly write, Titus 2, the flock of God. Is not this pretty stuff? Because Christ faith to Peter, Feed sheep, therefore he ought to rule the universal and whole church, he doth, as you see, he doth rule; and the like. But yonder, and in this place. How can charity to man stand, when charity to God, which is obedience to his word, is broken against even this.

Again, both in matts and even-fong idolatry is maintained; for there is invocation and prayer made to saints departed this life, which is an idolatry of God that glory which we will give to none other.

Moreover, this service, and letters-ferth of it, condemn the Enemy's, by thereby falling into his curse, which is threatened to all such as call good evil, and evil good; whereas they shall partake who communicate with them.
LETTERS written by Mr. JOHN BRADFORD.

But alas, how can we call him Christ's vicar, that refuseth Christ, rejecteth his very presence in his people, and preferreth himself above God and man? How shall this Church agree? How can the Bishop of Rome be峰值; of the Church? Therefore, if the popis shall have the rule of this Church, they must, before they attain this, give us a bishop in due place, and as much as the Church of Rome doth; seeing that the Bishop of Rome is so named, because he be that will make this the bond of unity, whatsoever the bishop of Rome be, so that he will needs follow, that they do nothing else but teach a needless wickedness, and departure from Christ.

But of this, if God lend me life, I purpose to speak more at large hereafter. Now will I leave your ladyship to the discretion of God our Father, and Christ, and your only head, pastor, and keeper, to whom I now leave you by trust, for which I do thank God, which dependeth only on the word of God, which if you do follow then you shall walk in the darkness of the sin of doctrinal popery, that all the fruits of the papists are fallen by the judgment of God, and seek to bring us to the same dungeon with them, that the blind following the blind, they both may fall into some ditch out of which the Church of God deliver them according to his good will, may continue therein, and walk in it whilst it is day; so that the Church, though it can go from good to better, from happier to glory, by the governance of God's good Spirit, which God our Father give unto us all for ever, Amen.

Your brother in bonds,

For the testimony of Jesus Christ,

JOHN BRADFORD.

Here followeth another letter from Mr. Bradford to Mr. Richard Hopkins, sometime sheriff of Coventry, who, during the time of his thrivalty, was advised by certain malignant adversaries of matters pertaining to religion, which was a matter it was I not yet certainly informed, unless you were for condemning to a theft, being then in prison ready to be hanged, I leave certain English book of scripture for his spiritual comfort.

Whereupon, or some such like matter, he being maliciously accused, was sent for and committed to the Fleet-prison, where he remained a long time in great peril of his life. Nevertheless, the said Hopkins being at length delivered out of prison, and having Mr. Bradford's counsel, and minding to keep his conscience pure from idolatry, was driven with his wife, and eight young children to quit the realm, and went into High-Germany, where he continued in the city of Bafl till the death of queen Mary, being like a good Tobias, to his power a friendly helper in this case; a converser of other English exiles there about him, God's providence so working with him, that in those hard times, and accidents, and all this, he was not put to shame in great peril of his life. Nevertheless, the said Hopkins being at length delivered out of prison, and having Mr. Bradford's counsel, and minding to keep his conscience pure from idolatry, was driven with his wife, and eight young children to quit the realm, and went into High-Germany, where he continued in the city of Bafl till the death of queen Mary, being like a good Tobias, to his power a friendly helper in this case; a converser of other English exiles there about him, God's providence so working with him, that in those hard times, and accidents, and all this, he was not put to shame.

L E T T E R XXX

From Mr. BRADFORD, to Mr. RICHARD HOP- KINS, then SHERIFF of COVENTRY, and Prisoner in the FLEET.

DEARLY beloved in the Lord, I wish unto you as unto my own brother, ye as to my own heart, God's mercy, and to the feeling of the same plentifully in Christ our Lord, who gave himself a ransom for our sins, and price for redemption, praised the holy name for ever and ever, Amen.

I will not go about to excuse myself for not sending unto you hitherto, but rather account of God and you, freely giving you of your forgiveness, and with me to pray to God, and see this my undiverting mind, and all other my fins, which I believe the Lord in his mercy to do away for Christ's sake, Amen.

Now I would be glad to make some amendments, if I could, because I cannot; I am not able to accept you the will for the deed. At present, my dear heart, you are a most defamed, although it seem otherwise to you, nor rather unto you, that I dare now to be bold as to discern from you, because you would have him not my friend at all, but utterly destroyed. For God to be true, is then his true word.

Now his word pronounces of your fate that it is happy, therefore must it be true that I knoweth of this, I think there is no need; for you know the Holy Spirit God, they are happy who suffer for righteousness' sake, and that God's Spirit worketh on them who suffer for conscience' sake; you know that you suffer for the sake of God and religion?
er all you might be fools be out of trüble. 'You account your- 
yourself a great linner, and if you think you deserve this punishment; 
but I will let you know, you must be contented with the verdict of your own 
fine of your sins, but in you they perceive Christ and punish you for 
professing his religion. Happy are you who have found fault with 
yourself, for in so doing you will be become worthy to suffer for, as 
you have lost the privilege of suffering for faith in the face of sin; you shall surely rejoice with joy 
unspeakable in the fight of sin and angels.

You may think yourself born in a blessed time, that have 
many noble men, many rich men, many wise in the world, hath the 
Lord God of all flesh. Who there hath been no such great cause to rejoice 
that, amongst the many, he hath chosen you to be one? For that cause hath God placed you in your office, that thereby you might be the more exposed to be found for your sake 
notwithstanding, you had not been so great a thing for Mr. Hopkins to have 
be suffered as Mr. Hopkins, as it is for Mr. Hopkins also to suffer 
for Mather Sheriff. 'O happy day, that you were put into this 
high office, by which God in this world would promote you 
together hainous, by suffering in this room he hath exalted you 
in heaven, and in the fight of men, church and children, in a 
much more excellent glory. When was it that the 
sheriff of a city hath suffered for the Lord's sake, or cast himself 
for a good confidence? To the end of the world shall it be 
written for memorials of your prudence.' That Richard Hopkins, 
sheriff of Covenratty, for the confiscating discharge of his office 
before God, was cast into the Fleet, and there a long time kept 
prison, might be sufferer for you, if the fear of the 
religion you may give your life. Never could you have attained to 
this promotion in this manner, had you not been in that office. 
When I thought that you were said to be the 
first magistrates that for Christ's sake should be hanged any thing? 
As I said before, therefore I say again, that your life is 
happy.

But thankfull therefore, rejoice in your trouble, pray for pati- 
tence, to the end, that patience have her perfect work. 
If you want this wisdom and power, as it of God, who will give 
you to it in your good time. He shall be in him, yea, if he shall 
flourish, you shall flourish, and shall find him merciful and 
full of compassion; for he never did, nor ever will break his 
promise. He is with you in trouble, and will be your comforter 
you calling upon him, yea, before you call, through Christ he granteth 
your desire. If he now and then hide his face from you, it is to 
provok you the more to long for him. This is most true, he is 
coming, and will come, he will not be long in coming, as if he 
seem to tarry, yet shall find you, and shall see the wonder- 
ful works of the Lord. 'O my beloved, why should you be 
hungry? Is not Christ Emmanuel, God with us? Shall you 
not find that he is true in saying, 'In the world you shall 
have trouble?' So is he in saying, 'In me you shall have comfort.'
He doth not only foretell that trouble will come, but also pro-
jecteth that comfort shall ensue. And such comfort as the 
eyne hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, neither can the heart of man 
conceive. What hath he said to you? Verily, there is no 
theretofore for the Lord, as I hope you do. Then, as 
said, happy, happy, happy, and happy again are you, my dearly 
beloved in the Lord. You now foolish with the Lord, and 
you shall be wise, for the Lord, and wise you are. Now are we both 
in the easy road to heaven: by for so many afflictions we must enter 
in thither, whither God bring us for his mercy, sake, Amen.
your fellow in affliction.

JOHN BRADFORD.

L E T T E R  X L X I .

To Mr. BRADFORD to Mrs. ELIZABETH 
BROWN.

GO dd filber, God make perfect the good he hath begun 
in you unto the end.

I am afraid to write unto you because you go over-charge 
yourself at all times, even whenever I do but lend com- 
nendation to that which I commend unto you than more 
other, and therefore you might stand too great tokens till 
I write to you of my need. Dear filber, I see your unfeigned 
kindness toward me, as I do comprehend it in the like, and will 
do by God's grace so long as I live, and therefore I hope not 
for you, to remember you in my prayers, as I hope you do 
not for me. I hope you will not think me so done with 
you, as I would be more ready to the end, and done 
then by my writing to hinder you from better exercise; though 
the end of my writing is to excite and stir up your heart more 
earnestly to go forward in your well begun endeavor. For you know my enemies are cross on me, and every 
love, and more receive the present but those that run to the appointed mark. 
None shall be loved but such as perfect and continue to the end.

Therefore, dear filber, remember that we have need of pati- 
itance, that when we have done the good will of God, we may 
receive the promise. Patience and perseverance are the pro-
per note, whereby God's children are known from counterfeit,
LETTER XXXIII.

Mr. BRADFORD, to certain GODLY MEN, whom he carribeth to be patient under the CROSS, and confest in the true DOCTRINE which they had taught you.

Yearly beloved in the Lord, as in him I wish you well to go on to virtue, in me I pray God that and you may continue in his grace, and to persevere in that which is good, and to persevere in that which is good, and if you keep God's words, and if you keep God's words, and that you may be able to use your understandings, and to live according to the Word of God, and if you keep God's words, and that you may be able to use your understandings, and to live according to the Word of God, and if you keep God's words, and that you may be able to use your understandings, and to live according to the Word of God.

To the honour of the Lord, as in him I wish you well to go on to virtue, in me I pray God that and you may continue in his grace, and to persevere in that which is good, and if you keep God's words, and if you keep God's words, and that you may be able to use your understandings, and to live according to the Word of God, and if you keep God's words, and that you may be able to use your understandings, and to live according to the Word of God.

To the honour of the Lord, as in him I wish you well to go on to virtue, in me I pray God that and you may continue in his grace, and to persevere in that which is good, and if you keep God's words, and if you keep God's words, and that you may be able to use your understandings, and to live according to the Word of God, and if you keep God's words, and that you may be able to use your understandings, and to live according to the Word of God.

To the honour of the Lord, as in him I wish you well to go on to virtue, in me I pray God that and you may continue in his grace, and to persevere in that which is good, and if you keep God's words, and if you keep God's words, and that you may be able to use your understandings, and to live according to the Word of God, and if you keep God's words, and that you may be able to use your understandings, and to live according to the Word of God.
for what glory and honour is exalted and falsely kept in heaven,
for all them that believe with the heart, and confess Christ and his truth with the mouth, Amen.

My dearly beloved, I remember that, some time ago, I took
my leave of you upon conjunction; but indeed I did you
farewell, upon certain knowledge. My self standing at the
doors, I continually look for the thief to come for me, and I thank God,
that I still live. No, I have no power to lament that which
have now. Now I am climbing up the hill, it will cause
me to pull and blow before I come to the cliff. The hill is steep
and high by the east of Christ, it is an slop, and there is a feble
path, therefore to the Lord for me, that as I have now, through his
goodness, some almoft to the top, I may by his grace be by
thrusting out of the hill to fall off. If it be so, I shall find, in doing
in love, God put out thy hand and draw me unto thee: for no
man cometh, but he whom the Father draws. See, my dearly
beloved, the grace of Christ, behold thy mercy: I know the Lord short breath,
and my weakenes. As he sent for Elias in a very chariot,
so fended he for me: for by fire my deeds must be purified, that
I may be fine gold in his fight. O unspeakable wretch that I am!
Lord, do thou forgive me mine unthankfulness. Indeed I con-
fect that my sins have deferred hell-fire, much more than this
fire. But lo, loving is my Lord, that he converseth the re-
ready for my sins, the punishment for my transgressions, into a
testimonial of his truth, and a testification of his verity, which
the prelates do persecute not me, but Christ in me, who do not look to take
my part to the very end, Amen.

O that I had to open an hand, as could receive this great be-
neft gift! Then I might be dignified as thou fest, when God my Father
offered thee to me! Now pray for me, my dearly beloved, pray for me
that I never think. I shall never think, I hope. I trust in the Lord;
and if the Lord be not with my part, I am assured will not leave me when I have molt need
for his truth and mercy's sake; O Lord, help me. Into thy hand take me, for my
soul is wholly. O Lord, take me: I can not what man can unto me, Amen. My dearly beloved, fal
you Amen also, and come after God so call you. Be not shamed of God, and the blessings in Christ. Amen. And I pray for ever in this present life.

Pledge him in his cup of the crof, and you pledge shal
in the cup of your glorify. Desire to drink it before the
drinks, where the wicked shall drink, and all their
tempts the crofs and pledging the Lord, walk with the wise,
ed, in betraying in fear and deceit that which our hearts
truth. Which thing if you should do, (which God
then you will not only live for ever all that I have before
much more infinitely of eternal and carnal gift,
and pastor of God's most holy and blessed church, and so for a little, which you cannot tell how long a
life, in the end I hope, is in, the Lord shall govern our grace
not with me, faith Christ, fasteneth abroad."

The Jews rent their clothes in feering or hearing of the
thing blasphemously done or spake against God, and that
yet come to church where mafs is, and be made;
account any more to be his ferrants and people, be he
as had not hewed their knees to dull; as now, and
England account any other to be his ferrants, which
the truth in heart, and deny it in their deeds, as do not
salvation.

We ought to desire above all things the soulsaving of
whole body, and the coming of his kingdom; and shall we
his name blasphemed so horribly as it is at mafs, and
be that it be a feast for the heathen, and for the
by priests and bakers to be worshipped as God, and say nothing.
and the Mass.

The Jews rent their clothes in feering or hearing of the
inglished in Christ. Amen. And I pray for ever in this present life.

In the story of Mr. Bradford there was mention made of
a gentlemanwoman, who being troubled by her father
and mother, for not coming to mafs, sent her servant
to visit Mr. Bradford in prisson, who tendering the
word of wisdom to the gentlemanwoman, to commit himself
and his heart to the Lord, and to let the
the Lord, as to myself, the continual grace and comfort of
and of his holy word, through the operation of the Holy
Spirit. And I continue to the end to hold the
fulfill the obedience of God's gospel, whereof you are called,

I With you, right worshipful and dearly beloved sifter in the
the Lord, as to myself, the continual grace and comfort of
and of his holy word, through the operation of the Holy

Therefore, my good my tires, take good heed, for it belon-
good for you not to have known the truths, and thereby to
hashed over with those who do not, and to be
church, and, if it be possible, to alter your

But what need I go about to light a candle in the candle,
that is, to tell you that we may not go to mafs, or to the
congregation where it is, except it be to improve it, in that
be so dul and full of corruption, that it is not

But how long will we yet halit on both knees? faith God. "Haling, faith Paul, lea-
way, so that he which is not in him, shall wither away, and
call in hell-fire. For Christ will be amsified of them that his Father,
who are now amsified of his truth before this world
generation.

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good for you not to have known the truths, and thereby to
hashed over with those who do not, and to be

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call in hell-fire. For Christ will be amsified of them that his Father,
who are now amsified of his truth before this world
generation.
Mr. Bradford to a PERSON by whom he received COMFORT and RELIEF in his IMPRISONMENT.

First, Because they make it a service of God, and a thing which pleases God of itself, not to be meritorious; my brother, the bearer, can tell you at large hereof that this is the effect of my imprisonment, that the effect of it is for me to be taken for a good christian.

Thirdly, Because it is required of the just to suffer necessity, that conceives, much more to lay it aside, that he be taken for a good christian.

Fourthly, Because it is the word of God, and God's book, and I am living, according to the law of God, the popish church; and therefore we now show, that we should think ourselves happy to live any place, unless if we are allowed in bearing the cross in bearing the same, as God has done you in bearing the cross of your imprisonment; and having done it, you shall have no less well be treated in the briers.

Eighthly, Because the end and scope of your going thither is to avoid the crose, that is, for our own self, Christ's cause and the edification of our brethren. For in that they make it to no effect, a thing, and a worshipping of God, it cannot but be against Christ and Christ's church, and the same thing teacheth us, that it is disadvantage on our part, who either seek your weak, or strong, or ignorant, or obliante.

If they be weak, by your referring of the church, as it was said, it be made their strength: if they be strong, the same thing, thereby, they help to keep them so; if they be ignorant, you refer to it cannot but rock them to sleep in their obstinate error of the truth of Christ, and ceremony.

These caues recited doth thee what I think in this: but my thinking is not further than the same, and the few, are many, when you consider the godly, as the patriarchs, and prophets, and apostles, and confessor, and Christ Jesus, with all his guard and troops.

I am daily as the Lord's prayer, as the Lord's prayer, as the Lord's prayer, they will be willing to bear, and therefore I hope you will be willing to hear me; and then how, in your duty, you can help to the comfort of your returning, and the rest of the church, who have left the cross of their life.

Mr. Bradford to Mr. Augustine Barneheer.

My own good Augustine, the Lord of mercy blest thee, my dear brother, for ever. I have given you good hope, that if you come late at night, I shall speak with you, but come you can: because it is the same mean, if you can, and as you can, learn what Mr. G. hath spoke to Dr. Story, and others. The cause of all this trouble both you and I is thought to come by him. It is said that I shall be burned in Smithfield, and that that is the last. The Lord's will be done. Behold here I am, Lord, send me. I am now alone, let me make you and others weep.

If I should live, I would more wary use the company of God's children, than ever I have done; I shall bear Lord's anger, because I have finned against him. Command me to my good dear father, for whom my heart bleedeth; the Lord comfort her, and strengthen her unto the end. I think I have taken my leave of her for ever, but in eternal life we shall meet brethren, and praise the Lord.
Lord continually. I have now taken a more certain answer of death than ever I did; and yet not so certain as I think I should desire it. And is an appointment of death to my God, the hour is come, gloriously thou wilt excellently child. I have glorified thee, faith this my sweet Father, and I will glorify thee, and I shall glorify thee, and I shall praise God for me, and I pray for me, for my am I hope: I hope to live everlasteth to me, though I have above all others most desired it. I am the most singular example of my mercy, praised be his name for ever. Amen. And I am the child of God, I shall dread no time, how long shall God's enemies thus triumph? Have I sent you this of the baptism of children to write out; when this is done, you shall have other things. Yea, pray, my own dear heart, be born I am told. The kingdom of God is death for any to speak with me, but yet I truly I shall speak with you.

JOHN BRADFORD.

To the left letters of Mr. Bradford, here is also adjoin-ed another, written to some of his faithful friends, worthy to be read by all christians; wherein is described a lively on the one hand the man and the new; also between the law and the gospel.

LETTER XI.

From Mr. BRADFORD, desiring a Comparison between the OLD MAN and the NEW, &c.

A man that is regenerate and born of God, (which that every one of us be, our baptism, the sacrament of regeneration must be,) and therefore let every one of us say with the Virgin Mary, "Be it unto me according to thy word," according to the sacrament of baptism, wherein thou hast declared our adoption; and let us believe that thou hast done it, not that as we are able to be made able by the Lord a man, I say, that regenerate, confessor of two men, (as one may say) namely of the old man and of the new. The old man is to the new a talent, much, such a one as was Goliath, for his birth is new. But the new man is like to a little child, such a one as was David, for his birth is not perfect until the day of the general resurrection.

The old man therefore is more strong, lofty, and flourishing than the new man, because the birth of the new man is now begun, and the old man is perfected, as the old man was once more active, lofty, and strong, than the new man; fo is the nature of him clean contrary to the nature of the new man, as being earthly and connected with the feet of Satan; the nature of the new man being heavenly, and blest with the celestial feet of God. So that inasmuch as the old man is corrupt with the feet of the serpent, so is the new man blest with the feet of God from above. And as the old man is our enemy to God, so, inasmuch as he is regenerate, he is righteous and holy, and a friend to God, the feet of God preferring him before all his own for his own's sake. The feet of the old man, whenever he is corrupt even from his conception, inclines him, yea, embassoms it to him, and nothing else but to sin; so that the part man in man before regeneration, in God's fight, is not only evil, but even damnable. A man therefore that is regenerate may well be called always just, and always sinful; just, in respect of Satan's feet; and his birth, Baptize these two men there is a continual conflict of a deadly war. The flesh and old man, by reason of his birth being perfect, doth often for a time prevail against the new man, but child in comparison of each other, that is, even the children of God themselves think that they be nothing else but old, and that the Spirit and feet of God is left from above. And so, for more than this, the truth is otherwise, the Spirit and the feet of God at least appear as a cloud, and dissembling the clouds which cover the sun; so that from hence it comes before and with every feet, that there is any sun, the clouds and wind do fight again from him, even from his own—blambs and corrupt affections do often shadow the fight of God's feet in his children, as though they were downcast reprobates. Wherefore it comes to that end, and even to their own feet, but according to the truth, declare of God to give them again his Spirit, as though they had left it, and he had justly taken it away from them. And when ever and never doth indeed, although he maketh us think to sin for ever, I shall always be as I am now, before all times in Christ, and the wicked always; that the chief lie not continually in their sin, as the wicked do, but do at length return again by reaps of God's feet, which is hid in them as in a spark of fire in the ashes, as we may see in Peter, David, Paul, Mary Magdalene, and others. And for the (1) mean of God's children) God hath made all things in Christ Jesus, to whom he hath given his dignity, that they should be tance and gout.

Concerning Christ Jesus, God with God, Light, co-eternal and co-essential with the Father, to the Holy Ghost, to the end that he might become flesh (became the husband and the wife must be one body one. And this divine and human nature uniting together by it is his own person, to us all his children (as St. Peter faith) and so is become flesh of our flesh, and as become flesh of the woman, and bone of her bones, the same divine and human nature uniting together to us, yea even our sins; as at all that he has given his whole glory. So that if Satan had us to us as a part of our defense against the seducible person, but the husband, we may well hold his action against our husband Christ, and he will make his action against him.

For this end, (I mean that we might be coupled and thus to Christ, and so be certain of salvation,) as a part in God's common grace he hath given his holy word hath two parts, (as now the children of God, men) one part of God's word being proper to the old as the other part to the new man. The part properly pertaining new man, is the gospel.

The law is a doxilite which commandeth and forbidth quaking doing and avoiding. Under it there are one all precepts, threatenings, and promises. The gospel is a doctrine which offers and giveth, requiring faiths on our kind, of works, and causeth us to do a cause, but as under it there are therefore under it are contained all the free and gifts of God, as, "I am the Lord thy God." (1) If you give me no reasons of your faith, it requireth not as a cause, but as an instrument; wherefore be certain of our good husband Christ, and of his its confidence feeleth itself obligate to God's judgment, that if he be faith, but as under it there are doctrine pertaining to the old man, but on the doctrine obtaining to the new man, in not looking for that which is eth, for the cause, wherefore we believe nothing only on it which it offereth, and it is granted, God's grace and eternal mercy and peace in Christ. So the be on quieter, when the locketh for it, altogether on so, in God's mercy in Christ Jesus. And as to the with St. John, then is the happy, and shall find quiddit. When the felteth herfert quiet, let her look on the law, on and on the requires, and is contented to have fellowship with other as, er, eat, drink, go, &c. to our confidence which is sects to the kept the gods multiplied in our midst only for ourselves and our husband, there to gather, to embrace, and be joyful together. If thine faith is not, let it be with the soul, and the belt also then complain to thy husband Christ, and he will feorte him play Philan's part. Thus, my dearly beloved, you given in a few words of all the divinity what our confidence cannot want.

LETTER XI.

Mr. BRADFORD'S FORFELIUL to his MOTH when he thought he should have a certain fruition of THE Lord of life, and Saviour of the world, Jesus blest you comfort and comfort, my good and deere heavenly comfort, consolation, grace, and faith, for I...

If I thought that daily, yea almost hourly you did upon God the Father through Jesus Christ, that he was going to be and would appear and write more about it. But so far as much as I am certain in your good heart, so I believe you, good mother, to our good and perfect comfort, whereby this year may be furthered. Furthermore it will be the better if you hold the do ther it be taken away. Among which, in that think is the privilege the greatest and chiefest, I will find strength. I am not the least inferior to all the rest as my good brother, this messenger, can tell you. I know therefore, good mother, that for my body, and that I cannot come when I will. I have confirmed my will to be thus end, for I enough, I thank God. And for my lodging, lodging, drinks, picks and learned company, books, and all else. I also think well of your company, and more. I can bet ter rule than I could wish, and God's mercy's here is far above my worthines, Worthines, fal and worthy of nothing but commendation.

But besides all this, for my soul I find much tract age. For God is my Father, I now perceive, though
LETTERS written by Mr. JOHN BRADFORD.

1. Before imprisoning me for his gospel, he made me like a thief, but now he makes me like his friends the thieves. I might either come to the gallows, or I might go free. Now how do I make him like to his friends the thieves? He shall be like to the holy martyrs, and confessors. Which to threaten, or with the scall of the law, or with the scall of his god and goddess, how far am I unworthy to be compared to them? For if I (fair) which always lurks behind, I had rather come on to the gallows, God might have caused me to be put in prison as a thief, a thief and traitor to the world, and an enemy to the name of the church, an unclean livier, and an heretic to all the church, so that my god and goddess is so great upon all the world, but me and me, that I should be cast into prison for the name of Christ's sake, and be cast into the death for the name of his god, for whose church's sake, that the world and worldliness, to make it, might rejoice in his mercy, be thankful, look for eternal life, for the Lord's sake, and see me in Christ with Christ, for which sake, therefore should be more merry and glad. And so, but bad master, so I am, as ever I was, ye never to my glad and I was, as now I should be, if I could get you to thank God for me, and to pray on this mercy.

2. As good father, you doth vouchsafe that my son, a godly young man in thy sight, and find this favour with the face of the Sun of righteousness, the captain and author of the war of light, and my son is good, so he is a young man in thy sight, Lord, I pray thee make him worthy to suffer imprisonment, and even death itself, for thy truth, and pray for him, and let him never be suffered to be tempted farther than he will enable you to bear. But you should do herein, the other letter which I have writ, and as divers divers, and divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, divers, diver...
and will reign, that he will wake all the earth with his iron and brass power, with his golden and silver brightness, only by means of his mouth, not as such a manner as though they were pots of clay, according to what the prophet write of the magnificence of his kingdom. And thus much for the end of his name and your duties to bear the, to propagate, and defend the same.

But now will our adversaries mainly cry out against us, because no man may be admitted once to speak against them, that we pretend falsly the doctrine and word of God, calling us the most wicked contemners of it, and heretics, schismatics, traitors, that have been in their sayings, while their facts and their sayings, and their majesty and his hearers by this my writing, to see that it is far otherwise than what your Majesty, and all that remain of the same, do not believe the truth of the sentence; the same, your majesty and his hearers by this my writing, to see that it is far otherwise than what you would report of us. God our Father, for his holy name's sake, direct my path to be this instrument to put into your eyes, ears and hearts, that which most may make to his glory, in the safe-guard of your souls and bodies, and preservation of the whole realm, Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD.

LETTER XLIV.

From Mr. Bradford to certain of his FRIENDS, N. S. and R. C.

With you, my good brethren, the same grace of God in Christ, which I pray the Father of mercies to give me for his holy Evidence.

Your letter, though I have not read myself, because I would not alienate my mind from conceived things, to write to others, yet I have read it, and in it I reflect on some of the election of God's election, wherein I will briefly write to you my faith, and how I think it good and meet for a christian man to waife in it.

In the first place, I believe that Christ (for man being thus fallen) did oppose himself to the justice of God; a mediate, paying the ransom and price of redemption for Adam and his whole posterity that refuse it not finally. I believe, that all who believe in Christ, (I speak of such as he by years of disaffection) are partakers of Christ's and all his merits. I believe that faith, and in fact of Christ I speak not of faith that men have by reason of his death as a sacrifice, but by reason of earthly consciences, Math. xii. cusses and authority of men, which is commonly seen, the hearts of them that believe, being not right and simple before God: I speak of that faith which indeed is the true faith, the justifying and regenerating faith. I believe, I say, that this faith and belief in Christ, is the work and gift of God, given to none but those who are the children of God, that is, to them whom God the Father before the beginning of the world hath predetermined in Christ as eternal souls.

Thus do I waive in predetermination, in such a manner as he hath opened it. Though in God it be the first, yet to us it is the last opened. And therefore I begin with creation, from whence I come to redemption, from to justification, and then to election. On this manner I am sure, that warily and wisely a man should be made, it easily by the image of God's Spirit, and by his word, seeing this faith not to be given to all men. 2 Thess. iii. but to such as are born of God, predetermine before the time and the fashion of this world, which they are made, after the fleshly and secular will of God, which will we must not call in question, but in fear and trembling submit ourselves to it, as to that which can will nothing but what is good, for far as it may be known to us, which is far more the case, and then it may be known to us, which is far more the case, and then it may be known to us, which is far more the case, and then it may be known to us, which is far more the case, and then it may be known to us, which is far more the case.

JOHN BRADFORD.

NOTES upon the foregoing EPISTLE.

A touching the doctrine of election (whereof this letter of Mr. Bradford, and many other letters touch much) three things must be considered.

1. What God's election is, and what is the cause thereof.


3. To whom God's election pertaineth, and how the same may be certain thereof.

Because predetermination and election there is; and predetermination as well as the elect; election pertaineth only to them that are saved.

Predetermination, in that it respecteth the regeneration of the elect: in that it respecteth the fixed or called election, and is thus defined:

Predetermination is the eternal decrees of God purposed before in himself, what shall befall all men, either to salvation or damnation. All men, from the beginning, the elect; and the grace of God in his own will, through faith in Christ his Son, choosing prefering unto life such as pleaseth him. In this definition of election, first go before the mercy and grace of God as the causes thereof, whereby is excluded all the works of the law, and merits of meritorious suffering, whether they go before faith, or are joined with it. So was Jacob chosen, and Esau refused, before they began to work, &c.

Secondly, In that this mercy and grace of God in his own will, is said to be predetermination or election, and the proceeding and working of God not to be brought to any ordinary place, or to any succession of causes, to soe or dignity of person, nor to worthiness of being, but by the mere will of his own purposer. And thus was the outward race and flock of sheep, and the blood dropped after the flesh refuseth, (which seemed to have the eminence) and another feed after the spirit refillsa, of Abraham the Sones, that is, of the Gentiles. I was to be the first of the firstfruits of his church of the elect, which seemed to be of price, forfaken, and left, for the chair advanced in other nations. So was Saul refused, and little David accepted: the rich, the mean, the wife of this world rejected, and the word of fleshly opened to the poor and miserable objects, the mountains cast under, and the low valleys exalted.

Thirdly, Where it is added, in his own will, it is falketh down the free will and purpose of man, with actions, counsels, and strength of nature; accordingly it is written, It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that falleth mercy. So see how Israel ran long, and yet got nothing. The tables began to set out later, and yet got the same. They that came at the first hour did labour more, and they which came last were fed, and they were fed the first. The working will of the Phariscees seemed better, but the Lord's will was rather to justify the publican. To either son had a better will to tarry by his father, why did indeed: and yet the fat calf was given to the younger son. For it is the matter goeth, not by the will of man, but by the will of God, as it pleaseth him to accept; and as it is written, Which are born not of will, nor of the flesh, but of God. Therefore, as all then goeth by the will of God, and not by the will of man: so again here is betoed, that this will of God never goeth without faith Christ Jesus his Son.

And therefore, fourthly, is this clause added, in the same sense, through faith in Christ his Son, that is, the faith in Christ usward maketh all together. For it certifieth us of God's election: as this epistle of Bradford doth well express. For whosoever be called by God's election, in God, let him first begin with himself, in Christ: which if he find in himself to be sure, and nothing doubts, but that he is one of number of God's elect. Secondly, The said faith, nothing else, is the only condition and means whereby God doth act as his election, vocation, and all God's purposes of salvation do stand, according to the words of St. Peter, "If ye abide in the faith," Coloss. i. Thirdly, All faith is the immediate and next cause of our salvation simply, without any other condition and means. For as the mercy of God, his grace, election, vocation, and other precedent causes do stave and justify us in condition, if we believe in Christ: so faith on Christ, without condition, is the next and immediat
which by God's promise worketh our justification; according to which is written, "Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, thou and thy whole house," Acts xxvi. 16. And thus much touching the decisiveness of election, with the causes thereof declared, which you see now to be no merits nor works of man, either they go before or come after faith, but only a mere mercy and grace of God's faith. For thus teach all they that are born of Adam, do taste of his malediction, and that they tafted not his apple: for all that be the sons of Christ, which is by faith, take part of the obedience of Christ, although they never did that obedience become visible unto the sight of men. In Rom. xvi. 24.

Now for the second consideration: Let us see likewise how, and in what manner this election of God proceedeth in cifting and electing them which he orneith to salvation; which order is this. In them that is chosen to life, first God's mercy and free grace is obtained. Then is election worketh in us a holy calling; which vocation, through hearing, quickeneth knowledge and faith of Christ. Faith through grace obtaineth justification, justification through grace worketh for glorification.

Election is before time. Vocation and faith come then. Justification and glorification is without end. Election, depending upon God's free grace and will, includeth all man's will, blind fortune, chance, and peradventure.

Vocation, standing upon God's election, excluseth man's wisdom, cunning, learning, invention, power, and presumption.

Faith in Christ, proceeding by the gift of the Holy Spirit, and freely justifying man by God's promise, excepteth all other merits of men, all condition of deserving, all works of the law, both God's law and man's, and all other outward means whatsoever.

Justification cometh freely by faith, standeth sure by imputation, without doubt, fear, or wavering in this life. Glorification pertaining only to the life to come, which's looked for.

Grace and mercy preventeth. Exclamation ordained.

Vocation prepareth and receiveth the word, whereby faith.

Faith justifieth.

Justification bringeth glory. Election is the immediate and next cause of vocation. Vocation (which is the working of God's Spirit by the word) is the immediate and next cause of faith.

Faith is the immediate and next cause of justification. In this order and connection of causes is diligently observable; and thereby it is seen, that not only the papists, but, and all heretics, are wholly confounded and inverted this doctrine, as though Almighty God, so far forth as he foreknew man's merits before to come, so farth he dispenset his election: that the Lord reprehended the grace of election, nor any merits preceding; but yet granted the fame to benefactors which follow: as though we had occasion, our holiness that followeth after, and not rather our holiness by God's election going before.

But we, following the scripture, say otherwise, that only cause of God's election, is his own free mercy; and the only cause of justification, is our faith in Christ, and nothing else. As for example, at the general election, if the question be asked, Why was Abraham chosen, and not Nachor? Why was Jacob chosen, and not Esau? Why was Moses elected, and Pharaoh rejected? Why was David accepted, and Saul refused? Why few be chosen, and the many rejected? It cannot be suffered otherwise but thus, Because it was for the good will of God.

In like manner touching vocation, and also faith, if election be asked. Why this vocation and gift of faith was given to Cornelius the centurion, and not to Territius the Jew? Why to the poor, to the balbuzet, and to the rude ones of this world? (of whom Christ speaketh, "I think thee, Father, who hast hid this from thy children," &c. Luke xii. 1.) Why to the unwise, the simple and Jacobs in this world? (of whom St. Paul speaketh, "I cry thee, Father, who hast hid this from thy children," &c. Cor. i. 27. Ye see your calling, my brethren, how not many of you," &c.) Why to the sinners, and not to the just? Why were the beggars by the high ways called, and the household guests excluded? We can go no other cause, but to our promised election, and say with Christ our Saviour, "Yea, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight," Luke x.

And so for justification likewise, if the question be asked, why the publican was justified, and not the Pharisee? Luke x. Why Mary the sinner, and not Simon the invitee? Luke xi. Why Mary the sinner, and not Simon the invitee? Luke xi. Why is the son of God not the case of any publicans go before the scribes and Pharisees into the kingdom? Matt. xxii. Why the son of the free woman was received, and the bond woman's son, being his older, was rejected? Gen. xxvi.

Why Israel which for long sought for righteounesse, for it is not? and the Gentiles, which fought not for it, found it? Rom. ii. 17. We have no other cause to render, but to say with St. Paul, Because they sought for it by works of the law, and not by faith: which faith, as it came not by man's will, (as the papists, or those pretend,) but only by the election and free gift of God; for it is only the immediate cause whereunto the promise of our salvation is annexed, according as we read; "And therefore of faith is the inheritance given, as after grace, that the promise might stand by every seed," Rom. iv. 17. In the same chapter, "For they believe not in him whom it justifieth the wicked, is impounded for righteousness.'

And thus concerning the caues of our salvation, you see how faith in Christ, only and immediately, without any condition, doth justify us, being so linked with God's mercy and election. But both election and vocation wherever election geeth before, there faith in Christ must minister. And again, whatsoever believeth in Christ Jesus, through the vocation of God, he must needs be paraker of God's election.

Whereupon refuteth now the third note or consideration, which is, to consider wherein a man in this life may be certain of his election. To answer to which question, this first is to be understood; that although our election and vocation simply indeed be known to God only in himself, a privy; yet notwithstanding it may be known by every particular faithful, a public; that is, by mean of such means which is faith in Christ Jesus crucified. Forasmuch as by faith in Christ a man is justified, and thereby made a child of salvation, reason must needs lead the same to be then the child of election, chofen of God unto everlasting life. How for can a man be saved, but by consequence it followeth, that he must also be elected?

And therefore of election it is truly said, We must judge of election by that which comeeth after; that is, by our faith and belief in Christ: which faith, although in time it followeth after election, yet this is the proper and immediate cause of election affected by the scripture, which not only justifieth us, but also certifieth us of this election of God.

Whereunto likewise well agree that present letter of Mr. Bradford wherein he faith, Election, albeit in God it be the first, yet to us it is the last open. And therefore beginning first (faith he,) with creation, I come from thence to the redemption and justification by faith, and to election. Not that faith is the cause efficient of election, but rather the effect thereof, but is to us the cause certificatory, or the cause of our certification, whereby we are brought to the knowledge of our election in Christ. For although that election first be certain in the knowledge of God, yet in our knowledge, faith only that we have in Christ, is the thing that giveth to us our certificate and comfort of this election.

Wherefore, whatsoever desirous to be assured that he is one of the elect number of God, let him not climb up to heaven to know, but let him descend into himself, and there search his faith in Christ the Son of God; which if he find to be sincere and unfeigned, by the working of God's Holy Spirit in his heart; thereupon let him say, and so wrap himself wholly, body and soul, under God's general promise, and encumber his head with no other speculations; knowing this, "That whatsoever believeth in him shall never perish," John iii. 18.
Shall not be confounded, Rom. ix. Shall not see death, John viii. Shall not enter into judgment, John v. Shall have everlasting life, John iii. Shall be saved; Matth. xxviii. Acts xvi. Shall have remission of all his sins, Acts x. Shall be justified, Rom. iii. Gal. ii. Shall be made to flow out of him of water of life, John vii. Shall not die, John xi. Shall be raised in the last day, John vi. Shall find rest to his soul, and shall be refreshed, Matth. xii.

Now then, forasmuch as we see our faith to be the ground whereupon dependeth the whole condition of our justifying, let us walk in like manner what is this faith whereof the scripture saith so much thereby, for the more plain understanding of the simile. For many kings and states there be of faith: as a man may believe every thing that is true, yet not every truth doth have, neither doth the believing of every truth justify a man. He that believeth that God created all things of nought, believeth truly. He that believeth that God is a just God, that is omnipotent, that he is merciful, that he is true of promise, believeth well, and holdest the truth. So he that believeth that God hath his election from thebeginning, and that he also is one of the same elect and predestinate, hath a good belief, and thinketh well; but yet this belief alone, except it be feconded with another thing, will not serve to salvation: as it awaited not the old Jews, which so thought of themselves, and yet think to this day to be only God's elect people.

Only the faith which availeth to salvation is that, whose object is the body and passion of Jesus Christ crucified. So that in the act of justifying, these two faith and Christ, have a mutual relation, and must always concur together; faith as the act which apprehends Christ as the object which is apprehended.

For neither doth the passion of Christ fave without faith, neither doth faith help, except it be in Christ: as we see the body of man suffocated by bread and drink, not except the fame be received and conveyed into the stomach, and yet neither doth the receiving of every thing in the body of man's body, except it be meat and drink, which have power to give nourishment. In like for it is with faith; for neither doth the believing of every thing fave, but only faith in the blood of Christ: neither again doth the fame blood of Christ profit us, except by faith it be received. And as the sun, being the cause of all light, shineth not but to them only which have eyes to see; nor yet to them neither, unless they will open their eyes to receive the light: so the passion is the efficient cause of salvation, but faith is the condition whereby the said passion is to us effectual.

And that is the cause why we lay with the scripture, that faith only justifieth us, not excluding thereby all other external causes that go before faith, as grace, mercy, election, vindication, the death of Christ, all which are external causes, working our justification through faith. But when we say that faith only doth justify us, the meaning thereof is this; that of all internal actions, motions, or operations, in man, given to him by God, there is none other than that content and pleaseth God, or standeth before his face, and is able to help any thing to the justifying of man before him; but only this one action of faith in Jesus Christ is the Son of God.

For although the action of praying, fasting, almsgiving, patience, charity, repentance, the fear and love of God, be great gifts in man; yet be none of all these alone in man imputed of God to salvation, but only that one action of faith in man upon Christ Jesus the Son of God. Not that the action itself of believing, as it is a quality in man, doth so deserve, but because it taketh no dignity of the object. For as I said, the act of believing, as it is an action in man, is not so confounded alone, but must ever go with it's object, and taketh it's virtue thereof. Like as the looking up of the old Israelites did not of itself procure any health unto them, but the promise made in the words of God, which was the branch serpent, whereupon they looked, gave them health by looking up: even after like manner, we are faved by faith and all the blessing looking up to the body of Christ crucified. Which faith we must define in this.

To believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of the living God, sent into the world, by his death to fatisfie for our sins, and so to receive the fame. And thus touching election and faith; for the order and explication of the causes necessary to be considered in our salvation, whereby may appear how far the pretended catholic do ferve from the fcriptures. For where the fcriptures in declaring the caufes of salvation, do send us only to faith, as the only condition whereby these caufes have their working, these catholicks do quite leave out faith, and instead there of, place in other conditions of doing, merit, works, pardons, masses, and especially auricular confessions, with penance, satisfaction for our sins, etc.

Besides these letters of Mr. John Bradford above cified, there were other letters which he wrote to Tyes, minister of Blackley, long before he came to make trouble, the substance of which being fully contained in his foregoing letters, and also because we would make room for more matter more entertaining, we think proper to omit, as observed before, and now proceed to the history of the martyrs.

C H A P. XI.

An ACCOUNT of the LIVES, EXAMINATIONS, SUFFERINGS, and DEATHS of various PROTESTANTS, most of whom were BURNED, and some DIED in PRISON, during the BLOODY PERSECUTION in the REIGN of QUEEN MARY I. A. D. 1555.

A short ACCOUNT of WILLIAM MINGE, who died in PRISON.

The next day after Mr. Bradford and John Leaf suffered in Smithfield, William Minge, priest, died in prison at Maidstone, being there in bonds for religion, and would (had he lived a little longer) also have suffered the fury of his narrow bonds, who more was to spare and I favour none that favoured Christ or the gospel. This William Minge, with as great constancy and boldness yielded up his life in prison, as if it had pleased God to have called him to suffer by fire, as other good and godly men had done before at the stake, as himself was ready to do, had it pleased God to have called him thereunto.

An ACCOUNT of JAMES TREVISAM, who was buried in MOORFIELDS.

Upon Sunday the 3d of July, 1555, died at James Trevisam, in the parish of St. Margaret in Lothbury, who being impotent and lame, kept a long time. This Trevisam had a fervant named John Smith, who was reading in the bible, when Behrend the prouector came into the house, and would go up stairs, where he found four letters beside him and his wife: to wit, the young man that read to the woman and a woman. All whom the said Behrend apprehended and carried to the Compter, where they remained about a fortnight, notwithstanding all the trouble they could make. Not only so, but the said Behrend extended to carry the poor lame bedridden man to Newgate.
THE EXAMINATIONS of Mr. JOHN BLAND.

Chapter 21

Mind as concerning the troubles whereof you have heard, there shall both declare unto you all my visions that have happened unto me since you were with me and also since I received your last letters. God keep you ever.

Your son,

JOHN BLAND.

First, the 3d of September, being Sunday, after service ended, ere I had put off my surplice, John Afton came to the table, (commonly called the Lord's table) and laid both his hands upon it, saying, Who set this here again? for they say they took the table down the Sunday before, which I knew not; neither do I know who set it up again. The clerk answered that he knew not. Then said Afton, he is a knave, that fet it here. I was then going down the church, wondering what he meant, and said, Goodman Afton, the queen's highness hath for thy proclamations that thou move no petition; and before I could speak any more, more, he said, Thou art a knave; and I said, Well, Goodman Afton, what I have said, I have said. By God's foul, said he, thou art a very knave. Then my clerk spoke to him, but what I am not sure. But he said, You are both heretic knaves, and we have received us too long already, and if you say any service here again, I will turn your table upside down; and in that rage he, with others, took the table and laid it on a chest in the chancel, and for the trifles by the way, he rode to Mr. Iease, and declared unto him how seditionously you had behaved yourself. Mr. Iease directed a warrant to the confrable, which was immediately served, so that he was brought before him the same night, and was bound by recognizance, with sureties, to appear if he were called. But then we agreed so well, that it was never called for: the table was brought down, and was permitted as before.

The 26th of November, being Sunday, Richard Afton and his brother Thomas came to the aforesaid table after the communion was done, and as I was going by them, Richard laid unto me, Mr. Parson, we want to speak with you. And I said, What is your will? And he said, You know that you took down the tabernacle wherein the rood did hang, and such other things: we would know what recompense you would make us: for the queen's proceedings are (as you know) that such things must be put up again.

Said I, I know not such proceedings as yet; and as for what I did, I did it by commandment.

No, said Thomas Afton, you will not know the queen's proceedings.

Yes, said I, I refuse not to know them.

Then said Richard, You are against the queen's proceedings; for you say there are abominable uses and devillifkins in them.

Goodman Afton, said I, if I so said, I will say it again, and God willing, stand to the proof of it.

Matters all, said Richard Afton, bear record of these words, and went his way.

Said Thomas Afton, Thou wilt as soon eat this book as fland to them.

No, said I, I so soon.

Tell us, said he, what devillifkins are in the mass?

I have often preached it unto you, said I, and you have not believed it, nor borne it away, neither will you now, though I should tell you.

Thou (said he) hast told us always like an heretic as thou art. Now you lie, Goodman Afton, said I, by your leave. Marry, said he, thou liest. And I said, And you lie, for I have taught you Christ and his truth.

Said he, Thou art a heretic, hast taught us nothing but hereby: for thou canst say nothing that is true.

Yes, goodman Afton, I can say that God is in heaven, and you will say (I hope) that it is true, and have I taught you so.

Said he, thou hast taught us like an heretic, and hast said, that there is no devil in hell.

Well, said I, lie on; methinks you can say little 3 N

3 N

[The text continues, discussing the examination and interactions between Mr. John Bland and Mr. John Afton, involving matters of faith, church practices, and the queen's proceedings.]

ACCOUNT OF THE zoobe Proceedings against Mr. John Bland, written by himself to his Father.

DEARLY beloved father in Christ Jesus, I thank you for your gentle letters. And so satisfy your No. 21.
true. Many other taunts he gave, too long to write. And at last he said, You pulled down the altar, will you build it again? No, said I, except I be commanded; for I was commanded to do that I did.

Well, if you will not, said he, then will I. For I am churchwarden. I charge you, said I, that you do not, except you have authority. I will not, said he, be hindered by your charge. For we will have a maf in here on Sunday, and a preacher that shall prove thee an heretic, if thou dost not abide his preaching.

Yes, said I, God willing, I will abide and hear him; for sure I am, that he cannot disprove any doctrine that I have preached.

Yes, said he, and that thou shalt hear, if thou run not away on me.

No, Mr. Aulten, I will not run away.

Marry, said he, I cannot tell; thou art as like as not; with many more words we came out of the church, and so departed.

When Sunday came I looked for our preacher, and at the time of morning prayer, I said to the clerk, Why do you not ring? You forget that we shall have a sermon to-day.

No, said he, Mr. Miles's servant hath been here this morning, and said, his master hath letters from my lord that he must be in London, and cannot come. That day I preached a sermon in his stead. Now have they flandered me, that I prepared a company from divers places to have troubled him; but they agreed not in their lie. For some said, I had them that bore false witness against Richard, and when I had knowledge; and fent for the confabule to fee the peace kept, which is found a lie. Others said, I had them from Canterbury and Aldhelm. Others said, I had them in both places, that if the one niffed, the other should not. I forgave them all. Now upon these two matters they boast that they sent two bills of complaint to the council. Wherefore by the advice of friends, I made this testimony, and sent it up by Mr. Wifeman.

The BEHAVIOUR of Mr. JOHN BLAND, Parson of Adesham, in the County of Kent, on Sunday the 3d Day of December last, containing the Words which be there spake unto the People.

WHEREAS upon certain communication had between the said parson and Richard Aulten, and Thomas Aulten, in the presence of all the parish of Adesham, the Sunday before St. Andrew's day last, the said Aulten then declared, That the said parson had taught there in times past great heresies, which to confound, they would prepare a preacher against the next Sunday following, if so be the said parson would abide, and not forsake his doctrine, upon which rumour, divers persons refracted out of the country, unto the said parish church, at the day appointed, there to hear the preacher; and at the time in which the sermon ought to be made, no man appeared there to preach; but it was reported to the parson that the preacher appointed, had urgent business and could not come. So that the multitude being now come together, the same parson perceiving that the people's expectation was defrauded, said, Forasmuch as you are willingly come to hear some good advice, let this preacher, who be now present, I think it not convenient to let you depart without some exhortation for your edification. And further declaring that he had no licence to preach, said, That he would not meddle with any matter in controversy, but he began the epistle for the day, defining the audience to mark three or four places in the said epistle, which touched of quietness and love to one another; and there briefly reading the epistle, he nighed the same places, and so making an end there of, defined all men to depart quietly and in peace, as they did, without any manner of disturbance, or token of evil.

Witness, the undernamed, with divers others.

EDMUND MOORE, WILLIAM FORSTALL, RICHARD RANDAL, THOMAS GOODING.

JOHN HILLS,
in the effusions to my good behaviour for preaching, which may be broken with words, and well I know not with what words, and also both mine authority to preach, and my living taken from me. I think I am not bound to make you an answer.

Curtice. Mr. Bland, I do not remember that St. Peter bid thee make answer to any man that asketh thee a reason of the faith that is in you? Bland. I know that, and I am content to say that as text biddest: but I know that Mr. Archdeacon doth not ask me after the manner, but rather to bring me into trouble. Then they said, No, you shall not be troubled for any thing that you say here.

Bland. I am content for knowledge fake to come with you in any matter, but not otherwise. And so they fell to arguing for the space of an hour, of the sacrament, both against me. At last Mr. Collins said, Mr. Bland, will you come and take in hand to answer such matters on Monday next as shall be laid to you? Bland. Sir, you said I should not be troubled for any thing that should be said here for learning's fake. And they said, Yourself not, but it is for other matters.

Bland. Sir, I am bound to appear, as some tell me, on Thursday next at Althorpe, I am in doubt whether I can or no; yet have I purposed to be there, and to go to London to Mr. Wiseman, for an obligation that he hath, whereby I should receive some money to pay my debts withal. Then said Mr. Archdeacon, I will write to Mr. Wiseman, that you shall come in no less time. Bland. Shall that not need: for I can fulfil no great lost if I go not. But I pray you let me have a longer day. No, fair sir.

Bland. Sir, I cannot well come on Monday.

Harpsfield. Wilt thou not come when he so gently speaketh to thee, where he may command thee? Bland. I do not deny to come, but I desire a longer day than they have said.

Harpsfield. Thou shalt have no other day: I charge thee to come on Monday.

Bland. Sir, I perceive it shall be for this or like matters: will it please you, or Mr. Collins, for God's sake, to confer scriptures privately with me in this matter, seeing you say you would gladly win me.

Harpsfield. With all my heart will I take the pains, and I will also borrow your lord of Dover's library, to have what books thou wilt: and thus they departed. Now the 17th of May at Althorpe I could not be released, although I was called to the Spiritual Court for that purpose, and I had to appear at the effusions held at Cranborne the third of July.

Another APPARANCE of Mr. Bland, before the ARCHDEACON and his FELLOWS.

On the 21st of May I appeared in the chamberhouse, where was a great multitude of people, unlooked for by me, and Mr. Archdeacon said thus to us: you are come here according as you were appointed; and the cause is, that it hath pleased the queen's highness, and place me, to see God's holy word set forth, and to reform those that are here fallen into great and heinous errors, to the great displeasure of God, and the decay of Christ's sacraments, and contrary to the faith of the catholic church, whereof art notably known to be one that is sore poisoned with the fame, and hath injected and deceived with thy evil preaching; which if thou wilt renounce, and come again to the catholic church, both I and many others would be very glad: and I for my part shall be right glad to shew you the favour that is left me, as I said unto you when you were appointed hitter, because you then refusest to satisfy against thee, and know deceived. And whereas it is signified by you, that I should openly dispute the matter with you this day; although I did neither so intend nor appoint, yet I am content to dispute the matter with thee; if thou wilt not without disputation help to heap upon me, and them that are brought hellward by thee. What sayest thou?
The NEW and COMPLETE Book of MARTYRS. [Q. MARY. A.D. 60]

neither that I ever taught any error or hereby willingly. And where your malftater faith, That I have feigned an open disputation with you, it is not true, as you
thou knowest. Upon Saturday, I was at Lidgen's, and there Mr. Bingham laid it to my charge, that such an open
disputation, as you have here offered, should be this
day between you and me. Whereat I much marvelled, and
spake to him, and said that before I could spake anything
else, I would condemn it. Neither would I suffer nor dispute :
And Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Oxenden, Mr. Seth, of Over-
land, and Mr. Uxden can witness to this; and further I
faid to them, that I never spake to you of any dispu-
tation, nor you to me. Now if your malftater have any
thing to fay to me by the law, I will make answer
to it.
Harpsfield. Hear ye what he faid? His confience is
clear. I pray thee, whereon groundest thou thy confience?
Let me hear what thy faith is.
Bland. I know not why you should ask me a reason
of my faith, more than any other man in this open
audience.
Harpsfield. Why, thou heretic, art thou affamned of
thy faith? If it were a christian belief, thou needest
not be affamned of it.
Bland. I am not affamned of my faith. For I be-
lieve in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and
earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, &c.
with all the other articles of the creed; and I do be-
lieve all the holy scriptures of God to be most certain
and true.
Harpsfield. Wilt thou declare no more than this?
Bland. No.
Harpsfield. Well, I will tell thee whereon I ground my
faith: I do believe and ground my faith and confience
upon all the articles of the creed, and upon all the holy
scriptures, sacraments, and holy ordinances of the church,
and upon all the general councils that ever were the
apostles times. Lo, hereupon ground I my faith; with
many more words which I do not well remember.
And when he could get no other answer from me,
then what I had faid before, he called for a scrife to
make an act against me. And after much communica-
tion, I faid, by what law and authority will you pro-
ceed against me? Mr. Collins faid, by the canon
law.
Bland. I doubt whether it be in strength or no.
Yet I pray you let me have a confessor in the law, and
I will make a good account according to the law.
Harpsfield. Why, thou heretic, thou wilt not confes-
thy faith to me, that you have authority to demand it
of thee; and yet I have confied my faith to thee be-
fore all this audience. As concerning the belefated facra-
cement of the altar, thou haft taught that, after the fac-
cration it is bread and wine, and not the body and
blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. How sayest thou,
haft thou not this taught?
Bland. Sir, as concerning this matter of the fascra-
cement, when I was with you and Mr. Collins, you
faid then it was for other matters that I should come hither:
and further, that you would be content at my desire, to
confere scriptures with me, to fée if you could win me;
and you faid, you would pay me my lord of Dover's
library, that I should have what book I would; and
now you require me thus to anfver, contrary to your
promise before any conference be had, and fêak rather
to bring me into trouble, than to win me.
Harpsfield. I will, as God shall help me, do the beft
to thee that I can, if thou wilt be any thing conformable;
and I hope to difprove all thy doubts, if thou be-
ning to hear. And I alfio will defire thefe two wor-
shipful men, my lord of Dover, and Mr. Collins, to
hear us.
Bland. No, you shall pardon me of that: there
shall be no fuch witnes. But when we agree, fét to our
hands. Here the people made a great noise againft me,
for refuflng the witnes: and here we had many more
words that I can reheare. But at last I faid, Sir, will
you give me leave to ask you one quefion? And he faid,
Yea, with all my heart. For in that thou faid,
thing, there is some hope that thou mayest be won.
Bland. Sir, when it pleased Almighty God and his
angel unto the virgin Mary to falve her, and sub-
"Hail, full of grace," &c. came any fuchit if God
our Father into the virgin's womb to become
Whereat Mr. Archdeacon, my lord of Dover, and Mr.
Collins was silent. But my lord fpoke at large.
The Holy Ghost came to her; and ere he had
out his fentence, Mr. Syracie Peters faid, "The
of the Mort High overlaped her." This
Mr. Archdeacon, it was the power of God fent
Holy Ghost. They had forgot, that He was
of the substution of his Father; or else they put
whereunto this quefion tended: and fo both men
left it, by what words I cannot tell. But I faw
thall I ask one other? And he faid, Yea. In
the facration, after the facration, Chrift's man
body, with all the qualities of a natural body, and

Harpsfield. Hark, faid Mr. Archdeacon, hears this heretic? He thinketh it an abufardty to grant any
qualities of Chrift's natural body to be in the facration. But it is no abufardty: for even that natural
body was born of the virgin Mary is glorified, and that
body is in the facration after the facration, and
perceive you not the arrogancy of this heretic, who
doth taft to fublimate, deliver, and receive all
apollas, before Chrift's body was crucified; and is
crucified before it was glorified; which faying
Peift partly recited to Mr. Archdeacon.
Harpsfield. Thou haft no learning. Was not Chrift's
body given to his apollas, as in a glorified act? And
inconvenience, although his natural body was
crucified; for when he was born of the virgin
Mary, without pain, was not that the act of a glorified
body, and when he walked on the water, and when he
was in the house to his apollas, the act of being thus
were not thefe acts of a glorified body?
Then my lord of Dover helped him to a better place
and faid, When Chrift was in mount Tabor, he was
there glorified in the light of his apollas.
Harpsfield. Thou faid truth, my lord, he was glad
ied in the light of three of his apollas.
Bland. This methinks is new doctrine.
Harpsfield. Well, feeing he will by no other way
referred, let the people come in and prove the me-
ters againft him. And thereupon the archdeacon
brought forth a copy of the bill of complaint that
they put up againft me at Chriftmas, and about that we
had a little talk. And then Mr. Archdeacon rele up
this faid, ye, good people that know this matter, the
ye come in, and prove it againft him. Whereas
anwered Thomas Auffen, I pray you let us bene troubled with him, and then fpoke John Auffen,
ne a civilized man, and began afome time, be
I gave them no other anwer, but do to me what ye
by law, and I will anwer it. Then faid Thomas
Bland, you were once abjured. You faid not
goodman Auffen, I faid I, I was never before abjured,
faid ye, when it pleased, or else you had the king's
pardon. Neither of both, faid I, you speak this
more meli, with many other babbling words. The
Mr. Archdeacon departed and left Mr. Collins
may appear the next day, for certain
other urgent busines that I had, I did not appear, he
wrote a letter to Mr. Commissary, defiring him reff
Baker, Bland, wherefore were you cast into prison?  
Bland. I cannot well tell. Your mastership cast me in.
Baker. Yea, but for what were you in before that date?  
Bland. For an unjust complaint against me.
Baker. What was the complaint?  
Bland. It was told him as truly and as briefly as I could.
Baker. Let me see thy book?—And I gave him a lien thereon.
Baker. Will you go to the church, and obey and follow the queen's proceedings, and do as an honest man should do?  
Bland. Itrust in God to do no otherwise but as an honest man ought to do.
Baker. Will you do as I said?  
Bland. Will it please your mastership to give me to ask you a question?  
Baker. Yes.
Bland. Sir, may a man do any thing that his conscience is not satisfied in to be good?  
Baker. Away, away; and threw down the book, and said, it is not needful. And I said, Yes. And Mr. Webb took it up, and said unto me very gently, Mr. Bland, I know you when you were not of this opinion; would to God you would reform yourself; with better things than I can write. And I said, If you have shown me another opinion than I am now of, it was lack of knowledge.
Baker. Yea, face it thou fo? by St. Mary, and hold no more, I will give fix faggots to burn thee, ere thou shalt be unburned; hence knave, hence. And fo No. 21.

were we returned into our place again within the bar. And at night, when judgment of felonies and all was done, we were called, and the judge ordered the jailor to deliver us to the ordinary. And if, said the judge, they shall not be reformed, let them be delivered to us again, and they shall have judgment and execution. And one of our company said, My lord, if we be killed at your hands for Christ's sake, we shall live with him for ever.

Another APPEARANCE of Mr. BLAND in the SPIRITUAL COURT.

THEN we came to the castle of Canterbury, and there we remained till the second day of March, on which day we were brought into the chapter-house of Clee-church, where were sitting the fullravig of Canterbury, Mr. Collins, Mr. Miles, with others, and then went to them Mr. Oxendon, Mr. Petit, Mr. Webb, and Mr. Hardman. Mr. Petit said, He knew they were called by Mr. Webb; here we present this man unto you, as one vehemently suspected of hereby.

Bland. Mr. Webb, you have no caufe to suspect me of hereby. I have been a prisoner this whole year, and no matter proved against me. I pray you, what is the reason that I have been kept so long in prison?

Webb. Leave your arrogant asking of questions, and answer to that which is laid to your charge.

Bland. I do say, for I say you have no caufe to suspect me of hereby.

Webb. Yes; you denied to Sir John Baker, to be conformable to the queen's proceedings.

Bland. Is it a just caufe to suspect me of hereby, for asking a question with leave? So we had more words there than I well remember.

Then stood up Mr. Petit, and said, You were cast into prison, because you fled away from your ordinary.

Bland. Then have I the wrong: for I never fled nor defeided mine ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the law. If I did, let them now speake; but they said nothing. And when I law they held their peace, I said, Mr. Commissary, have you been the caufe of this my imprisionment? You say he; you know when you went from me, you were appointed to appear the Friday after the seiffons. Here I was suffer'd to speake no more, but flut up in a corner till my companions were present, and then we were sent to Westgate into prison; and were put into severall clove holds, that we could not speake to one another, neither was any man permitted to come to us. We appeared four times in this manner: but one they dispatched, by what means I cannot tell, whole name was Cornwall, a tanner.

And thus his lordship past the talk between Bland and the justices, and certain gentlemen of the flire. Now followeth the order of the reafoning, between him and the clergymen, before whom he was examined. But forasmuch as the chief door and judge against him was the bishop of Dover, or fullravig of Canterbury, called Dr. Richard Thornton, to the intent it may appear what little truth or contracy is in these catholick perfections, I found here to exhibit, by the way, a certain popish letter, written to him by a papist. Wherein is declared what god delivered the fall of Richard Thornton in king Edward's time, who now turning with the tide, sheweth himself a most bitter persecutor against God's servants in queen Mary's time. The copy of this letter here followeth.

The COPY of a POPISH LETTER written to the Bishop of Dover, by one THOMAS GOLDWELL, a Priest, declaring what a Professor he was in KING EDWARD'S Time.

Right reverend, and my good lord, after my hearty thanks for your good cheer at my last being with your lordship, this shall be to certify you, that as soon as cardinal Poole arrived, I gave him your letters, but I had much work to obtain any thing of him for you. For there have been very evil informations given of you, and it hath been said, that you have concurred 3 O
The ANSWER of Mr. BLAND at his Appearance before the COMMISSARY, and others in the same Court.

R. Collins said: Mr. Bland, you know that you are presented unto us as one suspected of speaking against the laws of this realm, and of the holy church; Bland. I deny that I am justly suspected of that, and that you heard when I was suspected, that I had the suspicion to be just, but to defend the unjust suspicion, more that I have suffered: neither can you prove any occasion hath been given by me, whereby any of the said things have been convicted before Mr. Archdeacon and me, and matter of hereby laid to your charge.

Bland. That matter was done and said a whole year ago, for I have been in prison this year more, yet you have any thing against me by law, I defect in you let me know the law and matter, and I will act according to the law.

Then said my lord suffragan; But that I am the judge I would, and find by thee, and accuse thee of the matter pertaining, and bring wittens to prove it; yes, and further, that thou hast called the matter abominable idol.

Bland. You, my lord, never heard me say to: but heard you once say, That in your conscience you abhorred such a mas three years, Thou liest, fatty, never said I.

Bland. My lord, if they might be heard, I can be wittens to prove it, with the day, time, and place; and once did hear Mr. Collins at a veneration in Westray. That right was a full satisfaction for all I present to and come, contrary to that faith now.

And here we more words of this matter, which let pass for lack of good remembrance.

Mr. Collins said: This is but a drift. You had better answer now, else you shall go to prison again, and be called on Monday, and have articles laid against you if you answer not then directly, you shall be deemed as an heretic, and that will be worse for you.

Bland. Sir, I do not now, nor will then deny to answer any thing that you can lay to my charge by law, wherefore I trust you will let me have the benefit of the law.

Collins. This is the law, that if you be required of ordinary to render a reason of your faith, then may you not do, and that we do now.

Bland. To the thing you say I agree. For I believe God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, with all the other articles of the creed: and I believe all these articles both in the creed called the ma s and in the creed of Athanasius; and I do believe, the all the holy scriptures, and all things therein contain are most true.

Collins. This will not serve you: you must answer all such articles in all things as shall be laid to you, as asked of you.

Bland. Sir, I have answered you. Have him away, said my lord of Dover, he had better be answered.

Bland. My lord, I am ready to answer, if you can any thing against me by law.

Bp. of Dover. You have preached many heretics in Ademograph, where I am parson now; and therefore must make answer to them.

Bland. Lay them to my charge by the law, and I will answer them, if you can prove it. I am bound to answer that which was done a year ago or more: for if I may do that, you may also lay to my charge, compel me to answer to all things done in all my life.

It is not a year ago since you were before Mr. Archdeacon and me.

Bland. It is a year and ten weeks since the worst spoken, and I have been a prisoner ever since, and had
Bland. Matters, I know, that it availeth nothing to reason with you, no more than it availled you in the time of the gospel. For then neither the request of Eclipus, Cocalamus, nor yet of detection of the devil's sophistry of my lord chancellor's doing, could take any place. And it is known to some that be here, that something I can say in their stead.

Dover. No, you know Ocelomopadius, Zuinglius, and fuch others.

Bland. Indeed, my lord, I have seen part of their doings.

Dover. That is seen by thee to-day.

Giaifer. I was glad when I heard you say, you believed the catholic church, and now you go you from it.

Bland. No, that do I not.

Giaifer. You know that this faith, "If thy brother have offended thee, go and reconcile him between thee and him. If he receive thee not, or he shall listen to thee three or twice with thee, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things may be established. If he hear not them, tell it unto the church; if he hear not the church, take him as an heathen." I pray you, where could you have found this church of your's, fifty years ago?

Bland. You know that the true church did not at all times flourish, but was wonderfully persecuted.

Then my lord of Dover cried, No more, I command you to hold your peace. He will have me, and bring me in another.

Collius. You shall come again on Monday at nine o'clock, and in the mean time you shall have whom you will to confer withal; your friend Dr. Faucet, or Mr. Giaifer, if you desire them.

Bland. I will refuse to talk with no man; as for any conference on your part, it is but weak laws, established as they are. But when there was no law, I did die and fire. And for that time I departed.

The Monday after we were brought to the same place again; and then Mr. Collins began to speak to me, but after what manner, it is clear out of my mind; but the end was, that I should reform myself, and be more true to myself. I am told before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to see the law, which they said before I should see.

Dover. What need? We have enough against you; for you denied unto me transubstantiation in the sacrament.

Bland. I did refuse to answer till you promiseth I should see the law, whereby you might compel me to answer.

Dover. My lord took the scribe's book, and read the answer that I made to Dr. Faucet's reason, which I knew not that they had written.

Bland. My lord, I made you no such answer when you asked me; I take Mr. Collins and Mr. Giaifer to witness. Then they brought forth a decretal, a book of the bishop of Rome's law, to bind me, if I were not satisfied, which I heart abhorred to look upon. The effect was, the ordinary had authority to examine, and that those whom they had examined must needs answer. But I said that it seemed such as were unjustly suspected, as I was not. And here was a good conversation; for I charged them with unjust imprisonment, which they could not avoid.

Mr. Oxenden would have helped them, and said, the justices put me in prison for preaching a seditious sermon, and for troubling the peace at масс.

Bland. That is not true; for after I had been ten weeks in prison I was bailed out, till I was cast in again, (as the justice said) for the disobeying mine ordinary, which I never did.

Collius. Are you willing to confer with some? It will be better for you; now we offer it, because you would not desire it.

Bland. As I did not refuse before, no more will I now. But I did not perceive before, but that one thing might have come, without any leave-taking, to confer the scriptures: and therefore expected Dr. Faucet would have come to me without delaying; but herefore, as I had been in conference; for though I was never able to do him good, yet once I was his tutor.
Collins. Will you come to his chamber in the afternoon? 

Bland. Sir, I am a prisoner, it is meet that I obey, and come whither you will, and so departed. At this time there were three. But I know not another to appear before them the Tuesday seven-night after. And when he came, I knew not what was done, but I hear they excommunicated him, and let him go. His name was Miller, a clother.

Here followeth a certain CONJURATION of Mr. BLAND, against false and manifiest Abjurabilities granted by Mr. MILLES, Priest of Christ-church in Canterbury.

MILLES. We say that Christ is in or under the sacrament really and corporally, which are the forms of bread and wine, and that there is his body contained invisibly, and the qualities which we do see, as whiteness and roundness, be there without substanct by God's power, as quantity and weight be there also by his power.

Bland. This is your own divinity, to make accidents the sacrament, and Christ's real body invisibly contained in them, and so to destroy the sacrament. And yet the doctors say, the matter of the sacrament is bread and wine; and God, by his own power, maketh no miracles with "This is my body." So to as to change the substanct of bread and wine into his body and blood, in that he makest accidents to be without their substanct by invisible measures. I am affraid to see you destroy Christ's sacrament, contrary to your own doctors, and triffe with God's work.

Milles. To Christ is given all power in heaven and in earth; so that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be, and is where he listeth; and is really and corporally without occupying of place; for a glorified body occupieth no place.

Bland. Mark your own reason. All power is given to Christ both in heaven and earth, by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he listeth: therefore, he is the sacrament really and corporally without occupying of place.

I deny your argument; for it followeth neither of your major nor minor. And first I would learn of you, how you know that Christ listeth to be present at the will of every priest. For if the priest list not to pay your mind, then Christ listeth not to be there.

Again, ye say, all power is given unto Christ both in heaven and earth; so that is the cause by your reason, that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he listeth: and by that reason he had no power of his Godhead, till he had his human body, and then he was not equal with the Father in divinity: for all power was not given to Christ, before the humanity and the Godhead were united, neither was he the Son. Herein is more danger than you are aware of, if you would stand it with just judges.

Milles. We eat Christ's flesh and blood spiritually, when we receive it with faith and charity. And we also do eat it corporally in the sacrament; and the body that we so receive hath life. For the Godhead is annexed thereto: which although it be received with the body of Christ, yet it is not visible after a gros fors, and the flesh of Christ that we receive is lively; for it hath the spirit of God united to it. And if a man be drunken, it is not by receiving of the blood of Christ: for it is contrary to the nature of Christ's blood. If he be drunk, it is by the qualities and quantities, without substanct of blood.

Bland. I am glad that you are so much against all men, to say that Christ's body is alive in the sacrament; it may chance to bring you to the truth in time to come. Methinks it is evil to keep Christ's body alive in the pix; or else must you grant, that he is alive in receiving, and dead in the pix. And you say truth, that it is not the natural receiving of Christ's blood that maketh a man drunken; for it is the nature of wine that doth that, which you deny not.

And so to the truth you confessest, as you did think, when you said, if a man be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without the substanct of blood; indeed blood hath no such qualities with it; by that is evident that there is no natural blood.

Bland. But the drunken with wine consecrated, it is a miracle, as I think you will say; and so, that accidents should be without their natural substanct, work all the operations of both substanct and body. And if so it followeth that a man may be drunken by the body that you receive, you say, if that is because it is annexed to the Godhead, and the body that you receive is lively, because it hath the Spirit of God joined to it.

This division is of your new inventions, to divide body and substanct by the flesh, the one alive by the Godhead, other lively by God's Spirit, and both cannot be. You make of it a thing so fantastical, that you declare a body without flesh, and flesh without a body; so do qualities and quantities without substanct, and lively body; for it doth not feed him spiritually.

Milles. If so, it be required, and there be a consent in the minster to consecrate, after the consecration thereof, there is present the body and blood of Christ, but accidents without substanct to a true believer.

Bland. You grant three absurdities, that in wine consecrated is nothing but accidents: and not a create it withal, you have brought in two inconceivable, that it is not that the body of God that is consecrate, but the intent of the priest must fail; and if that fail, you seem to grant no consecration, though the priest speak the word; and yet you deny, that the wickedness of the priest diminisheth the sacrament.

And to an unbeliever you seem to say, that it is the same, as it is to the true believer; and these believers have something to do in the consecration, it is an endearing to avoid Charybdis you fall upon Scylla. And how can the substanct of Christ be in the mouse's belly? For although he doth receive outward forms of bread and wine, yet he doth not receive the substanct inwardly, but without invisibly. And a mouse doth not eat the body of Christ, he properly; for it doth not feed him spiritually, or corporally; as it doth man, because he doth not rise to any inducement of immortality to the flesh.

Bland. You make not your doctrine plain to be understood; you must know how a mouse can receive substanct inwardly and outwardly. You say he doth receive the substanct inwardly, but without invisibly. Therefore, with violation he receiveth the substanct inwardly. You say that the mouse cannot violate Christ's body, but it violateth the substanct that he eateth. In this your proper speech, it seemeth as if a mouse should eat the sacrament to as great effect, and fame thing, as doth the unworthy receiver. For if the mouse be that the properly eateth not the body of Christ, because the doth not feed upon it spiritually or corporally, nor receiveth it to any inducement of immortality, as you say; then it followeth, that the believer and the mouse receive both one thing. And it cannot be denied, but the mouse will live with our crast bread, and then you must subdue this absurdity, that a substanct is nourished and fed only with accidents.

Milles. Men's bodies be fed with Christ's body, with immoral meat, by reason of the Godhead annexed to eternal life; but men's bodies be corporally nourished with substanct. And forms of bread and wine do deny that by the sacramental eating any gross hum of blood, turned into blood is made miraculously in the body.

Bland. Where it cannot be denied that a man live, and naturally be nourished in his natural body by the sacramental bread and wine, it cannot be denied to avoid that: but then you turn to the spiritual nourishment of man's body, by Christ's body and Godhead annex, which is nothing to put away the abfurth, that eat a man's natural body should be fed naturally without accidents, or else to have them changed into gross hum. But you say, men's bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine: and then you need grant, that qualities and quantities must...
hold, affirm, and believe, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a token, sign, and remembrance thereof, and that the very body and blood of Christ is only in the manner of a figure.

5. Item, That thou, contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of our holy mother church, haft within this diocese of Canterbury openly spoken, said, maintained, held, affirmed, and believed, and yet dost hold, affirm, and believe, that it is against God's word, that the sacrament of Christ's church should be ministered in an unknown tongue; and that no man with a safe conscience, or without peril of sin, receive any sacrament administered in any tongue that he doth not understand.

6. Item, That thou, contrary to the catholic faith of our holy mother church, haft, and yet dost hold opinion, and say, that it is against God's word, that the sacrament of the altar should be administered in one kind; and that no man may with a safe conscience receive it.

7. Item, That the premises be true, and that there is common fame upon them within the diocese of Canterbury.

The ANSWERS of Mr. BLAND to the aforesaid ARTICLES.

To these articles Mr. Bland, anwering again in order as they were objected to him, faith, granting the fame, that he was a priest, and of the diocese of Canterbury.

To the second also he anwerek affirmatively.

To the third he anwerek, that the article is true, meaning the catholic church to be Christ's church.

To the fourth article he anwerek, as touching the first part thereof, he doth confess, that he hath preached and taught it, as it is contained in the fame. And as touching the second part of the article, he doth confess, that he doth now also hold and say, as he preached and taught before.

The fifth article he anwerek.

To the sixth, he preached, held, and doth hold, as is contained in the article.

To the last article he anwerek the fame, &c.

This done, and his anwerek and confession taken, repitite was given him yet a few days to deliberate with himself. And on the 21st day of the said month of June he appeared again in the chapter-house, and there boldly and firmly withstood the authority of the pope; whereupon he was condemned and committed to the secular power.

Mr. BLAND's PRAYER before his DEATH.

The Lord Jesus, for whose love I do willingly leave this life, and desire rather the bitter death of his croft, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy holy name, or else to obey mankind in breaking of thy commandments; thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worship false gods, and honour thy enemy, I chose rather the torment of this body, and loss of this my life, and have counted all things but vile dust and dung, that I might win thee: which death is more dear to me than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the deer that is wounded drieth the soil. Send thy holy confort, O Lord, to all, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is void of all strength of self. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and not able to do any thing that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as thou of thy accustomed goodness hast hidden me to this burning flame, and counted not my worthy to drink at thine own cup amongst thine elect; give me strength against this element, that as it is to my fogn most irkome and terrible, to my mind it may be at thy commandment, as an obedient servant, sweet and pleasant, and through the strength of this fire into thy bosom, according to thy promise, and for this mortality to receive 3 P.
The History of John Frankesh, Humphrey Middleton, and Nicholas Shetterden.

Having now passed over the examination of Mr. Bland, let us further proceed to the rest of his fellow prisoners, being joined the same time with him in the like cause and like affliction. The names of whom were, John Frankesh, Nicholas Shetterden, Humphrey Middleton, Thacker, and Cocker, of whom Thacker only gave back. The rest constantly standing to the truth, were all together condemned by the full synod of Canterbury, the 22d day of June, the year above expressed. Whole examinations I need not long dwell upon, forasmuch as the articles ministered against them were all one, so in their answers they little or nothing disagreed, as you shall hear hereafter. In the mean time, Nicholas Shetterden, his examinations having had a little more talk with the archdeacon and the commissary, I will first begin with him.

The First Examination or Reasoning of Nicholas Shetterden with Mr. Archdeacon Harpsfield, and Mr. Collins, the Commissary, for which they sent him to Prison.

First the archdeacon and commissary affirmed, that the very words of Christ, when he said, This is my body, did change the substance, without any other interpretation or spiritual meaning of the words.

Shetterden. Then believe when Christ said, This cup is my blood, the substance of the cup was changed into his blood, without any other meaning, and so the cup was changed, and not the wine.

Harpsfield. Not so: for when Christ said, This cup is my blood, he meant not the cup, but the wine in the cup.

Shetterden. If Christ spake one thing, and meant another, then the bare words did not change the substance, but there must be a meaning fought as well of the bread, as of the cup.

Harpsfield. There must be a meaning sought of the cup other wise than the words stand. But of the bread it must be understood only as it standeth without any other meaning.

Shetterden. Then do you make one half of Christ's inspiration a figure, or borrowed speech, and the other half a plain speech, and so you divide Christ's supper.

Harpsfield. Christ meant the wine, and not the cup, though he said, This cup is my blood.

Shetterden. Then how do you divide the wine and the cup, and the substance?

Harpsfield. The mind of the priest doth it, and not the words.

Shetterden. If the mind of the priest doth it, and not the words, if the priest do then mind his harlot, or any other taking, that thing so minded was there made, and so the people do worship the priest's harlot instead of Christ's blood: and again, none of the people can tell when it is Christ's blood, or when it is not, seeing the matter standeth in the mind of the priest.

For no man can tell what the priest meaneth but himself; and so are they ever in danger of committing idolatry.

Then was the archdeacon somewhat moved, and sat him down, and said to the commissary, I pray you, Mr. Commisary, to speak to him for a while, for he is as unreasonable and perverse answers at such time.

Then the commissary stood up and said:

Your argument is much against you, you say, that the bread is a true sacrifice; but then you must not expect a figure of his blood, nor be of his blood, and therefore Christ did not mean the cup, but blood in the cup.

Shetterden. My argument is not against you, for I do not speak it to prove that the cup is his blood, nor the figure of his blood, but to prove that the words being spoken by the priest do not change the substance of any more of the bread, than they do change the cup into blood.

Commissary. It could not be spoken of the cup, or he said, This cup is my blood; but he meant the wine in the cup.

Shetterden. Then it remaineth for you to answer concerning the quotation to the archdeacon, that is, whether the words of the priest, when he speaketh over the cup doth change it into blood, or the bare words?

Commissary. Both together do it, the words and the mind of the priest together; yea, the intent and words together do it.

Shetterden. If the words and intent together change the substance, yet must the cup be his blood, and not the wine, forasmuch as the words are, This cup is my blood, and the intent, you far, weeat this wine, or else the words take none effect, but but tent only.

After, the commissary in his chamber fad, in the intent of the priest before he went in, and the bare words, for the priest did intend to do as the church had ordained, then the intent made the facts to take effect.

Shetterden. If the sacraments take effect of the intent of the priest, and not of God's word, then may a priest have a priest that intendeth not well, and utterly deceiteth, both in baptism, and also in saying that thing to be God, which is but bread, for lack of the priest's intent, the words do not take effect in it, so that by this it is ever doubtful, what they work to Christ or bread, because it is double to the priets do intend.

Then the commissary would prove me, that Christ's manhood was in two places at one time, by the word of Christ in the third chapter of John, where he said, No man ascendeth up into heaven, but he that cometh down from heaven, even the Son of man which cometh down from heaven.

By this he would prove, that Christ was in heaven, and on earth also, naturally and bodily.

Shetterden. This and other places must needs be打架, or to reconcile the unity of the persons, in the doctrine of Christ, when he saith, God and man, and yet the matter must be referred to the Godhead, or else you must fall into great error.

Commissary. That is not so: for it was spoken of the manhood of Christ, forasmuch as he saith, The Son of man is come down from heaven.

Shetterden. If you will needs understand it to be spoken of Christ's manhood, then must you fall into error of the anabaptists, who deny that Christ was the virgin Mary; for if there be no bodily coming down, but that which came down, where is his incarnation? for then he brought his body down with him.

Commissary. Lo, how you seek an error in me, and fee his words, you cry yourself. For it cannot be said of the Godhead, except you grant that God is willing, that God cannot come down, because he is not possible.

Shetterden. If that were a good argument, that God could not come down, because he is not possible, then might it be faileth to the like argument, that God can be not fit, and then heaven is not his fear, and then as sone do, that God hath no right hand for Christ to fit at.

Then the commissary affirmed plainly, that it is true God hath no right hand indeed.

Shetterden. Oh what an injury to Christ's religion will this be, that because we cannot tell how God came down, therefore we shall say, that he came not down.
Shetlerden. First then I require of you to prove this
fuipicilion; and thus we tossed it to and fro. At
last the bishop said, he himself did feipicil me. I
asked whereby?
Saffragan. Well, I myself did feipicil thee, and it is
no matter whether I did or no.
Shetlerden. But your commissioil does not leave you
to do without cause of fuipicilion.
Saffragan. Well, yet I did feipicil you.
Shetlerden. It is not meet for you to be my accuser
and my judge also, for that is too much for one man.
And thus many words were multiplied, and they were
much grieved.
Mills. If you were a christian man, you would
not be iabamed of your faith being required.
Shetlerden. I am not abahamed indeed, I thank God,
and if any man dare to accuse, either to teach or
learrn, I would declare it; but forasmuch as I perceive
you come neither to teach nor to learn, I hold it bet
not to answer you.
Mills. If you will not, then will we certify the
King's council.
Shetlerden. I am therewith content that you should
certify that I had suffered three quarters of a year
wrongfully in prizon, and therefore I desire to be jus-
ticed or condemned, first for that I suffered such im-
prisonment; and then will I not refuse to answer your
articles, though without the aid of them. But to say
that I would answer, whereby you should heal all
your wrong done to me against the law of God and
the realm, I will not.
Mills. Here much ado there was to prove that he had
no wrong, and again it was said there was no such
thing. But this is all false.
Shetlerden. I answered that I had been a prisoner three
great years and a half, and, as I thought, wrongfully;
I would therefore that I should answer to those
articles for which I was imprisoned.
Saffragan said, his commissioil was, that I mutt
be directly, yes or no.
That, his commissioil, I was not general to examine
the will, but on just fuipicilion.
It was said, I was feipicil, and preferred to him.
Then I required him to Jiew the accuJation.
It was said he was not bound to shew it; but he con-
cluded me in the king and queen's name to answer
Shetlerden. I, as a subjeile, do require justice of you:
what I have done I ask no favour.
Saffragan. You were feipicil.
Shetlerden. Prove your fuipicilion, or shew what cause
you have to feipicil me.
Saffragan. Thou wast cast into Jrison for that cause.
Shetlerden. That was a pretty fuipicilion, because I
was imprisoned contrary to God's law and
law, that therefore I must now for amends be exa-
med of fuipicilion without cause, to hide all the wrong
to me before.
For when I was cast into prison, there was no law that hindered me from speaking as I damed.
I therefore in that point I could be no more fuipicil
than you, who preached the fame yourself not
before.
Shetlerden. That was no matter to thee what I
was.
Shetlerden. Well, yet in the king and queen's name
and answer directly: and therefore I require as a
fact, that you do not extend beyond your commissioil,
and me feipicil more than yourself.
Then Mr. Saffragan had written to my father,
and that he had been the letter, wherein I per-
ceived my mother to my opinions.
In that I did but my duty to certify her,
I was not in prison for any evil. And likewise that
Mr. Saffragan bad written to my father,
and therefore no more fuipicilion was
me, than was in them that taught the like.
Mills. Well, you are required here to answer di-
rectly.
His EXAMINATION before the BISHOF of WINCHESTER, then LORD CHANCELLOR.

I was called into a chamber before the lord chancellor, the suffragan, and others, priests I think for the most part. He stood by the table, called me to him, and because I faw the cardinal was not there, I went to him, and drew near.

Then said he, I have sent for you because you are indicted of heresy; and being called before the commissioners, you will not answer nor submitt yourself.

I said, If it please you, I did not refuse to answer; but I did declare that I had been in part a long time, and reason it was that I should be charged or discharged of that, and not to be examined of articles to hide my wrong imprisonment, neither did I know any indictment against me. If there were any, it could not be just, for I have not been abroad since the law was made.

Then said the bishop of Wincheffer, Well, yet if such a sificate be of you, if you be a christian, you will declare that it is not true, and so clear youself.

But now I have answer upon mine offences, &c. trufling that they would lay no such burden upon me, whereby the wrong done to me might be covered, but I would be proved to have wrong or right.

Wincheffer. If thou wilt declare thyself to the christian, thou shalt go, and then have a writ of wrong imprisonment, &c.

Shetarden. I have no mind to sue now, but require right justice: but to make a promis, I will not; and if I offend the law, then punish me accordingly. For it may well be that my conscience was not perverted, nor would be, in prison; seeing these things which I have learned, were by God's law openly taught and received by the authority of the realm. And he said, it was never received, that I might speak against the sacrament; I said that against some opinion of the sacrament it was openly taught.

Wincheffer. By no law, and that was not able to consider, that all that while God preferred that, so that no law should pass against it.

Shetarden. I said their law did not only permissive me, but this mouth; when they preached unto us, they took pains to set out the word of God in our tongue, so that we may read and judge whether they say true or no, we might take the light from us, and would have us believe it, because they say so, which is to me a great persuasion.

Wincheffer. It was not a few that could be your guides in understanding, but the doctors and the whole church; now whom wouldst thou believe? either the few or the many?

Shetarden. I did not believe for the few or the many, but only for him that bringeth the word, and theewed it to me to be so, according to the proceed thereof.

Wincheffer. Well, then, if an Ariam come to thee with scripture, thou wili believe him, if he shew this text, "My Father is greater than I."

Shetarden. No, my lord, he must bring me also the context place, and prove them both true, where he faith, "My Father and I are one."

Wincheffer. Yes, that is by charity, as we are one with him.

Shetarden. That glosses will stand with the word of the scripture, where he saith, "I am the very name of the son I say to you;" he said the truth, and the truth was God, with more fuch like. And here he made many words, but very generally, of the sacrament. Likewise Christ said, faid he, it was his body; yea, that is to say, a figure of his body; and how men did not consider that the Word was God, and God the Word, and so provoked me with such temptation; but I let him alone, and said nothing. So after many words, he came to the church's faith, and come orders of ceremonies and images. And then I joined to him again with the commandments.

Wincheffer. That was done that no false things should be made, as he teachen would worship a cat because the killed mice.

Shetarden. It is plain that the law forbids not such, but even to make an image of God to any man's likeness.

Wincheffer. Where find ye that?

Shetarden. Forsooth, in the law where God there commandeth: for God saith, ye have made a shape, but heard a voice only:" and he addeth a further why: "left they should after make images of themselves," so that God would not shew his face because they should have no image of him who said true; &c.

Wincheffer. You have made a goodly interpris.

Shetarden. No, it is the text.

Then the bible was called, and when it came I me find it, and I should presently be confounded in my own words; so that if there were any grace in me, I should have no longer trust to my own judgment, when I looked, it was Latin.

Wincheffer. Why, can you read no Latin?

Shetarden. No, then it was English book in the bishop's hand.
He bade me find it; and so I read aloud, and he said, Lo here thou mayest see; this is no law for to forbid the image of God, than of any other beast, fowl or fish, (the place was Deut. iv.) I said it did not forbid to make any of these as an image of God, of course no man might know what shape he was and therefore might no man say of any image, this image of God.

Wincheffer. Well, yet by your leave, so much a feeling that is, of Christ, of the Holy God and the Father appeared to Daniel as an old man.

Shetarden. That is no proof that we may make images contrary to the commandment; for though the Ghost appeared like a dove, yet was he not like a carnal shape. In certain qualitics, and therefore he faw the dove, which is God's creature, indeed I remember the Spirit to be simple and loving, &c. with that he was somewhat moved, and laid, I learned my lefion, and asked who taught me, with such words; and he said he would prove how good and fittable images were to teach the unlearned, &c.

Shetarden. At last I said, My lord, although I was able to make ever so good a gloss upon the commandment, yet obedience is better than all our good manner and much ado we had. At last he said, I me, and he said, that he had sent for me for charity sake with me, but now he would meddle; and said, in wrong imprisonment could not excuse me, but I must cleare.

Shetarden. I said that was easy for me to do, for I had not offended.

Wincheffer. He said I could not escape so, that he was deceived.

Shetarden. Well, then, I am under the law, in the archdeacon was then called in, and he said, the I behaved myself before him with such arrogancy and foutrive, as never was heard: whereas he was minded with such mercy towards me, &c. and many others by him to me, that I was sent home till another time and I would be contented but went out of the church with such an out-cry as was notable.

Shetarden. I declare that herein he falsly reported me, and brought in the laws then in the realm, and the magistrates proclamation, that none of her fellows should be compelled till the law were to compel, and that I rehearsed the fame in the court for me, and did use him then, said I, as you grace now and in otherwise.

Wincheffer. He said that I did not use myself very well now.

Shetarden. I said I had fo offered myself to be bailed, and to confer with them when and what they would.

Wincheffer. He said I should not confer, but be obedient. I said, let me go, and I will not desire to confer neither; and when offended, let them punish me and do depart.

By your brother,

NICHOLAS SHETARDEN.
L E T T E R I.

From Mr. SHETTERDEN to his MOTHER.

AFTER my humble and bounteous memory, well-beloved mother! You shall be to your son an anchor of hope and worldly comfort, that you may feed and exercise the praiseworthy watchfulness of Satan our mortal enemy, who, as I have divers times declared unto you, and now bring it upon you with this urgent solicitation, that you consider our sufferings in the hands of God and his well-willers, that you may not suffer them to let you down into a pool of agony and misery. For to me, my mother, it is a matter of great wonder and surprise that in all the difficulties and trials of the hour, how can they bear up, and be such a comfort to me, and so to all those who are in their hands? And therefore, with this peculiar concern and care, I beg that you will receive this letter, and be assured that I am in your thoughts, that you will keep me in your prayers, and that you will endeavor to comfort me in my present distress.

O Lord, I beseech receive my sighs and sorrows, and the burden of my heart, as a sacrifice, and accept it as a token of my submission to thy will. Amen.

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cute his church and his true servants, or else reward it with open vengeance and plagues. And thus, good master, accept my simple letter as a fruit of my love and obe-
diance to you. Would God we might be knit in faith and truth in the same word and promises here in this life, as we might be evermore enjoy the bliss and consolations of eternal life, which I desire and seek above all worldly treasure, as you perhaps know. If God should seal the good upon me, I shall be the more contrary to my con-
fidence, I could make some friends which now perdurance are jealous over me amiss. But thank God, let the reign of grace and truth be like the observances, and they have no just cause so to do. Nevertheless I wish you will yet refrain, and put their matter and mine into the balance of God's own word, there to be the true way, led by the mind of the Holy Ghost, expressed unto us by the holy patriarchs and pro-
phets, and Jesus Christ our only Saviour and Mediator, and by his prophetic word, and I doubt not but your matter shall be ended with peace and joyfulness of heart; which God grant us for his mercy's sake, Amen.

Your ownovah,

Drummer for the truth in Welfgate, 1555.

NICHOLAS SHEREDEN.

LETTER II.

To his BROTHER WALTER SHEREDEN.

I With you health in Christ, true knowledge of his word, and a faithful heart unto the same. It is shewed me, my brother, that you desire, and that by a letter more directly of your's to face me, to be ruled by my uncle, who will, by his words, give me my goods very largely upon me, if I would not stand too high in mine own conceit. For sure, I hope you do not judge, as you sometimes judge, that I should have a right to tell me for money. For though he or you were able to give me the treasure of the whole country, yet I thank God, I do judge it is better for me in refect of the treasur his within; yet I do offer a buck of your foot, if it come in good will. And for to be ruled and ruled by him or you, or any other of my friends, I do not, neither have refuted it, if they require no more of me than what is in my power, and that which be-

belong the mother to a mother than. But that itself require of me any thing which opposeth to God duly, there is neither high or low, friend or foe, that shall get it from me, nor yet the angels in heaven.

Though I be not learned, (as the vain men of the world call learning) yet thanks be to God, I have learned out of God's book to know him from his creatures, and Christ from his sacri-
cements, and to make a difference between the merits of Christ's passion and his supper, and a difference between the water of baptism and the Holy Ghost, and not to mix and mingle all things confusedly together: so that if one ask me a ques-
tion or resolu of my faith, I must say thus, I believe as the holy church believeth; if he ask me what is the order of that faith, I should be so ignorant that I could not discern God from his creatures, nor Christ from his sacraments. If I should so mon-
strously utter my faith, that I should judge between Christ and his church, nor which, were fallen, of his mor-
ification, and his glorification, who believe that of my faith were found?

But therein do affirm that Christ did not give to his apostles a mortal and a possibilit body, an immortal and glorified body, so that he have a glory of body before his resurrection, and that he was often before he was crucified, and crucified before his baptism; and then they may as well lay his life to be begotten before his birth, and born before he was conceived, and conceived before he was promis- ed, that were even right Antichrist to turn all things backward, and then say, O you must believe, for God is al-

mighty, he can do all things &c. Truth it is, that God is al-
mighty indeed, and yet I may not believe things contrary to his word, that Christ's body was glorified alive before he died: for God's omnipotency does not found things contrary to his will, but in performing his will at his pleasure in time. Neither doth he require of us to judge or believe of his almighty power, that the end of the world be not come before the beginning, or yet the fruit to come before the blossom, and yet he is never-
theloses almighty.

But if peradventure you will think with yourself, Why, they are learned, it were marvel but they should know what is the truth, as well as others who now keep any such flusky, &c. To that I answer, that if they had had God's word, the au-

thor of truth, as they have done logic and Duns, with the legend of lies, they should have been as expert in the truth, as they now be in the lies. But thus God fulfilled his promise, that such should be deluded with lies, who would not believe nor walk in his truth.

Good master, with your good cause to make us think purely, that was the cause that God gave them over at the first to error, after the apostles time by little, as they grow wear in fin. And for feater, they make God's promise, that the books should be more perfect every seven years, because we did not obey it, we fee what a sudden change God hath brought upon us, for the sake of our sins. And why should we not think that this and such like disobedience was the cause God set his word from all Christendom at the first, and so upon all them that would not walk in his light? For this is almost the time how unlike the things which we have been 
apostles: and that seen, either we must judge Christ very fluster, and their's good, or else that they be made of less time, and in simpler frame. Thus I have been bold to trouble you, which I will not be altogether in vain. Pray for me, as I do for you.

Your brother

Prisoner for the truth in Welfgate,

NICHOLAS SHEREDEN.

LETTER III.

From the Same to the Same.

GOD, who is the giver of all goodnes, and delighteth in his love to us, (not only without our defects, but contrary to the same) grant you my brother, such inward godly knowledge and love to the virtues thereunto, that as you may give you such a relish of heavenly things, the treasures of earthly things may be to you as, not only a much vain and uncertain, so shall you never take them sooner than they really are. Yea, whether God take them from you or give them to you, we shall know ourselves either redeemed or preserved by God. But if we lay up in our heart the good and word of God, we shall not only enrich ourselves against God's need, but also arm ourselves against the hate of man and world, which is invincible, and of which we are, besides the marriage.

For behold, the Lord saith us to lay all our trust to the soil, and blow the trumpet to prepare for battle. Is anything done, or is anything attempted, or is anything attempted, to mount belaw our definition, which he delivereth not, but his counsel is just to punish such as are in in sin, even as he doth to all of his enemies, and his own enemies, and this is a service to God, so that cannot deny himself.

Let us therefore in this day, while it is called to day, let us look to our voices, and let us harden our hearts by refuselle, when he left he wear in his heart that we shall not enter into rest. Let us not count it sufficient that we have spent the time half after the will of the Churche in calamity, traveling, chambering, and wantonness, and in abominable things and now let us aisy a new life, and trade our money virtue, that with the shortage of a little, let perfigh receive it in the return in the contrary. But if we now return and freely hold of his word in truth and vastly, as we have a long time done, the world, and all his people, then will we have assurance of his presence, and we do return in the contrary. And if we now return and freely hold of his word in truth and vastly, we will have assurance of his presence, and we do return in the contrary. And if we now return and freely hold of his word in truth and vastly, we will have assurance of his presence, and we do return in the contrary.

This is the lost token I have for you now, which though bought, yet I shall declare particularly the rest of you, which is even as to mine own soul. Let nothing fit you for my cause; but be you sure I shall have victory in the same. For Christ's sake, amen. Let this sbere observed, that nothing be done without God's pleasure, and that the end of the world be not come before the beginning, or yet the fruit to come before the blossom, and yet he is never-theloses almighty.

But if peradventure you will think with yourself, Why, they are learned, it were marvel but they should know what is the truth, as well as others who now keep any such flusky, &c. To that I answer, that if they had had God's word, the author of truth, as they have done logic and Duns, with the legend of lies, they should have been as expert in the truth, as they now be in the lies. But thus God fulfilled his promise, that such should be deluded with lies, who would not believe nor walk in his truth.

Good master, with your good cause to make us think purely, that was the cause that God gave them over at the first to error, after the apostles time by little, as they grow wear in fin. And for feater, they make God's promise, that the books should be more perfect every seven years, because we did not obey it, we fee what a sudden change God hath brought upon us, for the sake of our sins. And why should we not think that this and such like disobedience was the cause God set his word from all Christendom at the first, and so upon all them that would not walk in his light? For this is almost the time how unlike the things which we have been 
apostles: and that seen, either we must judge Christ very fluster, and their's good, or else that they be made of less time, and in simpler frame. Thus I have been bold to trouble you, which I will not be altogether in vain. Pray for me, as I do for you.

Your brother

Prisoner for the truth in Welfgate,

NICHOLAS SHEREDEN.

LETTER IV.

From Mr. NICHOLAS SHEREDEN to his MOTHER.

Oh my good mother, whom I love with reverence in the Lord, and according to my duty, I defere your face bleeding and forgiveness of my sins. Oh my good mother, in few words, I wish you the same blessing, that I hope myself to feel, and partly take of mine this come to you to read, and pray for me in fin. And may God be with you more perfectly in body and soul found together for ever: and in that day God grant you may fee mine joy: but, dear mother, beware of that great body, which is displeasur.
and Weight, of Ashford, and W. Stere, of Ashford, were likewise condemned for the same articles. But because the crimes of these three martyrs perished not to this month, shall more be told of them when we come to the following month of August.

A brief Account of NICHOLAS HALL and CHRISTOPHER WAID.

The same month of July, Nicholas Hall, bricklayer, and Christopher Waid, of Dartford, suffered death, who were condemned by Maurice bishop of Rochester about the last day of June. The fact articles admissible to them were of the same ordinary course and effect with the other articles above specified, the brief sum whereof were these:

1. First, That they were christian men and professed the catholic determinations of our holy mother church.
2. That they maintain or hold otherwise than our holy mother the catholic church doth, are heretics.
3. That they hold and maintain, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, is not the very body and blood of Christ. And that the said very body of Christ is verily in heaven only, and not in the sacrament.
4. That they have and do hold and maintain, that the mafs, as it is used in the catholic church, is taught in the scripture.
5. That they have been, and are amongst the people of that jurisdiction vehemently suspected upon the premises, and therupon indicted, &c.

To these articles they answered as follows: First, Granting themselves to be christian men, and acknowledging the determination of the holy church, that is, of the congregation or body of Christ; I say that Hall desired to call the catholic and apostolic church his mother, because he found not this word Mother in the scripture.

To the second they granted. To the third article as touching the very body and blood of Christ to be under the forms of bread and wine in substance; they would not grant, only affirming the very body of him to be in heaven, and the sacrament to be a token or remembrance of Christs death; Nicholas Hall adding moreover, and saying, That whereas before he held the sacrament to be but only a token or remembrance of Christ's death, now he said, that there is neither token nor remembrance, because it is now misused and confused from Christ's institution, &c. And concerning the mafs in the fourth article, to be abominable, Christopher Waid, with the other, answered, that as they had confessed before, they would not now go from what they had said. To the fifth article, for the people's satisfaction, they made no great account nor fickling to grant the same.

And thus much concerning the articles and answers of these good men. Which being received, immediately sentence of condemnation was pronounced by the said Maurice the bishop against them, the copy of which sentence as it runneth much after the common course in condemning all the other servants of Christ, to the same being exemplified before, needeth not here to be repeated. Nicholas Hall was burnt at Rochester about the 15th day of July.

Furthermore, with the aforesaid Hall and Waid, in the same month of July, three others were condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, whose names were Joan Beach, widow, John Harpel, of Rochester, and Margery Polley. Of which Margery Polley, touching the examination and condemnation here followeth an account.

The Condemnation of Margery Polley, Widow and Martyr.

Margery Polley, widow, sometime wife of Richard Polley of Peipingbery, was accused and brought before the said Maurice bishop of Rochester, about the beginning of the month of June. Which bishop, according
C

Christopher Waid, of Dartford, in the county of Kent, linen-weaver, was condemned, by Maurice bishop of Rochester, and appointed to be burnt at caroll it after dinner. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, there was carried out of town betimes in the morning in a cart, a flake, and therewith many bundles of reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of town, called the Brinn, into a gravel-pit thereby, the common place for the execution of felons. There also was brought a load of broom faggots, with other faggots and tall wood. Unto which place the people of the country reftored in great numbers, and there waited his coming; so much that divers frustrators came thither with hordo-loads of cherries, and sold them. About ten o'clock the sherif came riding with a great many other gentlemen and retinue, appointed to assist him therein, and with them Christopher Waid, Margery Polley, of Tunbridge, riding pinioned by him, both finging of a psalm; which was the case, as the said sir oft the multitude gathered about the place where they should suffer, waiting their coming, the said unto Waid very loud and cheerfully. You may rejoice, to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day. And by the place, by the highway to the highway, they were straitway carried down to the town, where she was kept till the sherif returned from Waid's execution. Mr. Waid being made ready, and flrippd off his cloaths in an inn, a fair long white shirt was brought upon him from his wife, which being put on, and he pinioned, was led up on foot again to the aforesaid place. When he was come to the flake, he took it in his arms, and kiffed it, setting his back unto it, and standing in a pitch barrel which was taken from the beaund, being, therewith a fathom brought, a fcoop of iron, and with two fapples made him fast to the flake under his arms. As soon as he was thus fetted, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he flake with a cheerful and loud voice the left verse of the 66th Psalm; "Shew me good token upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me may see it, and be ashamed: because thou, Lord, hast helped me, and comforted me." Near to the flake was a little hill, upon the top whereof were set up four flays, quadrangle-wise, with a covering, and about like a pulpit: into which place as Waid was thus praying at the flake, entered a friar with a book in his hand; whom when Waid elpid, he cried earnestly unto the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhibiting and embrasse the danger of the great whores preached in King Edward's days. While he was thus speaking to the people, the sherif interrupted him, saying, Be quiet Waid, and die patiently. I am the friar. I thank God, Mr. Sherif, and so therefore. All this while the friar tooled still looking after the grate, as though he would have uttered something when Waid mightily admonished the people to beware of the doctrine; which when the friar perceived, which was twonightly dawning, he put his face to the grate of the flame hole, and with sportfulness made jesting, that the voice might be heard, which his tormentors perceiving, he made to go at the flame hole; but notwithstanding, the friar could, put them off, his face being hurt with the sight of a faggot cast thereat. Then fire being put unto the flake unto God of it, Lord Jesus receive my without any token or sign of impiations, and at length after the fire was thoroughly kindled, was heard by no man to speak, still, holding up his head together over his head towards heaven, even whilst he was dead and altogether rosted, as though they were flayed up with a prop flanding under his feet; and then Chrift haid upon him, whereby his enemies might perceive that God had, according to prayer, flied such a token unto him, even to death under a confitution. And thus was the order of godly martyr's execution, this was his end. When God seemed to confound and strike with the spight dumbness the friar, that locust which was risen up have spoken against him; and also left weeding obtained these hands which he lifted up to him's comfort in his torment.

The APPREHENSION, EXAMINATION, and BURNING of Christopher Carver, and John Launder, who was MARTYRDOM for the Testimony of the Gospel.

THE 22d day of July, Dickar Carver, late of a parish of Brightelmstone in the county of Sal was burnt at Lewes in the said county. And the following John Launder, late of Godfrode in the county of Surry, was burnt at Stening. These two none with others, about the latter end of the month of Oct ber, in the year 1554, apprehended by Edward Gent, and being as the said Carver, and afterwards gathered about the place where they should suffer, waiting their coming, the said unto Waid very loud and cheerfully. You may rejoice, to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day. And by the place, by the highway to the highway, they were straitway carried down to the town, where she was kept till the sherif returned from Waid's execution. Mr. Waid being made ready, and flrippd off his cloaths in an inn, a fair long white shirt was brought upon him from his wife, which being put on, and he pinioned, was led up on foot again to the aforesaid place. When he was come to the flake, he took it in his arms, and kiffed it, setting his back unto it, and standing in a pitch barrel which was taken from the beaund, being, therewith a fathom brought, a fcoop of iron, and with two fapples made him fast to the flake under his arms. As soon as he was thus fetted, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he flake with a cheerful and loud voice the left verse of the 66th Psalm; "Shew me good token upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me may see it, and be ashamed: because thou, Lord, hast helped me, and comforted me." Near to the flake was a little hill, upon the top whereof were set up four flays, quadrangle-wise, with a covering, and about like a pulpit: into which place as Waid was thus praying at the flake, entered a friar with a book in his hand; whom when Waid elpid, he cried earnestly unto the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhibiting and embrasse the danger of the great whores preached in King Edward's days. While he was thus speaking to the people, the sherif interrupted him, saying, Be quiet Waid, and die patiently. I am the friar. I thank God, Mr. Sherif, and so therefore. All this while the friar tooled still looking after the grate, as though he would have uttered something when Waid mightily admonished the people to beware of the doctrine; which when the friar perceived, which was twonightly dawning, he put his face to the grate of the flame hole, and with sportfulness made jesting, that the voice might be heard, which his tormentors perceiving, he made to go at the flame hole; but notwithstanding, the friar could, put them off, his face being hurt with the sight of a faggot cast thereat. Then fire being put unto the flake unto God of it, Lord Jesus receive my without any token or sign of impiations, and at length after the fire was thoroughly kindled, was heard by no man to speak, still, holding up his head together over his head towards heaven, even whilst he was dead and altogether rosted, as though they were flayed up with a prop flanding under his feet; and then Chrift haid upon him, whereby his enemies might perceive that God had, according to prayer, flied such a token unto him, even to death under a confitution. And thus was the order of godly martyr's execution, this was his end. When God seemed to confound and strike with the spight dumbness the friar, that locust which was risen up have spoken against him; and also left weeding obtained these hands which he lifted up to him's comfort in his torment.

A LETTER

From the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer, to Bonner, Bishop of London, to take the Examination of the said Prisoners.

After my right hearty commendations to your good Grace, I shall not forget your lively desire of the truth: no more I shall Mr. Dean, to whom I wrote in
The CONFESSION of JOHN LAUNDER, before BONNER, BISHOP of LONDON.

JOHN LAUNDER, of the parish of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, husbandman, aged 25 years, born at Godstone, aforesaid, being examined, doth confess and say, That about the last Althallows-tide, this examinee and one Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson, William Yves, with divers other persons, to the number of twelve, (being all together at their prayers, paying the service in English, set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth, to the use of the said Dirick Carver, situated at Brighthelmstone) were apprehended by one Mr. Gage, and by him sent to London to the king and queen’s council, and by them (upon his examination) committed to Newgate, where he and his said fellows have ever since remained.

And further being examined, doth confess and say, that the occasion of his coming to the said Brighthelmstone, was upon some business there to be done for his master: and so being there, and hearing that the said Dirick was a man that did much favour the gospel, this examinee did resort to his house and company, whom before that time he never saw or knew, and on hearing of that his report he was apprehended as before. And further doth confess and believe, that there is here in earth one whole and universal catholic church, whereof the members be dispersed through the world; and doth believe also, that the same church doth set forth and teach only two sacraments; namely, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of our Lord. And whatsoever doth teach or use any more sacraments, or yet any ceremonies, he doth not believe that they be of the catholic church, but doth abhor them from the bottom of his heart. And doth further say and believe, that all the service, sacrifices, and ceremonies, which are used in this realm of England (yes, and in all other parts of the world, which have been used after the same manner) be erroneous and naught, and contrary to Christ’s institution, and the determination of Christ’s catholic church, whereof he believeth that the same is a member.

Alfo he doth confess and believe, that the sacrament, now called the sacrament of the altar, there is not really and truly contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance, but his belief and faith therein is as follows, to wit: That when he doth receive the material bread and wine, he receiveth in remembrance of Christ’s death and passion; and receiveth it, doth eat and drink Christ’s body and blood by faith, and none otherways as he believeth.

And moreover he doth confess, and believe, that the mass now used in the realm of England, or elsewhere in all Christendom, is taught and believed, and directly against God’s word, and his catholic church; and that there is nothing said or used in it good and profitable. For his faith, that albeit the Gloria in excelsis, the creed, Sanctus, Et resurget, Agnos, and other parts of the mass, be of themselves good and profitable, yet the same being used among other things that be naught and superfluous in the mass, the same good things do become naught also, as he believeth.

Alfo he doth believe and confess, that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to any priest, or to any other creature, but every person ought to confess his faults only to God, he also believeth, that he hath not any authority to absolve any one from his sins; and also believes, that the right and true way (according to the scripture) after a man hath fallen from grace to sin, to arise to Christ again, is to be sorry for his offences, and to do the same or the like no more; and not to make any auricular confession of them to the priest, or to take abolution of them at the priest’s hands. All whereof his said opinions he hath believed these seven or eight years past, and in that time hath divers times openly argued and defended the same, as he faith, &c.

UPON Monday, being the roth day of June, these two persons, with others, were brought by the keeper into the bishop’s consistory, (as it was before commanded) at one o’clock in the afternoon, where the bishop &c.
And then he spake again to all the people that went with a loud voice saying, Dear brethren, now you whom I have offended in words or deed, I say, you for the Lord's sake to forgive me, & I do heartily forgive all you who have offended me in thought or deed, and he said further in his prayer, O Lord, in whose name you hast written, that no one shall offend the Spirit & soul of my soul doth debate in thee. These were the last words of that faithful servant of Christ, before the fire was put out.

And when the fire came to him, he cried, O Lord, thy mercy upon me, and sprung up in the fire, calling on the name of Jesus, and so he ended his life.

An Account of Thomas Iveson, Martyr.

Thomas Iveson, of Godstone in the county of Surry, carpenter, was burnt about the first of July at Chichester, where a general persecution was then going on. He was first sentenced to be burned to death, but the judge mitigated the sentence, and instead of burning, ordered him to be strangled, and then burnt. He was taken from prison on the 16th of June, and on the 18th of July, he was burnt at Chichester.

First, That I believed, that there is one God, everlasting, universal, and whole church throughout the whole world, which hath held, and doth hold the true faith, and all the necessary articles of Christian belief, and all the sacraments of Christ, with the true life and administration of the same.

2. That he is necessarily bound to believe and give credit, in all the said faith, articles of the belief religion, and the sacraments of Christ, and the administration of the same.

3. Item, That the faith, religion, and administration of Christ's church, which now enjoyeth the same, as it is, and doth forth in this our church of England, is agreeable with the truth and faith of Christ, with the faith of the said catholic and universal church of Christ.

4. Item, Concerning the sacrament of the altar, I believe that it is a very holy, and defensible before God, as it is now administered.

5. Item, That the mass is naught, and not of the institution of Christ, but that it is of man's invention, and being demand, whether any thing used in the mass be good, he said that he would answer no further.

6. Item, That he hath not received the sacrament of the altar since it had been administered as now it is in England, neither was confined at any time within this seven years, nor heard mass in any other place.

7. Item, That auricular confession is not necessary to be made to a priest; for he cannot forgive, nor absolve him from sins.

8. Item, Concerning the sacrament of baptism, that it is a sign and token of Christ, as circumcision was, and no other wise, and he believed that his sins were washed away thereby, but his body only washed; for his fins was washed away only by Christ's blood.

9. Item, That there be in the catholic church of Christ only two sacraments, that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of the Lord, and no more, which are not rightly used this present time in England, and therefore be unprofitable.

10. Item, He believeth that all the ceremonies now used
And upon the fight of them, as he bragged, apprehended them upon fulfillment, and searched them, and finding the confessions of their faith about them in writing, sent them up unto the queen's commissioners, directing also unto one of the same commissioners the favourables letters in their behalf: the copy whereof here followeth.

A LETTER

From EDMUND TYRELL, Esq; to one of the QUEEN'S COMMISSIONERS.

SIR, with the most hearty commendations unto you, there shall be to adverfite you, that I have received a letter from Sir Nicholas Hare, and you, and others of their majesties commissioners, by a servant of the king and queen's, named John Failes, for certain bulines about S. Olufres, which I could not immediately go about, for that I had received a letter from the council, to sift the threfor of the nation of the heretics, the one at Raleigh, and the other at Rochford, which was done on Tuesday last.

And as I came homeward, I met with two men: even as I saw them, I suspected them, and then I did examine and search them, and found about them certain letters which I have sent you, and also a certain writing in paper, what their faith was, and they confessed to me that they had been out of their country for religion's sake; and since they have been in many countries, by their own confession, which I have sent you: for which which is good, as they came from London, and that there may be more found of them than at present; I can inform you to send them to you, whereby you and others of the king and queen's commissioners there might try them, so that their lawnels may thoroughly be known; for I think these have careful many to trouble their consciences. So this hath been some hindrance to me, wherefore I could not go about these matters express, but your letters and the direction of your letter at noon I intend by God's grace to accomplish your letters, with as much diligence as I can. May the Holy Trinity ever have you in his keeping.

Forasmuch as in this letter mention is made of a certain writing found about them, containing an account of their faith, the contents thereof here entire.

Certain NOTES collected and gathered out of the Scriptures by JOHN DENLEY, GENTLEMAN, with a CONFESSION of his FAITH as touching the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood found in his Pocket at the Time of his Aprehension.

"Christ is in the sacrament, as he is where two or three are gathered together in his name."

THE difference of the doctrine between the faithful and the papists concerning the sacrament is, that the papists say, that Christ is corporally under, or in the forms of bread and wine; but the faithful say, that Christ is not there, neither corporally nor spiritually, but in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, he is spiritually, but not corporally.

For figuratively he is in the bread and wine, and spiritually he is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine; but really, carnally, and corporally he is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

"My belief in the sacrament of the bleded body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ."

A S concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, my belief is this, that the bread and wine is appointed the sacrament; and that after thanks be given to God the Father, the doth represent unto me the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ; not that the bread is the body, or the wine the blood, but that I in faith do see that bleded body of our Saviour broken on the cross, and his precious blood plentifully shed for the remission of my sins. Allo in faith I call him unto us, saying, Christ is me all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh ye," Isa. iv. alfo Matth. xi. &c. In faith I come unto him, and I am refreshed, so that I believe that
that do come to the table of the Lord in this faith, fear and love, being forry for their octions, intending earnestly to lead a godly conversation in this vale of misery, to receive the fruit of the death of Christ, which fruit is our salvation.

I do understand (spiritually) that as the outward man doth eat the material bread which comforteth the body, so doth the inward man (through faith) eat the body of Christ, but that as the body is broken, so was Christ's body broken on the cross for our sins; which comforteth our souls unto life everlasting; and signifying thereby, that even as that bread was divided among them, so should his body and fruit of his passion be dished shunted unto as many as believed in his words. But the bread broken and eaten in theupper adonishment and puteth us in remembrance of his death, and so excitateth us to thanksgiving, to laud and praise God for these blessings of our redemption.

And thus we have Christ present; in the inward eye and the sight of his faith we eat his body and drink his blood; that is, we believe surely that his body was crucified for our sins, and his blood shed for our salvation.

Christ's body and blood are not contained in the sacramental bread and wine, as the papists have said, and as some yet do say, as ye read in these scriptures following: namely in Matt. xi. xxiv. and xxvi. Luke v. xxiv. and xxviii. Mark vii. John xiii. xiv. xv. xvi. and xvii. Acts i. ii. iii. iv. v. vi. vii. ix. Rom. vi. heath. i. i Cor. x. xi. Ephes. ii. Coloss. i. Ephes. iv. and v. Phil. i. and ii. i Thess. i. and ii. Heb. i. v. vii. ix. x. and xii. Pet. iii. Phil. i. xiv. xvi. xii. and x. "Christ's material body is not in all places, as the specifcripts do testify hereafter."

First read St. Matthew the fift, Mark the fift, Luke the fift, John xi. xx. and xxi. These places of the scripture do plainly declare, that his body that was born of the virgin Mary, cannot be in more places than one, and therefore, on the right hand of God, and not in the sacrament, nor in all places, as the papists have affirmed, and yet do affirm.

Therefore whosoever they be that worship the creatures of bread and wine, do commit idolatry, and make abominable idols of them, and take the glory from God, and give it to his creatures, which is contrary to the mind of God, as these scriptures hereafter do testify: namely Exod. xx. xxii. xxiii. and xxiv. Lev. xix. Deut. iv. vi. and xxxii. Phil. lxxx. i. Phil. xiv. Matt. i. Luke iv. Acts x. Rev. xiv. Phil. xvi. i Cor. i. Ephes. iv. i Tim. ii. i John v. Rev. xix. and xii.

JOHN DENLEY.

Now to return to the commissiorders again: they receiving these prisoners before mentioned, after they saw they could little prevail with their own persuasions, sent them to bishop Bonner, to be handled after his fatherly and charitable discretion. Which so discreet and favourable it was, the history of others, as well as the sequel of this, doth manifestly declare. For the 28th of June then next following he caused the said Denley and Newman, with three of their friends, to be brought into his chamber within his house or palace, there examining them upon their confessions (which Tyrell had foundabout them), objecting all unto them certain other articles of his own. To which they all answered in effect one thing, although Denley answered more largely than the others, and therefore I thought his answers sufficient to lay down, as containing the substance of all the rest, except that Pakingham had one article of no great force objected to him, which the others had not.

This done, the bishop began with his accustomed persuasions; to whom Mr. Denley replied, God favour me from your council, and keep me in your kindness, and I am now in, for what you count hereby I take to be the truth: and therefore they were commanded to appear in the bishop's consistory the fifth day of July then next coming, in the afternoon, where those articles were objected against them.

ARTICLES objected by EDMUND BONNER, Archibishop of London, against JOHN DENLEY, THOMAS NEWMAN, and PATRICK PACKINGHAM jointly and severally, the 25th of June, 1553.

FIRST, That the said Denley now is of the church of London, and the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

Secondly, That the said Denley hath not believed, or doth believe, that there is any catholic church of Christ here in earth.

Thirdly, That the said Denley hath not believed, or doth believe, that this church of England is any part member of the said catholic church.

Fourthly, That the said Denley hath believed, or doth believe, that the mass now used in the church of England is naught, and full of idolatry and evil, and against God's word, and therefore he, the said Denley, hath not heard it, nor will hear it.

Fifthly, That the said Denley hath believed, or doth believe, that auricular confession now used in this realm of England, is not good, but contrary to God's word.

Sixthly, That the said Denley hath believed, or doth believe, that abjuration given by the real hearing confession is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but contrary to the same.

Seventhly, That the said Denley hath believed, or doth believe, that thrillenings of children, as in the church of England, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but against it; likewise confessions of children, giving of orders, saying of mass, even-fong, anointing of sick persons, making of holy bread and holy water, with the rest of the church.

Eighthly, That the said Denley hath believed, or doth believe, that there are but two sacraments: Christ's catholic church, that is to say, the fount of baptism, and the fount of the altar.

Ninthly, That the said Denley hath believed, or doth believe, that forasmuch as Christ is ascended up into heaven, therefore the very body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar.

Tenthly, That thou Patrick Pakingham, now heir of the age of twenty-one at least, being within the house of the bishop of London at St. Paul's, and by his obedience to the said Denley, brought to the great church to hear mass there, the 23d day of June, in the year of our Lord 1553, did unrepentently stand in the said church, having openly and openly, to the whole time of mass and did accept and receive holy bread at the hutch of priest, there consuming and defiling both the said mass and holy bread.

ANSWERS to the foregoing ARTICLES.

To the first article I answer, It is very true.

To the second article, I answer, That it is true: for I believe the holy catholic church, which built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head; which holy church is the gregation of faithful people dispersed through the whole world, which church doth truly preach God's word, and doth also administer the two sacraments that is to say, baptism and the Supper of the Lord, according to the blessed word.

To the third article I answer, That I do believe this church of England, uniting the faith and religion which is in the same, is a part or member of the aforesaid catholic church; and that the church of Antichrist and the church of Rome being the head thereof; for it is plain, that it hath altered the sacrament of God, and set up a sacrament of their own devising, full of blasphemy and lies. For Christian testament is, that he would have all this done to the edifying of the people, as it appeared when he taught them to pray, Matthew vi. and also it is appertained by St. Paul, i Cor. xiv. for his faith, that he dothprophelete, speaketh unto men for their edification, for their instruction, and for their comfort; he that speaketh with the tongue, prophesieth himself; he that prophesieth, edifieth the congregation."

As
Allo he faith, "Even so likewise when ye speak with your father, do ye not say, Father? and do ye not say, Give me the bread which I have eaten? and when ye speak with your mother, do ye not say, Mother? and do ye not say, Give me the flesh which I have eaten? And when ye speak with thy servant, or thy guide, or thy young man, do ye not say, Give me the bread which I have eaten?

And if ye say, Father, give me the bread which I have eaten; and, mother, give me the flesh which I have eaten; and, servant, give me the bread which I have eaten; and, young man, give me the flesh which I have eaten; and, which is more, ye say, give me, give me; shall it be understood what is spoken? For ye shall speak in the air, that is as much as to say, in vain. So faith, Thou shalt give thanks: therefore, but the word is not edifying, I thank you, my God, I thank you all: yet I had rather in the congrega- tion to speak five words with understanding, to the edification of others, than ten thousand words with the tongue. Also he faith, Let all things be done to edifi- cation, and edifying.

Allo it is written in the xvi. Psalm, "For God is with all the earth: O sing praises unto him with understanding." So it doth appear that this church of Israel, now used, is not built upon Christ, if St. Paul's be true, and allo the Psalms; therefore this church cannot be built upon the prophets, apostles, or Christ, as I before declared.

To the fourth article I answer, and I do believe (as I did before), that the mass now used in this realm of England, is naught, and abominable idolatry and blasphemy against God's holy word; for Christ in his holy estate which was both the sacrament of bread and wine be taken together in remembrance of his death till come, and not to have them worshipped, and make any of them: for God will not be worshipped in any creature, but we ought to give him praise for his names, which he hath created for us. For he faith in his dominion commandment, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." So it is not to edify any graven image, nor likenesses of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, thou shalt bow down to them, nor worship them. So it teacheth this commandment, that we ought not to worship bread and wine, for it is not idolatry; for he faith, No similitude, therefore; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them, thou shalt call kneeling down, holding the hands, knocking of the chest, putting off the shoes, and making courtesy, with other like superfluities which would lead thee to be so blind as to think at this is no worshipping.

Pendadventure you will object and fay, You do not whip the bread and wine, but Christ's body, which abode of the virgin Mary, contained under the forms bread and wine. But that is a very lie, for Christ's body which abode of the virgin Mary is in heaven, St. Paul's words be true, as undoubted, so true, for faith in Hebrews x. But this man, after he had one sacrifice for sins, is set down for ever on the right hand of God, and from henceforth tarryeth till his leaveth his footstool.

Also in chap. xii. he faith, "For Christ is not en- tered into holy places made with hands, which are the abodes of true things, but he is entered into heaven, even to appear now in the sight of God for us." Also Phil. iii. But our conversation is in heaven from whence we look for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ." So I faith, For they themselves saw of you, what manner of entering in we had in you, and how ye turned to God from images to the living God, and to look for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from death, even Jesus which is from the wrath to come, &c. Also, John xvi. I went out from my Father, and came into the world. Again, I leave the world, and go to my Father," &c. John xvii. "Now I am not in the world, and they are in the world, and I come to thee. These places of scripture, with many more, plainly shew that there have been ears to hear, that Christ's body and which is born of the virgin Mary is in heaven, and in the sacrament of bread and wine; and therefore idolatry to worship them, &c.

Allo to the fifth article I answer, That I do believe (as before) that ariuell confecion is not good as a mean. Touching my sins wherein I have need God, I must advertize you for remission thereof, our Saviour faith, in the 17th of St. Matt. Come to me all ye that labour and are laden, I will ease you. &c. The prodigal son, Luke xv. faith, "I will rise up and go to my Father, and I will say unto him, Fa- ther, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son." &c. Mat. xxii. I faith, "I will acknowledge my blunders, and accuse myself unto the Lord, and to thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin," &c. Joss. xiii. But I will improve mine own ways in his fight: he shall make me whole, and there may be hope before come." Syrach xxxiv, "Who can be cleansed of the unclean? And And there were but one of the ten lepers that was cleansed, that came to Christ to give him thanks. He asked for the other nine. But if I have offended my neighbour, let him reconcile me to himself: and if I be a notorious sinner, after this number of years and second admonition, it ought to be declared to the congregation, that the minister of the congregation hath power by the word to excommunicate me, and I am to be taken as an heathen person, not for a day, or for forty days, but until such time as I go openly in the congregation acknowledge my fault, and then the minister by the power by the word to preache to me, or them, the remission of their sins in the blood of Jesus Christ, as it is written in the xiiith of the Acts of the Apostles, and Matthew xviii. I know no more of any other confession.

To the fifth article, I said John Denley have an- wered in the fifth.

To the seventh article I answer, that as touching the sacrament of baptism, which is the chrisming of children, it is altered and changed; for St. John used nothing but the preaching of the word and the water, as it is both appeareth, when Christ required to be baptized of him, and others also who came to be baptized, as it appeareth, Matt. iii. Mark i. Luke viii. and Acts viii, the chamberlain said, See here is the water, what hindereth me to be baptized? It appeareth here that Philip had preached unto him; for he said, Here is water. We do not read, that he asked for any cream, oil, or spittle, or confounded water, or confounded wax, or cromyon, of falt, for it feemeth that Philip and Paul preached no such things to him: for he would as well have asked for them as for water: and the water was not conjured, but even as it was before. Also Acts x. Then answered Peter, Cannot man forbid water, that these should not be baptized?" &c. Acts xiv. and Paul and Silas preached unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house: and he took them the fame hour of the night, and washed their wounds, and so was he baptized, and all they of his household straightway: where you see nothing but preaching the word, and the water. The like is to be said of the rest of the ceremonies of your church.

To the eighth article I answer shortly, that there be no more sacraments than two; baptism, and the sacra- ment of the body and blood of Christ; except you will make the raining of the rain a sacrament: for there is no sacra- ment but what hath a promissé annexed to it.

To the ninth article I answer you, That you have my mind written already; for it was found about me when I was taken: and you also know my mind in the fourth article, plainly expressed, concerning the bodily presence: for Christ's body is in heaven, and will not be contained in so small a piece of bread. And as the words which Christ spake are true indeed, for them also be underfooted by other places of scripture which Christ spake himself, and also the apostles after him. And thus I make an end.

By me, JOHN DENLEY.

The first day of the month of July, the said three pris- oners were brought into the consistory in St. Paul's, where Bonner proceeded against them after the usual form and manner of law, reading first their confessions, articles, and threats; and then tempting them sometimes with fair promises, at other times with threats and threatenings, which indeed were generally his chief and most effective means and reasons. In the end, seeing their unmoveable con- fidence, upon the 5th of July he condemned them as heteretics, and delivered them to the sheriffs of London, as to his common executor, who kept them till they were commanded by writ to send them to their several places of suffering; and accordingly Mr. Den-
ley was sent to Uxbridge, where he was burned on the 8th day of August: and being set in the fire, with the burning flames about him, he sung a psalm.

Then cruel Dr. Story being there present, commanded one of the tormentors to throw a faggot at him, wherefore being so hurt that his face burned, he left fingering, and clutched his hands upon his face. Truly, said Dr. Story to him that hurled the faggot, thou hast marred a good song.

Yet notwithstanding all this, he put his hands abroad in the flames, and sung again, redeeming his spirit into the hands of God, through his Son Jesus Christ.

After the martyrdom of Mr. Denley at Uxbridge, which was the 8th of August, Mr. Patrick Packham also suffered at the same time, about the 10th of the said month. This Packham was charged by Bishop (as you heard before in the tenth article) for his behaviour in the bishop's chapel, where at the mass time there flanging, would not pull off his cap, which was taken for a heinous offence. Packham being much perplexed by his own trials, yet, that the words to the bishop, that the church which he believed was not the church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it, &c.

Further where concerning the other, which was John Newman, pewterer, at Maidstone in Kent, he was burnt the last day of August, at Saffron Walden, in the county of Essex, whose examination and confession of his faith and belief, for which he was cruely persecuted and burnt, here followeth.

The Examination of Mr. John Newman.

John Newman, when apprehended, was first examined by Dr. Thornton, full-fragon of Dover, at Tenterden. To thence he was carried to London, and there condemned with Denley and Packham. But because his examination and answers came not from my hands, I thought here in this place to follow them, rather than they should be utterly suppressed. And first, what his answer was by writing to the said full-tragon, after his apprehension, you shall hear by the tenor of his own words as follow:

It may please you to understand, that for the space of all the time of the late king Edward's reign, we were diligently instructed with continuall sermons, made by such men as were of holy faith, wisdom, learning, and virtuous living, was commended unto all men under the king's hand and seal, and under the hands of all the council. These men taught diligently a long time, persuading us by the allegations of God's word, that there was no transgression of his corporal presence in the sacrament. Their doctrine was not believed by us suddenly, but by their continual preaching, and also by our continual prayer unto God that we might never be deceived; but if it were true, that God would incline our hearts unto it; and if it were true, that we might never believe. We weighed that they laboured with God's word, and we asked the advice of our friends, neither could we find that they preached false doctrine. We considered also, as we did learn, that the king's grace and his counsel, and the most part of the whole realm, believed as they taught, because no man preached the contrary. Also we know, that the preachers were commanded by the king and laws of the realm, to preach unto us such doctrine as was agreeable to the authority of God's word, and no other; and by their diligent setting of forth of the king's commandment, and the consent of the whole council, and by the authority of the whole parliament, we embraced it, and received it as a very impossible truth, taught unto us for the space of seven years. Wherefore, until such time as our confinements were otherwise taught and instructed by God's word, we cannot with satisfaction of our confinements take it, as many fopoprene at this time. And we trust in God that the conduct of our spirit governeth, neither yet her most ho-

at such time as men require it, but at such time as God giveth it.

The Examination and Answers of John Newman, before Dr. Thornton and Others.

First one of the doctors began, whose name it is, Newman doth not express, asking in this wise:

Doctor. How lay you to this: "This is my body which is given for you"?

Newman. This is a figurative speech, one thing for the body, and another for the soul; as Christ saith, "I am the vine, I am the door," &c. Is it denied to materialize a stone, a vine, or a door?

Doctor. This is no figurative speech. For he said, "This is my body which is given for you," and also he saith not of the stone, vine, or door: but it is figurative speech.

Newman. Faithful Christ, "This cup is the New Testament in my blood." If you will have it to stand, let them take it and eat the cup.

Doctor. Nay, that is not to mean: for it is a common phrase of speech among ourselves: we say, as you friend, drink a cup of water, and yet we mean, thou shalt make the water drink in the cup.

Newman. Why, if you will have the one to make flood, you must so understand the other.

Doctor. Nay, it is a common use of speech, when you drink a cup of ale or beer, and therefore it is figurative speech.

Newman. The usual using of a thing doth make that thing otherwise than it is; but whereas any thing is spoken, and another meant, it is a figurative speech.

Doctor. Well, we will not stand hereabout. Have you not the real presence? Is not Christ's natural body there that was born of the virgin Mary?

Newman. No, I do not so believe; neither do I believe, for the soul of man doth not feed on natural things as the body doth.

Doctor. Why, how then doth it feed?

Newman. I think the soul of man doth feed on angels in heaven, whose feeding is only the pure joy, felicity, and delection that he have of God, and the body of Christ.

Collins. Yes, but if the body do not feed on natural things, the soul cannot continue with the body, therefore the body must needs feed upon natural things in order to live together.

Newman. I grant it to be true: but yet the body doth live otherwise than the body which doth partake therefore natural things do but feed on the prop of Christ. Then did Jesus receive at the supper?

Collins. I marry, Judas did receive the very body of Christ, but it was to his damnation.

Newman. Why, was the devil entered into him before? Then he had the devil and Christ in him at one time.

Collins. Nay, the devil did enter into him afterwards.

Newman. Yes, and before too: what, do ye think he had but one devil? Nay, I think he had two, and they dealt at the latter end.

Collins. Well, supposo it be so: what say ye to that?

Newman. Marry, if Christ and the devil were in Judas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?

Collins. We grant that they were both in Judas at that time: for Christ may be where the devil is, and will; but the devil cannot be where Christ is, for it pietate Christ. Therefore, Christ will not be in an unclean place that hath the devil.

Thornton. Why, will you not believe that Christ was in hell? and you will grant that the devil is such a friend that he be in Judas, if it pleased him.

Newman. Christ would not suffer Mary Magdalene touch him, who sought him at his grave, and deu...
J. Newman's Arguments Against the Real Presence.

If the body of Christ were really and bodily in the sacrament, then whosoever received the sacrament, received also the body.

The wicked receiving the sacrament, receive not the body of Christ.

Therefore the body of Christ is not really in the sacrament.

ARGUMENT.

They which eat the flesh, and drink the blood of Christ, dwell in him, and he in them.

The wicked dwell not in Christ, nor he in them.

Therefore the wicked eat not the flesh, nor drink the blood of Christ.

ARGUMENT.

They that have Christ dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit, John xv. "He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit,"

"The wicked bring forth no fruit of good deeds.

Therefore they have not Christ's body dwelling in them.

ARGUMENT.

Where remembrance is of a thing, there is imported the absence thereof. Remembrance of Christ's body is in the sacrament, "Do this in remembrance of me." Therefore Christ's body thereto imported is to be absent. Indeed they will say, we fee him not with our outward eyes, but he is commended under the forms of bread and wine, and that we fee is nothing but a quality of an accident without a substance: but let them first prove this, and I will believe them. And thus much concerning Newman's examinations and arguments.

The Faith of John Newman, Dwelling at Maidstone in Kent, Who was by Occupation a Pewterer.

"The Lord is the protector of my life. The just shall live by faith, and if he withdraw himself, my soul shall have no pleasure in him."

My faith is, that there is one God, which is without beginning and without ending. This God created all things visible and invisible. And after that he had made both heaven and earth, with all other creatures, he made man, and set him in the place which he had prepared for him, which place he called Eden: he gave to Adam his commandments and precepts, and laid, Whenever thou dost the thing which I forbid, thou shalt surely die; and in addition, ye mad man for all this disobedience, God his creator, and after his sin he fled from God and himself, and was in a miserable desperate cafe. But God seeing man in his miserable estate, because he and all his posterity should not continue in death, promised Adam that the woman's seed should break the serpent's head; whereby is meant, that the Son of God should become man, and destroy the devil, who by his subtle persuasions had deceived Adam. Then did Adam, by faith, take hold of God's promise, and became the servant of righteousness, through the faith which he had in the promise of the woman's seed. So did Abel, Seth, Enoch, and Noah, with faithful Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the rest of the faithful until Christ's time: as St. Paul saith, "They did all eat one spiritual meat, and did all drink of one spiritual drinks; they did drink of that spiritual rock that followed them, which rock was Christ that favelled us." And when

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the time was fully come, God sent his Son, made of a woman, that is, he took flesh of the virgin Mary, and became man; not the shadow of a man, nor a fantastical man, but a very natural man in all points, fin only excepted; which God and man is Christ the promised seed, Saviour and Redeemer of the world. This Christ was here conversant among men for the space of thirty years and more, and when the time was come that he should go to his Father, he gave unto us the mystery of our redemption, that we through faith should eat his body, and drink his blood, that we might feed on him through faith to the end of the world. After this Christ offered up his body on the cross to pacify his Father, and to deliver us from the thralldom of the devil, in which we were through sin original and actual. And with that one sacrifice of his body on the cross, he made perfect for ever all them that are sanctified. He descended into hell, the third day he rose again from death, and was conversant at certain times with his disciples for the space of forty days after he rose from death. Then in the light of all his disciples he ascended into heaven: and as his disciples looked up to heaven, he bid them go to preach the gospel to every creature. St. Peter also faith, that the heavens must receive him, until the time that all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his prophets, since the world began, be reformed again, which is the latter day, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I do believe in the Holy Ghost, which is the Spirit of God, proceeding from the Father and the Son, which Holy Spirit is one God with them. I believe that there is one holy church, which is the company of the faithful and elect people of God, the found abroad throughout the whole world; which holy church or congregation doth not look for Christ here, nor Christ there, neither in the desert, nor in the secret places whereof Christ warneth us, but as St. Paul faith, in heaven, where he lieth on the right hand of the Father; they set their affections on things that are above, and not on things that are on earth. For they are dead concerning things of this world, and their life is hid with Christ in God: and when Christ, who is their life, shall shew himself, then shall they also appear with him in glory. I believe that there is a communion of saints, even the fellowship of the faithful people which are dispersed abroad throughout the whole world, and are of one mind: they follow Christ their head, they love one another, as Christ loved them, and are knit together in one, even in Christ; which church and communion hath in it all the privileges of the saints through Christ, and shall enter without spot before the face of God into his glory. For as Christ being their head hath entered pure and clean, so they by entering by him, shall be like him in glory. And I am certain and sure, that all they which do die, shall rise again and receive their bodies. In them shall they see Christ come in his glory to judge the quick and the dead. At whose coming all men shall appear and give a reckoning of their doings: he shall separate the good from the bad; he shall destroy to them which are his elect. Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning: but to the others that have always refuted his will, he shall say, Depart from me ye cursed into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels.

Thus have I briefly declared my faith, which were no faith at all if I doubted of it. This faith therefore I desire God to increase in me. Praffe God for his gifts.

And thus have you the martyrdom, with the confession of the blessed man, and witnesses of the Lord’s truth, who for that gave his life, as is before declared.

Likewise Richard Hook, about the same time, and for the same matter, gave his life at Chichester.
The History of Mrs. Elizabeth Warne.

NOW severally to prosecute the florides of these ten martyrs aforesaid: first we will begin with the history of Elizabeth Warne, widow, who in the month of August was burnt at Stratford-Bow, near London; she was late wife of John Warne, upholsterer, and martyr, who was also burnt the latter end of the May before, as in his story is recorded.

This Elizabeth Warne had been apprehended amongst others, the first day of January, in a house in the yard in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that prefect was carried to the Comptre, where she remained till the 11th day of June: at which time she was brought to Newgate, and was confined there till the 2d day of July. This was the day for the king and queen's commissurers into Bonner, bishop of London, who on the 6th day of the said month caused her with divers others (as Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, &c.) to be brought before him in his palace, and there examined her upon sundry articles, such as were commonly administered unto poorjaints and martyrs of God, as you may more plainly perceive by other more large and ample procceses before-mentioned.

The chief objection that he used towards her, or the moat thereof, was touching the real and corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as the chief ground and most profitable foundation for their catholic dignity. Many other matters he objected against them, as for coming not to the church, for speaking against the mass, for defiling those ceremonies and new found sacraments, with divers other fond and trifling toys, not worthy to be mentioned.

In the end, when she had been divers times brought before him and other his adherents, and there earnestly exhorted to recant, the said, Do you so will, for if Christ were in an error, then am I in an error. Upon which answer, she was condemned as a heretic, the 12th day of the same month of July, and so delivered to the secular power, as they term it, to be them put to death, which was done in the same month.

The chief procurer of her death was Dr. Story, being (as it was thought) somewhat related to her, or else to her late husband. Who, at the first apprehension of his said kinswoman, endeavoured by all means to get her pardon, and accordingly applied to Dr. Martin, then one of the king and queen's commissurers in matters of religion (himself being as yet not made commissary) and by this his suit obtained her deliverance for that present, as Dr. Martin himself (the author hereof) hath reported; yet afterwards, under the sign of God order, he was upon some burning charity, the said Dr. Story obtaining to be one of the commissaries, caused not only the said John Warne, but also his wife, and afterwards his daughter, to be again apprehended, never leaving them till he had brought them all to death. Such was the rage of the devout catholic and white child of the mother church, that neither kindred or any other consideration could prevail with him, although it did (at his request) with others, who in respect of him were but strangers unto them. The Lord, if it be his will, turn his heart, or else rid his poor church from such an hydra, as, thanked be God, now he hath.

A LETTER

Set by the Commissaries to Dr. Bonner, Bishop of London.

AFTER our hearty commendations to your good lordship, we fend you here John Wade, William Hale, George King, Thomas Leyes, of Thorp in Elfta, Thomas Fult, hou- se, Robert Smith, painter, Stephen Harwood, brewer, George Tankerfield, cook, Elizabeth Warne, and Joan Lathford, of London, factors in matters, all which we desire your lordship to examine, and to order according to the ecclesiastical laws:

Praying your lordship to appoint some of your officers to receive them at their several hands; we assure you, your lordship will not hereby lose your lordship's will. From London this 2d of July.

Your lordship's loving friends,
Nicholas Hare, Richard Rede,
William Roper, William Cooke.

No. 23.

Account of George Tankerfield, Martyr

GEORGE TANKERFIELD, of London, cook, born in York, about the age of 7 or 8 years, was in the days of King Edward a pipaff, till the time queen Mary came in, and then perceiving the great cruelty which the papists used, was brought into a mid- doubt of their doings, and began (as he said) in his heart to abominate them. And as he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much striving with himself in that cafe; at length he fell to prayer, desiring God in mercy to open to him the
the truth, that he might be thoroughly perfused therein, whether it were of God, or no: if not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart, and abhor it: which the Lord mercifully planted in his soul, and increased, daily making more and more in him to detest and abhor the fame: and so he was moved to read the Testament, whereby (as is said) the Lord enlightened his mind with the knowledge of the truth, working a lively faith in him, and delivered him out of all, and all manner of popery, and so he came no more to their doings; and not only that, but also this lively faith (as he said) kindled a flame in him, as would not be kept in, but utter itself by the confession thereof, reproving his own making it his friend, and making his wife to repent and turn to the truth with him: thus they began to smite him out, and at length he was sent for as followeth.

It pleased God to strike him with sickness, whereby he lay long sick: and on one day to take the air abroad, he rose up, and went and walked into the Temple fields to see the theaters. In the mean time Mr. Beard came to his house and inquired for him, pretending to his wife, that he came only to have him dress a hat for her: the hat was ready; and the wife came to get it; and he pretended to fetch her husband, having a good hope he should now earn some money: and left this gentleman should be there. And when the hat was ready, he said for him, he was sick, and laid a fair napkin before him, and set bread thereon, and came to her husband; who, when he heard it, said, A banquet, woman; indeed it is such a banquet as will not be very pleasant to the feasts, but God's will be done. And when he came home he saw who it was, and called him by his name, which when his wife perceived, and wherefore he came, like a tall woman would play Peter's part, and instead of a sword took a fit, and would have run him through, had not the confesst what he was, but did lament for his good friends and to all reduced him: yet the fent a brickbat after him, and hit him on the back.

And so Tankerfield was delivered to the confesst, and brought to Newgate about the last day of January, 1555, by the said Beard, yeoman of the guards, and Simon Pinder, porterer, confesst of St. Dunstan's in the West, sent in by Roger Cholmley, knight, and Dr. Martin.

Tankerfield being thus brought to prison by his adversary at length with the other, the whole was brought to his examination before bishop Bonner, who, after his accustomed manner, ordered his articles and petitions unto him, the copy and tenor of which his ordinary articles ye may read above expressed.

To these articles he answered first, confestly declaring his being subject to anathema, and also the sacrament of the popish altar, and likewise the mass, &c. First, that he has not confessed to any priet five years past, nor to any other but only to God: and further denying that he would hereafter be confessed to any priet, for that he found not in Christ's book, and took it only to be a counsel.

And concerning the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, he confessed, that he neither had nor did believe, that in the sacrament there is the real body and blood of Christ, because the body is ascended into heaven, and there doth sit at the right hand of God the Father.

And moreover he said, that the mass now used in the church of England was taught, and ful of idolatry and abomination, and against the word of God; affirming also, that there are but two sacraments in the church of Christ, baptisim and the supper of the Lord, &c. And to these attentions he said he would stand; and to this he did to the end.

And when at last the bishop began to read the sentence, first exercising him with many words to revoke his professed opinion, (which they called damnable and heretical) he notwithstanding refuted all their pernifications, answering the bishop again in this manner: I will not,
The first Examination of Robert Smith before Bishop Bonner.

A BOUT nine o'clock in the morning I was among the rest of my brethren brought to the bishop's house; and first of all I was brought before him into his chamber, to whom the bishop said as followeth, after he had asked my name.

Bonner. How long is it since you were confounded to any priest?

Smith. Never since I had years of dijestion. For I never faw it needful, neither commanded by God to come to shew my faults to any of that stipid number whom you call priests.

Bonner. Thou wast ever so at thy first speech to be a rank heretic, who being weary of painting, art mindfull now that thou art fallen, through thy departing from thy vocation, into heresie.

Smith. Although I have understanding in the said occupation, yet (I prate God) I have had little need all my life hitherto to live by the same; but have lived without the same in mine own house as honestly in my vocation fail, and yet used the same better than ever you used the pulpit.

Bonner. How long is it since you received the sacrament of the altar, and what is your opinion in the same?

Smith. I never received the same since I had years of dijestion, nor ever will, by God's grace; neither do I esteem the same in any point, because it hath not God's ordinance, neither in name, nor in other usage, but rather is fet up and erected to mock God withal.

Bonner. Do you not believe that it is the very body of Christ that was born of the virgin Mary, naturally, sublittuariably, and really, after the words of consecration?

Smith. I fliewed you before it was none of God's ordinances, as you use it; then much less to be God, or any part of his fullinece, but only bread and wine consecrated; yet nevertheless, if you can prove it to be the body of Christ, and that word, I will believe it; if not, I will do as I do, account it a detestable idol, not God, but contrary to God and his truth.

Then after many raging words and vain objections, Bonner fail, there was not any disputation, but I must be burned.

Smith. You shall do no more unto me, than you have done to better men than either of us both. But think not thereby to quench the Spirit of God, neither thereby to make your matter good. For your force is too well seen to be healed to privily with blood. For even the very disputers do themselves in election, so that although you patch up one place with authority, yet shall it break out in fury to your shame.

Bonner. Then after much ado, and many raving sentences, he said, throwing away the paper of mine examination; Well, even now, by my truth, even in good earnest, if thou wilt go to confession, I will tear this paper in pieces.

Smith. To which I answered; It would be too much to his shame to fiew it to men of dijestion.

After which answer, I was carried down to the garden with my jailor, and there remained till my brother Harwood, and the rest of the company brought up before the said Bonner, he demanded if I agreed with Harwood in his confession upon these articles following.

Bonner. What say you to the catholic church? Do you not confess then as one of her heretics?

Smith. Yes verily, I believe that there is one catholic church, or faithful congregation, which as the apostle faith, is built upon the prophets and apostles, Christ Jesus being the head corner-stone: which church in all her words and works maintaineth the same, and bringeth the same for her authority, and without it doth nothing, by reason of which I am affirned I am by grace made a member.

Bonner. You shall understand, that I am bound when my brother offendeth, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the congregation; now if your church
be the same, where may a man find it, to bring his brother before the same?

Smith. It is written in the Acts of the apostles, that when the testimony of the bishops was so great against the church in Jewry, they were hain to assemble in houses and secret places, as they now do; and yet were they nevertheless the church of God; and seeing they had their meetings, and they meeting that in a corner, may we not do the like now—days?

Bonner. Yea, their church was known full well. For St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, to have the man punished and excommunicated, that had committed evil with his wife, whereby we may well perceive it was a known church, but your's is not known.

Smith. Then could you not perforce it as you do: but as you say the church of God at Corinth was manifest both to God and St. Paul; even so is this church of God in England, which you persecute, both known to God, and also even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will know their truth or conversation; yea, and your sinful number have professed their perfidy and murther as a base and shame.

Bonner. Well, thou sayest that the church of God was only at Corinth, when St. Paul writ unto them, and so will I put in writing, shall I?

Smith. I do greatly marvel, my lord, that you are not so tender for your brethren on this matter. This is now the third time you have laid for me. First, to make me confess that the church of England is not the church of Christ. Secondly, to say it is not known. Thirdly, to say the church of God is not united but divided. And this is not the olace of a bishop. For if an innocent have come in your way, you would have done your best, I see, to have entangled him.

Well, friend, said Dr. Harpsfield, you are no innocent, as it appears.

Smith. By the grace of God I am that I am; and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vain.

Well, said Bonner, laughing, tell me, how you layeth thou of a church in England to be a church of God, and also in another terrain, as it is written, "Their sound is gone forth into all lands," and this is the afflicted and persecuted church of Christ a long season, fly, and kill. And in Corinth was not all the congregation of God, but a number of those holy and elect people of God. For neither Paul nor Peter were present at Corinth when they wrote, and yet were they of the church of Christ; and so many thousands were also communing in that Holy Spirit.

Bonner. What call you catholic, and what call you church?

Smith. Catholic is universal, and church is a congregation together in unity.

Then after much talk, it was laid to my charge, that my fellow and I spake one thing. For which I prayed God, and was sent again to the garden. Where, after a while, as I and brother Harwood had been together, came one of my lord's chaplains, that much defined to commune with me, demanding first if I were a prisoner.

Smith. I am in this flesh a prisoner, and subject to my master and your's; but I hope yet the Lord's free man through Christ Jesus.

Doctor. I do much desire to talk to you lovingly, because you are a man that I much lament, with many other sweet words.

To which I answered, Sub melis latec venenum. And after much ado about his god, I compelled him to say, that it must needs enter into the belly, and so fall into the draught.

Doctor. What derogation was it to Christ, when the Jews spit in his face?

Smith. If the Jews, being his enemies, did spit in his face, and we being his friends throw him into the draught, which of us have deserved the greatest damnation? Then by your argument, he that doth injure in Christ, shall have a most plenteous salvation.

Then he said that he feared the world, and would have his humanity incomprehensible, making a comparison between the foult of man and the body of Christ, both in to serve his turn, which way Christ came in among his disciples, and the sea of world's sin, and Christ's being fluxious, all the time.

Smith. Although it be said, that when he came the doors were shut, yet have I as much to prove, that the doors opened at his coming, as you have to prove, the doors came through the door. For that Almighty God who brought up the flood out of our prison, which was before was made was found the house of God, as Christ in at the door, although it were shut; and ye made not for your purpose; for they saw him, believed him, and felt him, and that you cannot say you do, neither is there any place left one at the same time.

At which answer when he had made many things, he went from me, and we were carried into my lord hall, where we were bailed by my lord's band of ferara, almost all the day, until our keeper seeing their readiness, but us all up in a handhouse chamber, while my lord went into his synagogue to condemn Mr. Danby and John Newman.

Then they brought my lord mayor up into the chamber where my lord intended to sup, to hear the matter; and I was called also that was of the council, and was made being with the bishop and one of the sheriff's men was having on every side, whilst I fainted before thus like a mute; which made me remember how Pilsane and Herod were made friends, but no man was sorry for Joseph, but after that day, all was not so bad, my articles were sent for and read, and he demanded whether I did say as was written?

Smith. That I have said, I have said, and what I have said I do mean.

Bonner. Well, my lord mayor, your lordship hath heard in some measure, what a sot heretic this is, and that his articles have deferred death: yet nevertheless as they report me to seek blood, and call me bloody Bonner, whereas, God knoweth, I never fought any man's blood in all my life, I have known from the constillery this day, whither I could have brought him jocally; I desire him to turn, and I will with all speed dispatch him out of his trouble; and I profess before your lordship and all this audience.

Smith. Why, my lord, do you put on this fair wine before my lord mayor, to make him believe that you seek not my blood, to cloak your murders, through your fairness, as you call it? Have you not had my brother Tomkyns before you, whole hand when you burned not and cruelly punished, and put another also before you, but a great many of the members of Christ, men that feared God, and lived virtuously, and also the queen's majesty's most true subjects, as their goods and bodies have been made? And see in these faints you have beheaded, how they shewed you to your lordship audience that you shewed me more favour? No, no, my lord. But if you mean as you say, why then do you examine me of what I am not bound to answer you?

Bonner. Well, what sayest thou by the sacrament of the altar? Is it not the very body and blood, and bone, as it was born of the virgin?

Smith. I have anfeathered that it is none of God's order nor sacrament, but man's own vain invention, and showed him how it came into a Lord's institution. But when he was so earnest before the audience, declaring that he knew nothing, bringing out his Hoc est corpus meum to lay in my dish; I proved before the audience that it was a dead god, declaring the conjunction appointed between two covenants, bread and wine, and that a body without blood hath no life. At which Harpsfield found himself much offended, and took the tale out of my lord's mouth, saying.

Harp. I will prove by the scriptures, that you blaspheme God in saying: for it is given in two parts, because there are two things there, Flesh and blood is the body of Christ and his passion, as faith St. Paul: and therefore the bread is his body, and the wine the representation of his death and blood-thedning.

Smith.
Smith. You falsify the word, and rack it to serve your purpose. For the same was not only the flowering of his passion, but the head also. For our Saviour faith, as often as you do this, do it in remembrance of me.

And St. Paul faith, "So oft as you eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, you shall faw the Lord's death till he come. And here is as much reverence given to the Lord as to the body. Whereas. Without his body, the cup must be his blood, and as well you make his body in the cup, as his blood in the bread.

Then my lord rook up, and went to the table, where the lord mayor defined me to faw my foul. To whom I answered, I hoped it was fawed through Christ Jesus, defining him to have pity on my foul, and remember whose body he was carried.

On which I was carried into the garden, and there abide till the rest of my friends were examined, and then we went away to Newgate with many foul farewells, my lord bishop giving the keeper a charge to lay me in limbo.

Second Examination of Robert Smith, before Bishop Bonner.

UPON Saturday, at eight o'clock, I was brought to his chamber again, and there examined by him as follows:

Bonner. Thou Robert Smith, &c. fayest that there is no catholic church here on earth.

Smith. You have heard me both speak the contrary, and you have writing as a witness of the same.

Bonner. Yes, but I must ask this question: how fayest thou?

Smith. Must you of necessity begin with a lie? It makes manifest that you determine to end with the same. But there shall no liar enter into the kingdom of God. Nevertheless, if you will be answered, ask mine at all that were written by Jesus his purpose, he began to you that I have confessed a church of God, as well in earth as in heaven, and yet all one church, and one man's members, even Christ Jesus.

Bonner. Well, what fayest thou to the confessor? Is it not necessary to be used in Christ's church? and wilt thou not be confounded by the priest?

Smith. It is not needful to be used in Christ's church, at I answered yesterday. But if it be needful for your church, it is to pick men's pockets; and such pick-pockets matters is all the whole rabble of your ceremonies: for all that you maintain is but money-matters.

Bonner. Why, how art thou able to prove that this is a pick-pocket matter? Art thou not ashamed to say so?

Smith. I speak by experience: for I have both heard and seen the fruits of the same. For first it hath been, we, a betrayer of king's secrets, and the secrets of other men's confidences; who being delivered, and glad to be discharged from their fins, have given great sums of money to priests to abolish them, and ling maffes for their souls' health.

And for example, I began to bring in a pageant, that by report was played at St. Thomas of Acres, and where I was when a child, waiting on a gentleman of Norfolk, which had being bound in confidence, through the pollution of the place, and the great want of his goods, and forgave unto one Mr. Greffham a large sum of money, and to another as much. The priest for his part had a good hope, and the house had an annuity to keep him: which thing when his brother heard, he came to London; and after a declaration made to the council, how by the rubbly of the priest he had robbed his wife and children, recovered a great part or him, to the value of two or three hundred pounds of Mr. Greffham and his other friend; but what he gave to the house could not be told.

This story I began to tell; but when my lord faw it favored not, he began to revile me, and faid, By the mafs, if the queen's majesty were of my mind, thou shouldst not come to talk before any man, but shouldst be put in a pack, with a dog in the same, and be thrown into a river.

Smith. I know you speak by practice, as much as by speculation, for both you and your predecesor have sought all possible means to kill Christ secretly: witness Mr. Hunne, whom your predecesor caused to be thrut in the name with hot burning needles, and then to be hanged, and gave out that it wasf the said Hunne hanged himself: and also a good brother of yours, a bishop of your prohibition, having in his prison an innocent man, whom, because he could not overcome by scripture, he caused to be privately strangled, and his flesh to be torn and plucked away with a pair of pincers; and bringing him before the people, laid, the rats had eaten him. Thus, according to your oath, is all your dealing, and hath been; and as you, taking upon you the office, do not without oaths open your mouth, no more do you without murder maintain your traditions.

Bonner. Ah, you are a generation of liars; there is not one true sentence come out of your mouth.

Smith. Yes, my lord, I have said that Jesus Christ is dead for my sins, and riven for my justification, and this no lie.

Then Bonner made his man to put in my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and would have me recite Aginon: which when I would not do, he made his man to put in such fums as he imagined. At the end of this fir John Mordaunt came in, and sat down to hear my examination. Then said my lord, How fayest thou, Smith, to the seven sacraments? Believed thou not that they be of God's order, that is to say, the sacrament of &c.

Smith. I believe that in God's church are but two sacraments, that is to say, the sacrament of regeneration, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper and as for the sacrament of the altar, and all your sacraments, they may well serve your church, but God's church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I any tising to do to answer them, nor you to examine me of them.

Bonner. Why, is God's order changed in baptism?

In what point do we differ from the word of God?

Smith. As in washing, in hallowing your water; in conjunction of the same; in baptizing children with anointing and anointing, with oil, and with many other lewd ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in God's order.

Bonner. By the na, this is the most unface-faced heretic that ever I heard speak.

Smith. Well sworn, my lord, you keep a good watch.

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, you catch me at my words: but I will watch thee as well, I warrant thee.

By my truth, my lord, said fir John Mordaunt, I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you, my lord, mark well his answer for baptism. He did all, both within and without, with all his words, with all his speech, with all his word, and I think thee true. Smith. That is a shameful blasphemy against Christ, to use any mingled mangle in baptizing young infants.

Bonner. I believe, I tell thee, that if they die before they be baptized, they are damned.

Smith. You shall not either be haled by that belief. But I pray you, my lord, faw me, were we fawed by water, or by Christ?

Bonner. By both.

Smith. Then the water died for our sins: and so must you fay, and so must your law, and so must our law, and it being our servant, and created for us, is our Saviour. This, fir lord, is a good desiring, is it not?

Bonner. Why, how underfalse to the scriptures? "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." And again, "Suffer (faith our Saviour) these children to come unto me: and if any hinder them they willeth them to come unto Christ.

Smith. Where you allege fir John, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." And will thereby prove the water to fave, and fo the deed or work to fave and put away sins,

I will tend you fto fir Paul, who affir of the Galatians, "Whether they received the Spirit by the deeds of the law, or by the preaching of faith?" and there conclude, that the Holy Ghost accompagnieth the preaching.
of faith, and with the word of faith entereth into the heart. So now if baptism preach to me the washing in Christ's blood, doth the Holy Ghost accompany it, and it is unto me as a preacher and not a Saviour. And where you say, I hinder the children to come unto Christ, it is done by our Saviour's words that you hinder them to come, that will not suffer them to come unto him without the necessity of water. For he suffer, suffer them to come unto me, and not unto the water; and therefore if you condemn them, you condemn both the merits and works of Christ. For our Saviour faith, "Except ye turn and become as children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God." And so I brought out many other examples, to make manifest that Christ hath cleansed original sin, bringing in examples out of the Scripture in fine the matter.

Boner. Then thou makest the water of none effect, then put away water.

Smith. "It is not (faith St. Peter) the washing away of the filth of the flesh, but in that a good conscience canstest unto God." And to prove that water only bringeth not the Holy Ghost, it is written in Acts viii., that Simon received water, but would have received the Holy Ghost for money. Also, that the Holy Ghost hath come before baptism. Yea, and therefore I turned his words upside down, yet must his church keep the same in that order which he left them, which his church dare not break; and to judge children damned that be not baptized.

Boner. By our lady, sir, but I believe that if my child die without water, he is damned.

Smith. Yea, and so do I, and all catholic men, good Mr. Mordaunt.

Smith. Well, my lord, such catholic, such salvation.

Boner. Well, sir, what say you to the sacrament of orders?

Smith. You may call it the sacrament of mis-orders: for all orders are appointed of God. But as for your saying that he confests to the Holy Ghost, there are no such things appointed in God's book, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, if you had grace and intelligence, you would not to dispute yourself as you do.

Boner. Sayeth thou so? Now, by my troth, I will go make myself to anger thee withal; and so he sent for his barber, who immediately came: and before my face at the door of the next chamber, he thaved himself, defining me before he went, to answer to these articles.

Boner. What force you to holy bread and holy water, to the sacrament of anointing, and to all the rest of such ceremonies as the church?

Smith. I say they trouble for fools to play withal, and not for the children of God to exercise themselves in, and therefore they may, greasing, poling, and rounding, there are no such things appointed in God's book, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, if you had grace and intelligence, you would not to dispute yourself as you do.

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The left Examination of Mr. Robert Smith.

The 17th of July I was with my brethren brought into the confiratory, and mine articles read before my lord mayor and theirfillis, with all the affiffiants to which I answered, as followeth.

Bonner. By my faith, my lord mayor, I have showed him as much favor as any man living might do: but I have called, both in him and all his company.

At this word, which he coupled with an oath, Mr. Smith came in, and said to the bishop. My lord, it is written, "You must not wear."

Bonner. Ah, Mr. Controller, are you come? Lo, my lord mayor, this is Mr. Speaker, pointing to my brother Tankerfield; and this is Mr. Controller, pointing to me.

And then beginning to read my articles, he perverted till he came at my name of the gentleman of Norfolk, and then demanded of my lord mayor, if he heard of the same before.

To which he answered, No. To whom I said: Smith. My lord mayor, will it please you to hear me recite it, as I heard it, and told, and then you shall hear the truth? For this tale that my lord hath told is untrue.

Bonner. How say you, good Mr. Mordaunt, speak he not this here as it is written? Were you not by? Mordaunt. Yes, my lord, that it is: I heard him so.

Smith. How heard you me say it, and were not present when I spake it? It is manifestly proved what the prophet faith: "Even as the king faith, so faith the judge, that he may do him a pleasure again."

And then my jauror was brought out for proof thereof, whereupon distinctly pronounced that neither Mr. Mordaunt nor the doctors before-mentioned, were present when I spake it.

At which Mr. Mordaunt, with blushing cheeks, said, he heard them read, and heard me affirm the same; which all was not true. Then my lord proceeded with the rest of his articles demandingly, which I said I saw not as was written. To which I answered, No. And tuning to my lord mayor, I said, I require you, my lord mayor, in God's behalf, unto whom pertaineth your justice and judgise, that I may here before your presence answer to these objections that are laid against me, and have probations of the same; and if any thing that I said, or will say, be proved (as my lord faith) hereby, I shall not only with all my heart forsake the same, and cleave to the truth, but also recant wheresoever you shall affiff me, and all this audience shall be witness to thine.

Lord Mayor. Why, Smith, thou canst not deny but this thou saidst.

Smith. Yes, my lord, I deny that which I hath written, because he hath both added to, and diminished from the same: but what I have spoken I will never deny.

Lord Mayor. Why, thou spakest against the blessed fundament of the altar.

Smith. I denied it to be any sacrament, and do said here to make probation of the same; and if my lord mayor be able to prove either the name or usage of the same, I will recant mine error. Then spake my brother Tankerfield, and defended the probations of things which they called hereby. To which the bishop answered,

By my truth, Mr. Speaker, you shall preach at a stake.

Smith. Well sworn, my lord, you keep a good watch.

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, I am no saint.

Smith. Nay, your grace, it be not so.

For a bishop, faith St. Paul, should be faultless, and a vessel dedicated unto God; and are you not ashamed to fit in judgment and be a blasphemer, condemning innocents? Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, you are faultless.

Smith. My lord mayor, I require you in God's name, to perform the laws of God. We be here to-day and many innocents wrongfully accused of hereby.

And I require you, if you will not seem to be partial, let me have the same answer faith St. Paul. I should be afraid of the apostle had at the hands of Felix and Agrippa, who being heathens and infidels, gave him leave not only to speak for himself, but also heard the probations of his cause. This require I at your hands, who being a churlish and a deaf judge, will by which the heathen have suffered: if you do, then shall all this audience, yes, and the heathen, speak shame of your fact. For all that do well come to the light, and they that do evil hate the light.

Then after the bishop had turned his head, said nothing, but the bishop told me, I should preach at the stake, and to the fieriff cried with the bishop, away with me.

Thus came I in before them four times, defining justice, but could have none: and at length my friends required the bishop, the mayor, and the controller, to set me free; to which I had sentence; and then being carried out, were brought in again, and received it separarcty. But before the bishop gave me sentence, he told me in derision of my brother Tankerfield, a tale between a gentleman and his cook. To which I answered, Mr. Lord, you fill the people's ears with lantafies and foolish tales, and make a laughing matter at blood; but if you were a true bishop, you should leave these railing sentences, and speak the words of God. Bonner. Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, Mr. Speaker, your companion the cook, that my chancellor should here instruct him, but he hath with great dilatatio refused it. How sayest thou, wilt thou have him instruct thee, and lead thee into the right way?

Smith. My lord, if your chancellor will do me any good, and take any pains, as you say, let him take mit a: so we had sentence; and then being carried out, were brought in again, and received it separarcty. But before the bishop gave me sentence, he told me in derision of my brother Tankerfield, a tale between a gentleman and his cook. To which I answered, Mr. Lord, you fill the people's ears with lantafies and foolish tales, and make a laughing matter at blood; but if you were a true bishop, you should leave these railing sentences, and speak the words of God.

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, now you cannot say, but I have offered you fair, to have infraction. And now, I pray thee, call me bloody Bishop, and fak, I took thy blood.

Smith. Well, my lord, if neither I nor any of this congregation do report the truth of your fact, yet shall thence flowers cry it out, rather than it shall be hidden.

Bonner. Away with him, away with him.

Woodrofe. Away with him, take him away.

Smith. Well, good friends, you have seen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and you are all witnesses that we have defied the probations of our cause by God's book, and it hath not been granted: but we are condemned, and our cause not heard. Nevertheless, my lord mayor, forasmuch as you have here exercised God's word caustic, and will not hear the right of the poor, I commit my cause to Almighty God, who will judge all men according to right, before whom we shall both stand without authority; and there I stand in the right, and have judgment, to your great confession, except you repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it be his will. And then I wish the rest of my brethren carried away to Newgate.

Thus, gentle reader, as near as I can, I have set forth the truth of my examination, and the verity of mine unjuft condemnation for the truth, praying to God that it may not be laid to the charge of me that was asking for a prayer to God for his grace and spirit of boldness, with hope even fieriffly to set to my seat.
at Uxbridge the 8th day of Auguft, by God's grace: pray that it may be to his honour, my salvation, and your conflation, I pray you.

Da gloriam Deo.

ROBERT SMITH.

Thus art thou (good reader) not only to note, but also to fow in this man a fingular example of christian fortitude, who fo valiantly fcond in defence of his master's caufe; and as thou felt him here boldly fland in examination before the bishop and doctors; fo was he no lefs comfortable also in the prifon among his companions: which alfo is to be obferved no lefs in his other fellow-prifoners, who being together in an outward room in Newgate, had godly conference with themselves, with daily praying and public reading, which they to their great comfort ufed in that room together; among whom Smith was the chief; whose industry was always fo licentious, not only for them of his own company, but alfo his diligence was careful for other prifoners, whom he endeavoured not to diftract from their old accustomed iniquity; and many he converted to his religion. While he was in prifon he wrote feveral letters to his friends, fome in verfe, and others in profe. And the firft are in verfe as follow.

LETTER I.

"O ye that love the Lord, fee that ye hate the thing that is evil."

The God that giveth life and light, And leaders into red. That breaketh bonds, and bringeth out The poor that are oppreffed: And keepeth mercy for the weak, His treafure and his flore: Increafe thy life in perfect love, Both now and for evermore. That thou hast begun to ground In faith and fervent love, Then ma'y be made a mighty mount, That never may remove. That thine enempal may be frowed Among all thine increafe; That they may live and learn the like, And pafs their time in peace. Thy afflictions that were lent, I heartily return: And fend thee seventy times as much, To thee and thine again. And now becaufe I know the goal, That thou loft molt define: I fend thee here a paper full, As fixed in the fire. In hope thou wilt accept it well, Although it be but small; Becaufe I have no other good, To make amendments withal. For all thy free and friendly farts, Which thy good will hath wrought, I fend thee freely for string. The thing that cost me naught. Affrays from all ungodlines, In gear direct your days: Pouff not not fin in any wife. Beware of wicked ways, Hold fast thy faith indiftantly; Build as you have begun: And arm yourself in perfect faith, To do as ye have done: Left that the wicked make a mock. At what ye take in hand, In leaving of the perfect rock, To build upon the fiad. Beware of filthy Pharifies, Their building is in blood: But not with them in any wife. Their heaven is not good. Their falt is all unfoory: And under God occult. They maintain all their knavery, And murder innocents. They feek to fit in Chrift his fear, And put him out of place; And make all mean that may be made, His doings to defeace. They keep him down with bills and bars, That made the blind to fee: They make a god for mice and rats, And fay the fame is his.

They look like steep, and half like wolves, Their haits be all for blood: They kill and lay the simple fools, And rob them of their good.
The dark illufions of the devil Have dimmed to their eyes, That they cannot abide the truth To flir in any wife. And if ye keep the perfect path, (As I have hope you do) Ye fhall be sure to have fchem fame As they may put you to. For all that lead a godly life, Shall surely fuffer loss: Likewife the world will fearch their fame, And make them kind the crouching. Ye fhall be killed all, faith Chrift: Your forrowes fhall not ceafe: And yet in your affitations I am your perfect peace. For in the world ye fhall have woes, Because ye are unknown: Also becaufe ye hate the world, The world will love his own. Be fervent therefore to the death, Against all their decrees; And God fhall surely fight for thee, Against thine enemies. Commit your cause unto the Lord, Revenge not any ill; And thou fhalt fee the wicked want, When thou fhalt have thy will. For all affitations that may fall, That they can fay or do: They are not fure of all the wealth, That we attain unto. For I have feen the finners spread Their branches like a bay; And yet one could turn his head, Were wither'd clean away. Beware that money make you not In riches to anke. Against the goodnefs of the Lord, Among the worldly wife. For many merchifts it hath made, That may not be exprefs'd; And many ils it hath begun, Which may not be reddifh'd. For money maketh many a one In riches to rebel, And he that maketh gold a god, He hath a foul to fall. It maketh kings to king and lay, And waife their wins in war; In leaving of the well at home, To hunt the fox afar. And where they fhould fee justice done, And let their reams in red; By money they be made a means To fee the poor oppreff. It maketh lords obey the laws, That they do ill and not taught: It maketh bishops flick the blood, That God hath dearly bought. And where they fhould be faithful friends, And fathers to their flock, By money they do turn about, Es' a weather-cock. The priefl doth make a money mean, To have again his whores, To put away his wedded wife, And children out of doors. It holdeth back the husbandman, Which may not be forborne; And will not fuffer him to low, And call abroad his corn. In like cafe it doth let again, When that the feed they fow, It cheweth up the corn again, So that it cannot grow. The husband he would have a wife, With nobles new and old; The wife would have the husband hang’d, That the might have his gold. It maketh inuchiua many a one, And beareth much with blood: The child would fee the parents fain, To fee upon their blood. And though it be a bleffed thing, Created in the kind, It is a necfuful ill. Annexed to the mind. For whole playeth with the pitch, His fingers are deftit."
ROBERT SMITH'S Exhortation to his Children.

For you and all that are at large
Abroad among the briers,
Be friendly to the faithless and
And all that are opprobri,
Afflict them always out of hand,
And see them feed,
In all your dealings and your deeds,
Let mercy still remain;
For with the measure that you mete,
Shall ye be met again.
Be always lowly in your life;
Let love enjoy her own:
The highest trees are felled first,
And soonest overthrown.
The lions lack and suffer sore,
In hunger and in thirst;
And they that do oppress the poor,
Continue still accrue.
The bee is but a little beast
Is body or in flight,
And yet the bringeth more increafe
Than either crow or graze.
Therefore beware in any wife,
Keep well your watch alway:
Be sure of all within your lamp;
Let not your light decay,
For death delpheth them that lack,
And hatcheth them that have;
And reduceth down the rich and poor
Together in the grave.
Exhort your children to be chaste,
Rebuke them for their life,
And let them not in any wife
Be wedded to their will.
Laugh not with them, but keep them low,
Shew them no merry cheer,
Let them do weep with them also;
But bring them up in fear.
And be your children living blame,
That ye be not suspected
To have the same within yourself,
For which they are corrected.
Be secret and modest, in a mean
Let all your deeds be done,
That they which are without the law
May see how right ye run.
Keep well the member in your mouth,
Your tongue keep that ye taste;
For out of little sparks of fire
Proceedeth forth a flame.
And a foolish word doth express
The nature of the toad;
Ev'n the tongue doth manifest
The heart that feareth God;
For they which fear God above,
And therewith curze we men;
And thereby murders do arise,
Through women now and then,
And seeing God hath giv'n a tongue,
And put it under power,
The best way it is, to set
A hatch before the door.
For God hath fet you in a seat
Of double low degree;
Fell into God, and thine to man,
A subject for to be.
I were not that I fee in you
Those things to be forfeited,
But only bet before your face,
How sin should be corrected.
For flesh and blood I know ye are,
As other women be;
And ye dwell in flesh and blood,
There is insufficiency.
Receive a warning willingly,
That to thy teeth is told:
Account the gift of greater price
Then if he gave thee gold.
A wise man will, faith Solomon,
A warning from embrace:
A fool will learn (as he faith)
Be smitten on the face.
And all your members must be dead
From all those things that are vain;
Ev'ry foolish baptism ye are born
To live with Christ again.
This forswear thee and faithful friend:
The Lord that is above
Instruct thee a perfect faith,
And lead thee in his love.
And I pray with perfect love,
And pour out bitter tears.

L E T T E R II.

The Exhortation of Robert Smith to his Children commonly set forth in the Name of Mr. Rogers.

GIVE ear, my children, to my words,
Whom God hath dearly bought:
Lay up my law within your heart,
And print it in your thought.
For your father have foreseen
The frail and filthy way,
Which flesh and blood would follow, 
Even to their own decay,
For all and every living baft
Their crib do know full well;
But Adam's heirs above the rest,
Are ready to rebel:
And all the creatures on the earth
Full well can keep their way:
But man, above all other beasts,
Is apt to go astray.
For earth and aunts is his strength,
His glory and his reign;
And unto ahes at the length,
Shall he return again.
For flesh doth flourish like a flower,
And grow up like the grass;
And at ye would that other men
As kindle ye should proceed;
Do ye the same again to them
When they do fland in need.
And part your portion with the poor,
In money and in meat;
And feed the fainted feeble soul,
With that which ye should eat.
That ye scatter not your body's meat,
And clothing to your back,
Ye may the better think on them
That now do live and lack.
Aft counsel alfo at the wife,
Give ear unto the end:
Refute ye all sweet rebuke
Of him that is your friend.
Be thankful always to the Lord,
With prayer and with praise:
Define ye him in all your deeds,
For to direct your ways:
And sin not like that swinish fort,
Whole bodies being fed,
Consume their years upon the earth
From belly unto bed.
Seek firft, I say, the living God;
Set him always before;
And then be sure that he will blest
Your benefic and your lore.
And thus if you direct your days
According to this book,
Then shall they lay that fee your ways,
How like me ye do look.
And when you have so perfectly
Upon your fingers ends,
Polluted all within your book;
Then give it to your friends,
And belee the living God,
Inhealthly you in place;
That I may have you in the heavens;
And see you face to face.
And though the fcoed have cut me off,
Contry to me shall decree,
That I could not enjoy your love,
According to my mind;
Yet do hope when the heaven's
Shall vanaf like a scole,
I shall receive your perfect shape,
In body and soul.
And that I may enjoy your love,
And you enjoy the land,
I do direct the living God
To hold you in his hand.
Farewell, my children, from the world,
My children and my friends:
I hope God to see you all
When all things have their ends.
And if you do abide in God,
As you have now begun;
Your course I warrant shall be short,
Ye have not far to run.
God grant you to end your years
As he shall think it befit?
That ye may enter into heaven's,
Where I do hope to reft.

L E T T E R III.
To his Brother.

As nature doth me bind,
Because thou art my blood,
According to my kind,
To give thee of my good,
That thou mayhbe have in mind,
How I have run my race,
Although thou mayhbe behind
But for a little space.
I give thee here a pearl,
The price of all my good,
For which I leave my life,
To buy it with my blood.
More worth than all the world,
Or more than I can note;
Although it be becoyed,
In such a simple coat.
For when I had obtain'd
This pearl of such a price,
Then was I fure I gain'd
The way for to be wife.
It taught me how to fight,
My flesh for to defend,
To tick unto the light,
Alfo to leave the las.
To be brought up in fear,
And learn the A B C.
That the may grow in grace,
And ruled by the rod:
To learn and lead her life
Within the fear of God.
And always in unind,
Thy brother being dead,
That thou art left behind
A father in my stead.
And thou, my brother dear,
Who art my mother's son,
Come forth out of all fear,
And do as I have done.
And God shall be thy guide,
And give thee such increas,
That in the flames of fire
Thou shalt have perfect peace.
Into eternal joy,
And pass out of all pain;
Where we shall meet with mirth,
And never part again.

If thou wilt do my daughter good,
Be mindful of thy brother's blood

Written at the Request of a Lady in her Book.

I
If you will walk the way
That Christ hath you assigned,
Then learn this little verse,
Which I have left behind.
Be fervent in the night,
Although it bear the blame;
Let us apply your youth,
To flock unto the same.
That when old age is come,
And death begins to call,
The truth may be your staff,
To lay you up within.
And though it bring rebuke,
And make you kiss the crofs,
Yet is it a reward
To all that suffer loss.
For here we do lay out
The things that be but vain;
But we are sure to reap
The things that do remain.
For all that ye do lose,
Is but a sinful time,
And like unto a robe
That tarryeth but a time.
But if ye carry Christ,
And walk the perfect way,
Ye shall possess the gold,
That never shall decay.
And all your father's goods
Shall be your recompence,
If ye confess the word
With double diligence.
Not only for to hear
His pure and perfect word,
But also to embrace
The fire and the sword.
And if ye keep this path,
And do not run a crook,
Then shall ye meet the man
That wert this in your book,
In that eternal joy,
That always shall remain:
Thus farewell, faithful friend,
Till we do meet again.

Legen Poet.

T
EACH me, O Lord, to walk thy ways,
My living to amend,
And I shall keep it all my days,
Even to my life's end.
Give me a mind to understand,
So shall I never slant:
But I shall keep all thy precepts,
E'en wholly with my heart.
Make me to go a perfect pace
In what I have begun:
For all my love and my delight
Is in thy ways to run,
Incline my heart unto thy ways,
Set thou thereon my thought:
And let me not confound my days,
To covet what is naught.
O quicken me in all thy ways,
The world now to despise:
And from all fast and foolish toys, from their robber fulness, from their rabbit full, from their builder full. Their false fulness shall then be blotted upon the face of the earth, covered of God. The full shall fall for this be glad, and may. For the weak shall stand up and the lowly shall be raised up and the strong be thrown down. Their curse of the fearful feed of Cain tremble and quake. Then thus at the mocking of God. He shall call out of the same for the poor shall be pleased with his favours, as to bring their enemies under their feet. He shall condemn the full and the fearful feed of Cain tremble and quake. Then shall the best part of the loaves trodden under foot. \( \text{He shall the scribes and pharisees make} \) madly fret and rage. Then shall the blind be enlightened and the darkness of his prey. Then shall the whores of Babylon receive no vengeance. Then shall they scratch their crown for the full. Then shall they see from them needy and hungry. No man will buy their wares any more. Then shall they be prepared. All will care, even when the Lord shall be delivered and no one else has been delivered. Thus shall he judge both the quick and the dead at the last day; and until that time occupiers the blest body none other place to dwell. The gambling house shall be to him to be burned, and the heavens, even in the glorious Majesty of God, perfectly resting there in the holy, not coming down from thence till the last day. The naked and the poor, he never clothe, and the naked, he never leave the nakedness of man; his body three hard hewn stones, he that is with the heaven. In the name of Chrif Jefus, he is that is the propitiation for our life. He is he that is in the right way. He is the right way. He is be divided further. He writeth the one with the other inexcusable. As he will not alter the substance of his faith into the substance of his falseness, he is not to be deceived into the form of bread. There cannot be a greater ability against the truth, than to think that he would leave the hope, that he took from the virgin's womb, being an accident unto his manhood, and join unto the same a water cake baked in is own, or between a pair of iron. As he is in heaven our man, but only mediator between God and man, even the man Chrif Jefus, he is that is the propitiation for our life. He be hold therefore, to confess this full pure and apostolic doctrine against all the world, and for the elect only by him. He only of the God the Father was made for us all virtuous, righteous, sanctification, and regeneration. The gifts of God, he gives us by Chrif Jefus, God and man, through faith in his blood, and not by the merits of men; gifts they are, I am, freely given unto us of favour, without our defect, by believing and not by deserving. To the do the law of God. This doctrine have all the blessed martyrs of Chrif's church witnessed. This witness is not of man, but of God. What better guard then can ye have to give your lives less than the truth itself? That man that gives his life for the truth, taketh the readiness to life. He that hath the part the care for the truth, is bare of Chrif's bleeding. Well, my brethren, what shall now hinder you from going forward as ye have begun? Nay, rather run with the runners, that ye may obtain the appointed glory. Hold on the right way. Be not back; have the eye of your heart fixed upon God, and in run, that ye may get hold of it. Call away all your worldly pelts and all your false gods. As you are bidden with the leg of that heavenly creature I look for, let all those be denied, and utterly refused of you, that in no condition they do abate your zeal, or quench the spirit of your heat. This call is not the call of their own, but rather requite them as vile in comparison of everything life. Away with them as thorns that choke the heavenly food of spiritual ignorance and taste. What is the more, differen and lesse degrees of the flesh, which embarce the fool. Exchange them therefore for advantage. Doth not he gain, that findeth heaven an immortality, an inheritance, a possession for ever, that can give to that man any thing, who is forsaken of his carnal father and mother, when he is received of God the Father, to be his child and heir in Chrif? Heavenly for earthly, immortality, for nature?
LETTERS written by Mr. ROBERT SMITH.

No. 24.

LETTER V.

From Mr. ROBERT SMITH to his WIFE.

The God and Father eternal, who brought again from death our Lord Jesus Christ, keep thee, dear wife, now and ever, Amen; thy parents, and all thy friends. I praise God for his mercy to thee, and for all thy deliverances. It is not in, rather than better than worke, looking daily for the living God, wherefore I hunger full fore to appear, and receive the glory, of which I trust thou wilt be more than a partaker. I give God most hearty thanks therefore, deiring thee of all things, for all that I have in that faith which thou hast received; and let no man take away the gift that Almighty God hath foun in thee, but lay hands on everlasting life what soevell I have ever alide, when both the earth and all earthly friends shall perish, deiring them also to receive thankfully our trouble which is momentary and light, and as St. Paul saith, the light of this life, which passeth away in this world; and by those fruitfull things which God hath prepared for us; that we patiently caruging our crovs, may attain to the place where our Saviour Christ is gone before us, and in which we may have this mercy bring us speedily. I have been much troubled about our deliverance, fearing much the persuasions of worldlings, and have found a friend, who will (I trust) find a means for us, if you be not already provided, deiring you in any case to whole foch order, as thode my frinds shall appoint in God. And bear well in mind the words which I spake at our parting, that as God hath found us, and also elected us as worthy to fuffer for him, we may endeavour ourselves to follow uprightly in this our vocation, deiring you to present my hearty commendations to all our friends, and especially to thoe of the household, and the seamen in cloath with my wife, and all the rest of my friends. Make most hearty thanks to my friend, who is come to Windsor only for our caufe. Continue in prayer, as I have instructed you. Young ones must be under the fear of damnations. Keep yourselves clean from sin. Pray for me, as I do for you. I have fent you a piece of gold for a token, and may intirely deiring you to send me word if you lack any thing. The Lord Jesus preserve you and your, Amen. From Newgate, April 15.

By your husband here and in heaven,

ROBERT SMITH.

The said Robert Smith, the valiant and constant martyr of Christ, being thus repleted, as ye have heard, of God's especial Spirit, was condemned at London by Bonner their bishop, on the 12th day of July; and suffered at Uxbridge the 5th day of August; as he had been before a confortable instrument of God to all them that were in prison with him; now also beholding at the flake, he did not look at them comfort the people, there standing about him, willing to think well of his cause, and not to doubt but that his body dying in that quarel, shoule rise again to life. And, said he, I doubt not but God will shew you some token thereoff. At length he being well unhurt, and turned to his wife, as in a lump like a black coal, all men thinking him for dead, suddenly rote upright before the people, lifting up the fumps of his arms, and clapping the same together, declaring a rejoicing heart unto them; and so bending down again, and laying over the fire, slept in the Lord, and ended this mortal life.
LETTER VI.
From Mr. Smith to his WIFE.

Seek first to love God, dear wife, with your whole heart, and then shall it be easy to love your neighbour. Be friendly to all creatures, and especially to your own soul. Be always an enemy to the devil and the world, but especially to your own flesh. In hearing of good things, join the ears of your head and hearing of evil, the ears of your feet.

Seek unity and quietness with all men, but especially with your confidences; for it will not be easily interested. Love all people, but especially your enemies. Pray for the flesh that is perished, but especially for its clothes to come. Be as ready to further your enemy, as he is to hinder you, that you may be a child of God.

Dearly not that which Christ hath cleansed, left his blood be laid to your charge. Remember that God hath hewed in your tongue with the teeth and lips, that it might speak under correction. Be ready at all times to look at brother's eye, but especially in your own eye: for he that warneth others of what he himself is guilty, doth give his neighbour the clear wine, and keepeth the dregs to himself. Beware of riches and worldly honour; for without understanding, prayer, and fasting, it is a furnace, and also poverty, all which are like to a consuming fire, of which if a man take a little, it will warm him, but if he take too much, it will consume him. For it is hard for a man to carry fire in his bosom, and not be burnt.

Shew mercy to the faints for Christ's sake, and Christ shall reward you for the faints' sake. Among other disorders visit his only child, as it is included in a perilous prison. If you will love God, hate evil, and you shall obtain the reward of well-doing.

The grace of Almighty God be with you, and comfort, strength, and establish you in all things, and what his blessed will is, you may follow faithfully, to his honour, your comfort, and your own salvation, and the good example of our Most High Father.

I have received your letter, and I praiie God, without any danger: nevertheless, if God's marvellous goodness had not appeared yesterday by Peter, the king may not have had great trouble upon the fame. For you well know, George is a wicked man, utterly without all fear of God; and if he had gotten the castle unseasonably, there might have been a rise of a great fire upon the town. But Peter, like an honest man, never opened it. Wherefore I desire you from henceforth, let your letters be delivered at Chancery-lane end, to my fellow Tankerfield, and the may deliver them safe into my hand. We are very strictly kept, I praiie God for his mercy. Nevertheless, Almighty God is always with us. I have sent you what you wrote for. The two nutmegs that should have gone by Nicholas to our friends, I send now, and desire them to accept as a poor prisoner's gift, until God give more largely. If you send a penny to me, I shall send you a penny, and represent it my own. The Lord Jesus have you in his censury, and send you good speed. In any case you will not find me so indifferent to your letters, as that the next corner shall bring up the epistle and exhortation.

I have written this for the want of you, and am almost done nothing else. I would have sent you the articles of William Flower, and my talk with him, if I could have delivered it from the Duke of Richmond. The Holy Ghost be with you. I wish you could make a means for your money, to send a cheque to Peter, for I find much kindness at his hands. You shall always hear of me at Tankerfield's house. All the congregation salute you. Farewell most heartily.

I have not yet, tell my brother, speak with the parson. There is come a fresh commandment, that no man must come to us, because Toooley curfied the pope at the gallows. They say it to be our counsel. Your's, and ever your's,

ROBERT SMITH.

LETTER VII.
From the SAME to the SAME.

GRACE, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from Jesus Christ, be with you, dear wife, much as Christ hath given you. Amen, and prevent your ways much to the end that you may effect evil to his honour, and your salvation. For your consolation may it be that all things can do the like, even to the utter frame and confusion of the world and ungodly, Amen.

To Mr. Alexander a purse with many. In certain tokens for you, sent by my fellowship-prisoners to this end, is, from Mr. Haukes, 12d. from Mr. Simpson, 12d. wife ad. from Mr. Watts, five new groats; from Mr. Brad, 12d. from Mr. Brad, 12d. which are all on good death, except Mr. Bradford, who still remain. This also gone to deathNicholas Chamberlain, Thomas Good, and William Bandford. There is also commended the Rev. Mr. Dickar Carver, Thomas Itefon, John Lander, and Val ley is reprieved. Pray God to have mercy upon them, and bid your brother, if he can conveniently, come over Monday next; if he cannot do well, let him only write. I commend me heartily to your parents. I have sent them a token, a bowed groat, and desire them for God's sake help us with their prayers. Have little or much, I commend to me all good friends. Continue in prayer, bare of vanity. Let not God be dishonoured in your nation, but like a good master, keep your prayers in hand. The peace of God remain with you for ever, Amen.

Your brother,

ROBERT SMITH.

LETTER IX.
From Mr. Smith to his FRIEND.

The eternal God keep you in his fear. I have commendations to you and your husband, being Almighty God to pray for you in well-doing, and is knowledge of his Christ, that you may be found faithful to the day of the Lord. I have heard say, that my feet give me occasion of sin; it breaketh my heart not only that he doth, but also teacheth them to do it. Bring up your children and yourselves in the fear of God, and then I shall not fail to receive you together in the everlasting kingdom of God, which I go unto.

Your husband,

ROBERT SMITH.

CONTEN'T.
From Mr. Smith to all the faithful SERVANTS of CHRIST, exhorting them to be strong under Persecution.

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Your husband,

ROBERT SMITH.
MARTYRDOM of STEPHEN HARWOOD, and THOMAS FUST.

BUT this time also died these two martyrs of God, Stephen Harwood at Stratford, and Thomas at Ware. Who, as they were burnt much about some time (though not at the same place) with the restful Robert Smith and George Tankerfield, so also they likewise examined and openly condemned other with them: and as the proceedings against all were alike, I thought it needless to repeat the rest, only there is one thing more to be added concerning Thomas Futt, who at his last appearance on the 12th of July, being moved by the bishop to revoke his answer, answere thus: No, my lord, for no truth with your or any of his, but all lies; you condemn me, and will not hear the truth. Where can you find amusing or griefing in God's book? I speak not but the truth, and I am certain it is the truth I speak. This answer of Thomas Futt only, I find was delivered by the regifter; and how unfruitful these register have been, (I mean in omitting those things that are most worthy of note, in order to render the matters ridiculous to the people) is very evident in many cases of this history. But to be short, when they had dethis answer, both he and Stephen Harwood were, in their faithful performance, condemned by the bishop in his accouchit pig, to be burnt as heretics, I so (as you have heard before) they finished their martyrdom, the one at Stratford, and the other at Ware, the month of August, and year above said.

MARTYRDOM of WILLIAM HALE, at BARNET.

O the same company with those ten before recorded, who were sent to be burnt Bonner by sir Nicholas Ture and other commissioners, in the company of George Tankerfield and Robert Smith, was also William Hale, in the country of Thorp, who being examined with the rest, the 12th of July, saved with them also the sentence of condemnation; and when this exhortation withal to the lookers on: Ah, of people, said he, beware of this idolater, and this misbeliever (pointing to the bishop of London); and so was delivered to the sheriffs to be burnt as an heretic, to sent him to Barnet, where about the latter end of that he most constantly fed up his faith with the- maiming of his body by cruel fire, yielding his soul the Lord Jesus, his only and most pure Redeemer.

ACCOUNT of GEORGE KING, THOMAS LEYES, who died, and were buried in the Fields.

It was made before of ten persons sent out of Newgate by Mr. Hare and other commissioners, to be examined by Bonner, bishop of London: of which already have been executed in several places, as hath been shewed; whose names were Elizabeth Warn, George Aldridge, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas and William Hale. The other three, name George King, and Thomas Lyes and John Wade, fell in Lollard's Tower, were for some time without food or drink, but were removed into sundry houses within the city of London, and there died, and were thrown out into the street, and there buried in the night by some of the dogs of the place; when none in the daytime durst do Proper metum funerarium. The last three, remained this company aforesaid was Joan Layth, or the daughter-in-law of John Warn, and Elizabeth, martyrs: but because the was reprieved to another, his story and martyrdom we will defer till the next of January the next year following.

ACCOUNT of WILLIAM ANDREW.

He likewise catholic charity was also shewed upon William Andrew, of Horfield, in the county of Gloucester. He was a carpenter, who was brought to Newgate the first day of April, 1555, by John Motham, constable of Malden in Effex. The first and principal promoter of him was the lord Rich, who sent him first to prifon, also sir Richard Southwell, knight, was another great enemy to him, as appeareth by a letter written by Bonner, which he here followeth.

A LETTER

From Sir RICHARD SOUTHWELL to BONNER, BISHOP, of LONDON.

My lord, as your lordship under standeth, that the lord Rich did about seven or eight weeks past, find up unto the council of William Andrew, of Thorp, within the county of Efex, an informer herein. There plasfe was to command me to commit him to Newgate, where he resided; and as I am informed, hath infected a number in that prifon with his heresy, the same pleases us well if it please you to conven to him before you, and to take order with him as his case doth require. I know the council meant to have writ herein unto your lordship, but by occasion of other busines, the thing hath been omitted. Whith knowing their good pleasure, I did advise the keeper of Newgate to wait upon you with thefe few lines. And I do refer the ref to your virtuous consideration, I remain your lordship's to command, June 12, 1555.

RICHARD SOUTHWELL.

This William Andrew being twice examined before bishop Bonner, there manfully stood in defence of his religion. At length, by the severe usage he met with in Newgate prifon, he there lost his life, which otherwise would have been taken away by fire: and so after the popish manner, he was cast out into a field, and by night was privately buried by the hands of good men and faithful brethren.

The MARTYRDOM of ROBERT SAMUEL, MINISTER of BARFORD, in SUFFOLK.

Mr. Potter, a justice, dwelling at Coddock, near Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, being in continual hatred against the truth and the professors of the same, his contant thursts that night and day was how to bring those into thraldom and captivity, they were honest and piously inclined to religion: but whatsoever they were that once came into his claws, could not easily escape without long time or of loss of life, for greedy was he of blood. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one Samuel, in long Edward's days, a very godly and faithful preacher of God's word, who for his valiant and constant behaviour in his sermons, securish worth of high admiration. He was minister at Barford, in Suffolk, where he industriously and successfully taught the flock which the Lord had committed to his charge, so long as the time would suffer him to do his duty.

At last being removed from the ministry, and put from his benefice, (as many other good pastors were) when he could not avoid the raging violence of the time, yet would he not give up his charge for his flock, but would teach them privily by day and night, when he could not openly do so. At which time order was given by the queen, to be published by the commissioners, that all priests which had been married in King Edward's days, should lose away their wives from them, and be compelled to return again to their chastity and single life. This decree Mr. Samuel would not stand to, because he knew it not to be manfully wicked and abominable; but determining with himself, that God's laws were not to be broke for man's traditions, still kept his wife at Ipswich, and gave his diligence in the mean time to the instructing of others which were about him, as occasion served. At last Mr. Potter having intelligence hereof, being a great rooted in those parts, spared no time nor diligence, but quickly sent his spies abroad, laying close wait for Mr. Samuel, that if he came home to his wife at any time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to prifon.
In conclusion, when such as should betray him espied him at home with his wife, they brought word to the officer, who came to the house, and befez it with a great company, and to took him in the night; after three or four day's time, in fear or crowing and tumult, although good Mr. Samuel did not with stand them at all, but meekly yielded himself into their hands of his own accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipswich jail, where he tarried but a little time among his true brethren, as long as he was permitted to continue there. However, not long after, being taken from thence, he was carried (through the malice of the wicked fort) to Norwich, where Dr. Hoope, bishop of that diocese; and Dr. Dunning, were the chaplains, exercised great cruelty against him, as indeed they were men, in that time of persecution, as had not their matches for cruel tormenting the bodies of the martyrs among all the rest; and especially through the procuring of Dunning. For although the others were that enough in their generation yet, would they be satisfied with imprisonment and death, and could go no farther. Neither did I ever yet hear of any besides theirs, who so far exceeded all bounds of pity and compunction in tormenting their poor brethren, as this bishop did; in such fort, that many of them perceived, an alarm which was quite from the truth, and some from their wits also.

The bishop therefore, or else his chancellor, thinking that he might as easily prevail with Mr. Samuel, as he had done with the others before, kept him in a very close prison at his first coming; but he was chained bolt-upright to a great post, in such fort, that standing only on tip-toe, he was fain to flap up the whole post or weight of his body thereby. And to make amends for the cruelty or pain that he suffered, they added a far more outrageous tormenting him without meat or drink, whereby he was unmannerly vexed through hunger and thirst; saving that he had every day allowed him two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three spoonfuls of water, to the end rather that he might be referred to farther torment, than he would preserve his life. O worthy constancy of the martyr! O pitifuls hearts of papists, worthier to be complained of, and to be accused before God and nature! O the wonderful strength of Christ in his members! Whose heart, though it had been made of adamant stone, would not have relented at the intolerable vexations, and extreme pains above nature! How often would he have drunk his own water; but his body was so dried up with his long emptiness, that he was not able to make one drop. And when, when he was brought forth to be burned, which was but a trifle in comparison of those pains that he had pass'd, there were several that heard him declare what strange things had happened unto him during the time of his imprisonment; to wit, that after he had been famished or pined with hunger two or three days together, he then fell into a sleep, as it were one half in a flumber, at which time one clad all in white seem'd to stand before him, which administered comfort unto him by these words: "Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheer, and take a good heart unto thee. For after this day that I will neither hunger nor thirst for thee."

When he came to pass accordingly, for soon after he was burned, and from that time till he was sufferd, he felt neither hunger nor thirst. And this he declared, to the end as he said, that all men might behold the wondrous works of God. Many other matters concerning the great comfort he had of Christ in his afflictions he could utter, he said, besides this, that thamincedifics and modesty would not suffer him to utter it. And yet if it had pleased God, I wish he had been less modest in that behalf, but the love that Christ bore to his servants, might have the more appeared thereby unto us by such pious arguments, for the more plentiful comfort of the godly, though there be sufficient testimonies of the fame in the holy scriptures already.

No less memorable is it, and worthy also to be noted, concerning the three ladders, which he told to divers, he saw in his sleep set up towards heaven; of which there was one somewhat longer than the rest, but yet at least, they became one, joining (as it were) all things together. This was a forewarning revealed unto him, and doubtless the martyrdom first of himself, and the death of the infallible of his servants, which were brought forth and suffered in the same time about a long age. As this pious martyr was going to the field, a coarse maid came to him, and took him about the back and killed him, which being marked by them as a prodigy, was sought for the next day after by the prison and burned, as the very person herself informed me: however, as God of his goodness would have them escaped their fiery hands, keeping herself out of the town a good while after. But as this maid, and Ro Fetttingham, was marvellously preserved by a mystery of God; so there were other honest men that fell into the rage and fury of that time. One was a brewer's wife, the other was a flaxen wife, but both together now espoused to a new husband.

With these two this maid aforesaid was very kind and well acquainted, who on a time giving counsel one of them, that she should convey herself away, had the good time and space, seeing the could not away the queen's proceedings; had this answer at her last again, I know well, faith, that it is well else to fly in which remedy you may find if you please. But my calfe fainted otherwise. I am tired to be in band, and have besides young children at home; and then I know not how my husband, being a carver, will take my departure from him therefore I am minded to use the apprehension of Christ and his truth, to flann'd extremity of the matter.

And so the next day after Mr. Samuel suffer'd, two pious wives, the one named Anne Porson, there Joan Truncheild, wife of Michael Truncheild, of the maker of Ipswich, were apprehended, and both cast into prison together. Who, as their beauty and nature somewhat tender, so were they at first left endure the frailness of the prison, and especially the brewer's wife was call'd to marvellous great temptations of mind thereby. But Christ beholding his weak inconstancy of his servants, did not fail to help when he was in this necessitie. So at length they suffer'd after Samuel, Feb. 19, 1556, as if Healon God's grace declared hereafter. And there, no more were there those two ladders, which being joined with a few stretched up into heaven. Blessed Samuel, the servant of Christ, suffer'd the 25th of Aug., 1555.

The report goeth among some that were there present and saw him burn, that his body in burning did as bright and white as new tried silver in the morning sun, or as withers by, as I am informed by some there, and did behold the fight.

L E T T E R I.
From Mr. ROBERT SAMUEL, exhorting to the patient Suffering of Affliction for the Cause of Christ.

A man knoweth not his time; but as the fift is taken away from the fift, so also the morn. In the present age, is done as much as is for Christ. The time cometh; the day draweth near, Exceed Better it were to die as (the preacher faith) than to live and walk in works which are done for the sake of men, and the Godhead and frangible mutation, such woful, heinous, and insensible divisions as fall approach, and none, or very few, through repentance. As, for this sinful nation, a people of great numbers and feel of ungraciousness, corrupting their ways. They forsake the Lord, they have provok'd the Holy God of Israel to his anger, and are got up and live not in such security and rest, as though all dangers were clean overlaid. Who now blindeth and suffeth not Christ, which feeth me, and feeth me not? Yes, who liveth in the midst of these works, which go to the world, and provide, and craftily shifting for the earthly city carnal appetites, as thin as were clean forgotten, outworn, and as now how lie hogging, now lying fear, we are afraid and ashamed of Christ our Mediator, fearing the bane of our little pigs, I mean our truftrous goods, and defecfion, and moral bodies in this short, visable life, than of a legion of devils, seducing and driving.
promoting of his holy word, and edifying of his church. What if the earthly house of this our tabernacle, which is in the Holy Land, meaning the holy) be destroyed? We know not what we shall have a building not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven, with such riches, glory, power, and dominion, as men cannot tell how to praise even the great God who has begun this work. As he has begun it, he will perfect it. This is the special blessing of the Lord, who will cause to flourish this wonderful nation. Amen, so the Lord give ye grace, that you may be able to bless others, and that you may be faithful in this great work of the Lord, and that you may be able to be good friends in my sight.

May the Lord have mercy on thee, and give thee rest; and may the Lord bless thee and give thee rest. Amen.

The promulgation of the holy word, and the edifying of his church. What if the earthly house of this our tabernacle, which is in the Holy Land, meaning the holy) be destroyed? We know not what we shall have a building not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven, with such riches, glory, power, and dominion, as men cannot tell how to praise even the great God who has begun this work. As he has begun it, he will perfect it. This is the special blessing of the Lord, who will cause to flourish this wonderful nation. Amen, so the Lord give ye grace, that you may be able to bless others, and that you may be faithful in this great work of the Lord, and that you may be able to be good friends in my sight.

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eternal life. What condolation and comfort can we have more pleasant and effectual than this? God is our life, and figthe for us in our distress, he fufhath, and is affhicted with us. As the world can do nothing againft his might, neither in taking away or diminishing from his glory, nor putting him from his elevation, yet a little wifh for the deftruction of his children, without his good will. For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones, and as dear to him as the apple of his eye.

Let us therefore with an earneff faith lay faith hold on the promises in the gospel, and let us not be sepritated from the face of God, from his love, from his favours, or preferion of us. Let us confider the vextity of God to be invincible, inviolable, and immutable, promiffing and giving us, his faithful foldiers, life eternal. It is only that faith deferred in fuch fervices, is only to fubftitute, and of his only mere mercy, and unto him only mutt we render fhoutings. Let not therefore the vain fantasies and dreams of men, and fooflih good toys of the world, nor the crafty fchemes of the devil to drive and feparate us from our hope of the crown of righteousnefs that is laid up in store for us againft the falt day. O that happy and joyful day, I mean to the faithful, when Christ by his covenant shall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may ascend and fit in feats with him, as he ascended and fitteth on the throne with his Father. The fame body and f大纲 that is now with Christ affhicted, fhall then with Christ be gloriﬁed: now in the butcher's hands, as themp appointed to die; then fift after God, at his right hand, as his co-heirs, and members of his rovnurable and dear children; where fhall we have heavenly riches for earthly poverty, emitting the celestial prefence of the glory of God, for hunger and thirst; celestial joys in the confusion and fhame of the wicked; for fweet fhakes and cold torrents; and life eternal for bodily death. O happy precious fhews! O precious death and evermore bleffed, right dear in the eye of God, and comfort of everlafting glory, and be fourcing. Then (as faith Saifii) "The redeemed fhall return and come again into Sinon, prafling the Lord, and eternal mercies fhall be therefore given unto them; and thay fhall obferve his fhorts and folaces forrow and woe fhall be utterly vanity." Yea, I am, be faith the Lord, that in all things giving you everlasting confolations and joy into the Father and the Holy Ghost, be glory and praffe for ever, Amen. ROBERT SAMUEL.

LETTER II.

From Mr. ROBERT SAMUEL, to the Christian Congregation, whereas he denies the Confefion of his Faith.

CONSIDERING with myself their former times, perilling days, and the uncomplaining fate of man, the decay of our faith, the finiter report and falle flander of God's truth, and clofe natural defines of men, their urgethercs in confidence do contrive me to acknowledge my faith and meaning in Christ's holy religion, as St. Peter teacheth me, saying, "Be ready always to give an anfwer to every man that askereth you a reafon of the hope that is in you, with meekness and fear, having a good confidence, that when they back-bite you as evil-doers, they may be afomed, formore they have fully accufed your good will." As touching my doctrine, for that little talent that God hath given me, I take to record, mine own confidence and mine admiral knowledge, that I neither in doctrine nor manners will ingenuously differ from the truth of the holy patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apoftles. For it was not only fin, but also the very part of a curf’d infolent, to deny, be- lieve, or betray the innocency of that heavenly doctrine, or to be afomed to confede it, and defend the defence of the faith; fee- ing that Christ planted it with his most precious blood, and all good men have more effedcd the true and infallible word of God, than all this trufuary world, or their own mortel lives. And I believe this doctrine of the patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apoftles, is the dejiuent and abidingly necessary and abidingly effential to the flourifh and teach me, and all the holy church of our day towards God, the magniﬁcates, and our neighbours.

From my principality, I do afﬁrm before God, without dodg- ing, that there is one faith, as Divine Effiency and Inﬁnite Subftance; which is both called, and is indeed, God Everlafting, unbodily, unappearable, unmeasurable in power, wifdom, and good- ness, the maker and deliverer of all things, as well visible as inﬁ- nite; and yet there be three diftinct persons, all of one Godhead, or Divine Being, and all of one poower, ceaneous, confi- dential, and inﬁnite perfection and happiness, and of one Holy Ghost. I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c. As touching God the Father of heaven, and I believe as much as holy scripture teaches of him. The Father is heir of all the Trinity, first caufe of our falvation, who hath bleffed us with all manner of bleffings in heavenly things by Christ, who hath chofted, called, forgiven, or pardoned the chuidren of God, and we should be holy and without blame before him; who hath prefedated and ordained us to be children of adoption, through Christ Jesus, in him, as it is said, we live, we move, and have our being; he nouriseth, feedeth, and giveth every thing,

And in Jesus Christ our Lord. I believe that the Father, the Son, of God, the second perfon in the Trinity, the man's nature in the word of the bleffed virgin Mary, that he was made man, yea, of woman, the nature, in the unity of one perfon ineparable, consubstantial, true, truly God, truly and man, the express and immediate image of God, wherein he was as far as he was in himself, truly and perfectly in the person of a man, without his good will. For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones, and as dear to him as the apple of his eye.

Let us therefore with an earneff faith lay faith hold on the promises in the gospel, and let us not be sepritated from the face of God, from his love, from his favours, or preferion of us. Let us confider the vextity of God to be invincible, inviolable, and immutable, promiffing and giving us, his faithful foldiers, life eternal. It is only that faith deferred in fuch fervices, is only to fubftitute, and of his only mere mercy, and unto him only mutt we render fhoutings. Let not therefore the vain fantasies and dreams of men, and the crafty fchemes of the devil to drive and feparate us from our hope of the crown of righteousnefs that is laid up in store for us againft the falt day. O that happy and joyful day, I mean to the faithful, when Christ by his covenant shall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may ascend and fit in feats with him, as he ascended and fitteth on the throne with his Father. The fame body and f大纲 that is now with Christ affhicted, fhall then with Christ be gloriﬁed: now in the butcher's hands, as themp appointed to die; then fift after God, at his right hand, as his co-heirs, and members of his rovnurable and dear children; where fhall we have heavenly riches for earthly poverty, emitting the celestial prefence of the glory of God, for hunger and thirst; celestial joys in the confusion and fhame of the wicked; for fweet fhakes and cold torrents; and life eternal for bodily death. O happy precious fhews! O precious death and evermore bleffed, right dear in the eye of God, and comfort of everlafting glory, and be fourcing. Then (as faith Saifii) "The redeemed fhall return and come again into Sinon, prafling the Lord, and eternal mercies fhall be therefore given unto them; and thay fhall obferve his fhorts and folaces forrow and woe fhall be utterly vanity." Yea, I am, be faith the Lord, that in all things giving you everlasting confolations and joy into the Father and the Holy Ghost, be glory and praffe for ever, Amen. ROBERT SAMUEL.

LETTER II.

From Mr. ROBERT SAMUEL, to the Christian Congregation, whereas he denies the Confefion of his Faith.

CONSIDERING with myself their former times, perilling days, and the uncomplaining fate of man, the decay of our faith, the finiter report and falle flander of God's truth, and clofe natural defines of men, their urgethercs in confidence do contrive me to acknowledge my faith and meaning in Christ's holy religion, as St. Peter teacheth me, saying, "Be ready always to give an anfwer to every man that askereth you a reafon of the hope that is in you, with meekness and fear, having a good confidence, that when they back-bite you as evil-doers, they may be afomed, formore they have fully accufed your good will." As touching my doctrine, for that little talent that God hath given me, I take to record, mine own confidence and mine admiral knowledge, that I neither in doctrine nor manners will ingenuously differ from the truth of the holy patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apoftles. For it was not only fin, but also the very part of a curf’d infolent, to deny, be- lieve, or betray the innocency of that heavenly doctrine, or to be afomed to confede it, and defend the defence of the faith; see- ing that Christ planted it with his most precious blood, and all good men have more effedcd the true and infallible word of God, than all this trufuary world, or their own mortel lives. And I believe this doctrine of the patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apoftles, is the dejiuent and abidingly necessary and abidingly effential to the flourifh and teach me, and all the holy church of our day towards God, the magniﬁcates, and our neighbours.

From my principality, I do afﬁrm before God, without dodg- ing, that there is one faith, as Divine Effiency and Inﬁnite Subftance; which is both called, and is indeed, God Everlafting, unbodily, unappearable, unmeasurable in power, wifdom, and good- ness, the maker and deliverer of all things, as well visible as inﬁ- nite; and yet there be three diftinct persons, all of one Godhead, or Divine Being, and all of one poower, ceaneous, confi- dential, and inﬁnite perfection and happiness, and of one Holy Ghost. I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c. As touching God the Father of heaven, and I believe as much as holy scripture teaches of him. The Father is heir of all the Trinity, first caufe of our falvation, who hath bleffed us with all manner of bleffings in heavenly things by Christ, who hath chofted, called, forgiven, or pardoned the chuidren of God, and we should be holy and without blame before him; who hath prefedated and ordained us to be children of adoption, through Christ Jesus, in him, as it is said, we live, we move, and have our being; he nouriseth, feedeth, and giveth every thing,
with the justices, by reason of his well-tried conversation among them, that he was suffered to go untied to his suffering, and there being fastened with a chain, flood quickly without shrinking until he died.

The MARTYRDOM of ROGER COO, first Examined by the Bishop of NORWICH, and by him Condemned, August 12, 1555.

ROGER COO, being brought before the bishop, was first asked by him, he was imprisoned?

Coo. At the justice's commandment.

Bishop. There was some cause why.

Coo. Here is my accuser, let him declare.

And his accuser said, that he would not receive the facemment.

Then the bishop said, that he thought he had transgressed a law.

But Coo answered, that there was no law to transgress.

The bishop then asked, What help to the law that then was?

Coo. He answered, that he had been in prison a long time, and knew it not.

No, said his accuser, nor will now. Your lord, ask him when he received the facemment.

When Coo heard him say so, he said, I pray you, my lord, let him fit down and examine me entirely.

But the bishop would not hear that, but said, Coo, why will you not receive?

He answered him, That the bishop of Rome had changed God's ordinances, and given the people bread and wine instead of the gospel, and the benefit of the same.

Bishop. How prove you that?

COO. Our Saviour said, "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him;" and the bread and wine doth not.

Bishop. Well, Coo, thou dost slander our holy fathers. Did not Christ take bread and give thanks, and break it, and said, "This is my body?"

Yes, said he; and so he went further with the text, saying, "Which shall be given for you; do this in remembrance of me."

Bishop. You have said the truth.

Then Coo replied further, and said, Christ commanded to do this in remembrance of him, and not to say his in remembrance of him; neither did the Holy Ghost fo lead the apostles, but taught them to give thanks, and to break from house to house, and not to say as the bishop said.

Bishop. How prove you that?

Coo. It is written in Acts it.

Then the bishop's chaplain said it was true.

The bishop asked him if he could say his creed.

He answered yes, and so said part of the creed; and then after, he said he believed more; for he believed the Ten Commandments, that it was meet for all such as look to be saved, to be obedient unto them.

Bishop. Is not the holy church to be believed also?

Coo. Yes, if it be built upon the word of God.

The bishop said to Coo, that he had the charge of his soul.

Bishop. Have you fo, my lord? Then if you go to the devil for your sins, what shall become of me?

Bishop. Do you not believe as your father did? Was not he an honest man?

Coo. It is written, that after Christ hath suffered, "There shall come a people with the prince that shall destroy both city and sanctuary. I pray you, tell me whether this destruction was in my father's time, or now?

The bishop not answering his question, asked him, whether he would not obey the king's laws?

Coo. As far as they agree with the word of God I will obey them.
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

Bishop. Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we are bound to obey them, if the king were an infidel.

Ca. If Sadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, had so done, Nebuchadnezzar had not confected the living God, because he would not forgive his own sins. And further said, that the sacrament of the altar there is no real body of Saviour Christ, but bread given in remembrance only, as for your holy bread, your water, and your mafs, I do (says he) utterly deny them.

And last of all, James Tutty made and confirm the foregoing answers.

The HISTORIE of ROBERT GLOVER, Gentleman, and JOHN GLOVER, in the Diocce of Litchfield.

Robert Glover, gentleman, was likewise imprisoned, and put to death in the same month, in the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry, whose apprehension and troubles I cannot write without mentioning some things relating to his brother, Glover, his brother, because the condemnation was long continued; and not for Robert, (although pleased God that John escaped, and Robert (as was apprehended) therefore I thought it needful to comprehend them both in one story. In the course of one part of their virtuous institution and order of life, I shall first begin with John the elder brother; being a man and heir to his brother, a man in a way of Manicheism, was endowed with fair possessions and worldly goods, but much more plentifully enriched with God's heavenly grace, and inward virtues: which so wrought in him, that he with his other brother Robert and William, not only received and entered the happy light of Christ's holy gospel, but zealously professed, and no less diligently in their study and conversation followed the same.

John Glover was a man of a very tender disposition, and seemed to have a deeper sense and contemplation of heavenly things, and more mortification from within, than the others were. His spiritual conflicts were extraordinary, and because the consideration of it is both worthy of memory, and the example may be to our comfort the godly, I may imitate and recommend it for our part. It pleased God to lay his heavy hand of inward afflictions and painful passions upon him, that though he did not voluntarily bring a load to his brother Robert; yet did he so with the name of the martyrdom; and in contradiction may be fathered on a double martyrdom. For as the said Robert was speedily dispatched from the ground by the working of the fire, they also so that they might maintain here, and his body was so much grieved pangs, so sorrowful that boiling heats of the fire of hell inwardly and inwardly, the tongue is able to express. Being young, I remember was once or twice with him, who partly by his tale,

An ACCOUNT of THOMAS COB, of HAVERHILL, BUTCHER, and MARTYR.

THOMAS COB, of Haverhill, butcher, was condemned on the 12th day of August, and executed in the month of September. Being brought and examined by John Duke, the Bishop of Durham, and the Bloody Chancellor of Norwich, first, whether he believed that Christ is really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar; answered, That the body of Christ, born of the virgin, was in heaven, and otherwise (he said) he would not answer. Whereupon he had read it in the scripture, that Christ did ascend, and did never descend since; and therefore said, that he had not learned in the scripture, that Christ should be in the sacrament.

Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the laws of the realm of England, made for the unity of the faith, or not; he answered, That his body should be at the king and queen's commandment as far as the law of God would suffer, &c. In fine, he being condemned, was burnt in the town of Thetford, in September, 1555.

An ACCOUNT of the MARTYRDOM of GEORGE CATMER, ROBERT STREATER, ANTHONY BURWARD, GEORGE BRODBRIDGE, and JAMES TUTTY.

Now to return to Norfolk and Suffolk, in the diocese of Canterbury, where we shall treat of five worthy martyrs, whose blood in the same year and month of September, was spilt for the true testimony of Christ and his gospel, the names of whom are as follow: George Catmer, of Hith; Robert Streeter, of Hith; Anthony Burward, of Calkite; George Brodbridge, of Bromefield; James Tutty, of Brenchley.

These upon the third day of August were brought before Dr. Thornton, the aforesaid bishop of Dover, and his accomplices, and there were both jointly and severally examined upon certain articles, touching the sacrament of the altar, ecclesiastical confession, and other such like.

To which the said Catmer (being first examined) made answer in this wise: Christ, said he, fitteth in heaven on the right hand of God the Father, and therefore I do not believe him to be in the sacrament of the altar, but he is in the worthy receiver spiritually; and the sacrament, as you use it, is an abominable idol.

Next unto him Robert Streeter was called forth, who being also asked, Whether he did believe the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, said, that he did not believe in the sacrament, for you and your idolatry (says he) in that you teach to worship a false god in the sacrament, enclosed in a box. It is you that are the malignants of the church; for in your church there are twenty things used against the law of God.

The like objection was likewise made against John Burward, who also said that their sacrament was an idol.

After him it was demanded of George Brodbridge, what he said to those articles. Answered, that he would not be confected of a priest, for he would not forgive his own sins. And further said, that the sacrament of the altar there is no real body of Saviour Christ, but bread given in remembrance only, as for your holy bread, your water, and your mafs, I do (says he) utterly deny them.

And last of all, James Tutty made and confirm the foregoing answers.
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quietly give himself up to his godly study, as to a continuous Sabbath rest. This was about the latter end of the reign of Henry's regency, and continued in the time of King Edward VI.

After this in the percuting days of Queen Mary, as soon as the bishop of Coventry heard of his fame, and of his being so ardent and zealous in the holy gospel of Christ, he immediately wrote a letter to the mayor and officers of Coventry to apprehend him as soon as possible. But by the good providence of God, it happened otherwise: for God disposed all things after his own secret pleasure, who seeing his old and truly forward enemy, with extreme and many torments broken, and after many years with no voice to hear no more torments upon one poor, silly wretch neither would he commit him to the flames or fire, who had been already baked and seared with the sharp fires of inward affliction, and had sustained for many burning darts and conflicts of Satan many years: God therefore, of his divine providence, thinking it more meet that one man should be overcharged with so many plagues and torments, did graciously provide, that Robert his brother being both stronger in body, and also better furnished with the means of learning to answer the adversaries, (being a Master of Arts in Cambridge) should sustain that conflict, and even so it came to pass.

For as soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letters for the apprehending of Mr. John Glover, he forthwith sent private notice to the said John to come and answer him; who, to avoid any more harm, his brother William was not so soon departed out of his town, but that yet, in the sight of the sheriff and others, the fearers came, and rooted in to take him, according to the bishop's order.

But when the persons they sought for could not be found, one of the officers going into an upper chamber, found there Robert the other brother lying on his bed, who had been long sick; and was by him immediately carried before the sheriff. What sheriff, notwithstanding, favouring Robert and his cause, would indeed have called him, and wrought what means he could, saying, that he was not the man of whom they were sent: yet nevertheless, being terrified with threats of the officers, contending with him to have him detained till the bishop's coming, he was constrained to carry him against his will, and so laid him fast till the bishop came, and thus with a way of preamble, concerning the worthy remembrance of Mr. John Glover.

Now to enter upon the matter which principally we have in hand, that is, to consider the story and martyrdom of Mr. Robert Glover; as the whole narration was sent in a letter of his own writing to his wife, concerning the manner of his being handled; therefore it feemeth best, for the more credit of the matter, to exhibit his own letter, the contents of which are as follow.

LETTER

From Mr. ROBERT GLOVER to his WIFE, containing the whole DESCRIPTION of his TROUBLES.

The peace of conscience with paffeth all understanding, the sweet consolation, comfort, strength, and boldness of the Holy Ghost, be continually increased in your heart, through a fervent, earnest, and steadfast faith in our most dear and only Saviour Jesus Christ, Amen.

I thank you heartily (most loving wife) for your letters sent to me in my imprisonment. I read them with tears more than once or twice; with tears (I say) for joy and gladness, that God had wrought in you so merciful a work; first, an unfeigned repentance; Secondly, an humble and hearty reconciliation; thirdly, a voluntary submission and obedience, whereby the whole burden of God in all things. Which when I read in your letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottom of your heart, I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing with tears for you, and to his great mercies poured upon you.

Thus you letters, and the hearing of your most godly proceedings and confi...
be a goodly testimonie with you at the great day, against many woul'dly and dainty dames, who see more by their own eyes, then by God's glory; and by this work of little regardinge (as it appeareth) the everlasting health of their own souls or others. My prayer shall be whilst I am in this world, that God, which of his great mercy hath begun his good work in you, will finish it to the glory of his name; and by his mighty power and inspation of the Holy Spirit, as you have established, and confirm you in all his ways to the end, that we may together shew forth his praisis in the world to come, to our unspickable confusion eternally, Amen.

So long as God shall lend you continuance in this mortal life, you shall all things goe on yourselves continuallly to prayer, lifting up, as St. Paul saith, clean or pure hands without anger, wrath, or doubting, forgiving (as he faileth also) if you have any thing against any man, as Christ forgave us. And that we may be the better willing to forgive, it is good often to call to remembrance the multitude and greatness of our sins, which Christ daily and hourly pardonne and forgiveth us; and then shall we, as St. Peter affirmeth, be ready to enter and hide the offences of our brethren, they ever so many. And because God's word teacheth us, not only to pray for other men's mannery, but also what we ought to do, or not to do in the whole disoucre and practice of this life, what pleaseth or displeaseth God, and that, as Christ faileth, "The word of God that he hath spoken, shall judge in the last day;" let your prayers be directed especially to this that God's gift of his great mercy would open and reveal more and more daily to your heart, the true tene, knowledge, and understanding of his most holy word, and give you grace in your living to express the fruits thereof.

And forsuch as it is, as the Holy Ghost calleth it, the word of affliction, that is, it is seldom without hatred, percutio, peril, danger of life and goods, and whatsoever seemeth pleasant in this world, as experience teacheth you in this time; call upon God continually for his assistance always, as Christ teacheth, calling your accounts what it is like to cost you, endeavouring yourself, through the help of the Holy Ghost, by continuance of prayer, to lay your foundation to sure, that no storm or tempest shall be able to overthrow or cast it down; remembering always (as Christ faileth) Lot's wife; that is, to beware of looking back to that thing that displeaseth God. And how nothing displeaseth God so much as idolatry, that is, fall worshiping of God, otherwise than his word commandeth; look not back (I say) nor turn your face to their idoliast and blatious masts, manifestly against the word, practice, and example of Christ, and whatsoever is not agreeable to any of the true understanding of God's word, that there remaineth nothing in the church of England at this present, profitable or edifying to the church and congregation of the Lord, all things being done in an unknown tongue, contrary to the express commandment of the Holy Ghost.

They object that they be the church, and therefore they must be believed. My answer was, The church of God knoweth and acknowledgeth no other head but Jesus Christ the Son of God, whom ye have refused, and cherish the filth, the son of God, against Christ, the devil's deputy and lieutenant, the pope.

Christ's church heareth, teacheth, and is ruled by his word, as he faileth, "My shear hear my voice. If you abide in me, and my word in you, ye be my disciple." Their church repealeth God's words, and forceth all men to follow their traditions.

Christ's church dare not add or diminish, alter or change his blesse testament; but they be not afraid to take away all that Christ Instituted, and go a whoring (as the scripture faileth) with their own inventions, to glorify themselves in the works of their own hands.

The church of Christ is, hath been, and shall be in all ages under the crofs, perfecuted, molested, and afflieted, the world ever hating them, because they be not of the world. But these persecute, murder, tax, and kill such as profess the true doctrine of Christ, be they in learning, living, conversion, and other parts ever so excellent.

But this church took away from the world, and suffereth neither learned nor unlearned to teach any doctrine by the word of God. The true church of God laboured by all means to refit and withstand the lusts, defiles, and cruelties of the world, the flesh, and the devil; these forsook or part gave themselves to all voluptuounes, and from those commit such thynge, which (as St. Paul faileth) he faileth not to declare them as shameful.

By these and such like manifest prove, they declare themselves to be none of the church of God, but rather of the synegogye of Satan. It shall be for you oftentimes to confer and compare these readings and doings with the practice of these other, the word of God doth teach to have been enemies of the church of God, and it shall work in you knowledge, erudition, and boldnes, to withishe and suffering their doings. I likened them thereunto as if the scripture calleth a mighty lion or a stout champion, etc. They were such as could not have been by the word, they would have been a second, and be the church whether men will or no; called them with good confidence, as Christ called forefathers, the children of the devil; and as St. Paul faileth, to the same, the children of the emperour of this world, and the kingdom and church (as they call it) famde by kings, murderers.

I have no fellowship with them therefore, my frile, nor with their doctrine and traditions, lest they make their fins, whom for is referred a damnation, without speedy and such as shall advirtise you to bear with the world as they do. There is no dallying with God's matters: "It is a fearful thing (as St. Paul faileth) into the hands of the living God." Remember they also, "Why halfe ye on both sides?" Remember what Christ faileth, "He that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is not worthy of me." I seeing God hath hitherto allowed you as a good father in the fore court, play not the coward, neither do back to the rearward. St. John numbereth amongst that shall dwell in the fire, such as shall break God's cause. Set always before your eyes the example of such as have behaved themselves boldly in God's cause, as Stephen, Peter, Paul, Daniel, the three children, the widow's sons, and in your days Anne Lee and the Quakers. And under temptation with many other faithful witnesse of Christ. Be not afraid in such (St. Paul faileth) of the adveraries of Christ's doings which is to them the sign of perdition, but to your eternal salvation. Christ commandeth the fairest, "Fear them not." Let us not follow the end of him which alchaut time first to take leave of friends. If we do so, we shall find few of them will encourage us to go forward in our busines, as it God ever so much. We do not read that James John, Andrew and Simon, when they were called of Christ, took their fathers with them. But the scripture faileth, "They forsooke and by and by followed Christ." Christ likened the kingdom of God to a precious pearl, which was found in a finshed, felch all that he hath to buy it. Yea, what even harest but laste that grimming how precious that kingdom of heaven is, will gladly sell both life and goods for the obtaining of it. But most part now-a-days are like Elip's cock, which he had found a precious stone, wised rather to have found a barrel corn. So ignorant are they how precious and the wealth of the kingdom of God is, that they chuse such things of this world, which being compared to be less in value than a barley-corn.

If I would have given place to worldly reasons, I might have moved me; first, the leaving of you my children, the consideration of the face of my
Mr. R. GLOVER's ACCOUNT of his own TROUBLES.

shall withdraw myself, and make any fluxis to pull my own neck out of the collar, I shall give great offence to my weak brethren in Christ, and advantage to the enemies to flander God's word. It will be said, He hath encouraged others to be more extant and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himself will give no such example.

Wherefore I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and man, being (as it were) by the great goodness of God marvellously called and appointed hereunto, to set aside all fear, perils and dangers, all worldly respect and considerations, and like as I had heretofore, according to the measure of my small gift within the compass of my vocation and calling, from the bottom of my heart unfeignedly moved, exhort, and perused all that proveth God's word, that they might diminish the fear of the same, not with sword and violence, but with suffering and loss of life, rather than to defile themselves again with the whorish abomination of the Romish Antichrist; so the hour being come, with my faith and example to ratify, confirm, and protest the fame to the hearers of all true believers: and to this end, by the mighty affiance of God's Holy Spirit, I resolved myself with much peace of conscience, willingly to sustain whatsoever the Romish Antichrist should do against me, and the rather, because I understood the bishop's coming to be at hand, and considered that passages and sciences would then be sharply assailed. So I remained prisoner in Coventry for the space of ten or eleven days, being never called to my answer by the matters, contrary to the laws of the realm, they having neither statute, law, proclamation, letter, warrant, nor commandment for my apprehension. They would have laid all the matter upon the summer, he being examined, denied it before their faces, as one of my friends told me, saying, that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. God lay not their extreme doing against me to their charges as the greatest.

The second day after the bishop's coming to Coventry, Mr. Warren came to the Guildhall, and ordered the chief jailor to carry me to the bishop. I laid to Mr. Warren's charge the cruel feeling of my death; and when he would have excused himself, I told him he could not wipe his hands so; he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

And so he departed from me, saying, I needed not to fear if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes if it be his will, and add to him greater strength in his perseverance, in which he and all of his inclination shall find (I fear) too true for their parts; that is, that all they which cruelly, maliciously, and spitefully persecute, molest, and afflict the members of Christ for their conscience sake, and for the true testimony of Christ's word, and cause them most unjustly to be slain and murdered, without speedy repentance shall dwell with the devil and his angels in the fierce lake everlasting, where they shall with and desire, cry and call, but in vain (as their right companion did) to be refreshed by them whom in this world they condemned, defiled, disdained, as slaves, masters, and wretches.

When I came before the bishop in Mr. Denton's house, he began with this profession, That he was my bishop for lack of a better, and willed me to submit myself.

I laid to him, I am not come to accuse myself, what have you to lay to my charge?

He asked me, whether I was learned? I answered, Smally learned.

Mr. Chancellor standing by, said I was a matter of arts.

Then my lord laid to my charge my not coming to the church.

Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, for as much as I had not been in his diocese for a long season, neither was any of the citizens able to prove any such matter against me. Notwithstanding, I answered him through God's merciful help, that I neither had, nor would come to their church, as long as their mas was used there, to save (if I had them) five hundred
hundred lives. I desired him to weigh me one jot or title in the scriptures for the proof and defence of the mafs.

He answered, he came to teach, and not to be taught.

I was content (I told him) to learn of him, so far as he was able to teach me by the word of God.

Bishop. When shall judge the word.

Glover. Christ was willing that the people should judge his doctrine by searching the scriptures, and so was Paul; methinks you should claim no further privilege than they had.

Thus spake Robert Glover, offering him further, that he were content to act as a primitive church next to the apostles' time, should judge not of the bishop and him. But the bishop refused that. Then he said, he was his bishop, and therefore he must believe him.

Glover. If you will be believed because you are a bishop, why find you fault with the people that believed bishop Latreri, bishop Riddell, and bishop Hooper, and the residue of them that were bishops?

Bishop. Because they were heretics.

Glover. And may not you err as well as they? I expected my lord to use some learned arguments to persuade me, but instead of that, he oppressed me only with his texts. He said, I disdained from the church, and asked me where my church was before king Edward's time.

I desired him to shew me where their church was in Elias's time, and what outward stew it had in Christ's time.

Bishop. Elias's complaint was only of the ten tribes that fell from David's house, whom he called heretics.

Glover. You be not able to shew any prophets that the other two tribes had at that same time.

My lord making no answer to that, Mr. Rogers, one of the council of the city, cometh to the meanest, taking upon him as though he would answer to the text. But my lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to some tower, if they had any besides the common jail, saying, he would at the end of the visitation of his diocese, weed out such wolves. Mr. Rogers would him to content himself for that time, till he had taken further order for me. Even where it pleaseth you, said I to my lord, I am content; and so I was returned at that time to the common jail again from whence I came.

On the Friday morning, being the next day, I had warning by one of the prisoners to prepare myself to ride with the common-prisoners that day to Litchfield, there to be beloweved at the bishop's pleasure. Which tidings at first somewhat discouraged me, fearing lest I should by means of my great ficknes, through hard usage, which I expected, have died in prison before I should come to answer: but immediately with God's help, I reduced this infidelity in myself, and by the same corrected mine own distrust in the following manner.

What make I of God? Is not his power as great in Litchfield as in Coventry? Dost not his power extend as well to Litchfield as to Coventry? Was he not in the midst of the danger, as he was in the street? He knoweth what things we have need of. He hath numbered all the hairs of our head. The sparrow falleth not to the ground, without our heavenly Father's will; much more will he care for us if we be not faithless, whom he hath made worthy to be winnells of his truth. So long as we put our trust in him, we shall never be destitute of his help, neither in prison, in fickness, nor in health, neither in life, nor in death, neither before kings, bishops, or the devil himself, much less of one of his minions shall be able to prevail against us. With him therefore we grew daintier, grew more careful, of good consolation and comfort: so that he knew we could not provide horsethrough for us, I said, Let them carry us in a dung-cart for lack of horses, if they please, I am willing for my part.

Notwithstanding, at the request of my friends, I wrote to Mr. Mylord, and his brethren, briefly requiring them that I might make answer here to such things as should be laid to my charge: the contents of which were to this purpose.

"I beseech you to understand, that it is not new known, as well to the keeper of the jail, as to the prisoner about me where I dwell, that I am subject to very great ficknesses. I have been for a space of seven years and more, so that it is not that I should be removed without great profit and danger of life. And because I was here committed by your appointment, I would gladly have my condition and all things as should be laid to my charge, may obtain this of you, I humbly and thankfully acknowledge your indulgence; if otherwise you will do it be not laid to your charge at the great desire every man shall have judgment without repersons."

But receiving no answers to my letters, I confided, that when the bishop and the chancellor had found they moved them rather to have me away, bring me off delirious (as I suppose) to have me confestly vily in prison, than to bring me openly openly and as did in some measure appear by the reasonings with me at my first coming to prison.

Certain serjeants and constables of Coventry, appointed by the chamber, were to have the comming of us to Litchfield be delivered there to one Jephson, the chancellor's agent from Coventry with us for the same purpose were commanded to be on hornback about eleven o'clock on Friday, being a market day, the might be the more gazed at: and to let the people hear me against us, they do proclaim a little concerning a proclamation made for calling in, an annuling of all such books as truly and expound the scriptures. We came to Litchfield about o'clock, and had leave to repose ourselves for some time. We put up at the sign of the Swan, were entertained friendly and genteelly.

After supper Jephson required us, whom we treated that upon former serjeants we might ad

fessels that night, being unprompted of any thing to help ourselves within the prison at that present secreted willing at first, but afterwards (whether by diiation, but I rather fear by out of policy, as could gather a multitude to assist and also that we should provide nothing to satisfy will) he revoked his promises, and fo by concert were carried to prison, in the light of a great mile of people, I desired Jephson before to execute on the matter myself, telling him, that they should judgment without mercy, but I thought no mercy, this mercy I found at his hand.

He put me into a prison that fame night, we continued till I was confined, in a place dungeon, where was small room, strong building, very cold, with little light, and there he gave me a bundle of straw instead of my bed, a few chairs, for, or any thing else to ease myself. God's of his mercy gave me great patience the prayer that night, for so that it had been his plac could have been contented to have ended my life. And one Perley, the bishop's man, who wards was my continual keeper for the most part, to me in the morning, to whom I said, This is extremity, God fend us patience, and no more. Then they were content that I should have as my own procuring. But I was allowed to help, might not now nor any company of any man, make improving my great findkes: nor any paper, pen, or books, except my New Testament in Latin, a Prayer-book which I privily stole in.

Within two days after, Mr. Chancellor and Temliff, a prebendary there, came to me into for me to go to the chancellor's chamber to say to my lord and to the church. He wished not hurt to my soul than he did to his own: believing I had laid to his charge at Coventry the feckings blood unjustly and wrongfully.

Now thus the second time I answered Mr. Ch
An ACCOUNT of the TROUBLES of Mr. R. GLOVER.

I shall not forbear swearing, stinging, or murdering, because I am not worthy to keep any commandment of God. There be the delusions of the devil, and Satan's suggestions, which must be overcome by continual prayer, and with the word of God applied according to the measure of every man's gift, against all afflations of the devil.

At the bishop's first coming to Litchfield, after mine imprisonment, I was called into a bye chamber next to my prison, to my lord. Before whom when I came, and law none but his officers, chaplains, and servants, except it were an old priest, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and affection.

My lord asked me how I liked my imprisonment; I gave him no answer touching that question. He proceeded to persuade me to be a member of his church, which had continued so many years. As for your church (said he to me), it was not known but lately in Edward's time.

I professed myself to be a member of that church (said I) that is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone; and those placed the place of St. Paul to the Ephesians. And this church has been from the beginning (said I), the bear no glorious thing before the world, being ever, for the most part, under the cross and affliction, con- tenued, despised, and persecuted. My lord contended on the other side, that they were the church.

So cried all the other tamers for the prophets of Jerusalem, saying, "The church of the Lord, the church of the Lord." And always when I was about to speak any thing, my lord cried, Hold thy peace, I command thee by the virtue of thy obedience to hold thy peace, calling me a proud arrogant heretic.

I defied my lord to say something to my charge in particular, and then to convince me with some scriptures and good learning.

Then my lord began to move certain questions. I refused to answer him in corners, requiring that I might make my answer openly. He said I should answer him there. I fixed with him upon that point till he said I should go to prison again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I had answered him.

Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might stand and agree with the doctrine of his most holy word.

The first question was this, How many sacraments Christ instituted to be used in the church?

The sacrament of baptism, said I, and the sacrament that he instituted at his last supper.

No more? said he. I answered, No.

The said I, To all those that declare a true and un- signed repentance, a pure hope, truth and confidence in the death of Christ, to such, ministers (I grant) have authority to pronounce, by the authority of God's word, the remission of sins.

Here interrupting me, he would needs bear me in hand that I called this a sacrament. I would not greatly contend with him in that point, because the matter was of no great weight or importance; although he in so doing did me wrong, for I called it not a sacrament.

He asked me further, Whether I allowed their confession?

I answered, No.

Then the bishop would know my mind what I thought of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

I answered, That their mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament, because (said I) you have taken away the true institution, which when you restore again, I will tell you my judgment concerning Christ's body in the sacrament.

And thus much did this worthy martyr of God leave behind him in his own hand-writing, concerning the manner of his usage in prison, and also of his disputes with the bishop and his chancellor. More examinations he had (no doubt) with the bishop, the public confistory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which he would also have left unto us, if either length of life, or leisure of time, or haste of execution, had permitted
permitted him to finish what he intended; but by reason of the writ of his burning being come down from London, want of time did neither serve him so to do, neither yet could I get the records of his last examination, wherefore they are become.

Only this which I could learn by the relation of one Augustin Bennher, a minister, and a familiar friend of his, concerning the going to his death, I can report; that the said Mr. Robert Glover, after he was condemned by the bishop, and was now at a point to be delivered out of this world, he so happened, that two or three days before, his heart being heavy, and defolate of all spiritual consolation, felt in himself no aptness or willingnesse, but rather a heaviness and dulness of spirit, full of much discomfort to bear the bitter crosses of his particular trial.

Whereupon fearing in himself left the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, made his abode to this Augustin, his friend above-mentioned, signifying unto him how earnestly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no motion yet. It was only comfort from the Sun.

Unto whom the said Augustin answering over, desired him patiently to wait the Lord's pleasure, and howsoever his present feeling was, yet seeing his cause was just and true, he exhorteth him constantly to flock to the fame, and to pray the man, nothing doubtless but the Lord in his good time would with him, and satisfy his desire with plenty of consolation; whereof (he said) he was right certain and sure; and therefore directed him, whenever any such feeling of God's heavenly mercies should begin to touch his heart, that then he should throw some signification thereof, whereby he might witness with him the fame, and so departed from him.

The next day, when the time came of his martyrdom, as he was going to the place, and was come within sight of the stake, (although all the night before praying for strength and courage he could feel none) suddenly he was so mightily replenished with God's holy comfort and heavenly joys, that he cried out, clapping his hands, to Austin, and saying these words, "Austin, he is come, he is come," &c. and that with such joy and alacrity, as one seeming rather to be riven from some deadly danger to liberty and life, than as one paling out of the world by any pains of death. Such was the change of the marvellous working of the Lord's hand upon that good man.

An ACCOUNT of CORNELIUS BUNGLEY, FEL-
LOW-MARTYR with MR. ROBERT GLOVER.

In the same fire with Mr. Glover, Cornelius Bungley, of Coventry, was likewise burnt, who was condemned by the said bishop of Coventry and Litchfield. As concerning the articles which were objected to him, the effect thereof was this.

First, he was objected against him, that these three years last, in the city of Coventry and Litchfield, and places thereabouts, he did hold, maintain, argue, and teach, that the priest hath no power here to absolve any sinner from his fins.

Secondly, That by baptismal fins are not washed away, because he said that the wafting of the feth purgeth the feth outwardly, and not the fould.

Thirdly, That there be in the church only two sacraments, that is, baptism, and the Lord's supper.

Fourthly, That in the sacrament of the popish altar, not the blood and body of Christ, but the substance of bread and wine there remaineth still, because St. Paul calleth it bread and wine, &c.

Fifthly, That he, within the compass of the said years and time, did hold, maintain, and defend, that the pope is not the head of the visible church here on earth, &c.

Sixthly, That he was of the diocese and jurisdiction of the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, &c.

Seventhly, That the premises are true, manifest, and notorious, and that upon the fame there hath been a public voice and fame, as well in the places he rehearsed, as in other quarters also about, &c.

To which articles he answered again:

To the first he granted, and to every part thereof, and meaning after the popish manner of ablution, the second he granted, first, after revealed fame.

To the third also he granted, adding withal, the scripture there is no more contained.

To the fourth touching the sacrament, he granted, and to every part thereof.

To the fifth, concerning the pope, likewise.

Alfo to the sixth he granted, and likewise of the seveth.

Upon these articles and his answers to the same, said Radulph, the bishop, read the sentence, and committed him also, after condemnation of Mr. Robert Glover, to the secular power.

Thus this aforesaid Cornelius, fully condemned the bishop before-mentioned, suffered at the fame time with the christian martyr, Mr. Robert Glover, at Coventry, about the 20th of September.

The HISTORY of JOHN GLOVER, and WILLIAM GLOVER, who were execucammoned after a brave stand, and buried in the FIELDS.

John and William Glover, the two brothers, Robert, the martyr, ought not to be esteemed in this history, although they were not called to their course in fire, as their brother, and other many others were; yet they were cast out of the church, excommunicated even after they were dead, and buried as christian burial.

The distress concerning Mr. John Glover, the elder, what inward fears and agonies he suffered with the ghostly enemy, you have partly heard before described: now what his bodily enemies wrought upon him, remaineth to be declared. Whole rage and fire, although God restrained, that they could not prevail against him so long as life endured, yet he died a most deasive, having power upon him, what they did shall now understand.

Whereupon the sheriff, with their under officers, servants, being sent to seek him, came into his house where he and his wife were. It chanced at that time he lived by himself, the other part of his house, and searching other rooms, came to the better where John Glover was, who being within, holding the latch softly in his hand, perceived the officers buffeting about the door, amongst whom were two officers having the firings in his hand, ready to draw and pluck at the next instant.

In the mean time another coming by, (whom he heard and knew) bade them away, laying himself there before. Whereupon they desisted, went to fetch other corners of the house, they came to James Glover his wife, who being at Litchfield, and there examined before the bishop, length after much ado, was constrained to give over to their tyranny. John Glover, in the mean time partly for care of his wife, partly through height of the woods where he did lie, took an age, whereafter he left this life, which the cruel fire so long had sought for.

Thus by the mighty protection of the Almighty how John Glover was delivered and defended from the hands of the perfecting enemies during all the time of his life, you have heard. Now before the time of his death, both to him and his brother, was worthy to be remembered. After he was and buried in the church-yard, without priedit, Dr. Dracott, then chancellor, fix weeks after, in the parson of the town, and demanded how foreboded that he was then sick, and knew not of it. The chancellor commanded the parson to go home.
N读懂 the body of the said John Glover to be taken
and to be cast over the wall into the high-way:
for, that he had been six weeks in the
earth, and so (melled, that none were able
to see it.
- Well, quoth Dr. Dracont, then take this
and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned soul,
a month after, when he may take up his bones,
(then his soul will be consumed) and call them over
the wall, that the carts and horses may tread on them,
then let them be cast into the hollow vacant place that in
the church where he was buried. Recorded by
the son of the town, who told the name to Hugh Bur-
nes, dwelling at Fynden, in Derbyshire, and to Mr.
Robert Glover’s wife, by whose credible information
the fame received the fame.

Much such usage was practiced also by these
children of the mother church, upon the body
William, the third brother, whom, after it had pleased
him, the body being taken out of this place of
ignominy, the well-disposed people of the town of
Northop, where he died, brought the body to the
church there to be buried. But then came John Thorley, of Wem,
Ione others, of Wem, and would not suffer the
it to be buried; expressing to us the contrary ex-
ample of good Tobit; for as he was religious in bur-
ning the dead, so this man’s religion confounds in not
burying the dead; so that after he had lain there two
and thirty years, according to Bernard, the curate,
with the bishop’s letter, the contents of which
being copied out word by word, here follow.

COPY of the BISHOP’S LETTER written to the PARISH of WEME.

UNDERSTANDING that one Glover an heretic is
dead in the parish of Wem, which Glover hath,
nature of my being in this country, been known for
God against our laws, as a heretic, and a
amonst the holy sacraments and ceremonies used in the holy,
and hath repatriated himself from the holy com-
mission of all goodchristian men, and never required to
connected to our mother holy church, nor in his last
saw called for his spiritual father, but died without the
ploying to a christian man; I thought it good not
to connect and continue willed, that he should
be honoured with christian burial, but also and
mend all the parish of Wem, that no man procure
d to speak to him to bury him in holy ground:
I do charge and command the churchwardens of
in special, and all the parish of the fame, that
afflict the said curate, defending and hindering,
procuring that he be not buried in the church, or
in the walls of the church-yard: and likewise I
give title that brought the body to the place to carry
away again, and that at their charge, as they will
rater at their peril. At Ecclefich, this sixth of Sep-
ber, 1555.

By your Ordinary, RADULPH, COVENTRY and LITCHFIELD.

Shrewbury so that no mafs-monger should be present
thereat. Which thing being declared to the curate of
that parish, named John Marshall, and the body being
washed brought to the burial, upon the same day when the
queen was present, the curate being therewith offended,
then, plainly, that he should be buried in the church
there. Whereupon one of the friends of the
reformed, named George Torpoyly, answering again,
fad, That God would judge him in the last day, &c.
Then he said the priest, Judge God or devil, the body shall
not come there: therefore he was buried in his own
yard, where he is now at rest as near the bottom of heaven
as if he had been buried in the midst of the earth.

Moreover, in the said county of Salop, I find that one
Oliver Richardine, of the parish of Whitchurch, was
buried in Hartford-well, Sir John Yonge being sheriff the same
year, which then met in the last year of
king Henry the eighth. What ailed, as it was not
mentioned before, I thought he knew to give me the
least touch of him, having now in hand to speak of the per-
fecution within the diocese of Coventry and Litchfield.

The MARTYRDOM OF WILLIAM WOLSEY, and
ROBERT PYGOT, PAINTER.

WILLIAM Wolsey and Robert Pygott, both in-
habitants of the town of Wibich, were next
condemned after the suffering of Robert Glover and
Cornellus Bunyge. These two blessed martyrs were
judged and condemned at Ely, by John Fuller, the
bishop’s chaplain of Ely, Dr. Shaxtome, his suffragan,
Robert Stewart, dean of Ely, John Chipperton, dean
of Norwich, October 9, 1555. They were William Wol-
sey, who was then a confidant, through the means of
one Richard Everard, gentleman, a justice appointed
for those days, who cruelly treated the said William Wol-
sey, was caufed to put in furies for his good
behaviour and reform, at the next general session held
within the Ely. Being arraigned again at the
next sessions, he was still constrained to put in furies,
which at length he refused to do, and was
committed to jail, at the affize held at Ely in Lent.
In the Easter week following, Dr. Fuller, the chan-
cellof, with Chipperton, and one Dr. Yong, came to
confer with him, who laid excommunicating on him
that he was not of the catholic faith, and excommunicating
no further with the scriptures, than it did become
one lay-man as he was to do. The said William Wol-
sey, standing still a great while, suffering them to say
their seacare, at last he answered in this wise; Good
Mr. Doctor, What did our Saviour Christ mean, when he
spake the words written in the 2d chapter of St.
Matthew’s gospel, “ Woe be unto you scribes and phar-
rifs, hypocrites; for ye shew the kingdom of heaven
against men; for ye neither go in your fellows,
unless ye them that are entering to go in.”
Yet, faith Dr. Fuller, you must understand, that
Christ spake to the scribes and pharisees.
Nay, Mr. Doctor, Christ spake even to you, and your
fellows here present, and to all others such as you be.
Away, Mr. Doctor, said Chipperton, for you can
do no good with this man. Yet, faith Dr. Fuller,
will leave thee a book to read, I promise thee of
a learned man’s doing, that is to say, of Dr. Watson’s
doing (who was then bishop of Lincoln).
Wolsey receiving the same book, did diligently read it
over, which in many places did manifestly appear
corresponds to the true doctrine of God’s word. At length,
a fortnight or three weeks following, the said Dr. Fuller
referring again to the prison to confer with the said
Wolsey, asked him how he liked the said book, (think-
ing that he had been sent by the said bishop of the fame)
who answered him and said, Sir, I like the book no
otherwife than I thought before I should find it.
Whereupon the chancellor taking his book, departed
home.

At night when Dr. Fuller came to his chamber to
look on it, he found in many places, contrary to his
mind,
mind, the book railed with a pen by the said Wolfey. Which he seeing, and being vexed therewith, said, O this is an obstinate heretic, and hath quite marred my book.

Then the affizie to be held at Wifibich drawing nigh, Dr. Fuller cometh again to the said Wolfey, and speaks unto him in this manner: Thou dost much trouble my conscience; for I, for my part, and ruling my tongue, so that I hear no more complaint of thee, and come to the church when thou wilt, and if thou be complained upon, so far as I may, I promise thee I will not hear of it.

Then Dr. Fuller, sayd Wolfey, I was brought hither by a law, and by a law I will be delivered.

Then being brought to the cells before named, Wolfey was laid in the castle at Wifibich, he and all his friends thinking, that he should have suffered there at that present time, but it proved otherwise.

Then Robert Pygott, the painter, being at liberty, was there present by some evil disposed persons (Ivorn men as they called them) for not coming to the church.

The said Piggott being called in the cells, would not absent himself, but there did plainly appear before Sir Christopher, to that effect, to take him into the hall. Ah, are you the holy father the painter? How chance you came not to the church? Sir, quoth the painter, I am not out of the church, I truant in God.

No, sir, said the judge, this is no church, this is a haunt of sinners. I know you are very much in a hall: but he that is in the true faith of Jesus Christ, is never absent, but in the church of God.

Ah, sirrah, said the judge, you are too high learned for me to talk with, wherefore I will fend you to them that are better learned than I, straightway commanding him to the jail where Wolfey lay. So the felons being broke up and ended, the said Wolfey and Piggott were carried again to Ely to prifon, where they both remained till the day of their death.

In the mean time some of their neighbours of Wifibich being at Ely, came to see how they did. There came hither also a chaplain of bishopp Goodrick's, a Frenchman born, one Peter Valenti, who said to the said Wolfey and Pygott: My brethren, according to my office I am come to talk with you, for I have been aminister here these twenty years and above. Wherfore I must desire you, no matter what your profession is, that I am come to talk with you; I promise you not to pull you from your faith. But I both require and desire, in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of the gospel and word, and befech the Almighty God, that his spirit's fire doth consume both you and me in the fame unto the end. For I know not myself (my brethren) how soon I shall be at the same point that you are. Thus with many other like words he made an end, caution all that were there present to watch their charge, contrary to the expectation they all bade of him. God be praised therefore.

Then within a short time after, Pygott and Wolfey were called to judgment about the 9th of October, before Dr. Fuller, then chancellor, with old Dr. Shaxton, Christopher, and others in communion, who heard the matter in different manner for different articles, but especially of the facrament of the altar. Whereunto their answer was, That the facrament of the altar was an idol, and that the natural body and blood of Christ was not present really in the facrament; and that unless they said they would flock, perfectly believing the facrament to be no heresy that they had affirmed, but the very truth, whereunto they would stand. Then the doctors said, that they were out of the catholic faith.

Then Dr. Shaxton said unto them, Good brethren, remember yourselves, and become new men, for myself was in this fond opinion that you are now in, but I am now become a new man.

Ah, said Wolfey, are you become a new man? Woe be to thee, thou wicked new man, for God shall justly judge thee.

Dr. Fuller then spake, saying, This Wolfey is an obstinate fellow, and one that I could never do good

upon. But as for the painter, he is a man of great erency, (as far as I perceive) and is fohn revenge, and may very well be delivered for any ill opinion in him.

Then Christopher, called for pen and ink, and wrote these words following: I Robert Pygott do believe, that after the word of confecation spoken by priest, it remained no more bread and wine, but the very body and blood of Christ really and literally, the self-fame that was born of the virgin Mary, and reading to the painter, he said thus, doe believe all this according as it is written?

Then said, fir, said the painter, that is your faith, and mine.

Christopher. Lo, Dr. Fuller, you would lead this fellow go, he is as much an heretic as the old. And so immediately judgment was given upon them. Which done, after the sentence read, they went again to prison, where they lay till the day of death.

On which day, one Peacock, a butcher, being appointed to preach, took his text from the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chap. one of that had lived inordinately by abusing his first wife; for wherein thou gavest not to thy servant to dealing, man, oftentimes saying, that such persons and out of the cell; and most militantly charging the said Wolfey to be clean out of the faith, and many places quite denying the scriptures.

Then the day being passed, and the said Peacock being brought to the place where the judgment was bound to the stake with a chain: thither came Richard Collinson, a priest, at that time de signor abiding place or fatted benefiee, who was unto Wolfey, the preacher hath openly preached his sermon this day, that you are quite out of the scriptural faith, and deny baptism, and that you do the holy scripture; wherefore I beseech you, for the cooling of my conscience, with others here present, to declare in what place of the scripture you deny and fault Wolfey.

I take the eternal and everlasting godly witness, that I do err in no part or point of God's holy bible, but hold and believe in the same most firm and found doctrine in all points most useful for my salvation, and for all other christians to the world. To all good and godly men, I beseech you, God forgive them therefore. With that commit the fire with a great fleet full of books to burn, as they had been New Testaments. O, said Wolfey, give me one of them, and Pygott defered another, of them clapping it to their breasts, saying, 106th Psalm, defining all the places to do, and so received the fire most thankfully.

Concerning the story of William Wolfey, I need no morefrom the university of Cambridge, by mode, and my faithful friend William Fulfil, in relation, which I thought in this place not impo possible to be noted to the reader, in order and form it is lower.

There were two godly martyrs burnt at Ely, one named Wolfey, the other Pygott. In these two appeared a deep contrast between the spirit. Wolfey was mild, humble, and modest, promising he was able to be ruled by his perceptors, if they could persuade him to the scripture. Wolfey was stout, strong, and violent as one having the fulness of the Spirit, and desiring their doing, as of whom he was sure to receive nothing but cruel and tyranny. He was an adventurer who, over his companion, fearing left his greatness, and have been overcome by the flattering enchantments of the world, and therefore the same day that they were burnt, when they would have talked with him alone, he put him away from them almost by force. He was desirous to glorify God with his sufferings, and was desirous to suffer tormented in the prison with the same fear he feared nothing more than that he should die before the day of execution (which he called his holy day) were come.

This Wolfey being in prision at Ely, was visited by Thomas Hoblot, brewer, in Ely. To him he delivereis
story of the life, sufferings, and martyrdom of bishop ridley, and bishop latimer, with their letters, &c. character of stephen gardiner, bishop of winchester. and martyrdom of many pious and godly men and women, during the bloody reign of queen mary i.

history of dr. nicholas ridley and dr. hugh latimer, both bishops, preachers, and martyrs of christ; with their conferences and sufferings.

the 17th of october, 1555, (the day on which william wolsey and thomas pygot suffered at sale.) the two famous and singular captains, the principal pillars of christ's church, dr. nicholas ridley, archbishop of london, and dr. hugh latimer, formerly bishop of worcester, were cruelly burnt in one fire at london. men, ever memorable for their piety, learning, and incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace, and with no less commendable fineness of character, as the divine law can sufficiently testify; so it needeth not that we should stand and at this time in setting forth a full description of the fame, but only to consider briefly in a few words, touching the order of the lives, so much as necessarily vereth to the due action of the reader, and malice to the use of this short history, in declaring first their beginning and manner of their lives and acts in that holy city, and their preferments also by their fluency to high royalty, at last their care and trouble in fitting forth and, in maintaining the fame to the shedding their blood. and first to begin with the life of dr. william wolsey here enufeth.

among many other worthy histories and notable acts such as of late days have been troubled, murdered, and destroyed, for the true gospel of christ, in queen mary's reign, the tragical story and life of dr. ridley taught good to commit to writing, and leave to posterity; bequeathing the (gentle reader) with and wholly to peruse, diligently to consider, a deeply to print the same in thy breaf, seeing him so beautifully adorned with such excellent qualities, so finely instructed, and godly learned, and now woven in the book of life, with the blest flaws of singularity, crowned and enthroned amongst the best company of martyrs. first, descanting of a rich, worthy, and in this land, who being a child, learned his grammar with preciosity, cultured, and was removed in the university of cambridge. for a time became so famous, that for his singularity, he was called to higher functions and offices of nobility, by degrees pertaining thereunto, and was finally to be head of pembroke hall, and there made dean of divinity. after this, departing from thence, travelled to paris, and at his return was made chaplain to king henry the eighth, and promoted afterwards.

when his death fell, and when his fix thirnings and eight-pence was delivered to richard denton, with the commendation of aforesaid, his answer was this, i confess it is true, but alas! i cannot burn. this was almost one whole year after wolsey was burnt. but he that could not burn for the cause of christ, was afterwards burnt against his will, even after christ had given peace to his church. for on tuesday, the 18th of april, 1564, his houfe was set on fire, and he endeavouring to save his goods, perished in the flames, with two others that were in the same house.

witnessed by thos. hodilo, and will. fulke.

not much unlike this, was the example of mr. wet, chaplain to bishop ridley, who refusing to die in the cause of christ, with his matter, said masts against his conscience, and died soon after.

by him to the bishopric of recheste, and from thence translated to the see and bishopric of london, in king edward's days.

in which calling and offices he so diligently applied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of christ, that no good child was more singularly loved by his dear parents, than he by his flock and diocese. every holiday and sunday he preached in one place or other, except he were otherwise hindered by weighty affairs and business; to whose sermons the people returned, swelling about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine, which he did not only preach, but flewed the fame by his life, as a glittering lantern to the honest and fertile of the blind, in such pure and chastity of life (declining from evil desires and concupiscence) that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any one jot thereof.

besides this, he was very well learned, his memory was great, and he of such reading withal, that of right he deserved to be compared to the best men of this our age, as his notable works, pithy sermons, and his finely set downes in both the universities can well testify, and also his very adversaries will lay the fame themselves.

besides all this, he was wife of counsell, deep of wit, and very politic in all his doings. how merciful and careful he was to reduce the obilionate papists from their erroneous opinions, and by gentleness to win them to the truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of dr. heath, late archbishop of york, being prisoner with him in king edward's time, in his houfe, one year, sufficiently declareth. in fine, he was such a proude, and in all points so good, pious and spiritual a man, that england may jutly lament the los of so worthy a nature.

and thus much concerning these public matters.

now i will proceed something further, particularly of his person and conditions. he was a man right comely and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. he took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rapine from his heart, but straightforwardly forgetting all injuries and injuries done, and offices done; he was, in a manner, very kind and natural to his kinsfolk, and yet not bearing with them any otherwise than right would require, giving them always for a general rule, yea, to his own brother and sister, that they doing evil should seek or look for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens to him, and they be his brother and sister, who used honestly and a goody trade of life.
Shipside, saying that he would make twelve pence to go upon him; which had indeed been promised; but the time he was at prison at Oxford, Dr. Rich. Corriner, God otherwise would have given his deliverance by the order of Dr. Heath, then bishop of Worcester. Written by George Shipside.

Whereby all good impartial readers may easily and plainly discern what great diversity there was in the dispositions of the men of that sort to serve the state, as the one in mercy and piety, so the other again, as much more, excellent in churchly ingratidgation and hard disdain. But of this matter enough.

Now concerning God's vocation, how Dr. Rich. Corriner was first called to the favouring and conversion of the common prayer, and the church's discipline, after the course of his other studies it may appear, that the influence of his conversion was by reading of Bertram's Life, and the sacrament, whom also the conference with archbp. Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr, did not a little further his decision in that behalf. Who now by that piece of life being thoroughly won and brought to the true path, he was before blind and zealous in his old ignorance, was he confant and faithful in the right knowledge which the Lord had opened unto him, (as well for the life of Edward) and to the end of his days, and after the time of Edward) and so long he did much good, and authority and defense of the gospel, and support of peace and happiness of the church. But after his death God (in his wise providence) to bereave us of his holy name, so that precious prince king Edward, the whole state of the church and kingdom was left and folate and open to the enemy's hand: for that Ridley, after the coming in of queen Mary, was bound and in extremity, and committed to the bishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Latimer, with them included in the common prison of Bristo, but at length being separated from them, he was committed to custody in the house of one Irish, where he continued till the day of his martyrdom, which was from the year of our Lord 1554, till Octobre 16.

As for his disputations at Oxford, his determinate at Cambridge, his reasons and conference at the laconist's table, enough hath been said already. He had other conferences in prifon, both with Dr. Gomer and Mr. Latimer, as here followeth to be read.

CONFERENCES between DR. RIDLEY, and MR. LATIMER, in Prifon, upon the OBJECTIONS of ANTHONY NIAN, meaning by that Name John Popish Flees, and Sir Henry Wotton, alighting thereby to the Stan VICTOR. lib. 3. De Perfectus, Apoll.

DR. RIDLEY to MR. LATIMER.

IN writing again you have done me an unspeakable pleasure, and I pray that the Lord may require it in that day. For I have received great comfort at your message; but yet I am not so filled with it, that the spirit much more than now before, to drink more of cup of your's, wherein you mingle unto me with much pleasure. I pray you, good father, let me have one draught more to comfort my stomach. For I find that the more I drink, the more I hunger. For the more of his service, I know I shall play but the part of a well-looked for, that you are an old soldier, and an expert in arms, and God knoweth I am but a young soldier, and as of small experience in these feats, help me, I pray you, to buckle my harness. And now I would have you to consider, if your friends be good men, balms are to be had by you head by head Diotrephes, or Antonius's soldiers.

Latimer. Except the Lord help me, you say. Yet it is. For without me, faith he, you can do nothing much less sufferer from our adversaries, through a bloody law now prepared against us. But it follows...
for the communion of the church, but a popish device, whereby both the commandment and the institution of our Saviour Christ, the only true and perfect observance of his death, is eluded, and the people of God are miserably deluded. The sect of the Anabaptists, and the heresy of the Novitians, ought of right to be condemned, forasmuch as with any injurious or delusive effect, they wickedly separated themselves from the communion of the church, for which it is easy to acknowledge that the sacraments were unduly administered, but turning their eyes from themselves, wherewith, according to St. Paul's rule, they ought to examine themselves, and calling their eyes ever upon others, either ministers, or other communicants with them, they always reproved something, for which they abanoned from the communion, as from an unholy thing.

Latimer. I remember that Calvin, beginning to confute the Interim after this fort, with this saying of Hilary, The name of peace is beautiful, and the opinion of unity is fair; but who doubteth that to be the true and only peace of the church, which is Christ? I would you had that little book; there you would see how much is to be given to unity. St. Paul, when he required unity, jointeth it, according to Jesus Christ, no further. Diotrephes now of late doth always harp upon unity, unity, unity, and I think true unity, for the more some men abuse it, the more diversity, than unity in popery. I had nothing again but cornual taunts, with commandment to the Tower.

Objection 4. But admit there be in the mafs, that peradventure might be amended, or at least made better: yea, see you will have it so, admit there be a fault; if you do not confess thereto, why do you trouble yourself in vain? Do you not know both by Cyprian and Auguflinge, that communion of sacraments doth not defile a man, but confest of deeds?

Ridley. It is so still in our one trilling ceremony, or if it were some one thing of itself indifferent, (although I would with nothing should be done in the church which doth not edify the same) yet for the continuance of the common quietness I could be content to bear it. But forasmuch as things done in the mafs tend openly to the overthrow of Christ's institution, I judge that by no means either in word or deed I ought to confent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the fathers, I acknowledge it to be well spoken, if it be well understood. But it is meant of them which suppose them secretively, or in them that communicate with them; and is not meant of them which do abhor superflivirus, and wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust upon themselves, or upon the church, instead of God's word, or the truth of things.

Latimer. The very marrow-bones of those mafs are altogether detestable, and therefore by no means to be borne withal; so that of necessity the mending of it is to abolish it for ever. For if you take away obligation and adoration, which do hang upon consecration and transubstantiation, most of all the papists will not let a button by the mafs, as a thing which they esteem not, but for the gain that followeth thereon. For if the English communion, which of late was used, were as gainful to them as the mafs hath been heretofore, they would strive no more for their mafs: from thence growth the grief.

Objection 5. Consider into what dangers you call yourself, if you forsake the church; and you cannot but forsake it, if you refuse to go to mafs. For the mafs is the sacrament of unity; without the ark there is no salvation. The church is the ark and Peter's ship. You know this saying of David. He doth not say, to be his Father, which acknowledgeth not the church to be his mother. Moreover, without the church, (faith St. Augustine) be the life ever so well spent, none shall inherit the kingdom of heaven.

Ridley. The holy catholic or universal church, which is the institution of our Saviour Christ, be his Father, which calleth him the city of God, the spouse of Christ, the body of Christ, the pillar and stay of truth; this church I believe according to the creed. This church I do reverence and honour in the
the Lord. But the rule of this church is the word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. And as many as walk according to this rule, I say with St. Paul, are his work, and they shall not perish, and upon Israel, which pertaineth unto God. The guide of this church is the Holy Ghost. The marks whereby this church is known unto me in this dark world, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these: The sincere preaching of God's holy word, the due administration of the sacraments, charity, and faithful observing of ecclesiastical discipline, according to the word of God. And that church or congregation which is garnished with these marks, is in very deed that heavenly Jerusalem, which cometh down from the house that be born from above. This is the mother of all, and by God's grace I will live and die the child of this church. Out of this I grant there is no salvation; and I suppose the rest of the places objected are rightly to be understood of this church only. In times past, (faith Chrysostom) there were many ways to know the church of Christ, that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by administering the sacraments. But from that time that heretics did take hold of the church, it is only known by the scriptures of which is the true church. They have all things in outward flow, which the true church hath in truth. They have temples like unto ours'. Wherefore only by the scriptures do we know which is the true church. To that which they say, 'That the marks and tokens of the sacraments of unity, I answer, is the bread which we break, according to the institution of the Lord, is the sacrament of the unity of Christ's mystical body. For we being many, are one bread and one body, forasmuch as we are all partakers of one bread. But in the mass, the Lord's institution is not preserved; for we are not all partakers of one bread, but one devoureth all, &c. So that (as it is used) it may seem a sacrament of singularity, and of a certain special privilege for one set of people, whereby they may be discerned from the church, rather than a sacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one is represented.

Lattimer. Yes, what fellowhip hath Christ with Antichrist? Therefore it is not lawful to bear the yoke with papists. Come forth from among them, and separate yourselves from them, faith the Lord. It is one thing to be the church indeed, another thing to counterfeit the church. Would to God it were well known what is the forsaking of the church. In the king's days that is dead, who was the church of England? The king and his party. Or the papists may counterfeit. If the king and the favours of his proceedings, why be we not now the church, abiding in the same proceeding? If private mock-mongers might be of the church, and yet contrary to the king's proceedings, why may we not be of the church, the body of the church, in all that is covered with the title of the church, are the church indeed. Separate thyself from them that are such, faith St. Paul. From whom? The text hath before, If any man follow other doctrine, &c. He is purled up and knoweth nothing, &c. Weigh the whole text, that you may perceive what is the fruit of contentious disputations. But wherefore are such men said to know nothing, when they know so many things? You know the old verities.

Hoc est necesse, fine Christo plurima scripsisse. Si Chritum bene fecis, fatis effi, fi carere necis.

That is, "This is to be ignorant, to know many things without Christ. If thou knowest Christ well, thou knowest enough, though thou knowest not Jesus Christ crucified, &c. As many as are papists and mock-mongers, they may well be said to know nothing. For they know not Christ, forasmuch as in their railing, they take much away from the benefit and merit of Christ.

Objection 6. That church which you have described to me is invisible, but Christ's church is visible and known. For else why should Christ have said, Tell it unto the church. For he had commanded in vain to go forward unto life. But if a man cannot tell which it is, Ridley. The church which I have described to you hath members which may be seen; and also I have declared, by what marks it may be known, whether our eyes be so dazzled, or not, or that Satan hath brought such darkness into the world, that it is hard to discern the church, or not the fault of the church, but either of our blindness, or of Satan's darkness. But then it is not to be supposed, that one most clear candle, which is alone is able to put away all darkness. Therefore a candle unto my feet, and a light unto my eyes.

Objection 7. The church of Christ is a catholic universal church, disperse throughout the whole world. This church is the great house of God, in this are all men and evil mingled together, goats and sheep, and chaff; it is the net which gathereth all kinds: this church cannot err, because Christ hath himself mingled his Spirit, which shall lead it into all truth, &c. This church is the pillar and ground of the truth, for which St. Augustine faith, he beareth the gospel. But this universal church alloweth maps, because the greater part of the same alloweth. Therefore, &c.

Ridley. I grant that the name of the church taketh after divers manner in the scriptures. Some for the multitude of them who profess the name of Christ; of which they are as many as are named Christendom, as St. Paul faith of the Jews, not every one is Jew, &c. is a Jew outwardly, &c. neither yet all the Israel are counted the seed; even so, not every one is a Christian outwardly is a Christian indeed. For the man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is not his. Therefore this church is the pillar and main body of which Christ is the head, standeth only living and true Christians, not only outwardly in name, but inwardly in heart and truth. But forasmuch this church, which is the second taking of the church, as taking the outward fellowship, is contained in the great house, and hath with the same, outwardly of the sacraments and ministrty of the word, no things are spoken of that universal church (which) Augustine calleth the mingled church) which can be true, and confoundeth not with the church. So that the rule of Ticonium conteneth the mingled church, may here well take place; which is attributed unto the whole church that we cannot agree to the fame, but by reason of the people, is called the mingled church, the main church, which is the very true church indeed; for that multitude of evil men, which is the malignant and synagogue of Satan. And there is also a thirding of the church; of which although there be divers mentioned in the scripture, that signifies yet in the world, even in the most famous edition of Christendom, this church hath borne the greatest. This distinction presupposes of the three forms of churches, it is an easy matter, by a figure called sects, to separate the mingled and unprofitable church, which cannot truly be understood, but only of part thereof. But if any man will afflame himself, the universal doth so pertain unto the church, that whatever Christ hath promised to the church, it must be understood of that universal church, which is mentioned in the prophecy, and in the contrary Christendom, that universal church was in the time; the patriarchs and prophets, of Noah, Abraham, Moses, (at such time as the people would have him) of Elias, of Jeremiah, in the times of the apostles, and the defence of the apostles, of which time when Constantius was emperor, and Felix, bishop of Rome, succeeded Liberius. It is worthy to be noted what Lyra writeth upon Matthew; The church (that) doth not stand in men by reason of their power of great, whether it be ecclesiastical or secular. For power
and other inferiors, have been found to have arisen from God. Therefore the church confesseth these perfections, in whom is true knowledge and com-
prehension of the works and of the truth. Even if (as the decrees) are in the church in name, not in deed. And St. Augustine (Contra Caelestim monitum) faith, Whoever is afraid to be deceived by the darkness of this question, let him ask counsel at some church of God, and there either declare themselves, or else be silent in such a doubtful case. All my notes which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have in this matter, and such like, are come into the midst of them. If Christ be present with two or three, then much more where there is so great a multitude, &c. But in general councils many have been approved and confirmed. Ridley. Of the universal church, which is mingled of good and bad, and thus I think. Whenever they which be chief in it, which rule and govern the name, and to whom the whole mystical body of Christ doth obey, are so many members of Christ, and walk after the guiding and rule of his Spirit, and go before the flock to everlasting felicity, then undoubtedly counsels, as at this present of such guides and pastors of the Christian flock, do indeed represent the christian church; and being so gathered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift and guiding of his Spirit into all truth. But that any such counsel at that time allowed the mass, such an one as our was of late, in a strange manner, and frolicked with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions; that I utterly deny, and affirm it to be impossible. For like as there is no agreement between light and darkness, between Christ and Belial; so fully super-
titious and the sincere religion of Christ, will-worship and the pure worshipping of God, which is requir'd of his, that is, in spirit and truth, never can agree together. But you will say, wherefore a company is gathered together, it is not credible but there are two or three gathered in the name of Christ. I answer, if there be one hundred good and one hundred bad, (for as much as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices) what can the least number of voices avail? It is a known thing, and a common proverb, oftentimes the poorest voice overrhometh the better.

Latimer. As touching general councils, I am of the present I have no more to say than you have said. Only I refer you to your own experience, to think of our country parliaments and convocations, how and what you have seen and heard. The greater part in my time did bring forth six articles, and the king would have it so, being feduced of certain. Afterward, the greater part did repel the same, our good Josias willing to have it so. The same articles now again ( alas) another great but worse part hath refuted. O what an uncertainty is this! But after this manner most commonly are man's proceedings. God be merciful unto us. Who shall deliver us from such torments of minds? The God is death the best physician unto the faithful, whom he be together and at once delivered from all griefs. You must think this was written upon this occasion, because you would needs have your paper bloted.

Objective. If the matter should go thus, that in general councils men should not stand to the greater number of the multitude (1 mean of them which ought to give voices) then should no certain rule be left unto the church, by which controversies in weighty matters might be determined; but it is not to be believed, that Christ would leave his church destitute of so necessary a help and safeguard.

Ridley. Christ, who is the most loving spouse of his church, who also gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it unto himself, did give unto it abundantly all things which are necessary to salvation; but yet so, that the church should declare itself obediently approved and perfected in all things, and keep itself within the bounds of his commandments, and further not to seek any thing which he teacheth not, as necessary unto salvation. Further, for determination of all controversies in Christ's religion, Christ himself hath left unto the church not only Mofes and the prophets, whom he willeth in all duties to go unto, and ask counsel at, but also the gospels, and the rest of the body of the New Testament; in which whatsoever is heard of Mofes and the prophets, and whatsoever is necessary to be known unto salvation, is revealed and opened.

So that now we have no need to say, Who shall climb up into heaven, or who shall go down into the depth, to tell us what is needful to be done? Christ hath done both, and hath commended to us the word of faith, which also is abundantly declared to us in his word.
written; so that hereafter, if we walk earnestly in this way to the searching out of the truth, it is not to be doubted that we shall be brought to that certain belief of Christ’s Spirit, which he hath promised unto us, we may find it, and obtain everlasting life. Should men ask counsel of the dead for the living? faith Isaiah. Let them go rather to the law and to the testimony, &c. Christ findeth them that have been in error, and know the truth, and desire knowledge, saying, Search the scriptures. I remember a like thing well spoken of St. Jerome; ignorance of the scriptures is the mother and cause of all errors. And in another place, as I remember in the same author; The knowledge of the scriptures is the fruit of life. But now methinks I enter into a very broad sea, in that I begin to thaw, either out of the scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient writers, how much the holy scripture is of force to teach the truth of our religion. But this is it that I upbraid the fathers in the church, his spouse, in all doubts to ask counsel at the word of his Father written, and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Testaments, the old and new. Neither do we read, that Christ in any place hath laid to rest a burden upon the members of his spouse, that he hath commanded them to go to the universal church. Whatsoever things are written, faith St. Paul, are written for our learning. And it is true, that Christ gave unto his church, some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, to the edifying of the saints, till we come all to the unity of faith, &c. But that all men should meet together out of all parts of the world, to define the articles of our faith, I neither find it commanded by Christ, nor written in the word of God. 

Lauinier. There is difference between things pertaining to God or faith, and politic and civil matters. For in the first we must stand only to the scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if we shall be well understand’d. And they offer themselves to be well understand’d only to them, which have good wills, and give themselves to study and prayer. Neither are there any men left apt to understand them, than the prudent and wise men of the world. But in the other, that is, in civil and politic matters, oftentimes the magistrates do tolerate a lea evil, for avoiding of a greater, as they which have this faying often in their mouths; Better an inconveniency than a mischief. And it is the property of a wise man, faith one, to differe many things, and he that cannot differe, cannot rule. In which sayings they betray themselves, that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, and what is not. Wherefore forasmuch as men’s laws, if they be but in this respect only, that they be devised by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are enforced of necessity, under many things contrary, and compelled sometymes to wink at the worst things; seeing they know not how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwise, do ordain that the greater part shall take place. You know what these kind of speeches mean, I speak after the manner of men; you walk after the manner of men, all men are liars. And that of St. Augustine, If ye live after man’s reason, ye do not live after the will of God.

Objection 10. If you say that councils have sometymes erred, or may err, how then should we believe the catholic church? since councils are gathered by the authority of the catholic church. 

Ridley. From may be, to be indeed, is no good argument; but from being, to be may, no man doubteth but it is a wofull argument. But now that councils have sometymes erred, it is manifested. How many councils were there in the eastern parts of the church, which condemned the Nicene council? and all those who would not forsake the same, they called by a laverous name (so thought) Heretiques. Was not Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Ephraemus, men very well learned, and of godly life, banished and condemned as famous heretics, and that by wicked councils? How many things are there in the canons and institutions of the councils, which the poppins themselves do much dislike? But here preadventure one man will say unto me, you will grant this you in provincial councils, or in the council of Trent? and yet the bishops are so many, that as much as they do not represent the universal church, it is not to be believed, that the general and apostolical church, have erred at any time. Here I say if I had my book, and in other, rather such notes as I have gathered those books, yet to the preadadventure, saying, Search the scriptures. I remember a like thing well spoken of St. Jerome; ignorance of the scriptures is the mother and cause of all errors. And in another place, as I remember in the same author: The knowledge of the scriptures is the fruit of life. But now methinks I enter into a very broad sea, in that I begin to thaw, either out of the scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient writers, how much the holy scripture is of force to teach the truth of our religion. But this is it that I upbraid the fathers in the church, his spouse, in all doubts to ask counsel at the word of his Father written, and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Testaments, the old and new. Neither do we read, that Christ in any place hath laid to rest a burden upon the members of his spouse, that he hath commanded them to go to the universal church. Whatsoever things are written, faith St. Paul, are written for our learning. And it is true, that Christ gave unto his church, some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, to the edifying of the saints, till we come all to the unity of faith, &c. But that all men should meet together out of all parts of the world, to define the articles of our faith, I neither find it commanded by Christ, nor written in the word of God. 

Lauinier. There is difference between things pertaining to God or faith, and politic and civil matters. For in the first we must stand only to the scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if we shall be well understand’d. And they offer themselves to be well understand’d only to them, which have good wills, and give themselves to study and prayer. Neither are there any men left apt to understand them, than the prudent and wise men of the world. But in the other, that is, in civil and politic matters, oftentimes the magistrates do tolerate a lea evil, for avoiding of a greater, as they which have this faying often in their mouths; Better an inconveniency than a mischief. And it is the property of a wise man, faith one, to differe many things, and he that cannot differe, cannot rule. In which sayings they betray themselves, that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, and what is not. Wherefore forasmuch as men’s laws, if they be but in this respect only, that they be devised by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are enforced of necessity, under many things contrary, and compelled sometymes to wink at the worst things; seeing they know not how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwise, do ordain that the greater part shall take place. You know what these kind of speeches mean, I speak after the manner of men; you walk after the manner of men, all men are liars. And that of St. Augustine, If ye live after man’s reason, ye do not live after the will of God.

Objection 10. If you say that councils have sometymes erred, or may err, how then should we believe the catholic church? since councils are gathered by the authority of the catholic church. 

Ridley. From may be, to be indeed, is no good argument; but from being, to be may, no man doubteth but it is a wofull argument. But now that councils have sometymes erred, it is manifested. How many councils were there in the eastern parts of the church, which condemned the Nicene council? and all those who would not forsake the same, they called by a laverous name (so thought) Heretiques. Was not Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Ephraemus, men very well learned, and of godly life, banished and condemned as famous heretics, and that by wicked councils? How many things are there in the canons and institutions of the councils, which the poppins themselves do much dislike? But here preadventure one man will say unto me, you will grant this you in provincial councils, or in the council of Trent? and yet the bishops are so many, that as much as they do not represent the universal church, it is not to be believed, that the general and apostolical church, have erred at any time. Here I say if I had my book, and in other, rather such notes as I have gathered those books, yet to the preadadventure, saying, Search the scriptures. I remember a like thing well spoken of St. Jerome; ignorance of the scriptures is the mother and cause of all errors. And in another place, as I remember in the same author: The knowledge of the scriptures is the fruit of life. But now methinks I enter into a very broad sea, in that I begin to thaw, either out of the scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient writers, how much the holy scripture is of force to teach the truth of our religion. But this is it that I upbraid the fathers in the church, his spouse, in all doubts to ask counsel at the word of his Father written, and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Testaments, the old and new. Neither do we read, that Christ in any place hath laid to rest a burden upon the members of his spouse, that he hath commanded them to go to the universal church. Whatsoever things are written, faith St. Paul, are written for our learning. And it is true, that Christ gave unto his church, some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, to the edifying of the saints, till we come all to the unity of faith, &c. But that all men should meet together out of all parts of the world, to define the articles of our faith, I neither find it commanded by Christ, nor written in the word of God. 

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Objection 11. St. Austin faith, the good men are to be forsaken for the evil, but the evil are to be wont withal for the good. You will not say (I suppose) that in our congregations all be evil. 

Ridley. I speak nothing of the goodmen or badmen in your congregations; but I fight in Christ’s quarrell. For what he fighteth for, that with strength and power, and the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quierly and then the partition wall that made the little fall be broken down. Now to the place of St. Austin for bearing with the evil for the good’s sake, ought to be added other words, which the same
expresse in other places; that is, if those evil doers shall make no need of false doctrine, nor lead others to destruction by their example.

Object 12. It is pernicious to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacketh example of good in. How much more pernicious is it to commit any unlaiden thing, than to add to the breadth of the apostles, are contrary? But unto this your plea, is abating from the church by reason of the law, the examples of the prophets, of Christ, and of apostles, are clean contrary: therefore, &c. The case of all had been more evident, and more strict, if we leave thus. In the times of the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles, all things were most corrupt. The people were miserably given to superstition, the laws defiled the law of God; and yet notwithstanding, we do not read that the prophets made any chafins or innovations; and Christ himself frequently took the people taught in the temple of the Jews. Peter and John set up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer, after the reading of the law, being defied to say nothing to the people, did not refuse to do it. Yet that no man can shew, that either the prophets, or Christ, or his apostles, did refuse to pray together with, or to incite, or to be partakers of the sacrament Moses' law.

Ridley. I grant the former part of your argument; but the second part I say, that although it contain nothing too corrupt in the times of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, the people being frequented by Christ and his apostles; yet notwithstanding the second part of your argument is not strictly proved. For you ought to have proved, that the prophets, either Christ or his apostles, did increase with the people in any kind of idolatry which is forbidden by the law, and is not contrary to the word of God. But that can no more be shewn. And as for the church, I am not angry at thee, and I never refused to go to it, and to pray with the people, to hear the word of God, and to do all in that church agreeable to the word of God. St. Austin, speaking of the ceremonies of the church, (I suppose in the epistle ad Januarius) although he granted they grievously oppressed that people, both for number and bondage of the name, yet he called the ceremonies of the law, which were delivered unto the people in the word, the afflictions of men, and notwithstanding, if they were not contrary to the word, might in some measure be borne withall.

Now, seeing they are contrary to such things as are men in the word of God, whether they ought to be corrupted by anychristian, or no, let him judge who is spurious, who fears God, and loves his life, and levethinf life more than this florro and this worldly life. That which was said, that my fact lacketh example of godly fathers that have gone before, the contrary is evident in the history of Toby: of whom it is said, that when all others went to the golden calves, which ambo the king of Israel had made, that he was gone from their company, and went to Jerusalern, and there worshipped the Lord God of Israel. Did not the man of God threaten grievously against the priests of Bethel, and to the altar that Jerbaah had made there after his own fantasy? What plaques kings have, that his threat be not executed at the time appointed. And where do we, that the prophets or the apostles did agree with people in their idolatry, when the people went to with their hill-altars? For what cause, I pray you, did the prophet rebuke the people so much, as for falsely worshipping of God rather than his true God? For whereof was so much as that the people of God therefore they beat them, they beat them, &c. How else, I pray you, can we defend what he saith, when he saith, the truth hath Christ with behold? Or how shall the believer with the infidel? Or how shall the truth of God with images? For ye are the temple of the living God, as God himself hath said: I will dwell among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore, come out from among them, and separate yourself from them, (as the Lord) and touch no unclean thing: so will I receive you, and be a Father unto you, and you shall be my sons and daughters, faith the Lord God Almighty.

Latimer. A woman, would not suffer herself to be defiled with the meats of the wicked. All the faints of God, which truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do any thing which they knew to be contrary to God's laws, have chose to die rather than take the laws of their God. Wherefore the Maccabees put themselves in danger of death for the defence of the law, and they died manfully in the defence of the same. If we do not (by faith and good conscience) the Maccabees, and that with great admiration, because they did stoutly stand even unto death, for the law of their country; how much more ought we to suffer all things for our baptism, for the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, &c. and the supper of the Lord, such a one (I mean) as Christ commandeth us to celebrate, the mass utterly abolishing, and corrupting most shamefully.

Latimer. Whom I, that should add any thing to this which you have spoken? Nay, I rather thank you, that you have vouchsafed to minster to poor me, as you are, because the people of this church, you will not be confounded, because you are left defitute of help, who rightly trusteth in the help of God. I only come to die in reading of the New Testament, and am every now and then praying unto my God, that he will be an helpee unto me in time of need.

Object 13. Seeing you are obstinately set against the mass, that you affirm, because it is done in tongue not understood of the people, and for other causes, I cannot tell what; therefore it is not the true sacrament ordained of Christ? I begin to fancy you, that you think not carnally of baptism also. Is our baptism, which we do use in a tongue unknown to the people, the true baptism of Christ, or no? If it be, then the strange tongue must not hurt the mass. If it be not the baptism of Christ, tell me how you baptizeth. Or whether will you, as the anabaptists, and all which were baptized in Latin, should be baptized again in the English tongue?

Ridley. Although I would with baptism to be given in the vulgar tongue, for the people's sake, which are present, that they may be the better understand their own profession, and also be more able to declare what children the face, yet notwithstanding there is not like necessity of the vulgar tongue in baptism, as in the Lord's supper. Baptism is given to children, who by reason of their age are not able to understand what is spoken unto them, whatsoever it be. The Lord's supper is, and ought to be given to them that are at years of maturity. Moreover, in baptism, which is accustumd to be given to children in the Latin tongue, all the substanital points (as a man would say) which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that baptism to be a perfect and true baptism, and that it is not only not useful, but also not lawful for a man to be baptized, to be christened again. But yet notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the catechism of the christian faith, even when they come to years of discretion; which catechism whoever doth not utter, or will not deliberately embrace and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a christian man. But in the pope's mass are wanting certain substanitals, that is to say, things commanded by the word of God to be observed in the institution of the Lord's supper; of which there is sufficient declaration made before.

Latimer. Where you say I would with, I do not agree with you that you had spoken more vehemently. I do not have said, it is of necessity, that all things in the consecration should be done in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are present, notwithstanding that the child itself is sufficiently baptized in the Latin tongue.
Objectiv 14. Forasmuch as you are so fitly, I will not say obstinately bent, and so wedded to your opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no wholesome counsels, no other kind of means can call you home to a better mind, there remaineth which that in like cases we must to the end remit our flint-fenced and stubborn perfons, that is, you must be hampered by the laws, and be compelled to obey whether you will or no, or else to suffer that which a rebel to the laws ought to suffer. Do you not know, that whatsoever re- fusethe to obey the laws of the realm, he bewrayeth himself to the enemy of his country? Do you not know this is the readiest way to stir up sedition and civil war? It is better that you should bare your own fin, than through the example of your breach of the common law, the common quiet should be disturbed. How can you say you are the queen's subjects, when as you do openly profest that you will not keep her laws? 

Ridley. O heavenly Father, the Father of all wisdom, understanding, and true strength, I beseech thee for thy only Son our Saviour Christ's sake, look mercifully upon me wretched creature, and send thee Holy Spirit into my breast, that not only I may understand according to thy wisdom, how this pestilent and deadly dart is to be borne off, and with what answer it is to be beaten back, but also when I must join to fight in the field for the gospel's cause, that the king with the defence of the right hand, may manfully stand in the confession of thy faith, and of thy truth, and continue in the name unto the end of my life, through our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

Now to the objection. I grant it to be reasonable, that her majesty and her subjects are not faithful subjects, for to yield the right hand to the enemies of their king and country, and to suffer their revenge. But it is a very thing that notable laying of Valen- empire for chusing the bishop, or who give not the right answer in the bishop's feast, to whom if we (as offended at any time, we may submit ourselves in the carp the most confident manner, when he flounded the chief rulers, and was commanded to be hanged, and cut off and quartered by the order of the law. But these things ought to take place against him, who refuseth to do that which is right and just according to true godliness, not against him who cannot quietly bear superfluities, but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the name of God. For that which you say, a transgressor of the common laws bewrayeth himself to be an enemy of his country, surely a man ought to look unto the nature of the laws, what manner of laws they be which are broken. For a faithful christian ought not to think alike of all manner of laws. But that saying ought only truly to be under- stood of such laws as are not contrary to God's word. Otherwise, whatever love their country in truth, (that is to say, in God) they will always judge, if at any time the man be the god of his country, contrary to the other, that a man ought rather to obey God than man. And they think otherwise, and pretend a love to that country, transform as they make their country to fight as it were against God, in whom confest the only way of their country, surely I do think such are to be judged most deadly enemies of the commonwealth. For they that fight against God, who is the fates of their country, what do they else but go about to bring upon their country a present ruin and destruction! But they that do so are worthy to be judged enemies to their country, and betrayers of the realm. Therefore, &c. But this is the readiest way (you say) to stir up sedition, to trouble the quiet of the commonwealth; therefore are these things reprobated in time by force of laws. Behold, Satan doth not cease to practice his old guiles, and seduction. He hath ever this device, to readiness to hurl against his adversaries, to accuse them of sedition, that he may bring them, if he can, in danger of the higher powers. For so hath he by his minister always changed the prophets of God. "Ahab said unto Elijah, That troubleth the king's heart for that they said, Their words were sedition, and not to be suffered: did not the scribes and pharisees falsely accuse Christ as a sedition hero, and one that spake against Caesar's friend? Did they not, at last, cry, "If this man go, thou art not Caesar's friend?" The emperor Tullius, how doth he accuse Paul before Felix and the Roman tribune? "We have found this man, faith, a pestilent fellow, and a stirrer of sedition, unto all the Jews of great repute. I pray you, were men, as they were called, seditionists against Caesar, and the prophets? God forbid. But they were men falsely accused. And for what, I pray you, because they reproved before the people their sins, superstition, and deceit. And what if the others could not be, it would gladly have had them so to do, to accusation, as they accused them as seditionists, and sedition men of the commonwealth, that being by this, was hateful to the people and princes, they might deal themselves up to be tormented, and put to death. But how far they were ere from it, or what their doctrine, life, and conversation they did well declare, that which was objected last of all, that he was not a faithul subject to his prince, who professed publicly, he would not observe the laws which the prince made, he would with that I might have an imperial judge, and one that feareth God, to whom I can, and in this case, I promise I will stand. I acknowledging a man ought to obey his prince, but in the Lord never against the Lord. For he that knoweth nothing of God's law, doth not a true prince, but is a deceiver of the people, and useth them to work his own destruction. He is also he that giveth not to the prince that which is the price and to God that which is God's. Here commeth an solemn charge to you, that was to say, he in the bishop's feast, to whom if we (as offended at any time, we may submit ourselves in the carp the most confident manner, when he flounded the chief rulers, and was commanded to be hanged, and cut off and quartered by the order of the law. But these things ought to take place against him, who refuseth to do that which is right and just according to true godliness, not against him who cannot quietly bear superfluities, but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the name of God. For that which you say, a transgressor of the common laws bewrayeth himself to be an enemy of his country, surely a man ought to look unto the nature of the laws, what manner of laws they be which are broken. For a faithful christian ought not to think alike of all manner of laws. But that saying ought only truly to be understood of such laws as are not contrary to God's word. Otherwise, whoever love their country in truth, (that is to say, in God) they will always judge, if at any time the man be the god of his country, contrary to the other, that a man ought rather to obey God than man. And they think otherwise, and pretend a love to that country, transform as they make their country to fight as it were against God, in whom confest the only way of their country, surely I do think such are to be judged most deadly enemies of the commonwealth. For they that fight against God, who is the fates of their country, what do they else but go about to bring upon their country a present ruin and destruction! But they that do so are worthy to be judged enemies to their country, and betrayers of the realm. Therefore, &c.
CONFERENCE between Dr. RIDLEY and Mr. LATIMER.

Mary A.D. 1555.

A dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth to the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attain unto, the fountain of the everlasting joys. Let us follow, I say, whither he calleth and inviteth us, that we may be saved from those affections, which allure us to sin, as gold by the fire, we may truly weigh our drift and triumph with him in the glory of our Father, and that through the merit of our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and ever. Amen.

God forbid, forsooth as I have determined with myself to pour forth these my cogitations into thy ears, herewith, methinks, I see thou suddenly lifting up my head towards heaven, after you have commended this to my thoughts, and the opinion I have for the miseries of the hearers, and the vain bragging and ostentation of the adversaries. Fear of death doth most pertinaciously trouble the mind. Be well aware of that argument, for that perplexed Shaxton (as many men thought) after that he had once made a good profession openly before the judgment seat. The flesh is weak, but the willingness of the spirit shall refresh the weakness of the flesh.

The number of the critics under the altar must needs be fulfilled; if we be segregated thereunto, happy be we. That is the greatest promotion that God gives in this world, to be such Philippians, to whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer, &c. But who is able to do these things? Surely all our ability, all our sufficiency is of God. He shall freely give us, and we declare our obedience to his will when it shall be requisite in the time of trouble, yea, in the midst of the fire. When that number is fulfilled, which I suppose will be shortly, then have at the papists, when they shall say, Peace, all things are safe, when Christ shall come to keep his great parliament to redress all things that are amiss. But he shall not come as the papists feign him, to hide himself, and to play bo-peep as it were under a piece of bread. He shall come gloriously, the terror and fear of all papists, and to the great consolation and comfort of all that will here suffer for him. Comfort yourselves and one another with these words. For, sir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously, but so I thought better than not to fulfil your request at this time. Fardon me, and pray for me, pray for me I say, pray for me. For I am sometimes so fearful, that I would creep into a methyl-hole; sometimes God doth visit me again with his comfort. So he comforteth and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy, lest I should rob him of his due, as many do, and almost all the world. Fare you well.

What is to be given to papists may appear by their racketing, writing, wringing, and monstrously injuring of God's holy scripture, as apperareth in the pope's law. But I dwell here now in a school of forgetfulness. Fare you well once again, and be you steadfast and immovable in the Lord. Paul loved Timothy marvellously well, notwithstanding he faith unto him, be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel; and again, "Harden thyself to suffer afflictions. Be faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life," faith the Lord.

Letter.

From Bishop Ridley and his Fellow-Prisoners, to Mr. Bradford and his Fellow-Prisoners, in the King's-Bench, in Southwark, Anno 1554.

WELL beloved in Christ our Saviour, we all with one heart with to you, with all those that love God in deed and truth, grace and health, and especially to our dearly beloved companions which are in Christ's cause, and the cause of the truth, in both their breathings and in their own salvation, to put their neck willingly under the yoke of Christ's yoke. How joyful it was to us to hear the report of Dr. Taylor, and of his godly confession, &c. I assure you it is hard for me to express.

Blessed
BLESSED be God, which was and is the giver of that, and of all godly strength and support in the time of adversity. As for the rumours that have or do go abroad, either of our relenting or miscarriage, we truthfully say, and therefore, that they towards the brethren in Christ, will not be too light of belief. For it is not the fandancer’s evil tongue, but a man’s evil deed that can with God delive a man; and therefore, with God’s grace, you shall never have cause to do otherwise with us, but fear, not to doubt that we will, by God’s grace, continue, &c. Like rumours as you have heard of our coming to London, have been here spread of the coming of certain learned men prisoners hither from London; but as yet we know not who it is, or the truth of the rumour or if it be true. Know you that we have you in our daily remembrance, and with you and all the rest of our forefathers and companies well in Christ.

It would much comfort us, if we might have knowledge of the state of the rest of our most dearly beloved which in this troublesome time do stand in Christ’s caufe, and in the defence of the truth thereof. We have heard somewhat of Mr. Hooper’s matter, but nothing of the rest. We long to hear of father Crome, Dr. Sancs, Veron, Rogers, Mynskins. We are in good health, thanks be to God, and yet the manner of using us doth change as fourtune in the mind. It is reported to us by our keepers, that the university beareth us heavily. A coal happened to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a boy on the floor, and no wonder, the balif’s house be but a common fire. Another night there chanced (as the balif told us) a drunken fellow to multiply words, and for the fame he was fet in Bocardo. Upon this thing as is reported, there is a rumour rife in the town and country about, that we would have broke the prison with such violence, as that if the baliffs had not played the pretty men, we should have made an escape. We had out of our prison a wall that we might have walked upon, and our servants had liberty to go abroad in the town or fields, but now both they and we are restrained of both.

My lord of Worcester paffed through Oxford, but he did not visit us. The fame day our restraint began to be more close, and the book of the communion was taken up by the baliffs at the mayor’s command, as the baliffs did report to us. No man is licence to come unto us; before they might, that wee set upon the wall, but that is so grudged at, and so evil reported, that we are now restrained, &c. Sir, bless God to you. Our last reports, grudges and re- frains, we are merry to God, and we care is and shall be (by God’s grace) to please and serve him, of whom we look and hope, after these temporal and momentary miseries, to have eternal joy and perpetuall felicity with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Peter and Paul, and all the heavenly company of the angels in heaven, through Jeifes Christ our Lord. As yet there has no learned man, nor any scholar, been to visit us since we came into Bocardo, which now in Oxford may be called a college of Quondams. For as you know we are no fewer than three, and I dare say every one weel contented with his portion, which I do reckon to be our heavenly Father’s, good, and gracious gift. Thus fare you well. We shall by God’s grace one day meet together, and be merry. The day alluredly approacheth, upon what you say that many men are joyfully come. For before that day come, I fear the world will wax worse and worse. But then all our enemies shall be overthrown and trodden under foot: righteousness and truth shall have the victory, and bear the bell away, wherefore the Lord grant us to be partakers, and all that love truly the truth.

We all pray you, as we can, to cause all our commendations to be made unto all such as you know did visit us and you when we were in the Tower, with their friendly remembrances and benefits. Mrs. Wilkson and Mrs. Warde have not forgotten us, but ever since we came to Bocardo, with their charitable and friendly benevolence have comforted us, that not else we did 2
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and say what they lift; know you for a cer-
by God's grace, without all doubt, that in the
hand of Christ's gift of grace. I am long since
ded of God, that I am fully determined to live and die.
(dear brother), and I befeech you, and all the
four brethren to have good remembrance of the
married brethren (as they call them) of Oxford, in
prayers. The bearer may deliver you of our state,
according to the Lord's divine Boscawen.
From yours in Christ,
NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

LETTER IV.

Bishop RIdLEY to Mr. BRADFORD, and his
Fellow Prisoners.

EARLY beloved, I wish you grace, mercy, and
peace,
according to your mind, I have run over all your pa-

and what I have done (which is but small) therein
appear. In two places I have put in two looie leaves,
seven in all, of what was written in your great
and I think somehow I have altered some words,
I could not write another, for I am so well
why shall I bebbt done with these things, now
must consider; for if they come in fight at this time,
wholly they must go to the fire with their author:
for any false-guard that your custody can be unto
it, I am sure you look for no other, but to have and
and take away all the substance of the same cup. Yea,
God, that hath given you liberty in the mean scar-
that you may use your pen to his glory, and the
fort (as I hear say) of many. I blest God daily in
them, and all your whole company, to whom I befeech
commend me heartily. Now I love my country
and truth. I mean Dr. Taylor, not for my
little country's sake, but for our heavenly Father's,
and for Christ's sake, whom, I heard say, he did
aptly in time of danger confess, and yet also for our
men's sake, and for all our mother's sake: but I
the kingdom of heaven, and of heavenly Jeru-
and of the Lord's Church, of patience and con-
and to the Lord, who hath begun this work in you,
and perform and perfect this his own deed, until his
own time.

And yet I perceive you have not been baited, and
the airth of God knowth, which will let them do no
more than is his good will and pleasure to suffer them
do for his own glory, and to the profit of them which
and of our reason. Therefore, Father, who guideth them
that Christ's to Christ, is more mighty to do them their
man is able to pull them out of the Father's hands;
and, I say, it please our Father, it please our master
unto suffer them, they shall not ill one hair of your

My brother P. the bearer hereof, and Mr. Hooper's
should, that we should say what we think good
earning your mind: that is, not to answer, except
might have impartial judges; we are (as you know)
anted, and cannot confute with one another, and we
are narrowly watched by the bailiffs about us, that
our delivery, and know, As we live, we hear,
the scholars bear us more heavily than your
nations. A wonderful thing, among so many, never
is a scholar offered any of us (so far as I know) any
any war of favour, either for or in Christ's cause.

The re-pricing of your demand of our counsel, for
part I do not dislike that you perceive you are ad-
do. For I look for none other, but if you
before the commissioners that we did, you shall
were handled as we were, though you were as
published as ever was either Peter or Paul. And yet
I think, if true, all afterwards may be given in,
and the consideration of the profit of your audi-
may pernicious move you to do otherwise.
Finally, determinately to say what shall be, I
not able; but I truth he, whose cause you have in
hand, shall put you in mind to do that which shall be most
for his glory, the profit of his flock, and your own salva-
This letter is written not to you and Mr.
Hooper, in whom and in his fellow-prisoners,
least of God, I blest God, even from the bottom of my heart;
for I doubt not but they both do to our master Christ, true,
acceptable, and honorable service, and profitable to his
flock; the one with his pen, and the other with his
fatherly example of patience and constancy and manner
of true godliness. But what shall I need to say to
you? Let this be communom among your brethren, among
whom I (dare say) it is with you as it is with us, to
whom all things here are common, meat, money, and
whatsoever in try of us hath, that can or may do another
good. Although I laid the bailiffs and our bailiffs do
strife about us, that we have no conference or intel-
ligence of anything abroad, yet God hath provided for
every one of us instead of our servants, faithful fellows,
who are content to hear and fee, and to do for us whatever
we can. It is God's work surely, blest be God for his unspacious goodnec.
The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God,
and the communication of the Holy Ghost, be with you all,
Amen, Amen.
As far as London is from Oxford, yet hence we
have received of God, both meat, money, and things,
not only from such as are our acquaintance, but also
(thomwhom this bearer can tell) with whom to my know-
ledge I never had any acquaintance. I know for what
f Oklahoma it do; to him therefore be all honor, glory,
and due thanks.
And yet I pray you do so much as to shew them,
that we have received their benevolence; and (God be blest)
behave to you, any thing of such things. This I desire you
to do; for I know thby be of Mr. Hooper's and his
fellow acquaintance. Mr. Latimer was out of order;
but now (thanks be to God) he amended again.
NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

LETTER V.

From the same to the same.

O dear brother, seeing the time is now come,
wherein it pleaseth the heavenly Father, for Christ
our Saviour's sake, to call upon you, and to bid you to
come, happy are you that ever you were born, thus to
be found awake at the Lord's calling. "Well done,
good and faithful servants, because thou hast been faith-
ful in small things, I will set thee over great things,
and thou shalt enter into the joy of thy Lord."

O dear brother, what meaneth this, that you are sent
into your own native country? The wildom and policy
of the world mean what they will, but I trust
God will order the matter finally by his fatherly pro-
vidence, that so goodly a men as you be, and all such graces
goodnec shall be plentifully poured abroad among
our dear brethren in that country by this your martyr-
don, where the martyrs for Christ's sake shed their
blood, and left their lives. What wondrous things
hath Christ afterwards wrought to his glory, and con-
firmation of their doctrine? If it be not the place that
enriches the man, but the holy man doth by Christ
enlighten the place, brother Bradford, then happy
and holy shall be that place wherein thou shalt suffer,
and shall be with thy sakes in Christ's cause sprinkled over
withal. All thy sufferings, I mean, that it ever
brought forth such a one, which would render such a
life again in his cause of whom he had received it. Brother
Bradford, so long as I shall understand thou art in thy
journey, by God's grace I shall call upon our heavenly
Father for Christ's sake to set thee safely home: and
then, good brother, thank you, and I will bid you for
the remnant which are to suffer for Christ's sake, according
to that thou shalt find more knowly.

We do look now every day when we shall be called on,
blest be God. I think I am the weakest many of our
company, and yet I thank our Lord God and heav-
heavenly Father by Christ, that since I have our
dear brother Rogers departing, and stout confession of
Christ and his truth, even unto death, my heart (blest
be God) rejoiced for it, that since that time (I say) I
never
never felt any great heaviness in my heart, as I grant I have felt some time before. O good brother, blest be God in thee, and blest be the time that ever I knew thee. Farewell, farewell.

Your brother in Christ,
NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

LETTER VI.

To the BRETHREN remaining in CAPTIVITY, and dispersed abroad in many Parts, but knit together in Unity of Spirit and Holy Religion, in the Bowels of the Lord Jesus.

GRACE, peace, and mercy, be multiplied among you. What worthy thanks can we render unto the Lord for you my brethren, namely, for the great consolation which through you we have received in the Lord, who notwithstanding the rage of Satan, that goeth about by all manner of subtle means to beguile the world, and also by subtly laboureth to restore and set up his kingdom again, that of late began to decay and fall to ruin; you remain yet still immovable, as men surely grounded upon a strong rock. And now, albeit that Satan by his sordid and wicked ministrers, daily (as we hear) draweth numbers unto him, so that it is said of him, that he plucketh the very thorns out of heaven, and casteth them into men's heart, to excite the fear of death, and loss of all their goods, and thefe to others the pleasant baits of the world; namely, riches, wealth, and all kinds of delights and pleasures, fair houses, great revenues, fat benefices, and what not; and all to the intent that they should fall down and be ship, not the Lord, but the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil, that great beast and his image, and should be enticed to commit fornication with the harlotry of Babylon, together with the kings of the earth, with the lecher beasts, and with the false prophets, and false religion anfalsefaint with her, and to get drunk with the wine of her fornication; yet blest be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath given unto you a manly courage, and hath so strengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his Spirit, that you can concern as well all the allurements of the world, enticing them as vains, mere trifles, and things of naught; who hath also wrought, planted, and freely established in your hearts, fo fedfast a faith and love of the Lord Jesus Christ, joined with such constancy, that no engines of Antichrist, be they ever so terrible or plausible, you will suffer any other Jesus, or any other Christ, to be forced upon you, besides him whom the prophets have spoken of before, the apostles have preached, the holy martyrs of God have confesed and testified with the effusion of their blood.

In this faith stand you fast, my brethren, and suffer not yourselves to be brought under the yoke of bondage and superstitution any more. For you know, brethren, how our Saviour warned us beforehand, that flesh should come as would point unto the world another Christ, and would set him out with so many false miracles, and with such deceivable and subtle practices, that even the very elect (if it were possible) should thereby be deceived: such strong delusion to come did our Saviour give us before. But continue you faithful ever constant, and be of good comfort, and remember that our great captain hath overcome the world; for he that is in us, is stronger than he that is in the world, and the Lord promoteth us, that for the elect's fake, the days of wickedness shall be flowered. In the mean season abide you and endure with patience as you have begun: endure I say, and preserve yourselves unto better times, as one of the heathen poets said; cease not to shew yourselves valiant soldiers of the Lord, and help to maintain the traveling faith of the gospel.

You have need of patience, that after you have done the will of God you may receive the promises. "For yet a very little, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry; and the fulsome shall live by faith; but if any man abide alone, my soul shall have no pleasure in him (faith the Lord). But be sure not they which do withdraw themselves unto damnation, but before the salvation of the soul." Let us not suffer therefore of Christ to fall out of our hearts by any manner of false reasonings of the world. Fear not that God will kill the body, the rest you know. I write you, as men which are ignorant of the truth, and to this end only, that we may all meet together in one faith, may comfort one another, and may learn and strengthened thereby. We had a better, or more just cause either to come to life, or to shed our blood; we cannot take in consideration, or to the end to suffer a men more certain, clear, and manifest evil in the world, it is nothing but a matter for which we contend, or to touch the very substance of our faith, and of our whole religion, even Christ himself. Shall we, or can we receive another Christ, instead of him, who is alone the Son of the everlasting Father, and is the beginning of the glory, and a lively image of the substance of another, in whom only dwellth corporally the fountain, the Godhead, who is the only way, the truth, and the life? Let such wickednesses (my brethren), let such rable wickednesses be far from us. For although that be called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, there be many gods, and many lords, yet one Lord God is but one God, who is the Father, of whom are all things, and we by him; but every man hath not theledge. "This is life eternal, (said St. John,) that we may know thee to be the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent." For by this we may therefore understand upon us any other God, beforehand them. For thus God and the apostles have taught, let us not hear him, but us fly from, and hold him accursed.

Brethren, you are not ignorant of the deep and subtle subtilties of Satan; for he will not rage about you, feasting by all means that you may devour: but play you the men, and be comfort in the Lord. And although your enemies the aduersaries of the truth, armed with all force, and power that may be, do set upon you; yet you know how to be hearted, and thine heart not to be discontented unto your captain Christ, cutt off unto the Spirit of the Lord, and truth to the truth of your cause; which in the malice of Satan be darkened, so it cannot be clean put out. For we have (high praise be given therefore) most plainly, evidentl, and evidently, all the prophets, all the apostles, and understand all the ancient ecclesiastical writers which have written until of las years past.

Let us be hearty and of good courage therefore, and comfort our selves in the Lord. It be wise afraid of your adversaries, for with that an occasion of perturbation, is to you a sure and faithful, and of that God. For unto you it is good not that only you should believe on him, but all for his name. And when you are called upon the name of Christ, remember that by the voice of the year, and of Christ our Saviour also, ye are counted with the prophets, with the apostles, and with the holy martyrs of Christ, happy and blest for ever: for the glory and Spirit of God refresh upon us.

On their part our Saviour Christ is evil spoken but on your part he is glorified. For what can the elle do unto you by perfecting you, and working cruelty and villainy against you, but make you more monstrous, more beautifie and multiply the fame and heap upon themselves the horrible plagues and less wrath of God? and therefore, good brethren, they rage ever so fiercely against us, yet let us not evil unto them again, knowing that while for God cause they vex and persecute us, they are at the same most outrageous and cruel against themselves, hope burning coals upon their own heads: but rather well unto them, knowing that we are therefore called the Christ Jesus, that we should be heirs of the blessing we pray therefore unto God, the Lord, and the heavens be filled with righteousness; and evil shall cease from them, and the light and darkness of errors, and make the love, and truth shine unto them, that they acknowledge their blindness, may with all humble repentance be converted unto the Lord, and we with confess him only true God, which is the Father of lights, and so
Your brother in the Lord, whose name this bearer shall signify unto you, ready always by the grace of God to live and die with you.

LETTER VII.

Beloved Ridley to the Brethren which formerly cleave unto CHRIST, in suffering Affliction with him and for his Sake.

RACE and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you, even.

Although, brethren, we have of late heard nothing of you, neither have we at this present any news to find you; yet we thought good to write something unto you. You may perhaps understand that we have good reason to desire of you continually, as we doubt not but you have of us also.

When this messenger, coming to us from you of late, had brought unto us good news of your great constancy, patience and conformation to the Lord, we rejoiced even with much joy and great thankfulness to God the Father through our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath caused his face to shine upon you, I with the light of spiritual understanding hast so lightened your hearts, that now being in captivity for Christ's cause, you have not ceased as you lieth, but increasing in grace, by and by your example, to establish and confirm a thing, which when you were at liberty in the old, you laboured to publish and set abroad by the word and doctrine: that is to say, holding fast the profession of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the full of life, you were light in the world, in the midst of a wicked and crooked nation, and that withal the greater glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, I profite of your brethren, by how much Satan more daily rageth, and busily laboureth to darken the light of the gospel.

And as for the darkenss that Satan now bringeth upon church of England, who needeth to doubt thereof? For, as S. Paul saith, his apostle, the churches, teachers, spake in the temple to the people of England the English tongue, so that they might be plainly declared by the godly, and such as fought for heavenly wagers in matters, which of necessity pertained to our alienation from all our life, but now these things which were written by them together and expressed in that tongue, are read in a strange tongue without interpretation, manifestly against St. Paul's commandment, that there is no man able to understand them, who hath not learned that strange and unknown tongue.

Of late days these heavenly mysteries, whereby he hath ingraven us into his body, and hath made one unto another, whereby also being regenerate, and a son of God, he hath nourished, increased, and strengthened us, whereby moreover either he hath taught us forth an order amongst them which are whole, as the sick in soul or body, hath given, as it were, his medicines and balsoms, th'o' I say I was freely set forth to the people in their own language; that great and exceeding good things every one is to another by God's ordinance, that every one professed in his vocation, and was bound to observe, were so much to be had for the wicked and feeble, to whom God hath given a defence and with which to defend these things, might soone perceive and understand. But now all these things are taught and set in such fort, that the people redeemed with blood, and for whom fakes they were by Christ in our sight, can have no manner of understanding thereof at all.

Of late (forasmuch as we know not how to pray as taught) our Lord Jesus Christ in his prayer, whereby he would have no man ignorant, and alle the Holy Ghost in the Palms, hymns and spiritual songs which are set forth in the Bible, did teach all the people of England in the English tongue, that they might ask such things as are according to the will of the Father, and might join their hearts and lips in prayer together; but now all these things are commanded to be hid from them in a strange tongue, whereby it must needs follow, that men cannot either tell how to pray, nor what to pray for; and how can they join their hearts and voice together, if they understand no more what the voice signifieth than a brute beast?

Finally, I hear say, that the catechism, which was lately set forth in the English tongue is sought for in pulpits condemned. O devilish malice, and most spiritually injurious to the salvation of mankind purchased by Jesus Christ! Indeed Satan could not longer suffer that so great light should be spread abroad in the world; he saw well enough that no thing was able to overthrow his kingdom so much, as if children being instructed in religion should learn to know Christ whilist they are yet young; whereby not only children, but the elder forsook also, and aged people that were not taught before how to know Christ in their childhood, should now even with children be forced: he was forced to learn to know him. Now therefore, roareth, now he shall be forced. But what else do they (brethren) who serve Satan, and become his ministers and flaves in maintaining his impiety, but even the fame which they did, to whom Christ our Saviour spake in th'curse in the gospel; "Woe unto you who shall shut the kingdom of heaven against men before men, and take away the key of knowledge from them; you yourselves have not entered in, neither have ye suffered them that would enter, to come in".

And from whence shall we say (brethren) that this horrible and mischievous darkenss proceedeth, which is now brought upon the world? From whence I pray you, but even from the subtlest of the bottomless pit, so that the sun and the moon are now darkend by the smoke of the pit? Now, even now, (out of doubt, brethren) the pit is opened against us, and the locusts begin to swarm, and Abaddon now reigneth.

Ye therefore (my brethren) whichareth unto Christ, and have the seal of God marked in your foreheads; that is, are sealed with an earnest of the Spirit to be a peculiar people of God, quitt yourfelves like men, and be strong; for he that is in us, is stronger than he that is in the world; and you know that all who are born of God overcometh the world, even our faith.

Let the world then, let it come over for me, it is ever so cruel and bloody, yet be you sure that no man can take us out of the Father's hands: for he is greater than all, who hath not spared his own Son, but hath given him to death, for us all; and therefore how shall he not with him give us all things also? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? Is it a God that judgeth, who then shall condemn? Is it Christ that is dead, yea rather which is risen again, who also is at the right hand of God, and maketh request alfo for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? The word of God knowest thou therefore. We are certainly persuaded with St. Paul, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that no kind of thing shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. Which thing, that it may come to pass by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the comfort both of us and of all of us, as we for our parts will continually (God willing) pray for you; so (deare brethren in the Lord) with all earnest and hearty request we beseech you, even in the bowsels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you will not cease to pray for us. Fare ye well, deare brethren. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all evermore. Amen.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

LET.
LETTER VIII.

From BISHOP RIDLEY, in Answer to a certain LETTER of Mr. WEST, sometime his Chaplain.

I wish you grace in God, and love of the truth, without which truly established in men's hearts by the mighty hand of Almighty God, it is no more possible to fling the truth in Christ in time of trouble, than it is for an arrow to pierce the heart and the fire. Sir, you know this, that I, am, obedient be God, perished in this world is but transitory, and (as St. John faith) "the world passeth away and the lust thereof." I am persuaded that Christ's words be true; "Whoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven." And I believe that earthly creature shall be fawned, whom the Redeemer and Saviour of the world shall before his Father deny. This the Lord grant, that it may be so granted, fixed, and anointed in his heart, that neither things present nor to come, high or low, life or death, be able to remove me thence. It is a good thing, and you have deeply to consider the things pertaining unto God's glory; but if you had with it, that neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly prosperity should hinder me to maintain God's word and his truth, which is his glory and true honour, it would have pleased me well. You defer me, for God's sake, to remember myself. Indeed, fir, now it is time to do; for, as far as I can perceive, it standeth me upon no less danger, than of the lost both of body and soul; and I think it is time for me to do that thing which any thing will awake him. He that will not hear him, who is not ready to call both body and soul into everlasting fire, whom will he fear? With this, O Lord, fasten thou together our frail fleet, that we never were from thy laws. You say you have made much for me, Sir, God grant that you have not, in seeking for my word, diligence, perseverance, and hindered the furtherance of God's name and his truth.

You have known me long indeed; in which time I happened, as you say, to mistake some things. I grant it is true: for sudden changes without sufficient and necessary cause, and the hasty setting forth of extremities, I did not do. Confidence unto the minister who is able to instruct, correct, comfort, exhort, and inform the weak, wounded, and ignorant confidence, indeed I ever thought might do much good in Christ's congregation, and so I suffered you, I think even at this day. My doctrine and preaching, you say, you have heard often, and after your judgment, and that I, God be praised, standing only for the sacrament, which thing, although it was by me reverently handled, and a great deal better than of the rest (as you say), yet in the margin you write wily, and in this world wisely; and yet methought all founding not upon that, that I, God be praised, for many changes in this world, and so much was not life at this your saying I would not lose a little marble. I have taken you for my friend, and a man whom I fancied for plainness and plainness, as much, I affirme you, as for your learning; and have you kept this this close in your heart from me unto this day? Sir, I consider more things than one, and will not say all that I think. But what need you know, what I think, for any thing I shall be able to do you, either good or harm? You give me good lemons to stand in nothing against my learning, and to be one of vain-glory. Truly, I herein live like your counsel with me, and God's grace I intend to follow it unto my life's end.

To write unto those whom you name, I cannot see what it will avail me. For this I would have you know, that I, eft else nothing available for me, which will not also be the cause of my trouble. And now, because I perceive you have an entire desire of my deliverance out of this captivity and worldly misery, if I should not bear you a good heart in God again, methinks I were to blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell: the Lord be pleased to bless him how soon it shall come. I know the Lord's words must be verified on me, that I shall appear before the incorrupt Judge, and be accountable to him for all my former life; though the hope of his mercies is my present secret; yet am I resolved, that whatever negligently and regard lessly not to clear his cause, he cannot have peace with God, nor a true faith in his mercy. Confidence therefore is very necessary: you were one of my family, and I hope to the household, of whom I think I had a special and all of them which were assiduous. If any how, who indeed ought to have been an example of good order to defend the rest of my care, not only of good life as promoting of God's word to the uttermost parts of the earth (but alas! now that the doll demeanor of the chief church is daily increasing, it is a quantity to it, to know, which the wind doth not allow). Now by this confidence, I say, doth move me to fear, lest the name of my family shall be laid to my charge for lacking in church and diligent instruction, which should have been done. But blessed be God who hath given me a faith to fix this my fault, and to see it from the bottom of my heart, before my departing from this world.

This confidence doth also move me now to my both you and my friend Dr. Harvey, to remember promises made to me in times past, of the pure and faultless doctrine and word and truth. This promises although you need not, it being charged upon me by him hereafter before the world to look none other (I exhort you as my friends) but charged with them at God's hand. This confidence and fear that I bear unto you, biddeth me now unto you both in God's name, to fear God, and love the world: for God is able to do all things who worketh miracles. When my wrath shall be foolishly led, blessed are all they that put their trust in him. In the saying of St. John is true, "All that is in the world, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, neither of the world; and the world passeth away, and the lust thereof. But he that doth the will of God abideth for ever;" If this grace (which undoubtedly is necessarily required and eternal salvation) were truly and unfeignedly gained and found in men's hearts, they would see the world in a new light, and be like as abideth one for evermore; and of Christ it is true "Christ yesterday and to-day, the same is also." When I was in office, all that were esteemed lords and masters, agreed this to be a truth in God's word written, that it is a Communion. The church should be had in the common tongue. We all agreed to have much learned, and I assure you, I never found none, (far as I do remember) neither old nor young, excepter nor papist, of what judgment ever he was, in things to be of a contrary opinion. If then it were God's truth, think you that the alteration of the world can make it an utter lie; but if we then do so many shrink from the confession and maintenance of this truth received once of all us? For is it, I pray you, elf? to confess or deny Christ in the world, we are not able to confess or deny the truth taught in God's word, nor for any worldly respect and view, and one thing have I brought for an example; other things be in like cafe, which now particularly I need not name. For he that will forake knowingly, either in the name of the world, any open truth of God's word, if he be lawfully constrained, it will affrightly endure God and all his truth, and he will not himself to lose or to leave what he loveth better indeed than he doth God and the truth of his word.

I like very well your plain speaking, wherein you say I must either agree or die, and I think that you mean noble, bodly death. This is a confession both to good and ill. Sir, I know I must die, which is an agreement both to good and ill. And what folly were it then to make such an agreement, of which I could never escape this death which is common
As for the treatise in English against transubstantiation, I cannot think it worth translating into Latin or whether I would have you translate any other of my writing, till you are certain how the Lord will dispose of me. And thus much concerning your letters. Now although I suppose you do make good part of our condition here, (for we are forth coming, even as you departed, &c.) you shall understand that I was not very clear about the space of two months close prisoner, and after that had granted to me, without my labour, the liberty of the Tower, and so continued about half a year; and then, because I was refused liberty, and how the mathe with my presence, I was but up in prison again.

The last Lent gave one, it chanced by reason of the tumult stirred up in Kent, there were so many prisoners in the Tower, that my lord of Canterbury, Mr. Latimer, Mr. Beaufort, and I, were put all together in one prison, where I was first with the almost Eateefer, and then we three, Canterbury, Latimer, and I, were suddenly sent a little before Eateefer, and were suffered to have nothing with us, but what we carried upon us. About the Whitsuntide following were our dispositions at Oxford, after which all was taken from us, as pen, ink, &c. Our own servants were put into correspondence, and every one had a strange man put to him, and each of us were appointed to be kept in separate places, as we are unto this day.

Blessed be God, we three at the writing hereof were in good health, and gave good report of good cheer. We expected long ago to have been dispached, for we were all three on one day condemned as heretics by Dr. Welton, (he being the head commissioneer) within a day or two of our dispositions, and ever since we remain here as we were by him left. The Lord's will be fulfilled in us, and by his grace it shall be to his glory, and our eternal salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Likewise the Lord hath hitherto preferred, above all our expectation, our dear brother, and in Christ's cause a strong champion, John Bradford. He is also very much ordained, and is strictly delivered to the secular power, and writs (as we have heard) given out for his execution, and called in again.

Thus the Lord, so long as his blessed pleasure is, preferveth whom he listeth, notwithstanding the wonderful raging of the world. Many (as we hear) have valiantly suffred, confounding Christ's truth, and nothing yielding to the adversary, no, not for the fear or pains of death.

The names of them which I know, and have now suffered, are these: Farrar, bishop of St. David's; Hooper, bishop of Chichester; Rogers, your fellow-prebend; Dr. Taylor, of Hadley; Mr. Sanderson, of Tomkins, a weaver; and now this last day, Mr. Cardmaker, with another, were burnt at Smithfield, in London, and many others in Exeter and Kent, whose names are written in the book of life, whom yet I do not know.

Well, my old companion, but since my officer, ( alas!) hath relented, (as I have heard) but the Lord hath shortened his days, for soon after he died, and is gone. Grimbold was caught by the heel, and cast into the Marshalsea, but now is at liberty again; but I fear he escaped not without bowing his knee to Basi.

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

Of all us three prisoners in Oxford, I am kept most strait, and with least liberty; either because the man in whole house I am a prisoner is governed by his wife, who is a more, superficive old woman, and thinks the whole matter by her husband, because she be the man himself, whose name is Eth, is civil enough to all, but too much ruled by his wife. Though I never had a wife, yet from this daily usage I begin to understand how great and intolerable a burden it is to have a bad one.
one. The wife man fays rightly. A good wife is the gift of God: and again, Blessed is the man who hath a good wife. One thing of the real ft is (for I knew not from which) that he is fo commanded from the higher powers, which is what he pleads, when I complain of my hard uage.

At Cambridge, (as I hear they) all the refornations of divines and divines which were lately made, are now undone, and all things are reduced to their ancient confufion and popish superfition. All the heads of colleges who preached the sincere word of God, or fauered it, are turned out, and others of the popish fachion put in their places; infomuch that I hear no man can be befawed a fellow of a college, that will not bow the knee to Baal. Nor do I wonder, fince it is fo throughout the whole realm of England, among archbishops, bishops, prifets, and deacons, and the whole body of the clergy. And to tell you much naughty matter in few words, Popery is yet where reigns among us in it’s full and ancient force.

The Lord be merciful, and for Christ’s fake pardon us our old unkindnefs and unthankfulness: for when he pored upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favours, we did not render thanks unto him according to the fame. We pafsors, many of us were too cold, and bore too much with the wicked world; our magiftrates did abuse, to their own worldly gain, both God’s gospel and the minifters of the fame. They wept in many places were unruly and unkind. Thus of every fide and of every fort we have provoked God’s anger and wrath to fall upon us: but blefled may be he that hath not fuffered his to continue in thofe ways which fo wholly have dillapidated his facred majesty, but hath been able to be the fave ly correction of his own Son’s crofs, unto his glory and our endless salvation, through Jefus Chrift our Lord.

My daily prayer is (as God doth know) and by God’s grace shall be fo long as I live in this world, for you my dear brethren, that are fled out of your own country, because of their faith, to take your portion in heaven, in the truth of God’s word. It is even the fame that I use to make to God for all thofe churches abroad through the world, which have forfaken the kingdom of Antichrift, and profefled openly the purity of the gospel of Jefus Chrift; that is, that God our eternal Father, for our Saviour Chrift’s fake, will daily inceafe in you the gracious gift of his heavenly Spirit, to the true fettling forth of his glory and of his gospel, and make you agree brethren in the truth of the fame, that there arife no clofe of brethren among you, that they may affay that good feed which God hath fown in your hearts already, and finally that your life may be fo pure and fo holy, according to the rule of God’s word, and according to that vocation whereunto we are called by the gospel of Chrift our Saviour, that the fmooth and purity of the fame may provoke all that fhall fee or know it, to the love of your doctrine, and to love you for honefly and virtue’s fake, and fo both in brotherly unity of your true doctrine, and alfo in the godly virtue of your honefly life, to glorify our Father which is in heaven.

One of our magiftrates, viz. the chancellor of Winchefter, earl of Arundel, and lord Paget, are ambaffadors with cardinal Poole, beyond the feas, to make peace (as it is faid) between the emperor, our realm, and the king of France. After whole return, and the delivery of the queen, which we daily expect, and have long expected, and which God, for the glory of his name, grant to be a fave and happy one, then fhall we expect from the old enemy of our profefion, foon to receive triumphant crown in the Lord.

I labour in my whole heart to commend me to all your prayers, and firit to you’s, O moft dear brother in Chrift, and my moft beloved Grindal, to your moft dear, and together with my beloved in the Lord, Cheek, Cox, Turner, Lever, Sampfon, Chambers, and all our brethren and fellow-countrymen who live among us, and love our Saviour Chrift in common, I commend also to you the reverend fathers in God, and my fellow captives in the Lord, Thomas Cranmer, now moft worthy of the name of a true great pallor and archbifhop; and that old friend of Chrift and an apothecary of our English nation, Hugh Latimer. I doe hope that I shall live long in this letter, and my brother, because after this I am perfuaded they will be too fhort to trouble you. Oxford.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

LETTER X.

From Dr. RIDLEY to AUGUSTINE BERNHARD.

BOROTHER AUGUSTINE, I bles God with my heart in his manifold mercifull gifts, got unto our dear brethren in Chrift, especially unto the other Rogmers, whom it pleased him to fet forth in the face of his gracious goodness and faithfully for towards him. And likewise blefled I in God the as Hooper, Sanders, and Taylor, whom it hath the Lord to set in the fore-front of the battle against adverfaries, and hath endued them all (to all he heart) to stand in the confeffion of his truth, and to content in his caufe, and for his gospel’s fake to live in their lives. And evermore and without end, even the fame our heavenly Father, for our dear and entirely beloved brother Bradford, whom now the (I perceive) calleth for; for I believe he will no fooner foucheth him to abide among the adulterous wicked generation of this world. I do not doubt that he (for those gifts of grace which the Lord bestowed on him plentifully) hath helped them to have gone before in their journey, that is, hath taught them to keep the highway, and to go no further than at length they may receive grace. They are in his caruiour, whereof I do not doubt, and I think heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and ever I had such a one in my house. And yet again whether in our dear brother, and of this time great martyr Roger, that he was one of the co-fathers at a preencherad prelacy of London. And thus Grindal is gone (the Lord I doubt not hath and know wherein he will befow him) I truft to God it shall him of his goodness to strengthen me to make up trinity out of Paul’s church, to fuffer for Christ and God the Father hath appointed, the Holy Spirit fure witnefs unto, Paul and all the apothecaries preached to fare you well, I had no paper, I was constrained to write. N. RIDLEY.

The Life of Bishop Latimer, a Marshal Person and worthy Martyr of Christ.

NOW confequently after the life of bishop Fox, we follow the life of that valiant champion, and disciplined foilder of Chrift, bishop Hugh Latimer, who was the fon of one Hugh Latimer, of Thirkeld, in county of Leiceter, a husbandman in good repute, whom he was brought up till he was about fourteen years old, at what time his parents, (having him as then left for a school) let him with his father to find him to be early prompt, and sharpwit, purporful to train him in comforation and knowledge of good literature; wherein he profefled in the common schools of his own country, that fourteen years of age he was sent to the university of Oxford. Thereafter, after some continuance in the same other things, he gave himself up to the study of school divinity, as the ignorance of that age would fuffer.

Zealous he was then in the popish religion, and then with fo scrupulous, as himself confefted, that being prid, and using to fay mass, he was fo fervile as are over the Romifh decrees, the rewards of fuch fentiment, and moreover, that he foould never be damned, he was once a profefted friar, with divers of fuch supernatural fantasies. And in this blind zeal he was a very careful to confume the book of Chrift’s gospel; as both his own words, when he commenced Bachelor of divinity, again our Milton, and also his other works did plainly declare. 
Tlius qua? Which words are as much as to say in English, "Who art thou?" These be the words of the Pharisee which were sent by the Jews unto St. John Baptist in the wilderness, to know whether he was that voice of the old prophecy. For, to try whether he were the true, that voice which spoke of the anointed of God, and true prophet of the kingdom of God: and therefore, he desired St. John to make him answer, if he were the true, to the question of St. John, "Art thou that which is to come?"

The Tenor and Effect of certain SERMONS, made by MR. LATIMER in CAMBRIDGE, about the Year of our Lord 1529.

qually in those days his popish zeal could in no case: the good Mr. Stafford, reader of the divinity lectures at Cambridge, most piteously railing against him, and excluding the youth of Cambridge in no wise to believe him.

Nonwithstanding, such was the goodness and merciful purpose of God, that when he saw this, and he thought utterly to have defaced the professors of the gospel, and true church of Christ, he was at length himself by a member of the same prettily caught in the blesled net of God's word. For Mr. Thomas More, being at length to try them out, and the overthrower of Antichrist's kingdom, seeing that Mr. Latimer had to have a zeal in his way, (although not according to knowledge) was stricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and began to consider by what means he might win this zealous ignorant brother to the true knowledge of Christ; therefore, St. John Latimer came to Mr. Latimer's study, and desired him to hear him make his confession, which he willingly did; and by hearing thereof, he was, by the good Spirit of God, so touched, that thereupon he forsook the study of the school, and gave up all his popery, and became an earnest student in true divinity, as himself, as well as in his conference with bishop Ridley, as also in his first sermon made upon the Peter-Nofter, both confess. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him, and the old man his proving, and a diligent kind of conferring, both with Mr. Bintley and others, and came also to Mr. Stafford before he died, and defined him to forgive him.

After his own conversion, he was not satisfied without confessing the errors of others, and like a true disciple of the blest Samaritan, giving in the milesiles, and therefore became both a public preacher, and also a private inductor to the rest of his brethren within the university, by the space of three years, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly in disputing in his natural and vulgar language. Howbeit, as Satan never ceaseth to work mischief, he feareth his kingdom begin to decay, so likewise, now seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a terrible thresher thereof, he raised up his impious imp to molest and trouble him.

Amongst others there be an Augustinian friar, who took occasion upon certain sermons that Mr. Latimer made about Christmas, 1529, as well in the church of St. Edward, as also in St. Augustine's, within the university of Cambridge, to inveigh against him, for that Mr. Latimer in the said sermons (alluding to the common usage of the French in the middle ages), said that the people cast out of the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of St. Matthew's, that they are not only not, but always exclude them. For the chief triumph in the cards he limited herein to Christ's heart, as the principal thing they should have God worshiped, whereby he quite overthrew all hypocrastics and external ceremonies, not tending to the necessary fruits, and the true word of God's holy word and sacraments. For the better attaining hereof, he wished the scriptures to be in English, whereby the common people might the better understand, as well to God as to their neighbours.

The handling of this matter was so apt for the time, and so pleasingly applied by him, that he as much declared the wit and dexterity of the preacher, but also brought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of idolatry, and getting up of perfect religion.

It was upon the Sunday before Christmas-day; on which day coming to the church, noting with inward heat, that the bell might be tolled to a sermon, he entered into the pulpit, taking for his text the words of the gospel aforesaid, read in the church that day, "Who art thou?" &c. In delivering which cards (as is aforesaid) he made the heart to be the Triumphant, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward heat and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: Moreover, to the praise of that Triumph, that though it was ever so few, yet it would take up the desks, whereby the king of clubs, &c. meaning thereby, the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicity of heart and verity, whereunto Christ, the true Christian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter, and the glittering show of man's traditions, or parsons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, and works of supererogation, foundations, oblations, the public money, &c. so that all these either were needful, where the other were not, but they were of small estimation, in comparison of the other.

The tenor and effect of these his sermons, so far as we could come to their hands, here followeth.

The Tenor and Effect of certain SERMONS, made by MR. LATIMER in CAMBRIDGE, about the Year of our Lord 1529.

Tlus qua? Which words are as much as to say in English, "Who art thou?" These be the words of the Pharisee which were sent by the Jews unto St. John Baptist in the wilderness, to know whether he was that voice of the old prophecy. For, to try whether he were the true, that voice which spoke of the anointed of God, and true prophet of the kingdom of God: and therefore, he desired St. John to make him answer, if he were the true, to the question of St. John, "Art thou that which is to come?" which question the Pharisees did unto St. John, of an evil purpose, and of a good and simple mind, as may appear hereafter.
not because this person hath of himself deferred any such favour, but that the king calleth his favour unto him of his own mere motion and fancy: and because the king's grace will more declare his favour unto him, his children and his children's children. And this he hath grounded in his lands, to him and his heirs, on this condition, that he shall take upon him to be the chief captain and defend-er of his town of Calais, and to be true and faithful to him in the custody of the fame, against the Frenchmen and other enemies.

This man taketh on him this charge, promissying this fidelity thereunto; it changeth in process of time, that by the singular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this captain with the Frenchmen, these Frenchmen give unto the fame town of Calais a great fame of might; for, so that he will be true and faithful to us, they may enter into the said town of Calais by force of arms, and thereby professe the fame unto the crown of France. Upon this agreement the Frenchmen do invade the said town of Calais, only by the negligence of this captain.

Now the king's grace hearing of this invasion, cometh with a great puissance to defend this said town, and by good policy of war overcometh the said Frenchmen, and entereth again into his said town of Calais. This king desireth to know of the Frenchmen, how came this thing, how he made strict search and inquiry by whom this treason was conceived; by this search it was known and found his own captain to be the very author and the beginner of the betraying of it. The king hearing the fidelity of this man, did require of him this man of his office, and taketh from him and his heirs this thousand pounds poffessions. Think you not that the king doth use justice unto him, and all his potteries and heirs? Yes truly; the said captain cannot deny himself but that he had this justice, a true justice, considering how unfaithfully he behaved himself to his prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promise: for likewise it was of our first father Adam. He had given unto him the spirit and science of knowledge, to work all goodnesse therewith; this said spirit was not given only to him, but unto all his heirs and potteries. He had also delivered him the town of Calais, that is to say, parfaite in heart, the most strong and fairest town in the world, to be in his custody: he nevertheless, by the infligition of these Frenchmen, that is, the temptation of the fiend, did obey unto their desire, and so be broke his promise and fidelity, the commandment of the everlasting King his master, in eating of the apple he prohibited.

Now then, the king seeing this great treason in his captain, dispossessed him of the thousand pounds of land, and the name of everlasting joy, and all his heirs and potteries: for likewise he had the spirit of science and knowledge for him and his heirs; so in like manner when he lost the fame, his heirs also lost it by him, and in him. So now this example proveth, that by our father Adam we had once in him the very inheritance of everlasting joy; and by him, and in him again we lost the fame.

The heirs of the captain of Calais could not by any manner of claim al of the king the right and title of their father in the thousand pounds poffessions, by rea-son that he had answerd and answered for them, although their father deferred not of himself to enjoy so great poffessions, yet he deferred by himself to lose them, and greater, committing to high treason as he did, against his prince's commandments; whereby he had no good to lose his title, but was unworthy to have the fame, and had therein true justice; let not you think which be his heirs, that if he had justice to lose his poffessions, you have wrong to lose the fame. In the fame manner it may be answerd unto all men and women now, that whosoever our father Adam in true justice in paradise, let us not think the contrary that be his heirs, but that we have no wrong to losing also the fame; yea, we have true justice and right. Then in what marvelous thing of that, that of the right and just title of our sins, our defers have lost the everlasting joy and claim of ourselves, to be true inheritors of hell? For he that

committed death by willingly, bindeth himself to be an inheritor of everlasting pain; and so did our father Adam willingly yet of the apple forbidden. Wherefore he was cast out of the everlasting joy in paradise, unto everlasting pain, because he deferred not of himself he was not worthy to do any thing insensible so pleasant to God, evermore bound to corrupt body and earthly appetites, transformed into the unclean and most variable nature that was made under happy, for if he deferred not of himself he was not worthy, this world is lined decorated; infomuch that this evil world is so much diffused and shed from one into another, that at this day there is no man nor woman living, that can of the earth, walk away this abominable vileness; and so we must not green of ourselves to be in like displeased unto God, our father Adam, so we are not green, so we said, we be of ourselves the very children of the corruption and veneration of God, the true inheritors of hell, and working all towards hell, which is the answer to this question, made to every man and woman by themselves, Who art thou?

And now the world standing in this damnable frame, cometh in the occasion of the incarnation of Christ, the Father in heaven perceiving the frail nature of man that he by himself and of himself could do nothing for him, in the name of his own beloved Son, sent him down into the world. Peron in the Trinity, his Son Jefus Christ, did declare unto man his pleasure and commandment; and so the Father's will Christ took on him human nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miserable state and to suffer cruel passion in bleeding his blood for all mankind, and to have suffered all injuries, guards, laws and ordinances, to keep us always in the right path unto everlasting life, as the gospels, sacraments, the commandments, &c. Which if we do not according to our profession, we shall answer better unto the question. [Who are you?] that we did before: for before thou didst enter into a sacrament of baptism, thou wert but a natural man or natural woman; as I might say, a man, a woman; but after thou takest on thee Christ's religion, thou hast a longer name; for then thou art a christian man, a christian woman. Now then, seeing thou art a christian man, what shall be the answer of this question, Who art thou?

The answer of this question is, when I ask it unto myself, I must say that I am a christian man, a chaste woman, the child of everlasting joy, throughout the merits of the bitter passion of Christ. This is a just answer. Here we may see how much we be bound, and indebted unto God, that hath revived us from death to life, and saved us that were dammed: what benefitman can receive, c. Remember what we were of ourselves before we meddled with him or his laws; and the more we know not, the more we love and please God; for that in condition we shall either know ourselves or God, because we do not confess ourselves to be mere vileness and corruptions. Then we come unto this point, that we believe in a christian man, christian woman. I pray you, what requireth a christian man or of a christian woman? Christ requireth nothing else of a christian man or woman, but that they obviate his rule. For likewise as a good Augustine friar that keepeth St. Augustine's rule, so is he a good christian man that keepeth well Christ's rule.

Now then what is Christ's rule? Christ's rule consisted in many things, as in the commandments, and the works of mercy, and so forth. And because of this, we have given his rule given; and if one thing is ought to be done, I will apply myself according to our custom at this time of Christmas; I will, as I said, declare unto you Christ's rule, but that shall be in Christ's cards. And where you are wont to celebrate Christ in your cards, I intend by God's grace to declare unto you Christ's cards, wherein you shall perceive Christ's rule.
The page that we will talk about shall be called
which if it be well played at, he that
will win, the players shall like unto, and
be and lookers on shall do the same;
there is no man that is willing to play in this
with these cards, but they shall be all winners.

Now therefore every christian man and woman play
cards, that they may have and obtain the Tri-
gram, you must mark also, that the Triogram
home unto the soul. The soul, as in the case of
law, faith, Christ, that whenever is anger with
shall be in danger of judgment, and
shall play unto his neighbour Rachah, that is
Beinlefs, or any other like word of rebuking,
in danger of a council; and whoever is in
danger of a council, and whose
name is not in the fifth chapter of St.
Matthew.

It must be noted, that whosoever shall play with
a card, must appear and be shewed unto you as
you have heard what was spoken to men of
law, Thou shalt not kill; whosoever shall kill;
in danger of judgment, and whom thou shall
be and mark terms how they be spoken, and to
judge, let us therefore read it once or twice,
may be the better acquainted with it.

And behold, this card is divided into four
parts. The first part is one of the commandments that
are unto the law, before which commandment we of
observe and keep, and is one of our command-
ments. The other three parts spoken by Christ, be
false but expositions to the first part of this
commandment: for in every effect of all these four parts be
commandment, that is to say, Thou shalt not
lie. Yet there is not, the three last parts do shew
how many ways thou mayst kill thy neighbour
by this commandment: yet for all Christ’s
name, in the three last parts of this card, the terms
open enough to thee that do not read and hear
spoken, No doubt, the Jews understand Christ when he spake to them these three last
sentences: for he spake unto them in their own natural terms
argue: wherefore seeing that these terms were
in the terms of the Jews, it shall be necessary to ex-
plain them, that is, to explain, that is to say, Thou shalt
not lie. Yet there is not, the three last
sentences follow the part of this card.

Now as concerning the other three sentences, you
may take heed what difference is between
these three sentences: 1. To be angry with your
neighbor. 2. To call your neighbor a liar, defamer, or
any word of disdain. 3. Or to call your
neighbor whether these three manner of offenses be of
him more grievous one than the other, it is to be
sought after you. Truly, as they be of themselves
offenses of the faith, as a man which conceiveth against
hate or brother, anger or wrath in his mind, by
soever, as he shall perceive by the first of these three,
for there is a man which conceiveth against his
neighbor a lie or deceit; yet nevertheles he of-

fendeth against God, and breaketh this commandment in
killing his own soul; and is therefore in danger of
judgment.

Now to the second part of these three: That man
that is moved with anger against his neighbor, and
his angry calleth his neighbor bratels, or some other like
word of displeasure: as a man might say in a fury,
I shall handle thee well enough, which words and coun-
tenances do more repentent and declare anger to be in
this man, than in his heart: for he is angry, and spake no
manner of word, nor slew any one of the circumstances
and circumstances, wherefore as he that doth declare his
anger either by word or countenance, offendeth more
against God, so he both killeth his own soul, and doth
what in him is to kill his neighbour’s soul in moving him
to anger, when he is truly himself; and so this
man is in danger of a cruel.

Now to the third offence, and last of the three: That
man that calleth his neighbour fool, doth more declare
his angry mind towards him, than he that calleth his
neighbor bratels, or some other word moving anger:
but to call a man a fool, that word representeth more
envy in a man, than bratels doth. Wherefore he
doeth more offend, because he doth more earnestly
with such words expresse his anger, and so he is in danger
of hellfire: wherefore you must understand now these
three words of this kind, and offendeth one
more grievous to God than the other, and that one
killeth more the soul of the man than the other.

Now peradventure there will come that will marvel
that Christ did not declare this commandment by
some greater faults of anger, than by these which item
but small faults, as it is above. For Christ did declare it
to say that and to call a man bratels, and to call his
neighbor fool: truly thee be the smallest, and the least
faults that belong to anger, or to killing in anger.
Therefore beware how you offend in any kind of anger;
seeing that the smallest is damnable for offended in, in
the offense that you offend not in the greatest. For Christ
if he might bring you from the smallest manner of
faults, and give you warning to avoid the least, he
reconciled you would not offend in the greatest and
worst, as to call your neighbor thief, wherefore, whore,
drunk, &c., which have in the ten commandments,
Judgment is less in degree than council, therefore it
dignified a lesser pain in hell, and it is ordained for
him that is angry in his mind with his neighbor, and
doeth express his malice neither by word nor coun-
tenance. Council is a less degree in hell than hellfire,
and is a greater degree there than the former. Judgment
is as much in hell than hellfire: whereas
on for him that calleth his neighbor bratels, or
any such word which declarest his anger and malice:
wherefore it is more pain than judgment. Hellfire is
more pain in hell than council or judgment, and it is
ordained for him that calleth his neighbor fool, by
reason then that in calling his neighbor fool, he doth
more exclaim his malice, in that it is an earnest word of
anger. Wherefore hellfire is appointed for it, that is, the most
pain of the three punishments.

Now you have heard, that to these divers offenses
of fire and hellfire, also the appointed according
to their degrees: for observe, as the offense is, so shall
the pain be: if the offense be great, the pain shall be ac-
cordingly: if it be least, there shall be les pain for it.
I would not now that you should think because that
here are but three degrees of punishment spoke of, that
there be no more in hell: no doubt Christ hath
more here but of these three degrees of punishment,
thinking they were sufficient enough for example,
whereby we might understand, that there are as many
cases as there are offenses: and so these three
offenses, and these three punishments, all other offenses
and punishments may be compared with each other.
Yet I would satisfy your minds farther in these three
terms,
terms, judgment, council, and hell-fire. Where you might ask, what was the cause that Christ declared more the pains of hell by these terms than by any other terms? I told you before that he knew well to whom he spake them; these terms were natural, and well known among the Jews and the Pharisees. Wherefore Christ taugh them with these terms, to the intent they might understand the better his doctrine: and these terms may be likened unto three terms which we have common and usual amongst us, that is to say, the feoffments or inquisition, the feoffments of deliverance, and the execution: for feoffments of inquisition is like unto judgment; for when feoffments is inquiry, then the judges cause twelve men to give verdict of the felon's crime, whereby he shall be judged to be indicted: feoffments of deliverance is much like council: for the feoffments of deliverance judges go amongst themselves to council, to determine sentence against the felon. Execution day is to be compared to hell-fire: for the Jews had a place of execution amongst themselves named Hell-fire: and furly when a man goeth to his death, it is the greatest pain in the world: wherefore you may see that there are degrees in thefe our terms, as there be in those terms. The evil disposed affections and sensualities in us are always contrary to the rule of our salvation. What shall we now do? I will give you two examples, and to follow them. 1. Is there a great ignominy and shame for a christian man to be bound and subject to a Turk: nay, it shall not be so, we will first call a trump in their way, and play with them at cards who shall have the better; let us play therefore on this card. Whenever it happens, it shall happen, and foul passions and Turks to rise in our souls against our brother or neighbour, either for unkind words, injuries, or wrongs, which they have done unto us, contrary to our mind, straightforwardly let us call unto our remembrance, and speak this question unto ourselves: who are they that answer us? The answer is, I am a christian man. Then further we must say to ourselves, What saith Christ of a christian man? Now turn up your trump, your heart, (heart is trump, as I said before) and call your trump, your heart, on this card, and upon this card you shall learn what Christ saith of a christian man, not to be angry, nor moved to ire against his neighbour, in mind, countenance, nor otherwise by word or deed. Then take this card up with your heart, and lay them together; that done, you have won the game of the Turk, whereby you have defaced and overcome by true and lawful play: but, alas, for pity, the Rhodians are won and overcome by the sally Turks, and strong cattle is decayed, so that I fear it is almost impossible to win it again.

2. The apostle of the love of this Rhodos is, by reason that christian men do so daily kill their own nation, that the very true number of Christians is decayed: which murder and killing one of another is increased, especially two ways, to the utter undoing of Christendom, that is to say, by example and influence. By example thus: When the father, the mother, the lord, the lady, the master, the dame, be themselves overcome with the Turks, they be continually swearers, adulterers, disposers to malice, never in patience, and so forth in all other vices: think you not when the father or the mother, the master, the dame, be disposed unto vice or impatience, that but their children and servants shall incline and be disposed to the same? No doubt as the child shall take disposition natural of his father and mother, so shall the servants apply unto the vices of their masters and dames; if the heads be falls in their faculties and crafts, it is no marvel if the children, servants, and apprentices do join therein. This is a great and shameful manner of killing christian men, that the fathers, the mothers, the masters, and the dames, shall not only kill themselves, but all their sons and that belong unto them, and so this way is a great number of christian lineage murdered and spoiled. The second manner of killing is silence. By silence all the number of christian men fall; which is this: you on this fashion: although the father and mother, master, and dame, of themselves be well disposed to live after the law of God, yet they may kill their children and servants in suffering them to do evil, and to make against God their faces, and do not use conscience fences; the master, because his servants are more of his neighbour than the great order of his faculty doth admit him, or to call them daily unto his house, and to make them content to pay if they please and is doing, I say, such men kill willingly their children, and shall go to hell for so doing, fathers and mothers, masters and dames, constant for so foolishly. Wherefore if a christian man and woman, or a master of his children and servants, and suffer silence to offend: every man must be in his own house according to St. Augustine's mind: a bishop of the church doth not so much serve his flock as does one man to another, and so doth the same to his wife; and we have therefore a-ways that can clear themselves of the iniquities used to their children, and servants? I say the contrary, but that many have their own children unto their own damnation, that will not know or use the grace of God ready to help them repent therefore.

Wherefore considering that we be so prone to continue in sin, let us call ourselves down to Magdalen, and the more we bow down towards, of the aforesaid. Christ was in the world amongst us, and the Pharisees, there was a great Pharisee who was Simon, this Pharisee desired Christ once dine with him, thinking with himself that it was thing sufficient to give Christ a dinner: Christ rode his dinner, but came unto him. In time of dinner, there had also come into the house a certain named Mary Magdalen. As soon as the former Christ, she cast herself down, and called unto the minimum what she was of herself, and her good friends all offended God whereby the conceiveth a great love, and so came near to Christ with feet with bitter tears, and stood upon his head anointment, thinking that by him she should be free from her sins. This great and proud Pharisee that Christ did accept her obligation in the bet that great indignation and had been her own, but this love was not self. If this man Christ were a holy prophet, he taken for, he would not suffer this sinner to cast him. Christ understanding the naughty this Pharisee, said to him, Simon, I have known you many years, and you have not known me; but this woman, she hath done to me what you have not done. Then said Christ, I pray thee tell me this: if a man to whom there is owing twenty pounds, out for another, this man to whom this money is receiveth these two men be not able to pay him, he will give them both. Which of these two does love this man most? The Pharisee said, That man that to love him best that had most forgiven him. He said Christ, it is by this woman. She hath had a man, therefore must is forgiven; she hath her sins most, whereas the hath most loved, thou hast not least loved me, because thou hast least thy sins; therefore because thou hast least known thyself, art least forgiven. So this proud Pharisee had an answer to aly his pride: and think I may well say to us also. For we have the Pharisees, which think themselves worthy to bid us to dinner, who will protest and presume to sit in the church, and have disdain of this poor woman
moreover in his ferremon, he began to discourse of the
mythical speeches and figurative phrases of the scriptures
which phraies he said were not so diffuised and offtent cited,
as they were common in the scriptures, and in the He-
brew tongue are commonly used and known: and not
only in the Hebrew tongue, but also every speech (faith
he) hath it's like figures and figurative significations,
so common and vulgar to all men, that the very painters
do paint them on walls and on houses.

As for example (faith he, looking towards the friar
that strove against him) when they paint a fox preach-
ing out of a great nail, none is so mad to take this to
be a fox that preacheth, but knoweth enough of the
meaning of the matter: which is to point out that false
prosperity, crafts, and subtile dissimulation lieth
hid many times in these friar's cloths, willing us thereby
to beware of them. In fine, friar Buckenham was so
defaced with this fantom, that he durst never after peep
out of the pulpit against Mr. Latimer.

Befides this Buckenham, there was also another rail-
ing friar, not of the same coat, but of the same note and
tation, a gray friar and a doctor, an outlandish man,
named Dr. Venetus, who likewise in his brawling fer-
mons railed against Mr. Latimer, calling him a mad
and brainlesse man, and willing them not to believe
him, &c. To whom Mr. Latimer an-
swering again, taketh for his ground the words of our
Saviour Christ, Matt. v. Thou shalt not kill, &c. But
I say unto you, whosoever is angry with his neighbour
shall be in danger of judicial sentence: and whosoever shall
lay unto his neighbour Racha, (or any other like words of
rebuking, as brainlesse) shall be in danger of coun-
cil: and whosoever shall lay to his neighbour, Fool,
shall be in danger of hell-fire.

In dissuading the friar, he first he divided the
offence of killing into three branches. One by one
with hand, the other with heart, the third with word.
With hand, when we use any weapon drawn, to spill
the life of our neighbour. With heart, when we be angry
with him. With word, when in word or countenance we
disdainfully rebuke our neighbour, or deplacitely revile
him. Words of rebuking are, when we speak any
opprobrious or unseemly thing, whereby the patience of
our neighbour is moved, as when we call him mad (said
he) or brainlesse, or such like, which are guilty of coun-
cil: or we spitt, or reviling are, when we call him fool;
which is guilty of hell-fire.

Thus Mr. Latimer in handling and trimmimg this
matter, after that with the weight of Christ's words, and
the explaining of the fame, he had sufficiently borne
the friar clean down, then he turned to the fifth chapter
of the book of Widdom. Out of which chapter he declared
to the audience, that the true forwardly preaching
preachers of God in this world, commonly are decorated
with the proud enemies of God's word, which account them
here as mad-men, fools, brainlesse, and drunkens: for
they did (said he) in the scripture call them which
most purely preach, and set forth the glory of God's
word. But (said he) what will be the end of these jolly
fellows, or what will they fay in the end? We mad
men, we mad fools, we, we ourselves, &c. And that
will be their end except they repent. And thus ending
his sermon, he so confounded the poor friar, that he
drove him next day into a great countenance, but also
clean out of the university.

But what should I here stand deciphering the names
of his adversaries, when whole swarms of friars and
doctors flockled against him on every side, almost
through the whole university, preaching and likewise
barking against him. Among these was Dr. Watten,
master of Christ's college, whose face had never been
before, Dr. Notaries, master of Clare-hall, Dr. Philo,
master of Michael-houe, Dr. Metzelle, master
of St. John's, Dr. Blithe, of the King's-hall, Dr.
Broock, master of the Queen's college, Dr. Cliffe,
of Clement-houe, Dr. Dammong, master of Jesus college,
Dr. Palls, master of St. Nicholas Hofel, Bain, Rial, and
Greenwood, brothers of divinity, all three of St.
John's college; also Brickenden, brother of divinity,
of the fame houe, and theological to the said
4 G

Latimer.
Latimer. In short, almost as many as were heads of families among the many enemies did this worthy standard-bearer of Christ's gospel fulfill.

Then came at last Dr. Wet, bishop of Ely, who preaching against Mr. Latimer at Barwell-abbey, forbid him within the churches of that university to preach any more. Notwithstanding, to the Lord's providence, the bishop's majesty, and the edges of the Auguittone friars, did heuse Mr. Latimer to preach in his church of the Auguittone, and he himself preached at the next church, called St. Edward's, where was the first former, of St. Paul's school, where Dr. Barnes preached, being Sunday, and Christmas Eve. Whereupon certain articles were gathered out of his sermon, and were commenced against him by Mr. Trelit, fellow of the King's hall, and to the vice-chancellor of that court, and sent against him.

Then Mr. Latimer (as you have heard) being baued by the friars, doctors, and masters of that university, about the year aforesaid, 1529, notwithstanding the malice of these malignant adversaries, continued yet in Cambridge preaching for the space of three years together, with favour and applause of the godly, also with such admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the bishop himself coming in, and hearing his gift, wished himself to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon the same account. So the same of the Latimer and Mr. Bals, after this, continued in Cambridge for some time, where they so frequently centered together, that the field wherein they usually walked, was for a long time after called, The herete's hill.

The society of these two, as it was much noted by many in that university, so it was full of many good examples, to all such as would follow them, both in visiting the prisoners, relieving the needy, and in feeding the hungry. Mr. Latimer makes mention of a certain friar which had committed about this time in Cambridge, between them both and a certain woman then prisoner in the college or tower of Cambridge, which I thought here worthy to be mentioned. The story is this: It so happened, that after Mr. Latimer had been so acquainted with the afore-said Mr. Balshe, he went with him to visit the prisoners in the tower of Cambridge, and being there, among other prisoners, there was a woman who was accused that she had killed her own child, which she plainly and definitely denied. Whereby it gave them occasion to search for the matter, and at length they found that her husband hated her not, and therefore sought all means he could to make her way. The matter was thus: A child of her's had been sick a whole year, and at length when in her last extremity, as it were in a confession: when which it was gone, the went to have her neighbours to help her at the burial, but all were abroad in the harvest, whereby she was enforced with heaviness of heart, alone to prepare the child for the burial. Her husband coming home, and not loving her, accused her of murdering the child. This was the cause of her trouble; and Mr. Latimer, by carnal inquiry, of confidence thought the woman not guilty. Then immediately after he was called to preach before King Henry the Seventh at Windor, when after his return from his majesty's feast for him, and talked familiarly with him. At which time Mr. Latimer, finding an opportunity, kneeled down, opened the whole matter to the king, and defined her pardon, which the king most graciously granted, and gave it to him at his return homeward. In the mean time the woman was delivered of a child in the prison, whose godfather was Mr. Latimer, and Mrs. Cheek godmother. But all the while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her confess the truth of the matter. At length the time came when he expected to fuller, and Mr. Latimer came as he was wont, to instruct her; unto whom the made great lamentation and moan, to be purified before her suffering, for the thought the matter must be criminal for hereby, and now feared her life to be in danger without pardon.

Then Mr. Balsby being with Mr. Latimer, both told her, that that law was made for the Jews, and not for us, and that women be as well in the favour of God before they be purified as after; and it was applied for a civil and polite law, for nature's convenience, than they should any thing the more be dispraise thereby, &c. So thus they agreed with the man till they had better instructed her, and so she obtained the king's pardon, and let her go.

This good act, as you understand, was not very often so in the manner of these things, as that the more they thought of it, the more they thought, the more like it was that the same thing had such a like manner of things, which as the fire kindled to kindle, so the more they thought of it, the more it seemed to them, was much like fort it happened with Mr. Latimer in Cambridge, to make the zeal it began to work, his virtues to be known, and his doings to be known, the more his censure, the more the evil to be said against him. Concerning the adveraries, and such as did mock him, and their names are above expressed. Among this number was Mr. Redman, a man favouring of superstition than of true religion, after the zeal of redemitting, yet not so malignant or hurful, but a civil and quiet disposition, and also liberal in giving, that few poor scholars were in that university fired nor better by his purse. This Dr. Redman was a man of great authority in the university of Cambridge, and perceived the bold act of Mr. Latimer in setting abroad the word and doctrine, and was so engaged this time, or much about the same, the writing to be seeking him by perquisition to revoke the said Latimer from that kind and manner of teaching: to whom Latimer did answer again in a few words, and a firm and effect of both their letters, translated into Latin, here followeth.

L E T T E R
From Dr. REDMAN to Mr. LATIMER

GRACE be with you, and true peace in Christ, &c. I beseech you heartily, and require you earnestly even for charity's sake, that you will write in your own conceit with a mind so inducive, as for your own singular judgment in matters of sines and controversy before so many learned men, answer is more, before the whole Catholic church, especially considering that you neither have any thing in hand of God to make for you, nor yet the testimony of an authentic writer. Nay, may, I beseech you rather consider that you are a man, and that lying and vanity quickly bear your eyes, which both sometimes instead and good judgment, and altogether to an angel of light.

Judge not so rashly of us, as that wicked spirit tickled you in the ear. I assure you we are credible, and that we wish you to be saved, and that we are careful also for our own salvation. Lay donc your thoughts upon this eye, and humbly and patiently bear for the church to take offence with the hardness of your heart, nor that her unity and Christ's seat with it (as much as lieth in you) shall be torn asunder. Consider what the laying of the wise man is, and excellency therein. Trust not your own wisdom. Our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.

L E T T E R
From Mr. LATIMER, in Answere to Dr. REDMAN

Evevered Mr. Redman, it is even enough for us, that we keep no man's wars in Christ's: and as for you, you have no voice of God against me, whereas for my part I have a heart ready to hearken to any voice of Christ that you bring me. Thus fare you well, and trouble men more from the talking with the Lord my God. Amen.

After Mr. Latimer had thus laboured in praying and teaching in the university of Cambridge, he was at the space of three years, at length he was called by the grace of God in a far university, where he was chosen by the same university, to be a master in such articles as then they proceeded in, &c.
Of the bishop of London, and furthmore to receive conding punishment for the fame: and that ye certify us at Sarum of what is done on the precedent before the 20th of this fame month of January; that we may be able to certify this to the abovesaid reverend father, the lord bishop of London, or before the said 20th of January, according as the fame requires, and not praying prayed and required it of us, in riad of the law, and out of mutual kindnes.

Given at Sarum, under the seal of the aforesaid father in God, the 20th day of January, 1531.

Against this citation, although Mr. Latimer did appeal to his own ordinary, requiring him to be ordered, yet notwithstanding all that, he was had up to London before Warham the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, where he was greatly mocked, and obtained a long time to fetch his cure at home. There he being called thrice every week before the said bishops, to make answer for his preaching, had certain articles or propositions drawn out and laid to him, wherein they required him to subscribe. At length he not only professed the same practical preaching, but also much grieved with the trouble of these unquiet ones, which neither would persuade themselves, nor any suffer him to preach and do his duty, with a threat of the aforesaid archbishop, partly extolling his inferioury, whereby he could not appear at their commandment, partly expatiating with the great trouble and his doing and detaining him from doing his duty, and that thenceforward was not to be called any case, but only for preaching the truth against certain vain abstractions in religion, much mov'd to be spoken against. Which all may appear by his epistle sent to a certain bishop or archbishop, whose name is not expressed; this copy of which epistle is now translated from Latin, and is as followeth.

A COPY OF THE EPISTLE, by MR. LATIMER to the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Most Reverend Governor,

I HAD not sickness prevented me, I had myself waited on you at your palace; but these first troubles have brought on me a sharp return of an old distemper, so that I can't be able to wait on you to-day; I cannot (I fear) without great pain, but that your lordship might no longer in vain expect my coming. I shall be the lines scribbled with my own hand to your grace, to a most upright judge, of my excuse, in which I wish I had more time or more judgment to frame such an epistle with such grace for detaining me so long against my will from my cure, and the church unprofitably, at a time when it most behoves every parishioner to be present in his flock. But what shall I say, it is lawful for so mean a prisoner to plead with so great a father? If we perform a priest's good for doing his duty, who, while he remains in this earth's earthen vessel, never ceaseth to teach and admonish his congregation, so much the more as he draws nearer his last home, what mule we think of those who neither preach themselves now, (at which I should not wonder had they not been used to it before) nor permit those who are delicious to do it, unless they are bound to do and say nothing but what they please. At first I thought it fair and fit of myself intirely to your clemency, but now it seems as false to justify myself a little, since one thing was pretended in the beginning, but now another, and what shall be the end of this great reason to doubt, but I hope truth only will be used. St. Jerome on the words, (which I hope I shall never forget) "The Lord who prefereth truth, for ever shall deliver them," writes thus: Whatever I suffer for truth's sake shall never trouble me; and the Lord liveth and careth for me. First I was sent to London, where I was before the court of Canterbury, then all was stopped that had been concluded, and the matter had bounds and limits set to it by him who sent me; but to the bulletin was handed and brought into doubt, that at length there formed no end of it, but that it must be infinitely prolonged. For while, without either method or design, I was queas-

Dated
tioned of one thing after another, whether pertinent or
imperative, now by one, and then by another, if I
grow worse, or the party in the power
poise (which I thought was not imprudent sometimes
to put an end to the dispute) I was equally uncivil; while
one answers to many, and of many things, he may in
adversely say something that may prejudice the most
right-minded of men, and persuade me wickedly for
what at most they can call but an error of conscience;
and to remember all things, it behoves a man to re-
member the foundation of the other world. When a
man acts against conscience, he doth it to gain, to main-
tain, or defend his own, but what they charge me with
is far different, and I believe without example,
wickedly requesting to know the cause of my confine-
ment. If any person is disposed to attack my fomens,
that they are obscure, or not cautiously enough worded,
I am prepared either to explain or vindicate them, for
(to the best of my knowledge) I never preached any
thing against the truth, against the councils of the fa-
thers, or against the catholic faith. All that my adver-
saries or detractors truly charge me with, is what I have
long defined, and do define, namely, the improving the
common people's judgment. I heartily desire that
all men might know and comprehend the disagreement
of things, the worth, place, time, degrees, and order
proper for each, and how much they are concerned in
things, which God has projected for them to walk in:
every man ought to be very diligent in doing the
work of his calling; after which, many things indifferent
may be done with equal diligence, amongst which
are all things which no law has forbid, unless we for-
bid them ourselves; it is lawful to use false images, to go
on pilgrimages, to inveigle fain, to remember the
fouls in purgatory, but theft which are voluntary acts
are to be restrained, that they diminish not the just
effect of the precepts of God (which beflow eternal life or death upon them), they should not be
soberly, they who use them otherwise, are so far from gaining the
love of God, that they rather incur his hatred. The
ture love of God is to keep his commandments, as our
Saviour says, He who heareth my words and doth them, he it is who loveth me. Let no man then have so much
opinion of the laws of God, as to make them equal to
the fancies of men, once by thofe at the last day be-
fore the tribunal of Christ we flall all be judged, and
not by these; as Christ says, The word that I speak,
that shall judge you at the last day; and what man is
able to make amends for the breach of one of those
commands, by any or all of these specious additions?
O that we would be but as ready, as diligent, as devoted to
do his will, as we are to follow our own empty no-
tions, and what things done with an upright heart God
accept of, making allowance for our infirmities,
thought he has not commanded or required them; but
these things ought to be taken away when they begin
to have the force of commands, lest while we do the
of thofe thet are absolutely necessary, and what
that can be more absurd than to revere as ordinances of
God, the idle fancies of men, whilst his true ordinances
are neglected; whence I in behalf of the command-
ments of God fland hitherto immovable, not seeking my
own gain, not my own life, but God's glory, and
whilst I live I will fland ftedfast; fo all the Ger-
man divines have hitherto complained of the intolera-
ble abuse of these things, that no man defirous of the
glory of Christ can accept of the miniftiy without doing
things against his conscience, and if some have (for I
will not lay none) submitted to this hardship purely to
do good, yet what doth the christian religion flffer by it?
unles we are so miserably blinded as to think that these
things are to be dispensed with for our own filthy gain,
though not for the honor of God. No one can justify the constant practice of such things which in themselves are highly criminal? Some things are constantly performed which ought never, while
others are omitted which ought always to be done: now why do you love this manifest abuse? And who feels, and
does not grieve? And who grows, that would not
labour to remove it? And when shall it be removed,
thought in his confidence that he hath been subjected of hereby. This was a capacious question. There was no holding of peace would strive for; for that was to grant himself faulty. To answer it, was every way full of danger. But God, which always graced to answer, helped him, or else (as he confessed himself) he had never escaped their bloody hands. Albeit what was his answer, he doth not there express. And thus hitherto you have heard declared the manifold troubles of this body, nevertheless, in the time not only of his being in the university, but especially at his benevolence, as partly in his own words above-mentioned, and partly by his own letters hereafter following, may better appear.

In these he had land dangerous frays, and such fames of the bishops, hard it had been for him, and impossible to have escaped and continued so long, had not the almighty helping hand of the Highell, as he thrilled him up, so he preferred him through the favour and power of his prince; who with much favour embraced him, and with his mere power sometime rescued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. Moreover, at length, all through the procurement partly of Dr. Butts, partly of the good lord Crowme, he advanced him to the degree and dignity of a bishop, making him the bishop of Worcestrey, which so continued a few years, inflicting his diocese, according to the due of a diligently and vigilant pastor, as he his doctrine and example of perfect conversation duly agreeing to the same. It were a long matter to stand particularly upon such things as might here be brought to the consideration of his pains; as flady, readings, and continual preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting, and reforming, as his ability could serve, or else the time would bear. But the days were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do what he would. Yet what he might do, that he performed to the utmost of his strength, so that although he could not utterly curing all the sparkling relics of old superstition, yet he so wrought, that though they could not be taken away, yet they should be used with as little hurt, and with as much profit as might be. As for example, in this thing, and divers others it did appear, that when it could not be avoided, but holy water and holy water were not to be used, yet so as to be prepared for and to be prepared, with such informations and leisons, that in receiving thereof superstition should be excluded, and some remembrance taken thereby, teaching and charging the ministers of his diocese, in delivering the holy water and the holy bread, to say these words following:

Words spoken to the People in giving them Holy Water.

"Remember your promise in baptism, Christ, his mercy and blood-bidding, by whose holy sprinkle, Of all your fins you have free pardoning."

What to say in giving Holy Bread.

"Of Christ's body this is a token;
Which on the crois for our fins was broaken;
Wherefore of you we must be forakers,
If of Christ's death you will be partakers."

By this it may be considered what the diligent care of this bishop was in doing the duty of a faithful pastor among his flock. And moreover it is to be thought that he would have prescribed more than he did, and had the time then had answer'd to his desire; for he was not ignorant how the intollation of holy water and holy bread not only had no ground in scripture, but also how full of profane exorcisms and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and hearing of the gospel. Thus the good man beheld in this event. But (as before) both in the university and at his benefice, he was rest and troubled by wicked and evil disposed persons; so in his bishoppic also, he was not free from some that fought his trouble. As among many other evil willers, one especially there was, and that was so small person,

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who accused him then to the king for his sermons. The story, because he himself theweth in a sermon of his before king Edward, I thought therefore to use his own words, which are these:

"A saying that is dead, a great many of us were called together before him, to speak our minds in certain matters. In the end one kneeleth down and addresses me of the fidelion; and that I had preached fidelious doctrine. A heavy falution, and a hard point of a man's doing, as if I should name you would not think.

The king turned to me, and said, What say you to that, sir? Then I knelt down, and turned first to my accuser, and required him; Sir, what form of preaching do you object to me, in preaching before a king? Would you have me preach nothing as concerning a king in a king's sermon? Have you any compunction to appoint me what I shall preach? Besides this, I asked him divers other questions, and he made no answer to any of them all; he had nothing to say.

Then I turned to the king, and submitted myself to his grace, and said, I never thought myself worthy, nor did I ever use to be a preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing (If you will like me) to give place to my betters; and I grant that the hearers are many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your grace's pleasure to allow them for preachers, I could be content to carry their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your grace to give me leave to dilate on disputing many things, and to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a blockhead to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace.

And I thank Almighty God (who hath always been my helper) that my layings were well accepted of the king; for like a gracious lord he turned into another communication. It is even as the scripture faith, the Lord directeth the king's heart. Some of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me, they expected I should have been in the Tower the fame night.

Besides this, divers other conflicts and combats this godly bishop fullfainted in his own country and diocese, in taking the cause of right and equity against oppression and wrong. As for another example, there was at that time, not far from the diocese of Worcestor, a certain justice of the peace, whom here I will not name, being a good man afterwards, and now deceased. This justice in purchasing of certain lands, for his brother, or for himself, went about to wrong or damnify a poor person, and made a complaint to Mr. Latimer. He first hearing, then rendering his rightful cause, wrote his letter to the gentleman, exhorting him to remember himself, to consider the cause, and to abstain from injury. The justice of peace not content withal (as the fashion of men is when they are told of their faults) mendeth word again in great displeasure, that he would not take it at his hands, with such threatening words. Mr. Latimer hearing this, answered again, by writing to a certain gentleman; the copy whereof, his letters hereafter followeth in the sequel of this story to be seen.

It were a large and long process to declare all the doings, travels, and writings of this chasitser bishop, neither yet have we exprest all that came to our hay remedy; that I thought sufficient for the present. Thus he continued, in his labious function of a bishop some years, till the coming in of the first articles. Then being diffrethed through the straightnisses of time, so that either he must lose the quietness of a good life, or else make his bishopric, the latter of which he freely did. Dr. Sweton, and bishop of Stilbury, refigned likewise with him. At which time he threw off his rochet in his chamber among his friends, and suddenly gave a skip on the floor of joy, feeling his shoulder so light, and being discharged of that field of such a heavy burden. However, he was still lightened, but that troubles and labours followed him wherever he went. For a little after he had renounced his bishopric, he was much bruised by the fall of a tree: then coming up with, some men for remedy, he was molested and took to bishops, whereby he was again in little delight, and at length was sent to the Tower, where he continued remaining. The bishop of London entered his crown, by which means his mouth of this preacher, long flut up before, was again opened. And so he beginning ariseth to the plough again, continued all the time of his laboring with the Lord's hand, laboring with the Lord's hand, charging his talent at Starmont, and before the king and council-house, and especially before the king at dinner. In this last, he was most learnedly applied to laudably and coulty fashion; so differe the fruitful word of the glorious Jesus Christ, preaching before the king in that very court, to the edification of many.

And thus he spent his time in king Edward's preaching, for the most part, twice every sabbath, the theme of all other licening and unpreaching, those, who occupy great rooms, and do little good to much the more to their shame, because he was made a preacher by the hand of his father, before he was six years of age, took so little care and care of learning, nor to do the people good. Now to speak here of his ingenuity and diligence in his private studies: notwithstanding his years, and the fatigue of so often preaching, as he was a man of great memory and memory, and a diligent at his book, by two or three hours he could his heart was of the preservation of the church, and good success of the gospel, his letters can testify, as he in his memorials thine of their duty that was here authorized, and allified them with his godly care.

As the diligence of this man to the end, to the last hour of his life, the time of king Edward, to profit the church as publicly and privately, so it is like to be said, that the fame good spirit of God that allified and supported him in preaching the gospel, did also enable him to for all those kinds of plagues, which in a world exalted, thence in his age, by a prophet, he himself, have been one. And as touching himself, he so confirmed, that the preaching of the gospel would him his life, to which he no less charitably professed himself, than certainly was persuaded that Wycliffe was kept in the Tower for the fame purpose, no event did too truly prove the fame. For after the death of the said pious king Edward, not long after the queen Mary was proclaimed, a purifant was enquired of the means, no doubt, of Wycliffe in the country, to call that a prince to render a reckoning of his doctrine, as he went to any place in the land. I doubt not that the God, as he had made me worthy to preach so before two excellent princes, so will he enable me with the same unction, to who come to him, to our comfort or discomfort eternally, etc. When the purfants had delivered his letters, he departed, affirming the he had commandment not to tarry for him. By this sudden departure it was manifest that they would not be able to stay him, but rather to have fled out of his realm. Thus it was that they should ed them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the faith.

Thus Mr. Latimer being sent for, and coming to London, (entering Smithfield, he merrily said, The Lord had had long gromed him for him) was brought before the common council, and all of mocked and taunts given him by the common people, and again sent to the Tower, where being aifted with heavenly grace of Christ, patiently sustained impri-
and so afterwards shed his blood in the cause of Christ, which blood ran out of his heart in such abundance, that all those that were present, being godly, did marvellously see the life and soul of the blood in his body to be gathered to his body and with the sight thereof to glut out his body being opened by the force of the fire; by which things God most graciously granted his request, which was, That he might find his heart's blood in the defence of the gospel.

How merited of the Lord he heard his second request, in returning his gospel once again unto this realm, thenceforth these saints may record. And what then shall England say now for her defence, being so mercifully visited and refreshed with the word of God, so tenderly and unthankfully considered either her own misery past, or the great benefits of God now present? The Lord be merciful unto us, Amen.

Again, concerning his third request, it seemeth like wife most effectually granted, to the great praise of God, the furtherance of his gospel, and to the unpeachable comfort of this realm. For whether at the request of his prayer, or at other God's holy fants, or whether God was moved with the cry of his whole church, the truth is, that when all was deplorable and in a desperate case, and so desperate that the enemies mightily flourished and triumphed, God's word was baniished, Spaniards received, no place left for Christ's servants to cover their heads, and none trust, none remembrance of his mercy, and forgetting our former calamity, made an end of all these milicry, and wrought a memorable change of things; at the change whereof the sad queen Elizabeth was appointed and anointed, for whom this grey-headed father so earnestly prayed in his imprisonment; through whose true and most imperial crown, the brightness of God's word was set up again to confound the dark and false vizard kingdom of Antichrist, the true temple of Christ re-edified, the captivity of forrowful christians releas'd, which so long was with'd for in the prayers of so many good men, especially of this faithful and true servant of the Lord, Mr. Latimer.

The fame God, who at the requests of his holy, faithful, true unfaits hath pour'd upon us such benefits of his mercy, peace, and tranquillity, affir'd us our most virtuous and chri$tian prince, and set us free from so many orles, that we may every one in his state and calling cry to our God: 'To God and to Christ, who in our vocation, that we lose not that which we have obtained, but may proceed in all faithfullnes, to build and keep up the house and temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glory, and our everlasting comfort in him'. And thus much concerning the laborious travels of Mr. Latimer. Now after this, how is it then that we are troubled and disquieted, pertaining to the story of his life, let us come to his letters, which he wrote at divers and sundry times from the first beginning of his preaching, all which here to comprehend, which he wrote both in English and Latin, want of room at present will not permit: nevertheless some we shall insert, and shall concerning the articles above mentioned, for which he was troubled by the priests of the country about his benefice at Weft-Kingston; which he writeth thereof to Mr. Maurice, the copies wherof follow.

ARTICLES untruly, unjuicly, falsly, and unchristianly imputed to me by Dr. Powel, of Salisbury.

First, That our LADY was a SINNER.

Oceafioned of some, not only lay-men, but also priests and beneficed men, who gave so much to our lady of devotion without judgment, as though they had not needed for their own salvation. For Christ her Saviour, to make Christ a whole Saviour of thee or me, or to be faid believed, I reasonèd after this manner: That either she was a sinner, or no sinner; there is no mean. If she were a sinner, then the saw redeemed or delivered from sin by Christ, as other. If she were no sinner, then the saw redeemed from sin by Christ; so that Christ saved her, and was her necessary Saviour, whether she sinned or not. Now certain authors, said I, as Chrysostom, Theolosad, and others, write, as though she had been something guilty in her time,
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

For remembrance of that fall and uprising, keep us in our fall from despising: both is God did not forget, and to have forsworn and life: for and this last is for evermore: it is the most certain and to that, as to many who have been in excess more certain.

It hath been said in times past, without the lady was a sinner: but it was never said that our lady was not fared, but a Saviour: to do about to make my lady a sinner, but to have Christ. Saviour. When mine adversaries represent thing that I say, then they will believe me, to lie, that they can reprove. They will sin to make each lady a sinner, to prove that, that no man dies. Do for the better, and so the general says now you believe they shall certainly go to the devil, though they believe so fully that our lady was not a sinner.

And for the Ave Maria they lie falsely, I received it: I know it was a heavenly salutation or grace our lady, spoken by the angel Gabriel, and was the holy Scripture of St. Luke. But yet it is properly a prayer, as the Pater Noster is. Saluting, teaching, regarding or praying, is not properly praying. An angel was sent to greater, and to dwell in the good of God toward her, therefore it is called the Anunciation of our lady, and to pray to her, or to pray to her properly: shall have heaven profit us to our lady? When the angel said it was not properly a prayer. And is it not the same thing now as it was then? Nor yet he that denieth thee Maria to be properly a prayer, denyeth the Ave, so that we may salute our lady with Hail Mary has angel did, though we be not lest of God to do, the angel was. Yet though we may do so, we have pleases and for doing as the angel had, the angel had been more to blame peradventure left it unaided, than we be, forasmuch as he was appeal of God to say it, and not we: but as I deny not, but we may say the Pater Noster, and the Ave Maria, that to God, this to our lady, to speak the word of God.

No doubt our lady was, through the goodness of God, a good and a gracious creature, a devout handmaid of the Lord, ended with singular gifts and graces from above, which through the help of God she used to God's pleasure, according to her duty, for giving example to do like wise, so that all the goodness that she had, did it not for herself, but of the goodness of God: the Lord was with her favourably, and poured graces unto her plentifully, as it is in the Ave Maria. The Son of God, when he would become man to save both man and woman, did choose her to be his mother, which love he showed to her alone, and to no other, of his benign goodness, by which she was the natural mother of Christ: and through faith in Christ she was the spiritual father of Christ, saved by Christ, blessed by hearing Christ's word, and keeping the same. It could not have availed her salvation, to have been his natural mother, if she had not done the will of his heavenly Father; by him she was his mother, by him he did the will of his Father: the hand-maiden, he the Lord. The hand-maiden did magnify the Lord, the hand-maiden would that all should magnify the Lord, to whom be honour and glory for ever, Amen.

To honour him worthily, is not to dishonour our lady; he is as able to preserve from sin, as to deliver from sin; he was then subject to Joseph his father-in-law, his mother's husband; Joseph is now subject to him. He never dishonoured Joachim and Anna, his grandfather and grandmother, and yet I have not read that he preferred them from all sin.

To say that Peter, and Paul, David, and Mary Magdalene, were sinners, is not to dishonour them: for they sojourn doth dishonour them. It had not been for our profit to have preferred them all that he could have preferred.
SAINTS are not to be HONOURED.

The argument, The Ave Maria was before the Pater Noster, therefore, it is properly a prayer: so it is no good ad

argument. The Ave Maria was before the Pater Noster therefore, it is properly a prayer: so it is no good ar

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went about to prove, that now there could be no

As touching the faints in heaven, I said, They be not

But by way of intercession, so faints in heaven may

But if we continue in prayer, I shall do my part, and

God biddeth us to come to him with prayer, and to

And forasmuch as they be always in charity, they

I Never knew a man that said so. I spake of divers

There is no FIRE in HELL.

I Never knew a man that said so. I spake of divers

Therefore I say, that there is a fire in hell, but what manner of fire, or in what part of the world, no man can tell but that he is of God's privy

council: I would advise every man to be so secure to keep out of hell, than trust he shall not die but in

There is no PURGATORY after this LIFE.

NOT for such liars as will bear me in hand that I said not; I have said I would be a friend and a brother to all them that be in purgatory: then I do declare that he that live in charity in such a way that they do not lose it, so that they cannot murmur against our
dion of our Godhead, is greater by far than any we know; where there is fire burning, there is heat, there is cold; there is pain without pleasure, torment without

We biddeth us to come unto him with prayer, and to

And every time they go about to make their works, and

And forasmuch as they be always in charity, they

And forasmuch as they be always in charity, they

I Never knew a man that said so. I spake of divers

Therefore I say, that there is a fire in hell, but what manner of fire, or in what part of the world, no man can tell but that he is of God's privy
unto me, but alfo that now of fate you would vouchsafe to write unto me fo a wretch, to show your care among all thefe my troubles. I trust and doubt nothing in it, but God will reward you for me, and abundantly fupply mine infibility, &c. Mr. Morrice, you would wonder to know how I have been treated at Bratfern, I mean by fuch of the privy, who fhall defcribe me, welcomed me, made me cheerful, heard what I faid, and allowed my faying in all things while I was with them; when I was gone hone to my benefice, perceiving that the people favoured me fo greatly, and that the mayor had appointed me to preach at Bratfern, privy they procured an inftrument for all them that had not the bishop's licence, which they knew well enough I had not, and fo craftily defeated mayor mayer's appointment, pretending they were forry for it, procuring alfo certain preachers to call against me, as Hubberden and Powel, with others, whom when I had brought before the mayor, and the wife council of the town, to know what they could lay to my charge, wherefore they fo defcribed against me, they faid they fpoke as they were informed: however no man could be brought forth that could found to any thing: fo that they had place and time to believe me shamefully, but they had no place or time to lay to my charge when I was prent and ready to make them answer. God amend them, and aflig more their malice, that they have against the truth and me, &c.

Our Lady was a SINNER.

So they did believe me to have fad, when I had faid nofing, but to reprove certain, both priests and beneficed men, who did give fo much up to our lady, as though she had not been faved by Chrifl, a whole people, both of her, and of all that be, or fhall be faved: I did reason after this manner, that either the was a finner, or no finner; if a finner, then the was delivered from sin by Chrifl; fo that he faved her, either by delivering or preferving her, by the fin that without him, or without him, or none other, either be, or could be faved. And to avoid all offence, I fewed how it might be anſwered, both to certain fcriptures, which make the all generally fanners, and how it might be anſwered unto Chriflotom and Theophiſe, which makes her namely and fpeciallly a finner. But all would not ferve, their malice was fo great; notwithstanding that five hundred honeft men can and will bear record. When they cannot reprove that thing that I do fay, then will they believe me, to fay that thing which they cannot reprove; for they will needs appear to be againſt me.

SAINTS are not to be WORSHIPED.

So they lied when I had fhewn certain divers figufations of this word (Saints) among the vulgar people. First, images and fants are fo called, therefore they not to be worshiped; take worshiping of them for praying to them; for they are neither mediators by way of redempion, nor yet by way of intereferation. And yet they may be well used when they are applied to the use for which they were ordained, to be hymen's books for remembrance of heavenly things, &c. Take fants for inhabitants of heaven, and worshipping of them, for praying to them, I never denied, but that they might be worshiped, and be our mediators, though not by the way of intereferation (for fo Chrifl alfo a whole Mediator, both for them and for us) yet by the way of intereferation.

PILGRIMAGE.

AND I never denied pilgrimage. And yet I have faid that much feafant must be pared away, ere ever it can be well done; for faith, fuperfition, idolatry, and truth in the image, unjust effimation of the thing, detraction of God's ordinances for doing of the thing; debts must be paid, reftitution made, wine and children must be provided for, duty to our neighbours discharged. And when it is at the bell, before it be vowed, it need not be done, for it is neither under the command of God nor man to be done. And wives must advise with

husbands,
husbands, and husbands and wives with curates, before
it be done.

AVE MARIA.

A

S for Ave Maria, who can think that I would
deny it? I said it was an heavenly greeting or
falueting of our blessed lady, wherein the angel Gabriel,
ent from the Lord, and annunciate and
ve her the good-will of God towards her, what he
would with her, and how he had chosen her. But
I said it was not properly a prayer, as the Pater Nothere, which our Saviour Christ himself made for a proper
prayer, and bid us to say it as a prayer, nor adding
the Lord's Prayer ten or twenty Ave Maris withal:
and I denied not but that we may well say Ave Maris also,
but not so that we shall think that the Pater
Nothere is not good, a whole and perfect prayer, nor
cannot be well said without Ave Maris; so that I did
not speak against it, but against superfluous falling of it,
and of the Pater Nothere too; and yet I put a difference between all this, and that which
Christ made to be said for a prayer.

No FIRE is HELL.

W

HO ever could say or think so? However, good
authors do make a difference between suffering
in the fire with bodies, and without bodies. The soul
without the body is a spiritual substance, which they say
cannot receive a corporal quality, and some make it a
spiritual fire, and some a corporal fire. And as it is
called a fire, so it is called a worm, and it is neither
of fire nor worm, but a material worm, that is, a living
beast, but it is metaphor, but that is nothing to the purpose:
for a fire is it, a worm it is, pain it is, torment it is,
anguish it is, a grief, a misery, a sorrow, a heaviness
inexlicable, and intolerable, whole nature and condi-
tion in every point, who can tell, but he that is of God's
privy council? faith St. Austin. God give us grace ra-
ther to be diligent to keep us out of it, than to be cu-
cious to discuss the property of it; for certain we be,
that there is little else, yes, none at all, but weeping,
waiting, and gnashing of teeth, which be two effects
of extreme pain, rather certain tokens what pain there is,
than what manner of pain there is.

No PURGATORY.

H

E that fledeth the fate and condition of it, doth
not deny it. But I had rather be in it than in
Lollard's Tower, the bishop's prison, for divers reasons.
First, this I might die bodily for lack of meat and
drink; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might die spiritually for fear of pain,
or lack of good counsel; there I could not.

Item, in this I might be in extreme necessity; in that
I could not, if it be peril of perilling.

Item, in this I might lack charity; in there I could not.

Item, in this I might lose my patience; in that
I could not.

Item, in this I might be in danger of death; in that
I could not.

Item, in this I might be without surety of salvation;
in that I could not.

Item, in this I might displease God; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might murmur and grudge against
God; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might displease God; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be judged to perpetual prison,
as they call it; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be cruelly handled; in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be brought to bear a faggot;
in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be discontented with God; in that
I could not.

Item, in this I might be separated and dispossessed from
Christ; in that I could not.
Mr. LATIMER'S LETTER to Sir EDMUND BAYNTON.

little beholden to him, in favour of which he alluded this text: Whoever leaveth father, house, wife, &c.
by that you may perceive his hot zeal and crooked judgment, &c. Because I am so belied, I could wish that it would please the king's grace to command me to preach before his highness four or five whole years together every Sunday, that he himself might perceive how I believe me, saying, that I have neither learning nor utterance worthy thereunto, &c. I pray you pardon me, I cannot make an end.

A brief DIGRESSION concerning the RAILING of Mr. HUBBERDIN against Mr. LATIMER.

FORASMUCH as mention hath been made in this letter of Mr. Hubberdin, an old divine of Oxford, a right-painted pharisee, and a great splitter abroad in all quarters of the realm, to deface and impeach the purity of God's holy gospel, something will be added more concerning that man, whole dealings and performances, if they might be described at large, it were as good as any interlude for the reader to behold. Who in all his life, and in all his actions (in one word to describe him) feemeth nothing else but a right image or a counterfeit, fretting our unto us, as one that thinketh he causeth the people to be their own hypocrit. But because the man is now gone, to spare therefore the dead, (although he little deferred to be spared, who never spared to work what villainy he could against the true servants of the Lord) this shall be enough for example's sake.

As for his writing of all withal, his long prayers, devotion, fitness, his mean habit, and other his prodigious posterity, ruling in his long gown down to the horse heels like a pharisee, or rather like a lozened dirt up to the horse's belly, after his forged tales and fables, dialogues, dreams, dancings, hoppings and leaping, with other player-like toys and games used in the pulpit, and all against heretics; at last riding by a church fade, where the youth of the parish were dancing in the church-yard, he suddenly alighting from his horse, by the occasion of their dancing, came into the church, and there cauing the bell to toll in the people, thought instead of a fit of wrath, to give them a sermon of dancings.

In which sermon, after he had patched up certain common texts out of the scriptures, and then coming to the doctors, first to Augustine, then to Ambrose, fo to Jerome and Chrysostom, and other divines, had made them every one (after his dialogue manner) by name to answere to his call, and to sing after his tune for the probation of the sacrament of the altar against John Frith, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Luther, Tindal, Latimer, and other heretics (as he called them), at last to shew a perfect harmony of all these doctors together, as he had made them before to sing after his tune, so now to make them dance also after his pipe, first he calleth out Christ and his apostles, then the doctors and ancient saviours of the church, as in a round ring all to dance together; and so piping up Hubberdin, the new Christ, now dance Peter, Paul, now dance Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome; and thus old Hubberdin, as he was dancing with his doctors lustily in the pulpit against the heretic, how he fl�mpt and took on I cannot tell, but could make him come to his proper end, and there lay Hubberdin, not dancing, but sprawling in the midst of his audience; where although he brake not his neck, yet he brake his leg at the same time, and bruised his old bones, that he never came in the pulpit more, and died not long after the fame. Whereupon when the church-wardens were called, and charged for the pulpit not being stronger, they made anversor again, excusing themselves that they had made their pulpit for preaching and not for dancing, &c. But to spend no more paper about this idle matter, now to our purpose again.

Amongst many other accusers and adversaries, whereof there was no small sort which did influe this good man

et in
in fermons, some also there were which attempted the pen against him. In the number of whom was one Dr. Sherwood, who upon the same occasion of preaching of the virgin Mary (as or they thought against the virgin) did inveigh him with a letter against him in Latin, who was sent in a spittle, with Mr. Latimer's answer also in Latin to the same, here under followeth now translated into English.

LETTER

From Dr. WILLIAM SHERWOOD to Mr. LATIMER.

WILLIAM SHERWOOD, Preist, to Mr. LATIMER, Referre of WEST-KINGSTON, Grace and Peace, to GOD the FATHER, and from our LORD JESUS CHRIST.

WORTHY SIR,

Refusing you will not take it amiss to be christianly admonished by a christian, I have sent these lines, to reason with you about some things delivered by you in a sermon, or rather a fayre, lately preached at Greatfield, not much like a christian; and first, concerning the parable of the thief and the shepherd, where you truly faied, that if you did harden in sin, the fierceness of your hardenes was such as Saviour should have cut the fierceness of their hearts, but not openly, but secretly, and in general he did not say to every one of the fierces and pharisaes, Ye are thieves and robbers; but what did he say? Why, very I say unto you, he who enters not by the door into the flock, but climbeth over some other way, the same is a thief and a robber: on the contrary, you openly declare all popes, bishops, and priests, to be thieves and robbers (yourself, and a few of the refus of the people excepted); thus you have preached or deceived the people: but perhaps you meant it for a hyperbole; if so, it was a very cruel and unjust one. My brother, we are not so rashly to judge before the time (if we may believe St. Paul) when the Lord shall come, who will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and manifest the counsels of the heart: also Christ himself, when the Father hath apointed Judge both of the living and the dead, in Matthew, seemst to forbid the rash judging of our neighbour, where he says, Judge not that ye be not judged, for with what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged, and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again, and faied. You have very much expos'd, but I would not have light put for darknes, nor darknes for light; nor that good should be called evil, and evil good, sweet bitter, and bitter sweeter. If this should be, then each in his turn would devour one another. But I need urge this no farther, for it is enough to appear to plain, if it was a very cruel and unjust one. My brother, we are not so rashly to judge before the time (if we may believe St. Paul) when the Lord shall come, who will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and manifest the counsels of the heart: also Christ himself, when the Father hath appointed Judge both of the living and the dead, in Matthew, seemst to forbid the rash judging of our neighbour, where he says, Judge not that ye be not judged, for with what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged, and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again, and faied. 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This was needful to bring back the Germans to a beneficial confession of Peter, it what is ye here done? If so, what if he be not? What is the word of Christ to the public, is obliged to defend it with all his strength: but Peter the supræmacy, the words of Christ are of more weight (I give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and as there is no need to defend the supræmacy of Peter in heaven, for he is the truth, for what a Christian ought to contend even to death. I cannot think a German's can be brought to a beneficial confession of Peter without acknowledging his supræmacy. But the Son of the living God? The Son of God is Peter, he is not truth if Peter has no supræmacy. But to fall is here for, no advantage can come from a confession of Christ to that man who will not persist and defend the apostolic chair with all his might: for this is one of the most bare-faced lies, that Christ is in the mountain only with a few disciples. Ongen, the most accurate interpreter of Scripture, in his fifth of St. Matthew, feareth that as I spake, he went down from the mountain, and there followed two multitudes; the disciples were with him in the mountain, and for them to it was given to know the secrets of heaven: verily the doctrine, the knowledge of salvation, which no man receiveth of himself, but who heareth and spread abroad the light of truth, to enlighten the depth of those blind'd with the thick darkness of total darkness, while it was our Lord famed it, I fear the light of the world: he descending from the mountain, the multitudes followed him, into the mountain there were no to withstand those sublime mysteries, but those who had away the burden of all worldly delights. That to hear how Ongen approves of mine and not of your interpretation. The fathers found out certain false preachers, that know not, howsoever they are well known to you, he persuade the people it is enough for a christian to believe as the church believes, though at the same time they know neither what nor how the church believes. So the miserable vulgar are deterred from seeking the knowledge of God. In this respect we are beheld to the Lutheran and heretic church, they cannot possibly be in our's, since the bridge was hath promised never to defeat his spoue the truth. What you have said else I pass over as mere juggling.

Words of Christ, he says the people are in a great need of justification of faith, and yet you cannot overthrow an argument; but whether it is arguing philosophically or not, you are not justified by faith only, but rightly done in faith and charity? If this is so, I wish...
Mr. Latimer's Answer to Dr. Sherwood.

Chapter 1: The Supremacy of St. Peter

By their works, that at the last they may attain everlasting life. You know very well what Luther's sentiments were of the church, and I can readily fabricate to what Lyra, after many others, says on the 16th of St. Matthew. That the church doth not confound of men great either by ecclesiastical or by secular power, and that many princes and popes have apostatized from the faith of such, with which they have a true knowledge both of the faith and truth of the Christian religion. With him agree St. Jerome, and St. Chrysostom, who say, there is some reason to declare the supremacy of St. Peter, a thing of no necessity, that to take that blessed condition which would be of real life; you dare to say, that Christ, when he called some of the commandments of God of no effect by their traditions? Again, except your righteounesses exceed the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees, ye shall in no cafe enter the kingdom of heaven; you say, Christ preached his sermon on the mount only to a few of his disciples: this is plainly to confound the scriptures. For St. Matthew it is said, that having ended these sayings, they were astonished at his doctrine, for they taught them as one that had authority. Was Christ in authority? Why St. Luke will tell you it was the multitude that heard him. Chapter the third, verse 54, had ended all his sayings in the audience of the people. As to that of blaming any person for believing as the church believes, it is either your ill will which made you deaf, or else you were willing to hear what was never spoke. What I said was, that many false preachers tell the people to believe as the church believes, when they are ignorant in what manner the church believes. As to what, I say, you call all human, see St. Jerome on the 26th of St. Matthew, I say a christian, that is, one admitted into the church by baptism, if he confess his profession, but gives himself up to highly defined, is in respect of eternal life which is promised to christians, no more a christian than a Jew or a Turk; yes, I say his condition shall be worse at the last day, if he be true, who says, It was better never to have known the way of truth, than after they have known, to fall away; it is the duty of a true christian to live with Christ here, that they may reign with him hereafter, otherwise (whatever they may think) they are no christians, to the interpreter of the scriptures speaks, but this seems to you heretical, for a covetous man, a fornicator, or a murderer, with you is a party of Christ, and a servant of Christ, but there are also servants of sin and of the devil, therefore they can serve two masters, which was what Christ did not know. If so, a dead faith may be catholic, and devils may be members of the catholic church, as being thole, who according to St. James believe and tremble. You say a fornicator believes in Christ, he who believes in Christ, shall not perish, but have everlasting life: also St. Paul writing to the Galatians, which had erred from the faith, calls them a church, and to the Corinthians, in one chapter, calls them both the church of God, because some were good and some were bad, the evangelical net gathering of all sorts. Now, pray, is it a crime to exalt all to do and good and not evil? If your discourse is no gender than your letter, I desire I may hear none of it; but with bitterness, anger, and evil-speaking, with all malice, being taken from you, neither your discourse nor writing would be burdensome to me. I desire you disbelief no such audacity as yourself, and unless God gives you a better disposition, I shall never defile you to one of mine.

Letter to Mr. Latimer to Dr. Sherwood.

May the Spirit of truth be with you. I have read your letter through carefully, but it is more worthy of the
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

The flames of my perfum, it abounds so much with flanders. What you have truly said you shall fear. It is now a great while ago since several person, who heard the scene preach at Altonfield, told me, being present, suffered the person openly, and with authority, to say, that those were unworthy and mischievous wretches who falsified the virgin mother of God with the angelic salutation, unless they could raise her up again that she might be restored. Now I said, this way neither Christianly nor religiously done, had you not been there for we ought not to offend pious christians who may not believe just as we do. Now whether this was flandering or not, rather giving pious and religious advice. &c.

The remaining part of this letter is vindicating himself from the same things as the former, and almost in the same words, which for brevity's sake we omit.

LETTER

From Mr. LATIMER to Sir EDWARD BAYN'TON, Knight.

Right worshipful sir, I recommend myself unto you, with hearty thanks for your friendly, charitable, and commending commendation of my absurdity. Whereas of late I received your letters by Mr. Bonham, and perceiving therein who are grieved with me, and what behoves me to do in case I must needs come up, for which your good sense towards me, whereas I myself am not able to recompense, I shall not cease to pray for your welfare, and whosoever else, who are both here and abroad, to reward all them that favour the favours of his truth for his sake; for the truth is a common thing, pertaining to every man, for which every man shall answer another day. And I desire favour neither of my master nor of any man else, but in the truth itself, and for the truth, I take God to witness, which knoweth all.

In very deed Mr. Chancellor did shew me, that my lord bishop of London had sent letters to him for me; and I made an answer that he was mine ordinary, and that he might and should reform me as far as I needed reformation, as well and as soon as my lord of London. And I would be very loth (now this deep winter) being so weak and so feeble, (not only exercised with my old disease in my head and side, but also with new, both the cholic and hystome) to take such a journey; and though he might go, yet he needed not, for he was not bound to do so. Notwithstanding I said, if he do, to do my lord of London pleasure, to my great displease, sure, would needs command me to go, I would obey his command, yea, though it should be ever so great a grievance and painful to me. With which answer he was content, saying, he would certify my lord of London therewith, trussing his lordship would be content with the fame.

Mr. Chancellor also said, that my lord of London feemed greatly displeased with me, because I contemned his authority at my last being in London. Forsooth, I preached in All-souls church, not so certain then (as I remember) whether in his diocese or no, intending nothing les than to concern his authority; and this I did at the request of honest merchants, as they seemed to me, whose names I do not know, for they were not of my acquaintance, and I am glad of all their departure for their sakes as well, if I knew them, I should be compelled to utter them to, and their good defence to bear godly preaching should turn to their trouble; for they required me very earnestly, and to lay the truth, very importantly. Whether they were of that part or not, I was not certain: but they seemed not to be the sects, but also many others, to be very deferic to hear me, pretending great hunger and thirst of the word of God, and spirituall doctrine. And upon consideration, and to avoid all inconveinences, I put them off, and refuseth twice or thrice, and then I put forth this word, that the passage and curate were not only content, but also defied me, notwithstanding that they certified him both of my name plainly, and also that I had not the bishop's fee to swear for me, but only a license of the universitie; which curate did receive me, welcomed me, and when I should go into the pulpit, gave me the common salutation, &c; that I had been not only uncharitable, but I did it in an uncharitable way; but I should have factum.

Now all this supposed to be truth, (as I say) I greatly how my lord of London can allow any tempt of him in me.

First, He did never inbide in my life; and did not cease to curse me, when I went to the court to receive me, what protest that tome, which did neither know nor pretend to any suit to the curate decorously; nor did it ever before the curate, that the curate would so little consider my lord's inhibition, which he maintained so giantly, not knowing my lord's mind before. That I was provided with myself, that either the curate or such acquaintance with my lord, that he would or else (and rather that is was) a trap laid before me, to the intent that my self, or some pertaining to him, appointed to be there, and to have taken the curate, for they did furnish, which conjecture both others, and to what to suspect those which defined me, that they spake ever so fair and friendly, and also refuse to. For I perpetually nothing, but if it might be for my lord himself might hear me every sermon. Sir Edward Solent, and the keeper of the park came to me, and desired to hear me. If I had with power of my friends (as rate gaininglay and withstanding) a provision begun into the pulpit, there had been something to pretend to a contempt of me. I preached in large at the royal court require of a rate; yet I do not think that his ordinary layeth any conceit to my doings yet doth trouble the curate.

I marvel not a little how my lord bishop of London, having so large and populous a diocese contains his charge, can have leisure for preaching at all, for the word of God, so necessary and pressing, and out of season, publicly and privately, is not stick, in persuading, confuting, exalting, and shining with all mildness and doctrine, have this fay (either to trouble me, or to trouble himself), but in a beautiful, so to speak to him, and so pertaining to his case, but every man's case, so interfering and interfering himself with another man's case, as though he had a thing to do in his own. If I would do as I am my lord doth, gather up riches warm and cold, and yet neither preach, for it in mine own can care, and where, peradventure he would deny me nothing, is my deed I did admonish both judges, and one to use charitable equity in their judgments towards, as he accused, namely, of such accusers, who bate to hear and betray, as others be to lay aside, and therefore these matters, and so give them in another sense than they were spoke for all such accusers and witneses do evil bared as St. Jerome faith, upon the 26th chapter of St. Mark. Nor yet do I account those judges evil, who empting will give sentence after little cases, much less those who procure such accusers, nor do I think judges now-a-days do confirmed in grace, or so incompece, but that they become preachers to admonish them to do us as well as other men both great and small. And this then, I know, that wherein is this sentence: Ye are not under the grace; ye christin men that believe in Christ, not under the law. What a laying is this, (fay) be not so rightly understood, that is, as St. Paul did flind it? for the words found as though he would to accall notional christians men to break the law, being they be not under the law; and what is prejudiceth, adveraries to St. Paul, would have to take him, and accused St. Paul to my lord of London, and the said lord would have heard St. Paul. And those words, do not of Christ, and it and the falle apolises to rebuff the; but he has been rigorously followed whatsoever was slidden proved, and have given sentence after relation accusers, then good St. Paul must have been to Paul's Cross, my lord of London being his
Methinks it were more comely for my lord (if it were comely for me to say so) to be a preacher himself, having for his task a cure as he hath, than to be a disturber and trouble of other men's, and to purse flattering at all himself. If it would please his lordship to take to great a labour and pain at any time, as to come and preach in my little bishorpisc, at West Kingdon, whether I was present or absent myself, I would thank his lordship heartily, and would never give the greatest bounds to him, that he of his charitable goodness would do to help me in my cure, or else I were more unnatural than a beast unreasonable; nor yet would I dispute, contend, or demand by what authority, or where he had authority to do so, as long as his preaching were fruitful, and to the edification of his parishioners. As for my lord, he may do as it pleaseth his lordship. I pray God he do always as well as I would with him ever to do. But I am sure Sir Paul faith in the first chapter to the Philippians, that in his time some preached Christ for envy of him, thinking thereby to give him woe, and as it were to obscure him, and to bring his name into bad reputation: some of good will and love, thereby to comfort him: notwithstanding, (faith he) by all manner of ways, and after all fashions, whether it be of occasion or of truth, as you would say for truth's sake, so that Christ be preached and believed, I joy with you all heartly. So much he regarded the glory of Christ, and the edification of his doctrine, to the edification of christian souls, than the maintenance of his own authority, reputation, and dignity, considering right well, (as he said) that what authority ever he had, it was to edification, and not to destruction. This being the true approach to my lord, but very commendable, rather to joy with Saint Paul, and be glad that Christ be preached, in whatever manner, yea, though it were for envy, that is to say, in disdain, delight, and contempt of his lordship, (which thing no man well advised will attempt) than when the preaching cannot benefit the people, more comminution, or more convenience to avoid offence of none in me, than was Saint Paul, when he did not escape vulgar corruptions, and flanderous reports of them as were of pernicious judgments, who reported him to whatsoever he appeared to them to be, or whatsoever he appeared to be to them, and whatsover followed after? So they report us to say, faith Saint Paul, they speak evil of us; but such whole damnation is it, faith he: and I think the damnation of all such as out of preaching so many, as well as in, and heard the decree, and also gave their consent to the fame. Now to contain my lord of London's authority, were no little fault in me; for no less fault might appear in my lord of London, to contain the king's authority and his, even, godly, so fruitful, so commendable a decree, pertaining about to defend Binyon, and his, so forth, and so forth, and the regard and defence of the pope's grace and authority apostolical. To have a book of the king not inhibited, is to obey the king, and to inhibit a preacher of the king's admitted, is it not to disobey the king? It is not one thing that is held inhibit and admit: and hath he not so great authority as to hold it unlawful? He that refuseth the power, whether admitting or inhibiting, doth he not retile the ordinance of God? We low subjects are bound to obey powers, and their ordinances: and are not the highest subjects also, who ought to give us example, yea, and hourly, to do. As for my preaching myself, I trust in God, my lord of London will not unjustly blame, nor reprove it; if it be taken with the circumstance thereof, and as I speak it, or else it is not my preaching, but his that falsely reporteth it, as the peer Marshall said, to one that deprehended his book.

To me (thys true) you say thofe lines belong. But they're your own, whilst you repeat them wrong.
affir you is not so: for I had nothing to do with Bilney, nor yet with his judges, except his judges did him wrong; for I did nothing else but admonish all judges indifferently to do right; nor am I altogether so foolish as to think that a man which I never knew, nor have become a preacher to say as I said, though Bilney had never been born. I have known Bilney a great while, I think much better than ever I did my lord of London: for I have been his spiritual father many times; and to tell you the truth, what I have thought always of him, I have known a hundred times more such Godly men ready to do every man good according to his power, both friend and foe, and willingly offending no man; in short, he was a very good and pious soul, in nothing fitting for this wracked world, for the blindness of which he has been my own, and bewail it as any man never knew: as for his singular learning, as well in holy scripture, as in all good letters, I will not speak of it. Norwithstanding, if either now, or of late, or at any time, he attempted any thing contrary to the obedience which a christian man doth owe either to his prince or to his bishop, I neither do nor will allow and approve that, neither in him, or any other man: we are all men, and liable to fall, wherefore he that floundeth, let him beware he fall not. How he ordered or misconceived himself in judgment, I cannot tell, nor will I meddle with it; God knoweth, whole judges I am not judge. But if he cannot meddle, if a man living so recently, so charitably, so patently, so continently, so studiously, and so virtuously, and killing his old Adam, that is to say, mortifying his evil affections, and blind motions of his heart to diligently, should die an evil death, there is no more reason for me that he flounders and hardens for it such as he shall die evil, what shall become of me, such a wretch as I am? But let this go, as little to the purpose, and come to the point we must rest upon. Either my lord of London will judge my outward man only, as it is said, Man feeth the things that are without; or else he will judge my God, and judge me inwardly, as it is said, But God feeth the heart. If he will have to do only with mine outward man, and meddle with mine outward conversation, how that I have ordered myself towards my christian brethren, the king's liege people, I trust I shall please and content both my Lord God, and also my lord of London; for I have preached and taught but according to holy scripture, holy fathers, and ancient interpreters of the same, with which I think my lord of London will be pacified: for I have done nothing else in my preaching, but with all diligence by my auditors to increase in their duty, and that which is necessary to be done. As for things of private devotion, mean things, and voluntary things, I have removed the abuse, the superition of them, without condemnation of the things themselves, as it becometh all preachers to do: in which thing, if my lord of London will do himself (as I wish to God he would), he should be reported (no doubt) to condemn the abuse of such things, of covetous men that have damage, and find left in their boxes by condemnation of the abuse, which abuse they said rather should continue still, then their profit should not continue (to thorny are their hearts). If my lord will needs coast and invade my inward man, and break violently into my heart, I fear I shall displeaset my lord of London (which I would not willingly do) or else my Lord God, which I shall be more loth to do: not for any infidelity, but for ignorance of its being as a christian man ought to be. Yet, I might peradventure my lord knoweth, and will know many things certainly, which (perchance) I am ignorant in, with which ignorance, my lord of London may if he will be discontent, yet I trust my Lord God will pardon me, when I am so true to God, and so true to God with diligent study, and daily prayer, My heart is ready, O God, my heart is ready, so studying and preaching, and carrying the pleasure and leverage of God: in the mean season, Acts viii. as Apollos did, when he knew nothing of Christ, but the baptism of John, teach and preach as a christian man ought to do. I am aware I know to be true. There are three creeds, one in my mass, another in my matins, the third common to them that neither say mass nor matins, nor yet know what they say when they say the creed: and I believe all others with all that God hath left in holy writ, for we are all others to believe; yet I am ignorant in things of God, so far as to know, as I do know things in which I have been ignorant hitherto, I may be taught, and may be learned, to profit with learning, with consideration not to offend. I have thought in times past, that Christ's vicar, hath been lord of all the world as he is, so that if he should have deprived the king of his crown, or pretended that he never had it, I knew not, and I never should pretend to do otherwise: notwithstanding I have seen, and heard scripture drawn to that purpose, thought in times past, that the pope's dispensation, and the excommunication, and the banishment, from Rome, or what have discharged confessions of faith: for in short, I have heard, Lo! I am with you, and he who heareth you, bended to corroborate the same. Now I may be intreated to think otherwise, &c.

I have thought in times past, that the pope could not have punished any man, that had with a word, with his mouth; now learning might peradventure mislead our emperor, or else I would marvel why he should suffer so much money to be bestowed that way, which is so necessary to be bestowed otherwise, and to deprive us of it for my punishment, for he might deliver out of purgatory, &c. I have thought in times past, that I had long been in a friar, and in a cow, I could not have been damned, or afraid of death, and by occasion of the fame I have been minded many times to have been a friar, namely, when I was sore sick, and feared: now I abhor my former thoughts, and I pray for thee, if thou thinkst in time past that divers images of saints could have have helped me, I have done me much good, and delivered me of my sickness: now I know that one can help as well as another. And it grieves my heart that my lord, and he as he can, can suffer the people to be falsely deceived. It was too long to tell you what I have been in, and how long it was ere I could find such folly, it was so incorporated in me: but by continual prayer, continual study of scripture, and communicating with men of more right judgment, God hath delivered me, &c. Yea, men think my head hasf thought in time past, that by God's high might marry his brother's wife, which now I dare think and say the contrary: and yet this high might have married, in pope Julius's days, to him either in a fire, or else in a faggot. Which my doctrine is, and his charity, and charity. Which is something stirs him to charitable equity, and to something moves towards men, which labour to degrade as their power serveth with knowledge, and doth not no man with their ignorance: for there is no great, no doubt, no defect between God's law, and God's law. And finally as you fear, I ought substantially to be looked upon, even as my life is worth: but how to look substantially it is otherwise I know not, than to pray my lord God day and night, that as he hath emboldened me to pray his truth, so he will strengthen me to suffer for the edification of them which have taken by the sanctifying of him fruit thereby; and even so I define you, as all others that favour me for his sake, likewise to pray for it is not I (without his mighty helping hands) can abide that brunt; but I have trust that God will not suffer me not to go to heaven: with him if I had not, the same think, would have divided my lord of London and me by this day. For it is a rare thing for a preacher to be so favour at his hand that he is no preacher himself, and ought to be. I pray God that he and I may both change one of the other, in his great cure, and in the case, to God's pleasure: and, for the love of God, Amen. I pray you pardon me, that I write not distinctly, nor more truly, for my head is out of form that it would be too painful for me to write so: and if he be prevented, I intend to make very much greater parliaments, as in my great cure, and in the case, to God's pleasure, and, for the love of God, for the sake of our faith. Amen. I pray you pardon me, that I write not distinctly, nor more truly, for my head is out of form that it would be too painful for me to write so: and if he be prevented, I intend to make very much greater parliaments, as in my great cure, and in the case, to God's pleasure, and, for the love of God, for the sake of our faith.
fial letters (well taken) as far as I can judge, but for that they were written and unadvisedly friended, as you might well know both by your excuse, and by themselves, though no excuse was made. And besides that, you know right well, that where the bee gathereth honey, even there the spider gathereth venom, nor for any diversity of the flower, does the bee diffe rent natures in them shut the flower: as in the path, and in the beginning, the very truth, and one thing in itself, was to frame an offence, to some foolish, to others otherwise disposed, the wisdom of God. Such difference there was in the hearers therein.

But this notwithstanding, there is no more but either my writing is good or bad. If it be good, the communicating thereof to your friends cannot be hurtful to me; if it be otherwise, why should you not communicate it to them, who both could and would instruct you in the truth, and reform your error? Let this pass, I will not contend: "had I knew," ever come out of Saxon. Truly I was not well advised if I would not either be glad of your instruction, or yet salute mine own reformation; but yet it is good for a man to look before he leapt, and God forbid that you should be to add to, and to me to write a fool, that you should not rather follow the doctrine of your friends in truth, to great learned men as they appear to be, than to imitate the opinions of me, having ever so Christian a breach.

What more do as you will: for as I would not if I could, so I cannot if I would, be nosomne unto you; but yet I say I would my letters had been unwritten, if for no other caue, at leastways in such wise, that you could have me more writing, an occupation not fitting to such a head. And as concerning points which in my former letters your friends have asked me, I have little leisure now to make an answer thereon, for the great business that I have in my little care: I know not what other men have in their great cares, seeing that I am alone with no any priest to serve my care, without ane server to read unto me, without any book necessary to be looked upon, without learned men to come and counsel withal. All which things others have at hand abundance, but something must be done, howsoever it be. I pray you take it in your good author as I temper my own judgment, affirming nothing with prejudice of better. First, you mislike that I say I am sure to preach the truth, lying in reproach of the same, that God knoweth certain truth. Indeed God alone knoweth all certain truth. And God alone knoweth it as of himself, and none knoweth certain truth but God and those who are taught of God, as St. Paul faith, for God hath made it plain to them: and Christ himself fayth, They shall be taught of God: and your friends deny not but that acausal truth is communicated to us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith, which if it be truth, as it is, then there ought no more to be required of any man, but according to his capacity: now certain it is, that every man hath not like capacity, &c.

But as to my predestination and arrogance: either I am certain or uncertain that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may I not say so, to encourage my hearers to receive the same more ardently and piously, it more studiously? if it be uncertain, why may I not be bold as to preach it? And if your friends, in whom you truth for greatly, be preachers themselves, after their sermon, I pray you ask them whether they be certain and sure that they have taught you the truth so far, and fend me word what they say, that I may learn to preach after them. If they say they be unsure, you know what followeth: if they say they be unsure, shall you be unsure, that have so doubtable and unsure teachers? And you yourself, whether are you certain or uncertain, that Christ is your Saviour, and so of other articles that you are bound to believe? Or whether are you sure or unsure, that civil ordinances are the good works of God, and that you do God service in doing of them, if you do them for a good intent? If you are uncertain, take heed he is your sure friend that hereafter you may so, and then with what confidence do you doubt, seeing, Whatever is not of faith is sin? But contrary say you, God alone knoweth certain truth, and you have it but through
through a glaʃ darkely; and there are some who have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge: and to call this an apostasy, it requireth a deep knowledge, considering that to you unlearned, what you take for truth may be otherwise, not having a ﬂene exercized to divers good and evil, as you reason against me, and so do you bel to your own motives your truth at all, but to wanton needly here and there, with every wind of doctrine, &c. Our knowledge here, you say, is but through a glaʃ darkely: what then? Therefore, it is not certain and sure.

I do your argument by your leave; yes, if it be by faith, as you say, it is more sure, because the certainty of faith is the surest certainty, as Duns and other school-doctors say: that there is a great disagreement; between certain knowledge and clear knowledge, for that may be of things absten as not sure, that require the presence of the object, I mean of the thing known; so that I certainly and surely know the thing which I perfectly believe, though I do not clearly and evidently know it. I know your school subtleties as well as you, which dispute as though enigmatical knowledge, that is to say, dark and obscure knowledge, might not be certain and sure knowledge, because it is not clear, maniﬁed, and evident knowledge; and yet there have been (fay they) which have had a zeal, but not after knowledge. True it is there is many the great hindrance of Christ’s glory, which nothing doth more obscure, than a hot zeal accompanied with great authority without right judgment. There have been also, which have had knowledge without any zeal of God, who holding to a very strict righteousness, shall be beaten with many stripes, while they knowing the will of God do nothing therefore. I mean not among Turks and Saracens that be unchristiﬁed, but of them that be christiﬁed. And there have been also, that they have left the spiritual knowledge of God, and placed the word which they had before, because they have not followed after it, nor promoted the fame, but rather with their mother’s ways have impugned the wisdom of the Father, and hindered the knowledge thereof, therefore there hath been taken away from them; that Christ may be justiﬁed in his sayings, and overcome when he is judged, threatening, Matth. xiii. to him that hath not, that aʃ so which he hath, that is, that which he seemeth to have, shall be taken from him; when as to abuse that which a man hath, or not to use it well, he is called a thief, and also being it is true that God’s will not dwell in a body subject to ﬁn, although he abound too much in carnal willion: yet the same carnal and philosophical understanding of God’s scriptures, is not the willion of God, which is hid from the world, and is revealed to little ones. And if to call this or that truth, require a deep and profound knowledge, then every man hath either a deep and profound knowledge, or else no man can tell this or that truth, that he may call this or that truth, which this or that he taketh in hand to preach for the truth; and yet he may be ignorant and uncertain in many things, both this and that, as Apollo was; but which things, whether this or that, he will not attempt to preach for the truth; for God may by his ﬂenes exercized to divers good and evil in those things, which without deep and profound knowledge in many things I preach not; yet there are many things in scripture in which I cannot certainly divers good and evil, I mean true and false, nor with all the exercise I have in scripture, nor yet with the help of all the interpreters that I have, to content myself and others in all scruples that may arise: but in such I am wont to wade no further into the stream, than that I may either return back again, or give no more respect, not to the election of my little wit, but to the edification of them that hear me, as far forth as I can, neither passing mine own nor yet their capacity.

And such manner of arguments might well serve the devil against cowards, to occasion them to wander and waver in the faith, and to be uncertain in things that they ought to be certain: or else it is argument, and afev and serve against such preachers as will all arguments and high matters in the pulpit, which are to be certain and sure by God’s word to be true, and which will utterly utter true faith and certain good, as whether, if Adam had not sinned, and Adam had not sinned off of Iland; if so many large, and if every fell in the element were a flickering, as how many years a man shall lie in purgatory; for it is as plenty of the oil, and the lamps to the ﬁn with, and so for ought not to be ﬂaʃed, to provide for purgatory.

Such argumentation (I say) might appear well against such preachers, not against me, which I pray God to do with soberness, have a fell but well certiﬁed of divers good and evil. For it is but foolish folly, willingly to continue always an infant in Christ, in inﬁnity. In reprooʃ of which it was said, Yeans of milk and not of strong meat. For by faith not, be ye humble, that be ye esteemed. It is the highest honor that we should set before others, and stand in the one shall stand, as God hath distributed to every one his faith. For God may stand himself in what God hath done for him, and of himself, as God hath done for him, how shall he, or what he give due thanks to God for his gifts? And if the friends will not allow the fame, I pray you inquire further, whether they may have folly and modesty, and follow St. Paul’s advice, where he assay with us all, not children in understanding, but in malisoning ye infants. God give us all grace to keep the sea, and to think of ourselves neither too high nor too low: but so that we may reforme unto him who hath abroad his gifts again, with good use of the fame, that we do our part with the fame, to the glory of God.

Amen.

For my life, I trust in God that I neither be god grace shall, neither in obrbres, nor yet in desire, afy any truth of myself, thereof cunning divide that unity of the congregation of Christ, and received truth agreed upon by the holy fathers of the church, confonament to the scripture of God, though thowed yet ever to often, that is, nay, and which which cauʃion differtation in a christiﬁcation, is not of God, by the doctrine of St. I say in his epistle, where he faith, every one that cauʃion Christ in the fles, is of God. Firs, Not every whereupon followeth differtation, cauʃion differtation would that they theyed you, that would also shew me whether this opinion, that a man may not many brother’s wife, be of God or of men; if it be then as Gamaliel said, dissemble it; if it be of God, I think it is, and perchance your friend’s also, if it be of God, I think it is. God has yet there be many, not heathens, but in Chrishman that differ from the fame, which could hear fully hear paid unto them, You are of the devil’s side, if that such an opinion might be to one more I cannot see, that to the of college, you may not such as to the other, even to the devils. But I do not mind that I may thereby more with more liberty that others, the an occasion is sometimes taken and not given, and with their favour I might abuse for my defense, say that it is not granted unto all in their word of the time. The devil is having the possession over you, saying that they may pay perurrence with more liberty than others, that an occasion is sometimes taken and not given, and with their favour I might abuse for my defense, say that it is not granted unto all in their word of time.
One great object of St. Paul, that his apostleship was of God, forasmuch as there was a division in a Christian congregation by occasion thereof, whilst some old men renewed their former opinions by the occasion of the gift, some would judge, as they were wont to do to their great lords and masters the false apostles which were heathen and unhchristian, but high and prelates of the professed of Christ. Your friends, I know right well what Erasmus hath in an epitaph the phraseology of to the right hand; but not in the word of God. Mary also, that she was with little of a small part have written down, but not without answer.

And I would fain learn of your friends, whether St. James’s writings were of God, which caused difference in a Christian congregation, as it appeareth by his words in the prologue before the canonical epistles. And we shall be there the philosophers, the satirical, that have adorned at their envy such a work as that the example of the truth of the scriptures to those that require me pray you, what were they that called St. Jerome, bishop and presbyter of Scripture, and envy would rub them with their teeth, unhchristian or christians? that could do with the grace of God? They were woful fathers of a Christian congregation, not of much hotter tongues thank the judges, of a greater authority than good charity. But some would not cease to do good for the evil speaking of giving in that example to the same: and this difference were in St. Jerome’s time, what may be in our time? From ill to worse. And pray you what mean your friends by a Christian congregation? All those (thou sayest) that have been tried? But many of these be in a worse condition, than my discourse, because they are more darkened than many people. For it is not enough to a Christian congregation, that it is of God, to have been baptized: but it is considered what we promise when we are baptized, and what we say, his works, his prayer, which things which we ourselves do, let us not boast of that which Christ’s name in a christian can, great and where they add, in one Lord; I read in Mat. 28. “Not every one that saith, Lord, Lord, Lord, etc. In the Lord himself and rich, Rebuketh such as are not censors,] and hear you what I tell you? But for your lack could take the pains to read over Chrysostom in Matt. Hom. ex. cap. viii. 320. to learn to know a Christian congregation, if it will please them to learn of and where they add, in one faith, St. James’s words, Shew me your faith by thy works. And, if we believe, we shew the truth in working the scripture faith, He that believeth God, as to his commandments. And the devils do not confess Christ in their little comfort. I pray God to fave you from that believing congregation, and from that faithful congregation. Therefore all this toucheth not them that be unhchristian, and that be baptized, and answer not to their fear. For St. Jerome thereon how true preachers answer themselves, when evil priests and false teachers, and the people that be by them deceived, shall be angry with the lawless for preaching the truth, and shall suffer for the sake of the truth and falle preachers, and the people deceived of such evil priests and false preachers, with the people deceived of the devils, shall be baptized as well as others. And for the St. Jerome might appear to some Christians, as they shall be called, to divide the unity of a great honest number of God’s people, in one baptism, one Lord, one faith. The people, which before were brought by their matters, must go up to the main.

Aside objected to St. Paul, that his apostleship was of God, forasmuch as there was a division in a Christian congregation by occasion thereof, whilst some old men renewed their former opinions by the occasion of the gift, some would judge, as they were wont to do to their great lords and masters the false apostles which were heathen and unhchristian, but high and prelates of the professed of Christ. Your friends, I know right well that Erasmus hath in an epitaph the phraseology of to the right hand; but not in the word of God. Mary also, that she was with little of a small part have written down, but not without answer.

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not sure nor certain of that, because I did not see it since I was at Cambridge; and here I have not St. Augustine's works to look for it, but well I know that there threethrough, that [Lection of the word, as Lyramus, both be Christ, if they are asked the question; and yet the which both be christened, and both confess Jesus one part denieth it in the very deed. But to know the difference, we must not stand upon our double, but not attend to our doublys and convension of life, whether we not do put our endeavour thereto, but also perse- cuite ourselves as though it were not necessary for us to accomplish such things, &c. as that it is enough to be borrowed, to be in subjection to the ministry of foreigne, falsely wholly upon secular matters, pleasures and poms of this world. And yet we will appear at the least to be of God alone, but they far otherwise confese Christ, who are approved to be of God by their confession. And yet as long as they minister the word of God, or his sacraments, or any thing that God hath ordained to the salvation of mankind, wherewith God hath proc- nounced to be preufet, to work with the minutlization of the fame to the end of the whole world of hearth, to be subordain of God for God's ordinance fake, which is effectual and fruitful, whatsoever the minister be, though he be a devil, and neither church nor member of the fame, as Origen faith, and Chrysler, so that it is not by Christian honor them in St. John's faith: but there is a required a judgment to discern when they minister God's word and ordinance of the fame, and their own, left peradventure we take chalk for czech, which will edge our teeth, and hinder digestion. As if we were blind children which might be made by a fly, as they did which were persuaded by the high priests to ask Barnabas and to crucify Jesus: and ye know that to follow the blind guides, is to come in to the pit with the fame. And will you know, faith Augustine, they shall not die from their lives, but when they begin to blame them for their mislivering, and intolerable leularity and negligens? They dare not for shame blath the name of Christ himself, but they blath the ministers and preachers by whom they be guided. Therefore whereas you will pray for agreement both in the truth, and in uttering of the truth, when shall that be, as long as we will not hear the truth, but dis- tumb with crafty conveyance till they deliver the truth, because this be to make our wicked name with the truth? And to say the truth, it were better to have a defor- mity in preaching, so that some would preach the truth of God, and that which is to be preached without de- triment and sin in the profession of the faith, (as Lyramus faith, and my time few did, what they do now-a-days I refer to them that can judge) than to have such an uniformity, that the tully people should be thereby occa- sioned to continue still in ignorance, corrupt judgment, superstitiously, and estranging things as they do all, preposterously, doing what they need not to do, and leaving undone what they ought to do, for lack of knowing what is to be done, and so their love to God, not as God commandeth, (who faith, if you love me, keep my commandments; and again, He that knoweth my precepts, doth them, he loveth me) but as they command, which feck their own things, not Christ's: and theo' ty to the mist were more than judgment, faith, and mercy. And what is to live in state of curates, but that he taught which said, Peter love thou me? feed, feed, feed: which is now yet fade, as though to love, were to do nothing else but to wear rings, mitres, and rochers, &c. And when they err in right living, how can the people know the living, which is now turned to pic- ing, playing, and curious fingering, which will not be reformed (I believe) unless by the strong hand of God. And I have both St. Augustine and St. Thomas, with divers lawes is taken not only for ceremonies, but also for morals, where it is said, ye are not under the law, though your friends reprove the fame. But they make no division in a christian congregation. And whereas both you and they would have a holiness in our preaching, I pray God send it unto us, whatso- ever you mean by it. For I see well, what harm would be happy, and duly with you to, he fail so. And where your friends think that I am vile, as I said in the, I said, that I have thought in times past that God had been lord of the world, though your friends a much better learned than I, yet I am sure the God of heaven is higher than I, though nothing than I, according to that, No man knoweth that a man, &c. as rough better men than I have thought so, as Bonifacius Octavus (as I remember) and Rins in John of the Second Tome, Pope Cardinalis in his book where he prays above the council general and special, and that a faith that the pope is king of kings, and lord of all, and that he is the true lord of the whole world by prete, in fact he is nor, and that Luther did but reioe his own unto him when he wrote to Rome; so that, as St. John faith Christ did, Hades unto his own, and his own received him; and as not hear that any of our christian congregation be restrained in anything in the different org. Who be your friends I cannot tell, but you would defire them to be my good matters, and they will do me no good, at least do me no harm, as though they can do you more good than I, yet I and the apostle desire to lo my true brethren, and will join with my true brethren, and will join with my true brethren, than I will with any other proceedings of order, manner of preaching, or writing. And as for the pope's high dominion over all, he is one Raphael Maruphis in London, an Italian, in times past a merchant of dispensations, which I to present pope, not that either I have thought so, or that the true martyr. As touching pargatory, and worshipping of saints, I fhewed to you my mind before my ordine, and yet I marvelled something, that after private, communication had with him, you would (as it were) shew me to open my mind before him, when I begin speaking before, saving I cannot interpret your red dog towards me; and yet neither my ordinary nor you did allowed the thing that I said, and I looked not to day before, although in Rome: but when I have opened my mind ever so much, yet I shall be required to do no preaching, by them that have belied it, as he said shall have need of great patience to bear the falt ure of the malignant church. For, this again every business of my little care. I spake with you, what with fiek folks, and shameless, and matrimony, than I have had since I came to a thing than I would have thought a man should have in care. I wonder how men can go quietly to bed, it have great opportunities of sins, as they do all, and I do not deny, I am not far from them, but I come, and I am a thing a bling, and was beginning to tristitute it more re- truly, but there came a man of my lord of Edith, with a citation to appear before my lord of London half, to be punished for such excellent as I commit at my last hearing, to think that I could not give matters purpose: I doubt whether you can read as it is, if you can, well be it; if not, I pray you read it mg, and that you do so, whether you can read ut. Jesus, what a world is this, that I shall be so great, so much, and pains, build, and they say, they are my power, for preaching of a poor simple female. But I think our Saviour Christ said true, I must suffer, and so enter: so dangerous a thing it is to vie with Christ, you, in a christian congregation, God make us all christians, after the right have Amen. A Public and Authorize INSTRUMENT of the SHOPS for Adultery, and Indulging of HER tying, and divers' other BOOKS, to be sold in KINGS- LISH, in the Time of KING HENRY VIII. in the name of God, Amen. Be it known to all and singular true and faithful people, to whom the pre- sent letters testimonial, or this present public and
HERESIES complained of by the POPISH BISHOPS.

If they would make all the deprivations of the ceremonies, as Lent, fasting, holy-days, confession, matrimony, masses, missions, relics, &c. free and indifferent, he should not be Antichrist; but now because he commanded it in the name of Christ, he doth utterly corrupt the church, defies the faith, and advance sin.

The ERRORS and HERESIES contained in the BOOK called, The SUM of the SCRIPTURES.

WE defere nothing of God. We defere not etervall life by our good works: for God hath promised it unto us before that we began to do good. We must love death, and more desire to die than to fear death.

Thou shalt not count at night how much money thou hast gained.

Thou shalt not vex or grieve by justice, or otherwise, the poor that oweth unto thee: for thou mayest not do it without sin.

He that is rich and liveth of his rents, may not use to over-spend his goods as he will, but thy goods behalp as well as unto the poor as to thee.

God hath not given his goods to rich men for to boast and brag therewith: nor to make great chear, neither to make themselves lords, but to the intent that they should be servants unto all the world.

Out of the BOOK of BEGGARS.

THERE be many men of great literature and judgment, that for the love of money have unto the church, and unto the commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infancy that may be in the objection of all the world, yea in the peril of death, to declare their opinion in this matter, which is, that there is no purgatory: but that it is a thing invented by the counterfeiters of the scripture, only to tranquilize all kingdoms from other princes unto them: and that there is not one word spoken of it in all holy scripture. God took Enoch away, that is to say, he departed out of this world like other men; the first is wrong translated, for the scripture says, he was translated, not taken away; and the last is idle, for in Heb. xi. it is said, by faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death, and was not found, because God had translated him; and in Eccle. Enoch pleased God and was translated into paradise, that he might declare the wisdom of his people.

Out of the PRIMMER.

HE putteth in the book of seven psalms, but he leaveth out the whole litany, by which appeareth his erroneous opinion against praying to saints. He hath left out all the hymns and anthems of our lady, by which appeareth his erroneous opinion against praying to our lady.

The Ungodly and Erroneous SAYING contained in an ENGLISH WORK, inscribed, An EXPOSITION upon the 7th Chapter of the First EPISTLE to the CORINTHIANS.

WHOSOEVER in himself doth not feel this holy thing, this gift of charity, but doth feel inconveniency to him, I say, a commandment is given that he may be married. Hereof doth follow, that no person may make a vow, or promise to live chaste or single, and that none are bound to keep any such vows, but rather to break them: and he that shall observe them, it is damnable, and by the law of God already condemned.

The touching of women, some persons have composed too straitly, so that they dare not touch a woman's hand or skin; moreover they imagined many, both statutes and ceremonies, to keep them from company...
pany of women, as they thought that built abbeys, but so fortunately that hath come to pass, what place thereby hath been given to Satan, it were horrible to be spoken of.

For that compelled outwardly to abstain from women, and is inwardly full of lust, is a defiler, and it is double lechery.

Mark what foul-flayers they be that provoke foulish youth to a vow of chastity, compelling them to nourish inwardly hidden malice.

And other evils may be suffered with a mean conscience.

This cannot be endured, this can be helped by no medicine but by marriage.

It is good for a man not to touch a woman; this word good is of no good of merit and defecting before God; as though an unmarried man were better before him, than the married, like as St. Jerome hath expressed this text; for it concerneth only faith, and no deed or work, but it is spoken of temporal quickness of this life, so that the virgin and maid hath much more joy and tranquillity.

Chastity is a good thing, if lust and incontinency make it not so common a thing as we have hitherto used to do, and yet do, but all amiss; but the apostle willeth, that all men should be sober, with no babbie and no pulpits, changing this word every into certain.

Men ought to think of their fortunes-making, for a bishop can one be better than that, men without any respect of time use their wife, not to except certain days as they have which they call vigils, and women concieved.

Fasting is a measureable usage of meats and drinks; prayer is a crying, sighing, doling, and mourning. No man ought to enforce and compel men to fasting and prayer, as they hitherby by laws have done.

Before God, all things are alike and equal.

Abominably they do sin which make nuns dwell in pride, when they babbie, that their religion is more precious than marriage, and then feign that they shall have a crown or garland of gold, so making them arrogant, wicked, unfaithful: chastity is a gift of God, and therefore can no man neither promise, nor vow, nor keep it.

The acts of all them that are called religious, and of all manner of travelings, are falsely called the spiritual orders: for marriage like as in very deed, do it ought to be called the spiritual state before other orders worldly and secular: marriage is of all other the highest religious and most spiritual estate.

By testimonio of scriptures, all the apostles and all the bishops' successors were married.

St. Paul faith, That he ought to be chosen to be a bishop that is husband of one wife.

Seeketh, thou chaffe not married men to be bishops, either Christ must be a fool and unrighteous, who did not do chafe, or you Anarchists and deceivers.

You put away universal marriage from priests, contrary unto God, to nature, to reason, to right, only of prelates that marry, without any manner of cause.

There is no sin nor mischief in all the world so great, that can hinder a man from priest-hood, but godly marriage.

What other thing is it to say, that a priest should not marry, that he say, that a man should not be a man? That I date be bold to say, that where one is chafe, there ought to be more than an hundred thousand to live married.

To keep a young man in a cloister to live chaffe, is as much as to offer a child to Molech there to be burnt.

All which great errors and pestilent heresies being contagious and damnable, with all the books containing the same, with the translation of scripture corrupted by Will. Hall and Will. Smith, and the other books under the same title in the New, and all other books in English containing such error, the king's highness present in person, by one whole ad-

vice and aint of the prelates and clerks, as well as univeristies, as of all other assembled together, decreed utterly to be repelled, rejected, and put away.

And his highness will have that his pleasure and determination shall be that all preachers abroad unto the people, as well to give away of all such books, as reading, retaining, using in any order, every book, or other book of any other like learning or learning, in this manner, or in so manner, or in any other manner, whatsoever hereafter of any other like, delivering unto every one, as a simple person, in the form of a writing to be published effect unto the people in their several, whereas these here followeth, willing them in all his realm to print the name.

Here followeth the BILL in ENGLISH, to be taken by the PRACHER.

It is the office and duty of every preacher, seeing of the word of God, not only to seek and unto his audience that which might be profitable, for the wealth of their souls, but also, and in that they might be avoided and cuffed, also that as they can judge who be teachers and authors of unrighteous doctrine, the kingdom of God, and the Saviour of the world, where he faith, Beware of false prophets: likewise many times given warning to such as unto, that they should beware of the false apostol, in his absence went about to corrupt the doctrine, the gracious work of God. Wherein considering that it hath pleased the king's highness, to take a great and virtuous prince, tendering not only the public, but also the private wealth and tranquillity of all his subjects, in their and their worldly benefit and advantage, and to secure the righteousness of his prelates, and a great number of learned men of both universities, charging and commanding that the discharge and exposition of his conscience, and read, examine and diffuse, the contents of falses, as are now spread abroad within this his gracious realm, the English tongue, concerning the point of matter; and after their learning and conference make relation into his highness, whether the same be expedient and probable for his people, their education and ordering of their conscience and soul, or tajious and pestilenfors for the fame: and whiter opinions contained in them, were agreeable to the word and doctrine or no, forasmuch as the lord apartment for the whole subject, had foreseen that the same should have come unto every man to say as his conscience and learn'st, him, without any reproof or blame to be impre or arrested for any thing to be spoken there, which he thought, or any necessity to agree concerning the same, so that his conscience could maintain and justify, for his deliberation and consultation had, it was then whole confest, no man repugning or gain saying, and agreed that the books now being the English tongue contain false traditions and doctrine, far different from the true fide of the church and catholic understanding of the scriptures, finding pernicious heresies to the destruction of good christian men, and that the certainty can report unto you of mine own knowledge of the false affirmation of the church and catholic understanding of the revelations read, declared and examined, and by the true and meaning of God's learning reproved and judged to think therefore my duty is, taking upon me the care of the preacher, following the example of our blessed Paul, as is aforesaid, to warn and admonish by the words of Christ, as I spake before Beare false prophets, And. take heed yourself that you are not infected by the contagion and infection of these false apothecaries, as have in our English tongue books to seduce and delude you. And pray, to the full understanding of the laws, and bring you by their false interpreta scripture into detestable and abominable heresie.
A PROHIBITION OF ENGLISH BOOKS.

A PROHIBITION OF ENGLISH BOOKS.

MARY A.D. 1555.

A PROHIBITION OF ENGLISH BOOKS.

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LETTER

From BISHOP LATIMER to KING HENRY the EIGHTH, for refurging again of the free LIBERTY of Reading the HOLY SCRIPTURES.

To the most mighty Prince, King of England, HENRY, the Eighth, Grace, Mercy, and Peace, from God the FATHER, by our Lord JESUS CHRIST.

The holy doctor St. Augustine, in an epistle which he wrote to Cæsarius, faith, That he which for fear of any power hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him, for he feareth men more than God. And so according to the same, the holy Apostle St. John Chrysostom faith, that he is not only a traitor to the truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lie; but he also which doth not freely pronounce and shew the truth that he knoweth. Thence sentences (most reprobated king) when I read now of late, and marked them earnestly in the inward parts of mine heart, they made me more afraid, troubled and vexed me grievously in my conscience, and at last drove me to this trait, that either I must flee forth such things as I have read and learned in scripture, or else be of the same mind for: that provoke the wrath of God upon them, and be traitors unto the truth: which thing, rather than it should happen, I had rather suffer extreme punishment.

For what other thing is it to be a stranger unto the truth, than to be a traitor and untrue unto Christ; who is the very truth, and cause of all truth? Who faith, that whosoever denieth him before men, he will deny him before his Father in heaven. Which denying ought more to be feared and dreaded, than the loss of all temporal things. For he that honoureth God, promiseth fame, prefidence, land, honour, benefits, and all manner of honours and necessities, yea, and death itself, be it ever so painful and shameful. But alas! how little do men regard those sharp payings of these two holy men! And how little do they consider the terror of Almightie God! And especially they which boast themselves to be guides and captains unto others, and challenging unto themselves the knowledge of holy scripture, yet will neither shew the truth themselves (as they be bound) or suffer them that would. So that unto them it may be said, that our Saviour Christ said to the pharisees, Matth. xiii. Woe be unto you, scribes and pharisees, who shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and neither will you enter in yourselves, neither suffer them that would enter in, and shut, as much as it is in you, desart not only the word of God, which David calleth a light to direct and shew every man how to order his affections and lusts, according to the commandments of God, but also by their subtle wilfuls they infect, move, and provoke in a manner, all kings in Christendom, to aid, succour, and help them in this their mischief; and especially in this your realm they have so blinded your liege people and subjects with their laws, customs, ceremonies, and banbury gloves, and punished them with burnings, excommunications, and other corruptions (corruptions I would say) and now at the last, when they see they cannot prevail against the open truth (which the more it is perfecuted, the more it increaseth by their tyranny) they have made it treason to your noble grace to have the scripture in English.

Here I beseech your grace to pardon me a while, and patiently to hear me a word or two; yea, though it be so that, as concerning your high majesty and regal power, whereunto Almighty God hath called your grace, there is as great difference between you and me, as between God and man: for you are here to me and to all your subjects, in God's stead, to defend, aid, and succour us in our right, and so I should tremble and quake to speak to your grace. But again, as concerning that you be a mortal creature, and not a god, no more than I have the corrupt nature of Adam, in which we are all both conceived and born: so have you no less need of the merits of Christ's passion for your salvation, than I and other of your subjects have, which be all members of the mystical body of Christ. And though you be an illustrious member, yet you must not disdain the true, as St. Paul faith, Those members that are taken to be vilest are most vile, and had in leath reputation, be as much as the others, for the preservation, neverthless, of your body. This, most gracious king, with your wisdom and also your favourable and gentle nature, I was but to write this rude, homely, and simple letter, for grace, trusting that you will accept my true and most full mind, even as it is.

First, I will exhort your grace to make the life procés of our Saviour Chrift, and his apostles, in preaching and fetting forth of the gospel; and the words of our master Chrift, which he said he would to his apostles when he sent them forth to preach his gospel, and then said to them in your mind, your word is in the golden rule of Saviour Chrift. The tree is known by the fruit. Feel the diligent marking of thee, your grace shall know and perceive who are the true followers of the fathers and teachers of his gospel, and who are not. And concerning the same, all scripture saith that Saviour Jezus Christ's life was very.

Begin at his birth, and I beseech you, who are of a poorer, or so poor as he was? It were too good to write how poor Joseph and the blessed virgin took their journey from Nazareth towards Bethel, and how they fled from Jerusalem and frothy winter, having nobody to stand upon them, but he both mallet them and his mantle and miltref and maid. How vilely, thinks you, were they treated in the inns and lodgings by the king, and in how vile and abject a place was this poor child of our Saviour Jezus Christ, brought a bed, without company, light, or any other thing necessary for a woman in that condition? Was that the beginning, as concerning this world? Yes. And according to this beginning was the progress and end of his life in this world, and yet he might be a godly power have had all the glory and riches of this world at his pleasure, when and where he would. But this he did to us, that his followers vicerors should not regard and set by the riches and pleasures of this world, but after the saying of David ought to take them, which faith thus; If riches, perishing, and death, all power is to a man, let him not set his affiance, pleasure, truf, and heart upon them, but that it is not against the poverty in spirit, which God preachest in the gospel of St. Matthew, chap. vi. to be in dignity and in honour, so that their love be not above this work; for so much, that they rather care for God nor good men. But this he did to us, to this poverty in spirit, have they ever so little, or have greedy and defirous minds to the goods of this world, only because they would live after their pleasant lusts. And therefore to be private men (and so much the worse) which hath been a constant thing, will, will poverty, and will not be called worldly men, and they have land's lands, and king's riches; or rather than they would lose one jot of that which they have, they will let debare between king and king; man and man, ye, between the king and the vicerors, to cause rebellion against the temporal power, with our Saviour Chrift himself was obedient, and suffered, as the gospel declar eth unto when the he apostile St. Paul teacheth every christian man to obey. Yes, and beside all this, they will curse and mout no as much as in them lie, even into the deep pit of hell, that gaineth their appetit, whereby they thinke their goods, promotions, or dignities should decay.

Your grace may see what means and craft the spirituall (as they will be called) imagine, to bring with them the acts which were said in your high and mighty parliament against their superfluities. Wherefore that thus do, your grace may know them not to be followers of Chrift. And although I named the several names, yet I am of the same mind with this authority accustomed to mean not all to be faulty therein, but one or two of them. Neither will I that your grace shall take away the goods due to the church, but take away all persons from their goods, and let better in their stead.
RIGHT's Modernized and Improved Edition of FOX's Original BOOK of MARTYRS.
they judge and measure everything, so to hold and keep this wicked man at the end of the world, which is their god, and hath so blinded the eyes of their hearts, that they cannot see the clear light of the sacred Scripture, though they babble ever so much of it.

But, as concerning this matter, other men have feuded your grace their minds, how necessary it is to have the scripture in English. Which thing also your grace hath promis'd by your last proclamation; which promise I pray God that your gracious highness may shortly perform, even to-day before to-morrow. Nor let the wickednesses of these worldly men detain you from your godly purpose and promise. Remember the noble worldly council of Hanun the son of Naas, king of the Ammonites, whom, when David sent his servants to comfort the king for his father, by crafty imaginations undecided Hanun, not only to receive them gently, but to treat them most shamefully and cruelly, saying, "That they came not to comfort him, but to spy and learn his hand, and so that afterward, they bring David word how every thing fai'd, David might come and conquer it." And he cau'd the young king to scatter their heads, and to cut their coats by the points, and sent them away fai's; whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have treated them gently, and to have given great thanks and rewards: 0 wretched counsellors, but see what followed of this carnal and worldly wisdom: truly nothing but destruction of all the whole realm, and also of them that took their parts.

Therefore good king: David, to the right David, that is to say, our Saviour Christ, hath sent his servants, that is to say, his true presbyters, and his own word also to comfort our weak and fee'l; us, let not these worldly men make your grace believe, that they will cau'e iniquities and heresies, or that they imagine of their own mad brains, that he be avenged upon you and your realm, as was David upon the Ammonites, and as he hath ever been avenged upon them which have obstinately withstood and gain'd the word. But peradventure they would say this against me, and say that experience doth show, how that such men call themselves followers of the gospell, regard not your grace's commandment, neither obey your proclamation; and that was well proved by those persons which of late were punished in London for keeping such books as your grace had prohibited by proclamation: and so like as they regarded not this, so will they not regard or esteem other your grace's laws, statutes, or ordinances. But this is but a crafty pervertion. For your grace knoweth, that there is no man living, especiall-y that loveth worldly pleasures, that is such a ser'vant, as to fai'd, or promote, or advance his enemies, whereby he should be hindered of his worldly pleasures and fai'dly desires; but rather he will seek all the ways possible that he can, utterly to confound, destroy, and put him out of the way. And so as concerning your last proclamation, prohibiting such books, the very true cause of it, and chief counsellors (as men say, and of likelihood it should be) were they whole evil living and cloaked hypocrisy these books uttered and dici'ded. And how beir that these were three times as much as he should have had the scripture to go forth in English, yet it happened there, as it is always seen, that the most part overcometh the better, and so it might be that these men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as their's fret forth in your name, as they have done many times more, which hath put this your realm in great hindrance and trouble, and brought it in great penury; and more would have done, if God had not mercifully provided to bring your grace to knowledge of the falsehood and privy treason which this man's business was about; and be you sure not without adherents, if the matter be duly searched. For what marvel is it, that they being so high of your counsel, and so familiar with your lords, should provoke both your grace and them to prohibit these books, which before by their own authority have forbidden the New Testament under pain of everlasting damnation: for such is their manner to send a thousand men to hell, ere they send
he thought no shame to suffer punisht and 11ohe on all perfecions that for which he dehased hisslef hereby. And I am sure their living is more perfect than St. Paul's was, as concerning those works of the law, before he was converted.

Also the king and prophet David was not at all to forswake his good intent in building of the temple.
Bishop Latimer's Letter to a Justice of the Peace.

Mary A.D. 1553

LIEUTENANT, health in the Lord. And now, first, I understand that you be in great admiration, and take very grievously my manner of writing; adding thereunto, that you will not bear it as hand, so if I were the best bishop in England, &c. I shall, I suppose, be a breaker of the law, if I be hanged and caught a frog; brought little to fetch much ado. You will not bear it with me, you will fight with me, I suppose. It may feeme onely, a justice of peace to be a breaker of the law, and the time of my foulth youth is gone and past.

Then will you do then in me, in that you lay you will bear it at my hand? What hath my hand offended? Perchance you will command me before some court, and call me into some court. God turn it to good.

I refer no judgment, but am ready to receive one of us in any manner of land. Let justice proceed in judgment. And there do be, and have be, for club-half penny. Or advantage you will set pen to paper, and all to write in a letter, wherein confounding me you will defend all and your adilerment. Now, sir, he may be Robin, as is commonly said. I cannot but wish allow such diligence. For so thou dow'st thy integrities and innocents best appear, if you able to defend both your proceedings, and your dealings in this matter to be upright. And then there is no doubt, concerning my fault hasty, as apply'd with just reasons. But I think it will not be.

Took all of all let me know, what is that you will bear at my hand? What have I done with my hand? Far from my hand treaupied you? Forthwith, that can be no reason better: for I have gratuitously admonish'd no one, nor know my finger uttering and such abomination. What a fore matter is this? And will you bear so much with me? Will you not take a few of my good will towards you, and towards laying open your fault at my hand? O Lord God, who hath thought that Mr. N. had been so imperative, could not bear with such a fault and such a fellow? I have in use to commit such treaupies mainly in a year with your betters, by two or three greet, both lords and ladies, and the left of the law, and yet hitherto I have not heard that any of your betters, in their diffidure, that there will not be it at my hand. And yet to be right, liberty, and privilege of a preacher? What is evil but even to rebuke the world of sin without respect of persons? which thing undoubtedly is the peculiar office of the Holy Ghost in the church of God, so that it be practised by lawful preachers. You could but ill bear belike to hear your fault openly reproved in the pulpit, which cannot bear the fame in a secret manner; and yet you have, like all; lack all charity, friendship, and truth. But Mr. N., if you will give me leave to be plain with you, I fear you are so plunged in worldly purchases, and so drowned in the manifold chores of this deadly world, that I believe you have no leisure to read, or think, or read again the opening of the first book of Leviticus, and then tell me, whether you have just cause to complain of me, or of you, &c.

Alas, sir, you said further, that I am wonderfully abused by my neighbour, &c. How so, good Mr. N.? Whereas? or who but you? or is it not, true, and when? So you said, that he had abused you, and are you wrong information; but the contrary is found true by the good testimony of Mr. Chambers, who heard as well as you what your neighbour said, and hath told the same both to you, and against you, till like himself. Mr. N. to forget, and to know in the English ill cause that is one thing; but to prove what a man doth say, that is another thing. As though you were privileged to out-face poor men, and wear them in hand what you will, as may seem to make it maintenance by your means. Thou may, good Mr. N. I have but very little acquainted with my neighbour, for his letter began; but now I have found him so communicable to honestly, upright in his dealings, and to his true talk, that I deem him better than I do some others whom I have perceived and found others. For I will flatter no man, but you are not fair on his folly, but esteem all men as I find them, allowing what is in him, and disallowing what is bad, among all men, either friends or enemies; according to St. Paul's precept, not coloured of the children of this world; I like you, faith be, that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good. And like not at no the fancy of the world, all good evil, and evil good, as the children of this world, are commonly wont to do, as it is everywhere to be seen. And now what manner of man do you make me, Mr. N., when you note me to be so much abused by so ignorant a man, so impious, so plain, and so far without all wrinkles? How can such a man, so little in the wiser world, and have I been so many years turned, so tossed up and down, and so much as I were feasted with so many experiences to and fro, to be so far beth all, and alienated from his wise, as though I could not discern cheese from chalk, truth from falsehood, but every tall fellow, perhaps, to rebuke myself, and thus come to the knowledge of his faults and to what enterprise he lifted at his pleasure. I say not that I may be abused. But why, do you not tell me, how your brother abused me, promising to me before and many more, that he would flail to your awardship, and clare your back? Why do you not tell me, how thobs those two tall fellows to rebuke and me, promising also to abuse your award, and do so, etc.? Yes, why do you not, me how you have abused me, promising to refuld the injury and wrong that your brother hath done to your neighbour, and have not fulfilled your word? These threats are nothing; be it nothing with you, but only you might consider me with my neighbour's abusing me, which is nothing at all, as far as ever I could perceive, to God help me at my need. For if he had abused me, you and others have done, I should be soon at a point with him, for any thing further, or other thing.

Likewise, sir, you said further, that I shall never be able to prove that either your brother or the two tenants agree to flail to your award, &c. No, sir, Mr. N. you say belike as you would have it to be, or as your brother with his adherents have perfumed you to think it to be, leading you to request to your own fame and rebuke, if you persever at the fame, and not to risk the danger of your soul, for confessing, at last, this thing with the maintenance of falsehood of your brother’s inquiry. For in that you would your awardship shall take no ef-
feet, you shewed yourself nothing inincible to the redress
of your brother's unjust dealing with an honest poor
man, which hath been ready at your request to do you
pleasure with his things, or he had never come into this
writing for his just goods with your brother.
Ah, matter N. what manner of man do you shew your-
self to be? or what manner of conscience do you shew
yourselves to have? For, first, as touching your brother,
you know well that for Thomas Cockin, with a letter of
his own hand writing, hath witnessed unto your brother's
agreement, after which better you went to me untailed, and
I shewed the fame to my neighbour, that others before me
in tailsd, and perchance have a copy of the same yet to
shew. With what conscience then can you say that I
shall never be able to prove it? Shall not three men up-
on those depths make a sufficient proof, think you? The
Lord himself saith, in the mouth of three or three, &c.
Yes, you think it true, I dare say, in your conscience, if
you have any conscience, though I were in my grave, and
so unable to prove any thing. As for the two tes-
tants, they be as they be, and I trust to see them
hand in hand, and I, for there be three men yet alive, that
dare swear upon their solemnity that they both did agree.
But what should we look for at such men's
hands, when you yourselves play the part you do? But
God is yet alive, who feeth all, and judgeth justly.
Allo, fir, you said yet further, that the justices of the
peace upon your knowledge think you very unnatural, in taking
part with me before your brother, without my knowledge, matter N.
What a sentence is this to come out of your mouth?
For partaking is one thing, and ministration of justice is
another thing; and a worthy minifier of justice will be
no partaker, but indifferent between party and party.
And did you require you to take part, I pray you,
No, I required you to admonish justice: between your
brother and my neighbour, without any partaking with
either. But what manner of justices be they, I pray
you, who would have lain have you to take part naturally,
with you, after you were, when you ought and should re-
form and amend your brother, as you yourself know,
no man better? What? justices! No, jugglers you may
more worthily call such as they be, than justices. Be
they those justices which call you unnatural, for that
you will not take your brother's part against all right
and justice, because you have picked out and approv'd
the party, and do not regard between your brother
your brother's cause, after your subserviency and final
warding: Verily, I think no less. Fortieth he is very
much oblied to you, and I allo for his sake. Is that
the wholesome counsell that you have to give your poor
neighbour and I? Indeed if you shewed yourself a
worthy juggler, oh, I would have failed in me, among
other of your juggling and partaking-justices. O good
God! what is in the world? Marry, fir, my neighbour
hath found a fair thread, if your partaking-justice through
your own counsel had had his matter in ordering and
finishing. I pray God fave me and all my friends, with
all God's fleck, from your natural, and so partaking-
justices. Amen.
Lord God! who would have thought that there
had been so many partaking-justices in Warwickshire, if
matter N. himself, one of the fame order, (but al-}
gether out of order) and therefore know you, it beft, had
not told us the tale? But then that you, you say, very
natural, &c. And why not rather, I pray you, too
much natural? For we read of a double nature, found
and corrupt. That was full of justice: this, unless it be
regarded and adjudged unjust, bringeth forth the fruits
do wickedness one after another. The matter that will
not help his brother, having a just cause in his need,
may be called unjustly, as one following the disposition
and inclination of corrupt nature against the winds of
wind. What shall we do to be natural may seem to be cater-
cous, or couin-generous with, to be in diabolic.
I fear we have too many justices that are too much
natural, to their own punishment both of body and soul.
For worthy justices having ever the fear and dread of
God before their eyes, (of which we have seen enough
amongst us that I with we had) will have no respect
at all in their judgments and proceedings, to vicinity
of blood, but altogether to the worth and justice of
caufe, judging that to be just which is so in the
God, though not of men: of which men but a
make you one, Amen. He is the truth of God.
But he that finneth (as they all do who do that
for your and pleasure of men) is of the world, he,
of the world, and not partaking of our nature, but
be with all their partiality and unrighteousness. It
would be right and just that he be such a trans-
erties, be justly deprived of their offices, and take
also to be punished, according to the order and
law of Christian crime, for that by means that shew
them to be cut off, as men born and bred to the hurt
and profanation of the commonwealth, which trouble
on them they ought to help us, Amen.
Sir, finally, and last of all, you added these
following: Well, said you, let bishop Laurence
heed, that I would do this with my brother, for he
to find as crabbed and as from the piece of life, that
he found in his life, &c. Ah, fir, and in your book
such an one as you speak of indeed? It is not fort to
what a commendation is this for one brother to
other? Is this your glorying, my friend? And that
it not plaked, to make him beat? I written, Vexation giveth undertheath.
And so it is good, O Lord, that thou hast humbled
me, I may pray to God for him, as David did after,
like, after this fort: Bind filth with better
then; when they approach not near unto thee
mean sentence. I had I could have known either of
both; for to should I have been babbling about this inward
row of my heart, to see such unwise acts from me
to godliness; for I cannot be heavy-heart
mischief to wickedly minded. Well, let us pro-
it; several, where you say, I shall find
and crabbed and as from a piece as ever I found
life, &c. Mark well your brother's cause. For by
tenor of the fame it plainly appeareth, that your
brother's cause, where he be straiten and unjust
very tough. For that he flanders both your
brother's cause, and a just cause, as many good
have done, is called a faint man, a confiant, a traitor.
But he that is obstinate and unchangeable in wicked
and wrong doing, is commonly called a crabbed
lame piece, as you name your brother to be.
Now if knowing so well your brother's cause
be to wicked, to think you not condemned unstated
as a worthy justice, to return him accordingly, as
required you, and you promised you to return in
twelve months ago. In short, Mr. N. if you
come off shortly, and apply yourself thereto
more earnestly than you have heretofore, be well
advised of this, I shall report you to all the
least that I have in England, both high and low, as
Ibadders and Iebraiders, for a part of the sake of
judgment; that I trust I shall be able then
either to bring you both to some good; or at least
shall be able to warn my friends and all honest hearts to
be of your wickedness, that they shall either take no
all, or at least less harm by your through my advocation
in that knowing you perfectly, they may then the better
and thus your company. You shall not hinder me, Mr.
N., though you would give me all the lands and
pest you like, if I were to be told. I am not to be
in a falsely such a just cause, neither will I communi
other men's sins. For whether he be a thief or
whether by abominable varice, or by both linking
his, it is no sinfull to inquire to any poor that
right and duty of one made absolutely or
who be the devil, crabbed and forward. As
is it then any manner of reason to concern the
fame? You know, I suppose, Mr. N., that
is, to take or detain by any manner of way your
man's goods against his will that is the owner, a
theft he be a thief that doth so openly,
shall he be that approveth him which is the den, be
tended, maintaineth, and furthorheth him by
ner of colour? Consider with you good Mr. N.
what it is to oppress and to defraud your brother
in business, and what followeth therefrom. It is truly

of January, every bishop with some handsome new-year's gift should gratify the king; and so they did, some with gold, some with silver, some with a purle full of money, and some one thing, some another: but bishop Latimer being then bishop of Worcester, among the rest, preferred to the king a large book of the "Tablet" for his new-year's gift, with a napkin having this poetick about it, "Formicators and adulatoris God will judge."

And thus haft thou (gentle reader) the whole life, both of Dr. Ridley and bishop Latimer, two worthy fathers in the church of Christ, their writings, disputations, sufferings, and their many faithful preachings, studious service in Christ's church, their unjust imprisonment, and confant torritude in that which they had taught, with all their proceedings from time to time, since their first springing years to this present month of queen Mary, beginning the month of October, Anno 1555.

In which month they were brought forth together, to their final examination and execution. Wherefore as we have hitherto declared both their lives severally and distinctly one from another; so now jointly to couple them both together, as they were both together joined in one society or cause of martydom, we will, by the grace of Christ, procure the rest that remaineth concerning their last examination, degrading and confant suffering, with the order and manner alike of the commissioners, and what were their words, their objections, their orations there used, and what again were the answers of the same men to the same, as in the process here followeth to be seen.

The ORDER and MANNER of the EXAMINA-
CTION of Dr. RIDLEY, and Bishop LATIMER, in Sept. 1555.

First, after the appearing of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, before the pope's delegate, and the queen's commissaries at Oxford. Mary's church at Oxford, about the 12th of September, was more shall be said (by God's grace) when we come to the death of the said archbishop; shortly after, on the 28th of the said month, another commission was sent down to Oxford from cardinal Pole, to John White, bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Brooke, bishop of Gloucester, and Dr. Holyman, bishop of Bristol. The contents and virtue of which commission was, that the said bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, or two of them, should have full power and authority to cite, examine and judge, Mr. Hugh Latimer and Dr. Ridley, for divers and fundry erroneous opinions, which the said bishops of Lincoln and Nicholas Ridley did hold and maintain in open disputations had in Oxford, in the months of May, June, and July, in the year 1554, as long before in the time of perdition, and since. Which opinions, if the named persons be found honest, godly and yielding themselves to the determination of the unlawfully and unlawfully planted church of Rome, then the said bishops, by the said authority of their commission, should have power to receive the said pertinent persons, and forthwith admonish unto them the reconciliation of their erroneous opinions, and all other ecclesiastical orders, should pronounce them as heretics, and therefore clean cut them off from the church, and so yield them to receive punishments due to all such hereby and elsewhere.

Wherefore the said bishops, Dr. Ridley and Latimer, as well as the other persons, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, were cited to appear before the said lords in the divinity school at Oxford at eight of the clock. At which time the said persons presented, placing themselves in the high seat made for public lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school, being both faced andtrimmed with cloth of tulle, and curtains of velvets; and after the said lords were placed and set, the said Latimer and Ridley were sent for. And after Dr. Ridley appeared, and by,
by and by bishop Latimer. But because it seemed good severely to examine them, bishop Latimer was kept back until Dr. Ridley was thoroughly examined. Therefore soon after the coming of Dr. Ridley into the school, the sentence was published by the pope's authority, and openly read. But Dr. Ridley standing bareheaded, humbly expecting the causing of that his appearance, as soon as he had heard the cardinal named, and the pope's holiness, put on his cap. Wherefore after the commissiion was published, the bishop of Lincoln spake as follows.

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, although neither I, nor yet any lords here, in respect of our own persons do look for cap or knee, yet because we bear and represent such persons as we do, that is, my lord cardinal's grace, legationes and representatives of the pope's holiness, as well as I that he is of a noble patriarch (and there Dr. Ridley moved his cap with low obeisance) defending from the royal blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be reverenced with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues and godly life, and especially in that he is here in England deputy to the pope's holiness, it should have become you at this name to have uncovered your head. Wherefore except you will of your own will take the pains to put your hands to your head, and at the nominating of the fair cardinal, and of the fair holiness, uncover the fame, lest that this your composure, exhibited now before us, should be prejudicial to the said mast reverend persons, (which thing we may in no case suffer) you shall cause us to take the pains to oblige some man to pluck off your cap from you. To whom Dr. Ridley, taking the bishop's licence and adding: Ridley. As touching what you say, my lord, that you of your own persons desire no cap or knee, but only require the fame in consideration that you represent the cardinal's grace's person, I would have you know, and herewith to be added that I did not place my protestation on my cap at the nominating of the cardinal's grace, neither for any composure that I bear towards your own persons, neither for any derogation of honour towards the lord cardinal's grace. For I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence and honours, in that he came of the most regal blood, and in that he is an eneund with manifold graces of learning and virtues; and as touching these virtues and points, I, with all humility (threewith he put off his cap, and bowed his knee) and obedience that I may, will reverence and honour his grace, but in that he is the legate to the bishop of Rome (and therewith put on his cap) whole usurped supremacy and abused authority I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obedience or honour unto him, lest that my doing might be prejudicial to you, and a derogation of the reverenced God's word: and therefore that I might not only by condition profane the verity, in not reverencing the renowned authority, contrary to God's word, but also in gesture, in behaviour, and all my doings, express the same, I have put on my cap, and for this composure, neither composure of any sort unto your lordships, neither composure of this wortheful audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the cardinal's grace, both for his noble parentage, and also his excellence, I keep on my cap.

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, you excuse yourself of that which with we prefixed you not, in that you protest you keep on your cap, neither for any composure towards us (who look for no such homage from you) neither for any composure of this audience: which although jujly they may, yet (as I suppose) in this case done require such obedience of you, neither in derogation of any honour due to my lord cardinal's grace, for his regal defect (at which word Dr. Ridley moved his cap) and excellent qualities, for although in all the premises honour is required in these respects, is not the case, but only in that my lord cardinal's grace is here in England, deputy of the pope's holiness (at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and Dr. Ridley put on his) and therefore we lay unto you the second time, if you permit you take the pains yourself, to put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you shall put us to the pains to cause some man to take from you, except you alledge some injury, affront, or other more reasonable cause, upon our determination whereof we may do as we think good.

Lincoln. For this end, the more as for this, the more as for this, the might as well appear to your lordships, as to the faithful audience, why and for what commission of such kind of behaviour, in not humbling of your lordships with cap and knee: and as far as I am your Lord God, that I am as well, as I have been this long time is, and therefore I do pretend that this is not, but only this that I appear by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge no point that usurped supremacy of Rome, and before commit and utter all despite all authority can by the same supremacy be grounded upon, in the grace of your lordships, and I shall be content.

Then the bishop of Lincoln, after the third adjunction, commanded one of the beadlest (that is, in a flavour of the university) to pluck off his cap from his head by Dr. Ridley bowing his head to the officer, greatly permitted him to take it away.

After this, the bishop of Lincoln, in a long one, exhorted Dr. Ridley to recant, and submit himself the universal faith of Christ, in this manner. But you have further pondered with yourself the effect of this conclusion with good advice, considering both points thereon, that authority is given to us, if you shall receive true doctrine of the church, which first was by grace confided to the immediate after the death of Christ and from him by his blessed face to his apostles, that nature shall to this time, if you will be content to receive your former errors, cancel your heretical and false opinions, content to yield yourself to the only faith and truth of the gospel, received and take care that you shall not be seduced by the crafty, wicked, king and queen, all the nobles of this realm and many of the fame, all christian people have confes, you only standing alone by yourself: you desist and perceive, I am sure, that author given to us to receive you, and in your person, and in our part, you have taken this cause to join and associate you against a number of the catholics and Christ's churc, to which you have so long stray, without which you can be saved; which thing I and my lords here, as all as we nobles and commoners of this realm, most heartily desire, and I, for my part, (for whose part the cause) most earnestly exhort you to do.

Remember, Mr. Ridley, it is no flattery can whither I exhort you to return. You were once us, you have taken degrees in the school. You were moved to this against the world, contrary to the universal fame doctrine which we do now. You were not bishop according to our laws; and, to be brief, it is so long ago since you separated yourself from us, in the time of hereby, became a better forth thine vilen and fidditious doctrine which in their land was preached among us. For that time the doctrine of only faith began to spring, the council, vling to win my lord chancellor, lent you to him (like being in my lord's house, unknown, as I suppose, you); and after you had talked with my lord floor and floor, immediately, fell in with the points of your talk, and means of your persuasion, and amongst others this was one, that you should for, had my lord, this matter of justification is but a trite, if we not flick to confound herein to them; but God's love, my lord, flound flound in the very tract of the sacrament: for I see they will affluence thee. If this be true, (as my lord is a man credible enough in the other matter) hereby it is declared that what you see, and then, as touching the bluffed sacrament.

Lastly, to the end, Mr. Ridley, you, malicefully and of the face of that bluffed sacrament as any man might have done, whereby it appear that it is not strange thing, nor unknown place whereunto I exhort you. I wish you to return thither from which you came, that is, with us to acknowledge the power of God, wherein no man may err, to acknowledge
Of our most reverend father in God the holiest, which (as I said) linearly tooketh his deacon Peter, upon whom Christ promised, before his passion, to build his church; which supremacy or authority did acknowledge; and hereby the more ancient fathers in all ages, in all places, did acknowledge: and hereunto all the doctors, both especially fixated upon a place Augustine, to which whereto after this manner: All the countries beyond the sea are subject to the see of Rome. Here you fee, Mr. Ridley, that all subordination is subject to the church of Rome. What hindereth you therefore to confess the same as St. Augustine and other fathers? Mr. Ridley desired his patience to suffer him to somewhat of the premises, lest the multitude of things might confound his memory; and having leave of him, he said in this manner: 

My lord, I must heartily thank your lordship for your gentleness, as also for your forbearance, and for your good and favourable zeal heard exhortation, in which I have marked three points, which you used to perild me, my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly am and ought to be grounded, and my imaginings and decrees, but upon the truth of Christ's gospel, and not to look back to the Romish see, contrary to mine own, and the prerogative and crown of this realm, and (which moveth me most) contrary to the example of St. Peter is this, that the see of Rome taking apostles from Peter, upon whom you say Christ with his church, hath in all ages, linearly from to his bishop, been brought to this time. 

And, that even the holy fathers from time to time have delivered the same. And truly, that in that I was once of the church together with you I did acknowledge the 

Attaching the laying of Christ, from whence bishopric gathered the foundation of the church Peter, truly the place is not to be unerstood as to that Christ had alled his disciples wherein men him to be, and they answered, that some horse was a prophet, some Elias, some one thing; and another, they, being prepared to be grounded, and moved, and to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and (which moveth me most) contrary to the example of St. Peter, I say that thou art Christ the Son of whom Christ answered, I say, Thou art and upon this stone I will build my church; to say, Upon this stone, not meaning Peter it, though he would have constituted a moral and invisible church; but upon this rock-stone, that his confession of thine, that I am the Son of Christ, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all christianity, with word, and mind, to confessest that Christ is the Son of Whomsoever believeth not this, Christ is not in and he cannot have the mark of Christ printed in his cheek, which confesseth not that Christ is the Son 

Before Christ said unto Peter, that upon this rock, I say, upon this confession, that he was Christ the son of God, he would build his church to declare without this faith no man can come to Christ: so his belief, that Christ is the Son of God, is the confession of our christianity, and the support of our church. Here you see upon what foundation Christ's church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon and invisible word of God. When as touching the lineal descendent of the bishops in Rome, true it is, that the patriarchs of Rome, apostolic time, and long after, were great main- and stock-bearer of Christ's glory, in which, all other countries were subject to the true gospel, the sacraments were most administered; and as, before Christ's coming, it was so to valiant in power, and martial affairs, that of Rome was in a manner subject to it, and after 

Christ's passion divers of the apostles there suffered perfection for the gospel's sake; so after that the emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the gospel, and became christians, the gospel there, as well for the fame of the place, flourished most, whereby the bishops that placed were in more reverence and honour, most of them in all council, yet not because they acknowledged them to be their head, but because the place was most revered and spoken of, for the great power and strength of the name. As now here in England, the bishop of Lincoln, in solemnities and fittings, hath the same consideration of other bishops, not that he is the head and ruler of them, but for the dignity of the bishorphic (and therewith the people pleased). Wherefore the doctors in their writings have spoken most reverently of this see of Rome, and in their writings preferred it; and this is the prerogative which your lordship did rehearse the ancient doctors to give to the see of Rome. 

In like manner, I cannot, nor dare but commend reverence, and honour the see of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion and setting forth of God's glory, and in due preaching of the gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But after that the bishops of that see, seeking their own pride, and not God's honour, began to set themselves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the title of God's vicars, the dominion and supremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St. Gregory, a bishop of Rome also, confess that place is the very same with Antichrist. John speaketh by name of the whore of Babylon; and say, with the said St. Gregory, He that maketh himself a bishop over all the world, is worse than Antichrist. 

Now whereas you say St. Augustine should feem not only to give such a prerogative, but also supremacy to the see of Rome, that he be all that his the church is subject to the church of Rome, and therefore should give to that see a certain kind of subjection; I am sure that your lordship knoweth, that in St. Austin's time there were four patriarchs, of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome, which patriarchs had under them certain countries in Europe. 

The sees of Canterbury and the archbishop of Canterbury hath under him certain bishoprics in England and Wales, to whom he may be said to be their patriarch. Alfo your lordship knowest right well, that at the time St. Austin wrote that book he was ther bishop in Africa. Farther, you are not ignorant, that between Europe and Africa, which the sea called the term of feo, so that all the countries in Europe to him which is in Africa, may be called countries beyond the sea. Hereof St. Austin faith, All the christian countries beyond the sea and remote regions, are subject to the see of Rome. 

If I should say all the countries beyond the sea, I do except England, which to me now I know not, is not beyond the see. In this sense, St. Austin faith, All the countries beyond the sea are subject to the see of Rome; declaring thereby, that Rome was one of the feo of the four patriarchs, and under it Europe, by what subjection I pray you? Only for a pretention; as we here in England say, that all the bishoprics of England are subject to the archbishop of Canterbury. 

For this pre-eminence also the other doctors (as you receive) say, that Rome is the mother of churches, as the bishorphic of Lincoln is mother to the bishorphic of Oxford, because the bishorphic of Oxford is the bishorphic of Lincoln, and they were once both one; and so is the archbishopric of Canterbury mother to the other bishoprics which are in her province. In like manner the archbishopric of York, is mother to the North Bishoprics; and yet no man will say, that the archbishop of Canterbury, hath any subjection over the other bishoprics; neither then ought we to confess the see of Rome to be supreme head, because the doctors in their writings confess the see of Rome to be mother of churches. 

Now whereas you say, I was once of the same religion which you are of, the truth is I cannot but confess the same. Yet fo was St. Paul a percurator of Christ. But in that you say, I was one of you not long ago, that in I am doing my message to my lord of Wincheste, should de 

fire
fire him to stand flout in that gross opinion of the upper of it, as (your lordship spake) from the council to my lord of Winchester, to ex-
hort him also to receive the true confession of justification; and because he was very refractory, I spake to him. What make you so great a matter herein? You see mag-
jistrates do (by the advice of the same lord) command you to appear; I pray you, my lord, be diligent in confounding them: for at that time my lord of Winchester and I had to do with two anabaptists in Kent. In this sense I wished my lord to be still in the defense of the factaments against the deftiable errors of anabaptists, and not in the con-
firmation of that gross and carnal opinion now main-
tained.

In like fort, as touching the demon with which I made at St. Paul's Cross, you shall understand, that there were at St. Paul's, and divers other places, fixed railing bills against the matter of appealing, but feared to take you. The sacrament of the Halter, Round Robin, with such un-
feemly terms; for which causes, I, to rebuke irreverent behavioir of certain evil-disposed persons, preached as re
currently of that matter as I might, declaring what olimination and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling thereof, affirming that in 
 sacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Chrilt, effectually by grace and spirit; which words the unlearned understanding not, supposing that I had meant of the gross and carnal being which the Romish decrees for forth, that a body having life and motion, should be indeed under the shapes of bread and wine.

With that the bishop of Lincoln interrupting him, said:

Lincoln. Well, Mr. Ridley, that you wretch places to your unhappye face; for whereas St. Augustine faileth, that the whole christian world is subject to the fee of Rome without any limitation, and useth these words, Beyond the seas, and remote regions, only to express the latitude of the dominion of the fee of Rome, willing thereby to declare all the world, yea countries far distant from Rome, if they are subject to that fee, yet ye should wretch it, and leave it only to Europe. I am sure you will not deny, but all the countries is more than Europe.

Ridley. Indeed, my lord, if St. Augustine had failex simply, All the countries, and not added, Beyond the fee, it had been without limitation; but in that he saith, All the countries beyond the sea, he himselfe doth limit the universal propofition, declaring how far he meant by All the countries.

The bishop not staying for his anfwer, proceeded, saying:

Lincoln. Well, if I should stay upon this place, I could bring many more places of the fathers for a con-
firmation thereof; but we have certain instructions, ac-
cording to which we must proceed, and came not hither to you, ye see, on the mount, and a candle in the candle-flick. Ponder with your selfe, that the church of Christ is catholic, and universally spread throughout the world, not contained in the agglutination of places, nor comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compas of Germany and Saxony, as your church is.

Wherefore, Mr. Ridley, for God's love be you not sanguine; acknowledge with all the realm the truth, it shall not be (as you allege) prejudicial to the crown; for their majesties the king and queen have renounced that usurpation power taken of their predecessors, and jully have renounced it. For I am sure you know there are two powers, the one declared by the fword, the other by the keys. The fword is given to kings and rulers of countries; the keys were delivered by Christ to Peter, and so to all the succedency. As touching our good, poditions, and lives, we with your acknowledged us subjected to the king and queen, who hath the tempor-
ral fword; but as concerning matters of religion, as

touching God's quarrel and his word, we ask another head; and as the kings of the world do in all worldly affairs justly challenge the power and primacy, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical, they acknowledge themselves not to be absolute, but members of Christ's body. Why, therefore, you in contention to exalt the king, which their unhoped foraken, and yielded?

Wherefore, Mr. Ridley, you shall not only play jury to the crown, and be prejudicial to their honour, in acknowledging with all Christendom power and means to be supreme head of Christ's chilc sirl here on earth, but do nothing must agree thereto, and most desired of his holiness. This will do, revoking together all your errors, accord-
ing with the refute of the realm the common con-
spicule, you shall do what all men most truly and with doing giue to their conscience, and

to your soul; then shall we with great joy, by in-

erity committed to us from the cardinal's grace, 

you into the church again, acknowledge you as the longer a rotten, but a lively member of the lam,

if you shall still be singular, if you shall still de-

perverse in your errors, stubbornly maintaining herefore, then we must against our will, add-

ing to our commissio, separate you from us, and

off from the church, left the rottenness of one per-

son, time, purify and corrupt the whole then must the church and publick jump through, then must we yield you up to the temporal judo,

whom, except it otherwise please the king and his

highness, you must receive punishment by that

this realm, due for heretics.

Wherefore, Mr. Ridley, consider your fame, mem-
ber your former degrees, spare your body, con-

ider your soul, which Christ so dearly bought,

his precious blood, do not rashly call away it,

was precious in God's sight; enforce us not in

that we may do, which is not only to publish your

notions, but make it bee that fee, ye shall not, nor can we condemn you to die, (as much as hath been reported of us) but that is the office of 

temporal judges; we only declare to be noth-

cour, and then you must, according to the us,

them, and pleasure of the rulers, abide their di-
nosion, so that we, after we have given you up to
temporal rulers, have no further to do with you.

But I trust, Mr. Ridley, we shall not have ease to do what we may. I trust you will further in that point of our commission, which we must have deferred, be upon recantation, and open recep-

e, to reconcile you, and again to join you in

unity of the church.

Then Dr. Ridley, with often interruption, stak

spake.

Dr. Ridley. My lord, acknowledge an unpertouch

of Christ, in which no man can err, without an-

man can be saved, which is spread throughout all

world, that is, the congregation of the faithfull; not

do I alligiate or bind the fame to any one place, or

fay, but Christ is catholic and spread through all

world, and where Christ's sacraments are duly

ministered, his gospel truly preached and follower,

both Christ's church shine as a city upon a hill, and

a candle in the candlestick: but rather it is such a

that would have the church of Christ bound in it,

appoint the fame to Rome, that there is therefore

elf is the foundation of Christ's church. But I am

pervaded that Christ's church is every where in

every place where his gospel is truly receivd,

effectually followed. And in that the church

is so catholic, there is nothing of the spiritual

Vaccat Lycinenta, whom I am sure you will allow, who

precepts how the catholic church may be in

schisms and herefore known, writen in this man-

When (faith he) one part is corrupt with him

then prefer the whole world before the emperor

for these in feare to prefer another.

In like manner now when I perceive the ground

of christianity to be infected with the poison of
EXAMINATION of Br. RIDLEY before the COMMISSIONERS.

of Rome, I repair to the usage of the primitive church, which I find quite contrary to the pope's decrees: as in that the priest received alone, that it is made un lawful to the laity to receive in both kinds; and such like. I do before it requireth, that I prefer the authority of the primitive church, before the novelty of the Romish church.

Law. Mr. Ridley, these faults which you charge the fee of Rome withal, you have no faults. For first, it was never forbidden to the laity, but that they, if they deemed, receive under both kinds. You know that, that Christ after his resurrection, at the time he went with his apostles to Galilee, opened himself by bread; you know that he rose from the dead, after his long lying toward some time, brake bread, and that the disciples came together in breaking of bread, which satisfieth that it is not unlawful to administer the sacrament under the form of bread only. And yet the church had just occasion to decree, that the laity should receive in one kind only, therefore to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not wholly both flesh and blood, under the form of bread. Therefore to take away their opinion, and to edify better the people's faith, the Holy Ghost in the church thought fit to decree, that the church should receive under both kinds; and it is no news for the church upon just consideration to alter rites and ceremonies. For you read in the Acts of the Apostles, that St. Paul writing to certain of the Gentiles, who had received the gospel, bade them to abstain from things sacrificed to idols, or offered in sacrifice to idols; and yet he expresses commandment: yet who will say but it is lawful to eat? How is it lawful but by the permission of the church?

Ridley. My Lord, such things as St. Paul enjoined the Gentiles for a famine, by a little to win the Jews to Christ, were only commandments of time, and respected not the successors. But Christ's commandment, Do this, (that is, that which he did in remembrance, which was not to administer in one kind only) was for a commandment for a time, but to pereverse to the world's end.

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this answer, without a y flay proceeded in this occasion.

So that the church feemeeth to have authority by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ said he would send after his ascension, which should teach the apostles all truth, to have power and jurisdiction to alter such points of the sacrifice, ever revering the foundation: but we came not, as I said before, in this feast to reason the matter in our house, but have certain instructions ministered unto us from the pope, and from the more of them, hasten to proceed and proposing certain articles, unto which we require your answer directly, either affirmatively, or negatively, to any of them, either denying them or granting them, without further disputations or reasoning; for we have already finished our instructions, in that we suffred us to debate and reason the matter, in such feast as we have done: which articles you shall hear now, and to morrow at eight o'clock, in St. Mary's church, we will require and take your answers; and then according to the matter and you: and if you require a copy of them, you shall have it. We call upon all persons, good and bad, to demand, if they be to be gotten in the university.

The ARTICLES.

The name of God, Amen. We John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, and John of Bristol, bishops, &c.

1. We do object to thee, Nicholas Ridley, and to the High Latimer, jointly and severally, first, that Nicholas Ridley in this high university of Oxford, of the years 1554, in the months of April, May, June, July, and so on in the same year, and in or within the same year, are authorized by the pope, and that they have been procured, defended, and maintained, and in many other places and places besides, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the confection of the priest, is not distinctly present in the sacrament of the altar.

2. Item. That in the year and months aforesaid you publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrement of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

3. Item. That in the said year and months thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

4. Item. That in the year, place, and months aforesaid, thence the aforesaid affirmations solemnly had been condemned by the scholastic and civil council of this school, as heretical and contrary to the catholic faith, by the worshipful Dr. Wotton, procurator then of the convocation-house, as also by other learned men of both the universities.

5. Item. That all and singular the premises be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by public fame, as well to them near hand, as also to them in distant places far off.

All these articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as hereafter rehearsal shall be of any of them, the reader may have recorrec hither, and peruse the same; and not to trouble the story with several repetitions thereof.

EXAMINATION upon the said ARTICLES.

After these articles were read, the bishops took counsel together. At last the bishop of Lincoln said, These are the very same articles which you in open disputations here in the university did maintain and defend. What say you unto the first? I pray you answer affirmatively, or negatively.

Ridley. Why, my Lord, I suppose your gentleness had been such, that you would have given me space until to-morrow, upon that good advice I might bring a determinate answer.

Lincoln. Yea, Mr. Ridley, I mean not that your answers now be required short of your answers to-morrow. I will take your answers at this time, and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawful to you to add, diminish, alter, and change these answers to-morrow what you will.

Ridley. Indeed, in like manner as in our last disputations I had many things promised, and few performed. It was said, that after disputations I should have a copy thereof, and licence to change mine answers, as I should think good. It was met with also that I should have seen what was written by the notaries at that time. So your lordship pretended great gentleness in giving me time; but this gentleness is the fame that Christ had of the high priest. For you, as your lordship hath, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death: so in like fort the high-priests said, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would futter him to absole Christ, although he fought all the means for it that he might.

Then spake Dr. Wotton, one of the audience, What, do you make the king Pilate? Ridley. No, Mr. Doctor, I do but compare your deeds with Caiaphas's deeds and the high-priests, which would condemn no man to death, as you will, and yet would not suffer Pilate to absole and deliver Christ.

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, we mind not but that you shall enjoy the benefit of anwering to-morrow, and will take your answers now as now, to-morrow you shall change, take out, add, and alter what you will. In the mean season we require you to answer directly to every article, either affirmatively or negatively.

Ridley. Seeing you appoint me a time to answer, to-morrow, and yet would take mine answers out of hand: first I require the notaries to take and write my protestation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my judge, in that point you are not of the church of England.

Therefore whatsoever I shall say or do, I protest I neither say it, neither do willingly, thereby to admit the authority of the pope, and if your lordship will give me leave, I will slew the cauces which move me thenceunto.

Lincoln. No, Mr. Ridley, we have instructions to the contrary. We may not futter you.

Ridley.
Ridley. I will be short: I pray your lordship suffer me to speak in a few words.

Lincoln. No, Mr. Ridley, we may not abuse the hearth."card.

Ridley. Why; my lord, suffer me to speak three words.

Lincoln. Well, Mr. Ridley; to-morrow you shall speak forty. The time is far past; therefore we require your answer determinately. What say you to the first article? and hath he received the sacrament?

Ridley. My profession always faved, that by this mine answer, I do not condescend to your authority, in that you are legate to the pope. I answer thus: In a sense the first article is true, and in a sense it is false; for if you take truly for true, and only by grace to be true, that the natural body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament really and truly; and if you take these terms so grossly, that you would conclude thereby a natural body having motion, to be contained under the forms of bread and wine, really and truly, then really and truly, it is not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, no more than the Holy Ghost in the element of our baptism. Because this answer was not under blood, the notaries knew not how to note it; wherefore the bishop of Lincoln defined him to answer affirmatively or negatively, either to grant the article, or to deny it.

Ridley. My lord, you know that where any equivocation (which is a word having two significations) is, except distinction be given, no direct answer can be made; for it is one of Aristotle's fallacies, containing two questions under one, which cannot be answered by the same answer. For both the year, and the century, that in the sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ, even that which was born of the virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which is at the right hand of God the Father, which came from hence to judge the quick and the dead, only differ in the way and manner of being; we confess all one answering or in the sacrament, and different in the manner of being there. I being fully by God's word thereto persuaded, confess Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament indeed by spirit and grace, because that whatsoever worthy receives that bread, which in the sacrament he receives, that in the bread and wine, and in the bread and wine, that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion; and you make a grosser kind of being, including a natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the shape or form of bread and wine.

Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I answer, that in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Christ really and truly, or spiritually by grace and efficacy; for so every worthy receiver receiveth the very true body of Christ; but if you mean really and indeed, so that whereby you would include a lively and a moveable body, under the form of bread and wine, then in that sense is not Christ's body in the sacrament really and indeed.

This answer taken and penned by the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln propounded the second question or article. To whom he answered:

Ridley. Always my presentation referred, I answer that in the sacrament is a certain change, in that bread, which was before common bread, is now made a lively representation of Christ's body, and not only a figure, but effectually representeth his body; that even as the mortal body is nourished by that visible bread, so the spiritual body is nourished with the heavenly food Christ's body, which the eye of faith feareth, as the bodily eye feeth only bread. Such a sacramental mutation I grant to be in the bread and wine, which truly is no small change, but such a change as no mortal man can make, but only that omnipotency of Christ's word.

Then the bishop of Lincoln defined him to answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he answered:

Ridley. That notwithstanding the sacramental mutation of which he spake, and all the doctors confounded, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remaineth; with which the body is in like form nourished, as the soul is by grace and spirit with the body of Christ. Everything in the body of Christ brought with the visible water, and the soul is cleansed from all filthy by the invisible Holy Ghost, and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still: in like manner in the sacrament of the Lord's supper the bread ceaseth not to be bread.

This article being penned, that he answered affirmatively to the second article. The bishop of Lincoln declared a difference between the sacrament of the Lord's supper and baptism, because that Christ did not say by the water, This is the Holy Ghost, as he did by the bread, This is my body.

Then to the third article, Dr. Ridley cited St. Augustine, which confessed both the sacraments one with the other; hence the bishop of Lincoln notwithstanding, thereupon refused the third article, and required a direct answer. To whom Ridley said:

Ridley. Christ, as St. Paul writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, which man can any man reiterate that sacrifice of his, and join the communion an acceptable sacrifice to God by his praise and thanksgiving; but to say that thereby he was taken away (which wholly and perfectly was done by his own body, and the remission of sins only is only a memory) that is a great derogation from the sacrament of Christ's passion: for the sacrament was instituted, that we receiving it, and thereby recognizing and remembering his passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise doth this sacrament take away the sacrifice and remission of sins, whereby a saint might follow, that Christ died in vain.

The notaries penned this his answer to be affirmative.

Lincoln. Indeed, as you allege out of St. Paul, Christ made one perfect oblation for all the world, that is, that bloody sacrifice upon the cross, nevertheless we hold the sacraments, not only in the communion of Christ's sacrifice, and in the remembrance of that by which sins are forgiveth, which is no derogation of Christ's passion.

Then the bishop of Lincoln recited the fourth article. To which Dr. Ridley answered:

Ridley. That in some part the fourth was true, and in some part false; true, in that his assertions were denominated as heretical, although unjustly; false, in that was said, they were condemned Scintia Scholastia, in that the disputations were in such feet ordered, that it was far from any school act.

This answer being penned by the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln proposed the fifth article. To which Dr. Ridley answered:

Ridley. That the premises were in such sort true, as in these answers he had declared. Whether all men speak evil of them, he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to hear what every mouth reported.

When this answer also was taken by the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln said:

Lincoln. To-morrow, at eight o'clock, you shall appear before us in St. Mary's church, and then begin we cannot we agree upon your answer to the fifth article: for it was long before he was understood all will please you to write your answer, you shall have pen, ink, paper, and books, such as you shall require; but if you write any thing more than your answer to these articles, we will not receive it: so he charged the notaries to the contrary, that he should suffer him to have a pen and ink, ditto Dr. Ridley, and lent for Mr. Latimer, who being brought to the divinity-school, there tarried till so called for him.

BISHOP LATIMER appeareth before the COMMISSIONERS.

NOW after Dr. Ridley was committed to the mart, then the bishop of Lincoln commanded its bailiff to bring the other prisoner, who, as soon as was placed, said to the lords:

Latimer. My lords, if I appear again, I pray you not to send for me until you be ready. For I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to carry
to the pope's holiness, to be partakers of the reconciliation. But if you shall stubbornly persist in your blindness, if you will not acknowledge your errors, if you, as you stand alone, will be singular in your opinions, if by schisms and heresies you will divide yourself from the church, then we proceed to the second part of the communion, which we would be loth to do, that is, not to condemn you, for that we cannot do (that the temporal word of the realm, and not we, will do), but to separate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, and renounce you as no member of the church, to declare that you are the followers of a loath child, and as you are a rotten member of the church, so to cut you off from the church, and so to commit you to the temporal judges, permitting them to proceed against you, according to the tenor of their law.

Therefore, Mr. Latimer, for God's love consider your estate, remember you are a learned man, you have taken degrees in the schools, borne the office of a bishop; remember you are an old man, spare your body, accede not to your death, and especially remember your soul's health, and the peace of your conscience; consider that if you should die in this state, you shall be a flunking sacrifice to God; for it is the cause that maketh the martyr, and not the death: consider that if you die in this state, you die without grace, for without the church can be no salvation. Let not that hand, which is in the upper hand, humble yourself, capitivate your understanding, subdue your reason, submit yourself to the determination of the church; do not force us to do all that we may do, let us reft in that part which we most heartily desire, and I, for my part, (when the bishop put off his cap!) again with all my heart exhort you.

After the bishop had somewhat paufed, then Mr. Latimer lift up his head (before he leaned on his elbow) and asked whether his lordship had done preaching, and the bishop answered, Yes.

Latimer. Then will your lordship give me leave to speak a word or two?

Lincoln. Yes, Mr. Latimer, so that you use a modest kind of talk, without railing or taunting.

Latimer. I bezech your lordship, license me to sit down.

Lincoln. At your pleasure, Mr. Latimer, take as much ease as you will.

Latimer. Your lordship gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the church. I confess (my lord) a church, spread throughout all the world, in which no man may err, with respect to the church of no man can be faved, but I know perfectly by God's word, that this church is in all the world, and hath not it's foundation in Rome only, as you say; and meathought your lordship brought a place out of the scriptures, where there was a jurisdiction given to Peter, that Christ shat him govern his people. Indeed, my lord, St. Peter did his office well, and truly, in that he was bid to govem, but since the bishops of Rome have taken a new kind of government, they ought to govern, but how, my lord? not as they will, but as this government must be hedged in and ditched in. They must rule, but according to the word of God.

But the bishops of Rome have turned the rule according to the word of God, into the rule according to their own pleasures, and it pleaseth them half as there is a book set forth which hath divers points in it, and amongst others, this point is one which your lordship went about to prove by this word, and the argument which he bringeth forth for the proof of that matter is taken out of Deut. 34, here it is said, If there be any controversy among the people, the priests of the order of Levi shall decide the matter, according to the law of God; so it must be taken. This book perceiveth this authority to be given to the priests of the order of Levi, and taketh occasion to prove the same to be given to the bishops and other clergy of the new law: but in proving this matter, whereas it was said there, as the priests of the order of Levi should determine the matter according to God's law,
that (according to God's law) is left out, and only is recited in the case of the rest of the tribes. Levi shall divide the matter, so it ought to be taken of the people; a large authority, I enquire you. What gelding of Scripture is this? what clipping of God's coin? with which terms the audience implied. This is much like the ruling which your lordship talked of. Nay, nay, my lord, most of the articles which you gave us to go to the clergy, to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themselves within their commission. Now, I trust, my lord, I do not rail yet.

Lincoln. No, Mr. Latimer, your talk is more like tavern than railing; but in that I have not read the book which you gave us to read, the more I see, the more I think there is some such, I can say nothing therein.

Latimer. Yes, my lord, the book is open to be read, and is intitled to one which is bisphop of Gloucester, whom I never knew, neither did at any time fee him to my knowledge. With that the people laughed, because the bishop of Gloucester sat there in com¬ mission.

Then the bishop of Gloucester stood up, and said it was his book.

Latimer. Was it your's, my lord? Indeed I knew not what your lordship, neither ever did I see you before, neither yeet for this, now, through the brightness of the sun shining betwixt you and me. Then the audience laughed again; and bishop Latimer spake unto them, saying, Why, my matters, this is no laughing matter. I answer upon life and death. Wo unto you that laugh now, you will weep.

The bishop of Lincoln commanded silence, and then said; Mr. Latimer, if you had kept yourself within your bounds, if you had not ufed such scoffs and taunts, this had not been done.

After this the bishop of Gloucester said in excusing of his book: Mr. Latimer, hereby every man may fee what learning you have.

Then Mr. Latimer interrupted him, saying: Lo, you look for learning at my hands who have gone so long to the school of oblivion, making the bare walls my library, keeping me so long in prison without book, or pen and ink; and now you let me lose to come and answet articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and overthrew the one, through friends and favour, is cherished, and hath good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy. The other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning when they shall meet, the one is in strength and Juicy the other is still in his limbs, and almost dead for feeblene¬ ss, I answer this through this man with a spear is not a goodly victory.

But the bishop of Gloucester interrupting his answer, proceeded, saying: I went not about to recite any places of scripture in that place of my book; for then if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had just occasion of reprehension: but I only in that place formed an argument a majoris, in this sense: that in the old law the lords, we may not have power to decide matters of controversy, much more then that ordinary authority to be given to the clergy in the new law; and I pray you, in this point what availed their rehearsal, According to the law of God?

Latimer. Yes, my lord, very much. For I acknowledge authority to be given to the spirituality to decide matters of religion, and as my lord said even now, to rule; but they must do it according to the word and law of God, and not after their own will, after their own imaginations and fancies.

The bishop of Gloucester would have spoke more, faying that the bishop of Lincoln said, that they came not to dispute with Mr. Latimer, but to take his deter¬ mine answers to their articles, and so began to pro¬ pose the articles which were proposed to Dr. Ridley. But Mr. Latimer interrupted him, speaking to the bishop of Gloucester: Well, my lord, I could with more faithful dealing with God's word, and not to leave out a part, and snatch a part here and another there to rehaerse the whole faithfully.

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to the inter¬ rupting the bishop Latimer, proceeded in rehearsing articles in form and sense as I declard before an examination of the articles proposed to Dr. Ridley, and required bishop Latimer's answer to them. The bishop Latimer making his protestation, that flinging these his answers it should not be taken thereby he should acknowledge any authority of the bishop of Rome, saying, that he was the king¬ queen's majesty's subject, and not the pope's, they could serve two masters at one time, except he now renounce one of them; required the matter to take his protestation, that whatsoever he should or could not be taken as though he did agree to any authority that came from the bishop of Rome.

The bishop of Lincoln said, that his protest should be so taken; he required him to answer affirmatively or negatively, to the first article, or recite the fame again: and Mr. Latimer answered followeth:

Latimer. I do not deny, my lord, that it behov¬ ment by spirit and grace is the very body and soul of Christ, because that every man by receiving bread and wine, spiritually receiveth the body and soul of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the body and soul of Christ: but I deny that the body and soul of Christ is in such manner in the sacrament as you would have it.

Lincoln. Then, Mr. Latimer, you answer neg¬ tively.

Latimer. Yes, if you mean of that gros and thing that you do take.

The notaries took his answer affirmatively.

Lincoln. What say you, Mr. Latimer, to the first article? or recited the same.

Latimer. There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power, but omnipotency of God can make, in that which was bread, should now have the dignity in Christ's body, and yet the bread is still bread, and wine still wine; for the change is not in the nature, but in the dignity, because now that which was common hath the dignity to exhibit Christ's body: for when it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to be taken, as it be facili¬ tated by God's word.

With that the bishop of Lincoln finitied, saying, Mr. Latimer, see what delusion is in you to say that which you abhorred and despised most, you must eftablish: for whereas you must ratified at your own hands you now make your communion holy bread.

Latimer. Truth, a ruth for your holy bread, fay the bread in the communion is an holy thing in holy diet.

But the bishop of Lincoln interrupted him, and for O, you make a difference betwixt holy bread and bread (with that the audience laughed). Well, Mr. Latimer, is not this your answer, that the substance of bread and wine remaineth after the words of consecra¬ tion?

Latimer. Yes, verily, it must needs be so. For Christ himself calleth it bread, St. Paul calleth it the body of God the doctors confess the fame, the nature of a fascines confirmeth the same, and I call it holy bread, not that I make no difference between your holy bread, but between the holy office which it beareth, that it is to be a figure of Christ's body, and not only a bare figure, but effectually to represent the same.

So the notaries penned his answer in the affirm¬ tive.

Lincoln. What say you to the third question, as received the fame?

Latimer. No, no, my lord, Christ made one pecul¬ iar sacrience for all the world, neither can any man offer again, neither can the priest offer up Christ again for us.
you for not uncovering your head, you excused yourself of that whereof no man accused you, in saying you did not put on your cap for any obstinacy towards us, who as touching our own persons desired no such obedience of you, but only in respect of those whole persons we bear; neither (you said) for any contempt that you bear to this worshipful audience, which, although jutly, may yet, in this case, require no such humility of you; neither for any derogation of honour to my lord cardinal's grace, which was proceeded from the royal blood, in that he is a man most noble, of most excellent qualities and singular learning; for as touching your nape points, you said, you would with all humility, honour, reverence, and worship his grace; but in that he is legate most reverend father in God, the pope's holiness, with that you would be with all then present, put off their caps, but Dr. Ridley would not, nor did your former neither could, nor would by any means be induced to give him honour: but forasmuch as this is the point, as we told you yesterday, why we require honour and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, unless you take the pains to move your bonnet, we will take care to cause your bonnet to be taken from you unless you pretend fickness, as yesterday you did not.

Ridley. I pretend no other cause than I did yesterday, that is, only that hereby it may appear, that not only in word and confession, but also by all my gesture and behavious, in no manner I would agree or admit any authority from the pope, and nor for any mode of mind, (as God is my judge) neither for contempt of your lordships, or of this worshipful audience, neither for derogation of honour due to my lord cardinal's grace, as concerning those points which your lordship spake of, that is, his noble parentage, and singular graces in learning. And as for taking of my cap, your lordship may do as it shall please you, it shall not offend me, but I shall be content with your ordinance in that behalf.

Lincoln. Forasmuch as you do now answer as you did yesterday, we must do as we did then, and forthwith on your head beadles very hastily snatch your cap from your head.

After this the bishop of Lincoln began the examination in the following manner.

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, yesterday we took your answer to certain articles, which we then propounded unto you, but because we could not be thoroughly satisfied with your answer then to the first article and the notaries take any determinate answer of you we (you requiring the fame) granted you licence to bring your answer in writing, and thereupon commanded the mayor that you should have pen, paper, and ink, yea, any books all that you desired, if they were to be gotten: we licensed you then also to alter your answers this day at your pleasure: therefore we are now come hither, to see whether you are in the same mind now, that you were yesterday, (which we would not) or contrary, contended to revoke all your former affirmations, and in all points confess to submit yourself to the determination of the universal church; and for my part most earnestly exhort you, (and therewith I use him not by your cap) not because my conscience pricked me, as you said yesterday, but because I see you a rotten member, and in the way of pardon.

Yesterday I bought from you, amongst others, St. Augustin, to prove that authority hath always heretofore continued to the see of Rome, and you wrote the words so contrary to St. Augustin's meaning, in that you would have all the world to be applied only to Europe, which is but a third part of all the world, whereas indeed the passage of St. Augustin plainly will not admit of your interpretation. For he faith not, All the Christian countries are subject to the church of Rome, afterwards addedeth, Beyond the sea, but only to augment the dominion of the see of Rome.

But Dr. Ridley still perjured in his former answer, saying, I am sure, my lord, you have some fault in Chronography, in which you shall understand that there is a sea called, The Mediterranean sea, cast between Europe and
and Africa, in which he meant Europe beyond the sea, even as if I should fay the whole world beyond the sea, excepting England in which I f tand. And here many words were spent upon the interpretation of the same place, but not with much success.

After long disputation, the bishop of Lincoln faid, that the meaning of St. Augustine might be known by the content of the other doctors, and rehearfed divers.

But as Dr. Ridley required the rehearsal of the places, and to read the very words of the doctors, faying, perhaps the bishop or the bishop referred to in other terms in the doctors, would admit a contradictory meaning and interpretation: but in that book out of which the bishop rehearfed them, was none of the doctors, but only some sentences drawn out of the doctors by some fraudulent man: he could not recite the very words of the doctors.

Then after the bishop of Lincoln mentioned Cyril, who (as he faid) made against Mr. Ridley, in the facrament, even by Philip Melanchthon's own alluding in his common places, and forthwith called for Melanchthon, but in vain, because all such books were burned a little before, and could not be hid by him.

Cyril also in another place proving to the Jews that Christ was come, useth this reaion: Angels are eracted in Christ's name in Britain, and in other countries: therefore Christ is come. But we may use the contrary of this, namely, that angels were not placed down in Britain: therefore Christ is not come. A good argument a contra-ris. I will fand to it in the schools by and by with any man. You see what a good argument this your doctrine maketh for the Jews, to prove that Christ is not come.

Dr. Ridley, smiling, anfwered, Your lordship is not ignorant that this word Altar in the scripture signifieth as well the altar whereupon the Jews were wont to make their burnt sacrifices, as the table of the Lord's supper. Cyril meaneth there by this word Altar, not the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord, and by that saying, that Christ was come (as he faid in Christ's name, therefore Christ is come) he meaneth, that the communion is administered in his remembrance: therefore Christ is come: for the strength of his argument is, because the remembrance of a thing cannot be except it be past; then could not all the countries celebrate the communion in remembrance of Christ's passion, except Christ had been come and suffered. As for the taking down of the altars, it was done upon just considerations, for that they seemed to come too nigh to the Jewish ufrage. Neither was the fupper of the Lord at any time better administered, or more duly receiv'd, than in the days of the apostles when all things were brought to the ufrage of the primitive church.

Lincoln. A goodly receiving you, I promise you, to set an alyter-table instead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Welfminister to receive; and yet when your table was contined, you could never be content, in placing the same, now East, now North, now one way, then another, until it please God of his goodness to place it clean out of the church.

Ridley. Your lordship's irrevocable terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men came more decently from puddings, than other men do now from other things.

Lincoln. As for that, Mr. Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man: but by this you reason you cause us to fether and enlarge our instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate answers to our articles. Will you read the first article in manner not specifie?

Now, Mr. Ridley, what fay you to the first article? If you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it: but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it.

Then Dr. Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his pocket, and began to read that which he had written; but the bishop of Lincoln commanded the beadle to take it from him. But he defined license to read it, saying, that it was nothing but his answers, but the bishop would in no wise fuller him.
...and not singular, be not you wife in your conceit, please not yourself overmuch. How were the Manichæans, Eutychians, with divers heresies which have been in the church, how, I beseech you, were they suppressed and convinced? By dint of disputations? No truly, the Arians had no places for the confirmation of their heresies, the churches for the conviction of theirs: how were they convinced? Only by the determination of the church. And indeed except we do continue our foundation, flay, and judge, we can have no controversy, no end of disputations. For as well bring scriptures, or the affections which we shall judge of this our controversy, if we ourselves then be singular and wise in our controversies, then cannot we avoid the woe that speech speaketh of.

Remaineth therefore that we submit ourselves to determination and arbitration of the church. And if God promised he would remain to the world's end, to him he promised to send the Holy Ghost which teacheth us this. Wherefore, Mr. Ridley, if you will avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of, be wise in your own judgment: if you will not be wise, and so proceed to your own self-destruction, subdue your reason, and submit yourself to the determination of the church.

This is briefly the sum of the oration of the bishop, as he ex officio undertook the business of the churches, in many more, amplifying and enlarging the matter closely with sundry parts of the church to move affection. And to conclude, I pray Mr. Ridley to turn and follow his reason.

Upon whom Dr. Ridley answered in a few words, That was most truly with the prophet, Woe be to him that lieth in his own conceit; but that he acknowledgeth his unChristian irregularity in him, nor knoweth why he should attribute so much to himself. And whereas the bishop Cranmer loosed to him, that was most unwise, but he was a young scholar in comparison of Cranmer; for when he was but a young scholar, Cranmer was then a doctor; so that he confessed Cranmer had been his schoolmaster a few years. It seemed that he would have spoken more, when the bishop of Gloucester interrupted him, saying: By, Mr. Ridley, it is your own conceit, for Mr. Cranmer, at the time of his disputation, confest his saying to lie in Mr. Cranmer's books, and Mr. Cranmer had his doing. And though he be bishop of Lincoln likewise with many words, yet holding his cap in his hand, defined him to be a doctor. But Dr. Ridley made an absolute answer, that he fully persuaded the religion which he defended to be upon God's word, and therefore without our consent to the church of God, great peril and damage of soul, he could not forsake his matter and Lord God. He defined the bishop to perform his grant, in that his ship the day before, that he should have licence to say, why he could not with a safe conscience to the authority of the pope. But the bishop of Lincoln said, that whereas then he had defined to speak three words, he was contended that he should speak forty, and that grant he would not.

I am stepped forth Dr. Welton, who fat by, and why, my lord, he hath spoken four hundred already: Mr. Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of reformed number, neither of that matter. The bishop of Lincoln bade take his licence: but he would not speak but forty, and then he would tell them his orators, and prefently Dr. Ridley began to set down, but before he ended half a sentence, the ship was firing, cried out, and died, that his number was: with that he was put to silence.

And this the bishop of Lincoln, who sat in the

...to witness, I am for you. Whereupon Dr. Ridley answered: I believe it well, my lord, forasmuch as one day it will be burdensome to your soul.

Lincoln. Nay, not so, Mr. Ridley, but because I am forry to see such flummery in you, that by no means you may be persuaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive the sentence but being feeing it is so, because you will not suffer us to perfit in the church, we must of necessity proceed to the other part of our commission. Therefore I pray you hearken to what I shall say, and forthwith he read the sentence of condemnation, which was written in a long procision: the tenor of which, because it is sufficiently already expressed before, we thought meet in this place to omit, forasmuch as they are rather words of course than things devised upon deliberate. Howbeit indeed the effect was, that forasmuch as the said Nicholas Ridley did affirm, maintain, and stubbornly denied certain opinions, affirmations, and heresies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the church, as in denying the true and natural body of Christ, and his natural blood, to be in the sacrament of the altar: secondly, in affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of consecration: thirdly, in denying the mails to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead; and by no means would be brought from these his heresies: therefore, the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, John of Bristol, did judge and condemn the said Nicholas Ridley as an heretic, and so adjudged him profanely, by word and also in deed, to be degraded from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical order; declaring moreover the said Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the church, and therefore committed him to the secular powers, of them to receive due punishment according to the tenor of the temporal laws, and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication.

The last APPEARANCE and EXAMINATION of BISHOP LATIMER before the COMMISSIONERS.

T HIS sentence being published by the bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Ridley was committed as a prisoner to the mayor, and immediately Mr. Latimer was sent for: but in the mean time the carpet or cloth which lay upon the table whereat Dr. Ridley stood, was removed, because (as men reported) Mr. Latimer had never before degree of a doctor, as Dr. Ridley had. But as soon as Mr. Latimer appeared, as he did the former, receiving no cloth upon the table, he laid his hand on an old felt, under his elbows, and immediately spoke to the commissioners, saying:

Latimer. My lords, I beseech your lordships to set a better order here at your entrance: for I am an old man, and have a very back, so that the press of the multitude dothe me much harm.

Lincoln. I am forry, Mr. Latimer, for your hurt. At your departure we will see to better order.

With that Mr. Latimer thanked his lordship, making a very low courtesy. After this the bishop of Lincoln began in this manner.

Mr. Latimer, although yesterday, after we had taken your answers to those articles which we proposed, we might have justly proceeded to judgment against you, especially in that you required the same; yet we having a good hope of your returning, delivering not your defence, but rather that you would recant, receave your errors, and turn to the Catholic church, deferred farther process till this day; and now according to the appointment, we have called you before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your heretical affirmations, and submit yourself to the determination of the church, as we most heartily desire, and as my part, as I did yesterday, most earnestly do exhort you to know whether you persevere still the man that you were, for which we would be forry.

It seemed that the bishop would have farther proceeded, if Mr. Latimer had not interrupted him by saying:

4 R Your
Your lordship doth often repeat the catholic church, as though I should deny the same. No, my lord, I confess there is a catholic church, to the determination of which I will stand, but not the church which you call catholic, which ought rather to be termed diabolic. And yet, this is an act of uncharitableness to the Romish and catholic church, stand there, I pray you. For it is one thing to say the Romish church, and another thing to say catholic church: I must use here in this mine answer the council of Cyprian, who when cited before certain bishops that gave him leave to take deliberation and counsel, to frame his own sentence, he answered, thus: In stickeing and perverying in the truth there must no counsel or deliberation be taken. And again, being demanded of them fitting in judgment, which was most like to be of the church of Christ, whether he who was perfected, or they who did perform, he hath foreknowledge, that he that doth follow him, must take up his cross. Christ gave knowledge that his disciples should have perfection and trouble. How think you then, my lords, is it like that the see of Rome, which hath been a continual persecutor, is rather the church, or that small flock which hath continually been persecuted by it, even to death? And the block of Christ hath been but few in comparison to the residue, and ever in subjection: which he proved, beginning at Noah's time, even to the apostles.

Lincoln. Your cause and Cyprian's is not one, but clean contrary; for he suffered perdition for the sake of Christ and the Gospel; but you, to have trouble for your errors and false assertions, contrary to the word of God, and the received truth of the church.

Mr. Latimer interrupted him, saying, Yes, verily, my cause is as good as St. Cyprian's: for his was the word of God, and so is mine.

Lincoln. If at the beginning and foundation of the church, it could not be but that the apostles should suffer greater perfection. Further, before Christ's coming, continually there were very few which truly served God: but after his coming began the time of grace, then began the church to increase, and was continually augmented, until it came unto this perfection, and now hath justification and perfection of the church: therefore, before by tyranny did resist: there is a diverse consideration of the state of the church now in the time of grace, and before Christ's coming. But, Mr. Latimer, although he had instructions given us determinately to take your answer to such articles as we should propose, without writing or disputing, yet we hope by talk of what to prevail with you, appointed you to appear before us in the divinity-school, a place for disputations. And whereas then notwithstanding you had licence to speak your mind, and were answered to every matter, yet you could not be brought from your error, even to that that from this you would have good conversation ponder your state, gave you a refutation from that time yesterday, when we dismissed you, until this time, and now have called you again here in this place, by your answers to learn whether you are the same man you were then or no? Therefore we will propound unto you other articles on which we did think, and you and some of you a determinate answer, without further reasoning, and he immediately recited the first article.

Latimer. Always my protestation fàved that by these mine answers it should not be thought that I did condense and agree to your lordship's authority, in that you are legate by authority of the pope, so that thereby I might seem to consent to his jurisdiction to the first article I answer now as I did yesterday, that in the facem the worthy receiver received the very body of Christ, and dranketh his blood by the spirit and grace. But after a corporal being, which the Romish church prescribeth, Christ's body and blood is not in the facem under the forms of bread and wine.

The notaries took his answer affirmatively. For the second article he referred himself to his answers made before.

After this the bishop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a determinate answer.

Latimer. Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that a perfect oblation neither needeth there to be any other, neither can be any other propitiatory sacrifice.

The notaries took his answer affirmatively.

In like manner did he answer to the other matter, not vouchsafed to his lordship to be proceeded in, as the day before.

After his answers were penned by the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln had exhorted him to look to recant as he did Dr. Ridley, and resolve with patience and humble submission to the judgment of the church, he answered, thus:

Mr. Latimer to hearken to him: and then Mr. Latimer hearkening for some new matter and other things, if the bishop of Lincoln read his condemnation, after they said three bishops brake up their fellowship, and mislived the audience.

Then he required the bishop to perform a promise, in laying the day before that he would license briefly to declare the cause why the ecclesiastical pope's authority.

But the bishop of Lincoln said, that now he was not to hear him, neither ought to talk with him.

Then Mr. Latimer asked him whether if it were lawful for him to appeal from this judgment, the bishop asked him again, to whom he would. To the next general council, said Mr. Latimer, shall be truly called in God's name: with that transgression the bishop was content: but he said it was a long feoff before such a convocation as he would be pleased.

Then the bishop committed Mr. Latimer to the mayor, saying, Now he is your prisoner, Mr. No. Because the press of the people was too nimble, each man looking for the farther proflights, the bishop of Lincoln commanded avoidance, and desired Mr. Latimer to carry till the press was dissiminated, let Mr. Latimer not take hurt at his going out, as he did at his arrest. And so Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer continued stady till the 16th day of the said month of October.

A COMMUNICATION between Dr. Bishop of GLOUCESTER, and Dr. RIDLEY, the House of Mr. IRISH, MAYOR of Oxford, October 15, 1555, at which Time he was degraded.

O N the 15th day in the morning, Dr. Broth bishop of Gloucester, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford, Dr. Marthall, with divers bitter of his and heads of the fame university, and several acquaintance among them, came to the chamber of the then Mayor of Oxford, where Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, was close prisoner. And when the bishop of Gloucester came into the chamber where Dr. Ridley did lie, he told him for what purpose he was coming was unto him, saying, That yet once queen's majesty's eye and other people of his own kinsmen's part, be it mercy, that if he would receive the fame, and come home again to the faith which he was baptized in and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had being abroad, to the destruction of many. And further,

That if he would not recant and become an infidel, that the church with them and in their part (against their wills) proceed according to their wills, they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwise. But said he, we have been oftentimes very much, have requested that you would recant this your damnable and devilish opinion, which hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win many, and also great mercy: and good health before, good health to yourself! the danger that shall ensue both of body and soul, if that you shall so wilfully cast your self away and refuse mercy offered unto you at this time.

My lord, said Dr. Ridley, you know my mind to be here; and as for the doctrine which you have accused me of, it hath been found, and according to God's word (to his glory he be it) which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall, and be within my body, and so in confirmation thereof shall my flame with my blood.
The Degradation of Dr. Ridley.

Mary A. D. 1555.

Well, it was well, Mr. Ridley, not to do, but to become one of the church with us. For I know this well enough, that whenever is out of the holy church cannot be saved. Therefore I say once in, that while you have time and mercy offered you, you may not confide with us the pope’s holiness to be the head of the same church.

I marvel that you trouble me with any rain and foolishness. You know my mind concerning the usurped authority of that Romish antichrist. I can’t see that I am the bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authority, and that for divers good and godly Considerations. Here Dr. Ridley would have reason with the said bishop of Gloucester, concerning the bishop’s authority, but could not be suffered, and yet take heed carefully against the pope therein, that the pope told him, if he would not hold his peace, he would be compelled against his will. And facing, faith, that you will receive the queen’s mercy now at once, but stubbornly refuse the same, against our wills, proceed according to our consent to degrading, taking you from the dignity of the said. For we take you for no bishop, and therefore will the former have done you, to confine you to the secular power, you know what doth.

Do with me as it shall please God to suffer.

I am well content to abide the same with all my might.

Put off your cap, and put upon you this

Not true.

But you must.

I will not.

You must, therefore make no more ado but this surplice upon you.

Truly if it comes upon me, it shall be against

Will you not put it upon you?

No, that I will not.

It shall be put upon you by one or other.

Do thou therefore shall please you, I am well content to give you that, and more than that, the servant is above his matter. If they dealt so cruelly with our noble Christ, as the scripture makest mention, and suffered the same patiently, how much more doth it come to his servants? And in saying these words they had already put upon you, this surplice, with all the majesty appertaining to the same. And as they were amongst the same, Dr. Ridley did vehemently inveigh against the Romish bishop, and all that foolish apparel, using him Antichrist, and the apparel foolish and damnable, yea, too foolish for a device in a play, information, and no way to be suffered.

Then Dr. Ridley was exceeding angry with him, and had him put his peace, for he did but rail. Dr. Ridley answered him again, and said, So long as his tongue of breath would suffer him, he would speak against his abominable doings, whatsoever happened unto him for doing.

Well, you had best hold your peace, lest our mouth be flogged. At which words one Edrige, he reader then of the Greek lecture, standing by, said to Dr. Brooks, Sir, the law is that he should be gagged, therefore let him be gagged. At which words Dr. Ridley looked earnestly upon him that so said, shook his head as if he had made no answer; but said with a frown, Oh well, well, well.

So they proceeded in their doings, yet nevertheless Dr. Ridley was ever speaking things not pleasant to their ears, although one or other bade him hold his peace, lest he should be caugnt against his will.

But where they came too, in the place where Dr. Ridley held the chalice and the wafer cake (called the egg-bread) they bad him hold the same in his hands: Dr. Ridley said, They shall not come into my hands; for so do: do, they shall fall to the ground for me. Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while bishop Brooks read a certain thing in Latin, touching the degradation of spiritual persons, according to the pope’s law.

Then they put the book in his hand, and read another thing in Latin, the effect thereof was, “We do take from thee the office of preaching the gospel,” &c. At which words Dr. Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness.

Having put on him the mafi-gear, they began to take it away (beginning with the uppermost garment), again reading a thing in Latin, according to the order contained in the pope’s law. Now when all was taken from him, having only the surplice left on his back, as they were reading and taking it away, Dr. Ridley laid into them, Lord God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had? I was never a finger in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had.

So when their abominable and ridiculous degradation was ended very solemnly, Dr. Ridley said unto Dr. Brooks, Have you done? If you have done, then give me leave to talk a little concerning these matters. Brooks answered and said, Mr. Ridley, we may not talk with you, ye be out of the church, and our law is, that we may not talk with any that be out of the church.

Seeing that Dr. Ridley would not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiss, when it shall please him.

At which words they would have been gone, but Mr. Ridley said, My lord, I wish that your lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram’s writing, concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you shall find much good learning therein, if you will read the same with an indifferent judgment. To which Dr. Brooks made no answer, but was going away. Then said Dr. Ridley, If you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience? We will add some worldly affairs. I pray you therefore, my lord, hear me, and be a means to the queen’s majesty, in behalf of a great many poor men, especially my poor sister and her husband, who standeth there. They had a poor living granted unto them by me, when I was in the fee of London, which is taken away from them, by him that occupieth the same room, without all law or conscience.

Here I have a supplication to the queen’s majesty in their behalf. You shall hear the same read, so shall you perceive the matter better. Then he read the same, and when he came to the place in the supplication that touched his sister by name, he wept, so that for a little time he could not speak for weeping. But recovering himself, he said, This is nature that moveth me, but I have now done what I was sent for, and delivered the same unto his brother, commanding him to put it up to the queen’s majesty, and to sue not only for himself, but also for such as had any grants or grants by him, and were put from the same by Dr. Beiner, then bishop of London. Then Dr. Ridley said, Indeed, Mr. Ridley, you request your in this supplication is very lawful and honest: therefore I must needs in conscience speak to the queen’s majesty for them.

Ridley. I pray for God’s sake do.

Brooks. I think your request will be granted, except one thing hinder it, and that is (I fear) because you do not allow the queen’s proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same, that it will hardly be granted.

Ridley. What remedy? I can do no more but speak and write. I truant I have discharged my conscience therein, and God’s will be done.

Brooks. I will do what lieth in me.

A COPY of the SUPPLICATION written to the QUEEN.

Dr. Ridley to the Queen’s Majestie.

May it please your majestie, for Christe our Saviour’s sake, in Christe’s name, and for the conscience (not for myself, but for other poor men) to vouchsafe to hear and understand
understand this humble supplication. It is so (honourable princes) that in the while I was in the ministry of the see of London, divers poor men, tenants thereof, have taken new leaves of their tenancies and holdings, and have desired, and therefore have paid fines and sums of money, both to me and to the chapter of St. Paul's, for the confirmation of the same.

Now I say, that the bishop, who at present occupieth the same room, will not allow the aforesaid leaves, which must return unto the aforesaid poor men's hands, nor any of that money you name. He regardeth it as a just and right thing, and therefore this mine humble supplication unto your honourable grace, that it may please the same, for Christ's sake, to be unto the aforesaid poor men their gracious patronesses and defender, either that they may have their aforesaid leaves and years renewed, as I suppose when their matter shall be heard with conscience, both justice, conscience, and equity shall require, for that their leaves shall be found (I trust) made without fraud or cunning, either on their part, or of mine, and always also the old rents referred to the fee, without any kind of damage thereof: or if this will not be granted, then that it may please your gracious highness, to command that the poor men may be restored to their former leaves and years, and to have rendered to them again such sums of money as they paid to me and to the chapter thereof for the aforesaid leaves, so now they take from them. Which thing, concerning the fines paid to me, may be easel done, if it shall please your majesty to command some portion of those goods which I left in my house, when I fled in hope of pardon for my trespass towards your grace, which goods (as I have heard) are reserved in the house of your grace, I suppose that half the value of my plate that I left in mine offices, and especially in an iron chest in my bed-chamber, will go nigh to restore all such fines received, the true sums and parcels whereby are not yet in their leaves; and therefore it that way shall please your highness, they must be known by such ways and means, as your majesty, by the advice of men of witdom and conscience, shall appoint: but yet, for Christ's sake, I crave and humbly beseech your majesty, of your gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

I have also a poor father that came to me out of the north, with three fatherless children, whom I married after to a servant of mine own house; she is put out of that which I did provide for them. I beseech your honourable grace, that her cafe may be mercifully considered, and that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him, with sufficient indemnity at my entrace into the see of London, not one penny of his movatable goods, for it was almost half a year after his deposition before I entered into that place; yea, and also if any were left, known to be his, he had license to carry it away, or there for his use it did lie safe, as his other goods. I paid for the house, for which I found there, when I occupied any of it to the behoof of the church, or of the house. And moreover, I had not only no part of his movetable goods, but also (as his old receiver, and then mine, called Mr. Stanton, can testify) I paid for them to his servants common liversies and wages, after his deposition, fifty-three or fifty-five pounds, I cannot tell which.

In all these matters I beseech your honourable majesty to hear the advice of men of conscience, and especially the archbishop of York; for that which he was committed to a year and a half, and was not mine imprisonment, I suppose he is not altogether ignorant of some part of these things; and also his grace doth know my filter, for whole fuccour, and some relief, now unto your highness I make humble suit.

N. R.

October 16, 1555.

The degradation being past, and all things finished, Dr. Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them Dr. Ridley, with this charge, to keep him safely from any molestation, and he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Dr. Ridley, in praying God, burst out in these words, and said, God, I thank thee, and in thy prayer if it spoken, there is none of you able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, you would surely be laid in my lap, I see very well. Wherefore I beseech thee to be a part of a proud Pharisee, inating and prating myself. But Dr. Ridley said, No, no, no, as I have faithed to God's glory be it spoken. I confess myself a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same thing. I beseech thee, Lord, to give me an understanding of the same. They departed, and in going away, a certain scholar under a college, of whose name I am not sure, advised Dr. Ridley to repent and forsake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto Dr. Ridley said, Sir, repent you for, as you are a man of learning and age: and, I pray God (if he be pleased) will have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word. Then the scholar, being in a passion thereat, said, I trust that I shall never be of an erroneous and devilish opinion, either yet to say what place whither you shall go. He is, faith he, the most charitable and pious man that I ever heard talk fair was born.

The BEHAVIOUR of DR. RIDLEY at his SUPH the Night before his Suffering.

The night before he suffered, his bread was very poor, and his legs; and as he at first supped, the same night, at the house of Mr. Irifh, (who was his friend) he asked his hostles, and the rest at the table, of marriage: for, said he, to-morrow I must be more, and to shewed himself to be as merry as ever he had been before. In the evening heennis his fifter at his manse, he asked his brother, diwine at the table, which he could find in her heart to be there or no: and he answered, Yea, I dare say, with all her heart. At that word he said, He was glad to hear of her to more than. At this discourse Mrs. Irifh wept. But Dr. Ridley comforted her, and said, O Mrs. Irifh, if you love me not now, I see well enough; for in that weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not much my friend as I thought you had been. But see yourself, though your breakfast shall be somewhat hem and painted, yet I am sure my supper shall be most pleasant and sweet.

When they arose from the table, his brother advised to stay all night with him. But he said, No, or, in you shall not. For I intend (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to night, as ever I did in my life. So she left her, and departed, exhorting him to be good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the cause was great, &c.

The BEHAVIOIR of DR. RIDLEY and Mr. LATIMER, at the TIME of their DEATH, October 16, 1555.

UPON the north side of the town, in the ditch against Baily-college, the place of execution was appointed: and for fear of any tumult that might arise to hinder the burning of them, the lord Williams commanded by the queen's letters, and the household of the city to be there sufficient, sufficiently appre贯通 and when every thing was in readiness, the prereats was brought forth by the mayor and bailiffs.

Dr. Ridley had a fair black gown furred, and long painted with fur, as he was wont to wear being bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner-cap upon the same, going in a pair of flippers to the sake, and going between the mayor and an alderman, &c.

After him came Mr. Latimer, in a poor Ballyn-white gown, his head covered with a cap, which was made upon his head, all ready to the fire, a new long broad hanging over his hods down to the feet: which at the first sight stirred men's hearts to pity them, beholding on the one side the honour they sometimess had, and on the other the calamity whereunto they were fallen. Dr. Ridley, as he passed towards Baily-college, looked up where Dr. Cranmer lay, hoping belike to have see
The Martyrdoms of the Bishops Ridley and Latimer, who were burnt together in one Fire, at Oxford.
at the glass window, and to have spoke unto him. Mr. Cranner was a busy fellow with friar Soto and his own affairs, whether so that he could not see him ought to have been occasion. Then Dr. Ridley looking back, said, Mr. Latimer coming after. Unto whom he said, be there you? Yes, said Mr. Latimer, have another all as I can follow. So he following a pretty way off, they came into the place, and the first thing that Dr. Ridley entering the place, marvellously and partly holding up both his hands, looked towards them: then shortly after seeing Mr. Latimer with a very cheerful look he ran to him, embraced and took his hand, and as at first he did him, and of God, heart and brother, for God is able to quell the fury of the flame, or else lighten us to abide it.

With that he went to the rake, kneaded down by it, earnestly prayed, and behind him Mr. Latimer stood, as nearly calling upon God as he could, the one talked with the other a little while, who were appointed to see the execution relieve themselves out of the fun. What they said I learn of no man.

Then Dr. Smith began his sermon to them upon this 1 Thess. 2:11, in the 8th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians: "If I yield my body to the fire to be burned, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereunto. Wherein he alleged, that the goodness of the fire, and not the order of death, made the holiness and perfection of the fire. Wherein he quoted the examples of the fathers and of a woman in Oxford that died there. And he said, for that they and such like as he received, might be adjudged righteous, which desperately separated itself from its bodies, as he feared that those who died before would do. But he cried still to the people to let two of them were heretics, died out of the church. And on the other side, he laid their diversities in opinions, as Lutherans, Oecumens, Zuinglians, of which he felt they were both, and that was the worst: but the old church of Rome, and the catholic faith, believed far otherwise. Then he added, that he too the fire, and said, Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the fleth will have it's course. Then his brother brought him a bag of gunpowder, and tied it about his neck. Dr. Ridley asked him what it was, his brother said gunpowder. Then, said he, I will take it to be sent of God, therefore I will receive it as sent from him. If you have any, let another, for my brother? (meaning Mr. Latimer.) Yes, sir, that I have, says Dr. Ridley. Then give it unto him, said he, because, left you come too late. So his brother went and carried some gunpowder to Mr. Latimer.

In the mean time Dr. Ridley spoke unto my lord Williams, and said, My lord, I must be a tutor unto your lordship in the behalf of divers old men, and espically in the cause of my poor sister: I have made a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalf. I beseech your lordship, for Christ's sake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will refer to your lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubles me more than your conience, (I praise God) this only excepted. Whilst I was in the se of London, divers poor men took leaves of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear lay the baptist that he occupieth the same room, will not allow my friends to come in: it is contrary to all law and conscience, hath taken from them their liberty, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you, my lord, be a means for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you.

Then they brought in Sir Roger, Bayer, and laidd at Dr. Ridley's feet. Thereupon Mr. Latimer said, Sir, good comfort, Mr. Ridley, and play the man, we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as I trust never shall be put out. When Dr. Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful loud voice into the hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit: Lord, receive my spirit. O Father, I died in a good smelt. How much soever he was command they were commanded to make themselves ready, which they have all before obeyed. Dr. Ridley took his gown and his upper, and gave it to his brother-in-law Mr. Shipside, for all the time of his imprisonment, although he might not gladly acknowledge him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the serjeant that kept him. Some drunk of the pots off his hose. Happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Mr. Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other array which to look unto was very simple, and Timmy slipped into his thron, he feemed as comely a person as there were present, as one could well fee; and whereas in his cloths he appeared a withered and ffil age, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might behold.

Then Dr. Ridley flanding as yet in his truth, said to his brother, It was not for me to go in my truth full. No, says his brother, it will pur you to more pain: and the truth will do a poor man good. Whereunto Dr. Ridley said, Be it in the name of God, and so unlaced himself. Then, standing in his shirt, he fall upon the forssaid hose, and fiel up his other half beard, and said, O hevenly Father, I give unto thee mast heartly thanks, for that thou hat called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death; I befeech thee, Lord God, have mercy on this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies.

Then the simith took a chain of iron, and brought the fame about both their middles: and as he was knocking in the flapple, Dr. Ridley took the chain in his hand and flanked it, for it did gird in his body; and looking at the flames, said, Am I not as good a fellow, knock it in hard, for the fleh will have its course. Then his brother brought him a bag of gunpowder, and tied it about his neck. Dr. Ridley asked him what it was, his brother said gunpowder. Then, said he, I will take it to be sent of God, therefore I will receive it as sent from him. If you have any, let another, for my brother? (meaning Mr. Latimer.) Yes, sir, that I have, says Dr. Ridley. Then give it unto him, said he, because, left you come too late. So his brother went and carried some gunpowder to Mr. Latimer.
of heaven receive my soul: who received the flame as it were embracing of it. After he had stroked his face with a brand there was a little fire, and the fire he soon died, (as it appeared) with very little or no pain. And thus much concerning this old and faithful servant of God, Bp. Latimer, for whose laborious travels, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm hath cause to give thanks to Almighty God.

But Dr. Ridley, by the ill making of the fire, the faggots being green, and built too high about the gofs, so that the fire being kept down by the green wood, burned fiercely beneath, which put him to such exquisite pain, that he desired them for God's sake to let the fire come upon him. But they were afraid, where his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, instanced for releasing him out of his pain (for cause he gave attendance) as one in such forrow, not well advised what he did, heaped faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his other parts, before it touched the upper, and that made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desire them to let the fire come to him, saying, I cannot burn. Which indeed plainly appeared: for after his legs were consumed by reason of his struggling through the pain, (whereof he had no release, but only the comfort he had from God) he shewed that side towards us clean, doth shew the same. For in all his toppling, he forgot not to call upon God still, having in his mouth, Lord have mercy upon me, interminating his cry. Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn. In which pains he laboured till one of the thunders by, with his bill, pulled off the faggots above, and where he saw the fire flare up, he wrenched himself to that side. And when the fire touched the gunpowder, he was seen to fly no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Mr. Latimer's feet: which some said, happened by reason that the chain loosed, others said, that he fell over the chain, by reason of the poise of his body, and the weakness of the other limbs.

Some said that before he was like to fall from the stake, he defied them to hold him to it with their bills. However, surely it moved hundreds to tears in beholding the horrid sight. For I think there were none that had not clean banished all humanity and mercy which would not have lamented to behold the fury of the fire to rage upon their bodies. Signs there were of forrow on every side. Some took it grievously to see their deaths, whole lives they held full dear. Some pitied their persons, that thought their souls had no need thereof. His brother moved many men, seeing his miserable cafe, for which God in all his infelicity, that he thought then to do him bett servise when he hastened his end. Some cried out of the luck, to see his endeavour, who most dearly loved him, and fought his releafe, turn to his greater vexation, and increase of pain. But whoso considered their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they sometimes occupied in this commonwealth, the favour they were in with their princes, and the opinion of learning they had, could not chuse but grieve with tears, to see go great dignity, honour, and eminence, so necessary members some time accounted, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent parts, be put into such servise, and confederate in one moment. Well, dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of God's glory, when he cometh with his fants, shall shortly declare.

A LETTER

Written by Dr. RIDLEY, being his last FAREWELL, to
all his true and faithful FRIENDS in GOD, with a
sharp ADMONITION civil to the PAPISTS.

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

As a man intending to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and usually hath a desire to bid his friends farewell before he goes. It is like now I looking daily, whereby I should be called to depart from among you, (O dearly beloved brethren and fitters in our Lord Christ that dwell here in this world) having like as towards you, to bid you all, my dearly beloved brethren, and fitters (I say in Christ) that dwell upon the earth, the pangs of parting we can, farewell.

Farewell, my dear brother George Stephe, who have ever found faithful, truly, and loving in all words and conditions, and now in the time of my death all others to me most friendly and fastidious which pleased me bett over all other things, and I cannot leave you.

Farewell, my dear sister Alice his wife, I am glad to hear of thee, that thou dost take Christ's god, and is laid now (blessed be God) both on thy back and in good part. Thank God that hath given thee so godly and loving husband: fee thou honour him how he obey him, according to God's law. Honour thy mother in-law, his mother, and love all those that unto him, being ready to do them good as a thy power. For as thy children, I doubt not of thy band, but that he who hath given him an honour and fear God, and in God them thatertain unto him and to make him friendly and beneficent unto children, even as if they had been begotten of his body.

Farewell, my dearly beloved brother, John Rind, the Waulton, and you my gentle and loving Elizabeth: who besides the natural league of your tender love, have been also ever ready to conduct me above the rest of your brethren, desire me to love. My mind was to have acknowledged your loving affection, and to have acquited with you, and not with words alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bid farewell, whom I love for the meek and gentle God, and the love that God hath given her, which is a precious thing in the sight of God.

Farewell, my beloved sister dwelling at Litchfield with all your children, nephews and nieces. Such departing of my brother Hugh, my mind was being unto them instead of their father, but the God must and will be their father, if they would and fear him, and live according to his word.

Farewell, my well beloved and worthifoul confidenc Nicholas Ridley, of Williamstowne, and ye and I thank you for all your kindnes both toward me, and allo to all your own kinsfolk and mine. To confest, as God hath fed you in our lack and need (not of respect of your person, but of his own grace and goodnes) to be so well order and conduct the reff, and hath also entred with his manifold gifts of grace both himselfe, worldly above others; so I pray you, goodcorly, my trust and hope is in you) continue and increase the maintenance of the truth, honestly, rigourously and all true godlines, and to the uttermost power to withstand fallhood, untruth, unheinough and all ungodlines which is forbidden and comand by the word and laws of God.

Farewell, my young cousin, Ralph Whinfield. Your mind is very short, and you might as well have done you good, and yet you caught in that time a lob, but I trust it shall be recomended to plese Almighty God.

Farewell all my whole kindred and country farewel in Christ altogether. The Lord, that hath shewed secrets, knowest thou what I desire, my hope was of late that I shold have of among you, and to have brought with me abased of Christ's blefed gospel, according to the duty of office and ministy, whereunto among you I was called and appointed by the mouth of that holy and principal Edward, and do denowed openly in court, by his privy council.

I warn you all, my beloved kinsfolk and countrymen that you be not amazed or astonished: at the kindt departure or dissolution; for I assure you I think...
is robbed by the thief of his goods truly gotten (whereupon he and his household should live) he is greatly wronged, and the thief in stealing and robbing with violence the poor man's goods, doth offend God, doth offend God, and is most guilty, being guilty of God's great grace I am and have been grafted in Christ. This church of England hath of late, of the infinite goodness and abundant grace of Almighty God, great subsitence, great riches of heavenly treasure, great plenty of God's true sincere word, and true and wholesome administration of Christ's holy sacraments, the whole profession of Christ's religion truly and plainly set forth in baptism, the plain declaration and understanding of the same, taught in the holy catechism, you have been learned of all true christians.

The church had also a true and sincere form and manner of the Lord's supper, wherein, according to Jesus Christ's own ordinance and holy institution, Christ's commandments were executed and done. For upon the bread and wine set upon the Lord's table, thanks were given, the remembrance of the Lord's death was had; the bread in commemoration of his body was broken upon the crofs, was broken, and the cup in the remembrance of Christ's blood was distributed, and both communicated unto all that were present and would receive them, and all they were exhorted of the minister to do so.

All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, so that every thing might be most easily heard, and plainly understood by all the people, to God's high glory, and the edification of the whole church. This church had of late the whole divine services, all common and public prayers ordaining, and appointed the congregation, not only framed and fashioned the true word of God's heart, but also forth according to the commandment of the Lord, and St. Paul's doctrine, for the people's edification, in their vulgar tongue.

It had also holy and wholesome homilies in commemoration of the principal virtues, which are committed in scripture; and likewise other homilies against the most perversive and capital vices that used ( alas) to reign in this realm of England. This church had in matters of controversy, articles so penned and framed after their holy conscience, and according to the true understanding of God's word, that in the time if they had been universally received, they should have been able to have fet in Christ's true religion, and to have expelled many false errors and heresies, wherewith this church, alas, was almost overcome.

But alas, of late into this spiritual poiffion of the heavenly treasure of these godly riches, are entered in thieves, that have robbed and spoiled all this treasures away. I may well complain of these things, and cry out upon them with the prophet, saying, "O Lord God, the Gentiles, heathen nations, are come into thy heritage; they have defiled thy holy temple, and Jerusalem a heap of stones, that is, they have broken and beaten down to the ground thy holy city." This heathenish generation, these thieves of Samaria, thence Sabaei and Chaldae, these robbers have rushed out of their dens, and have robbed the church of England of all the aforeaid holy treasure of God; they have carried it away and overthrown it, and instead of God's holy word, the true and right administration of Christ's holy sacraments, as of baptism and others, they mix their ministration with man's foolish fancies, and many wicked and ungodly traditions.

Instead of the Lord's holy table, they give the people with much solemn disputing a thing which they call their mafs, but in deed and in truth, it is a very masking and mockery of the true supper of the Lord; or rather

For know ye all, that like as there when the poor man

Mary, A.D. 1555 — Dr. RIDLEY's FAREWEL to his FRIENDS.
rather I may call it a crafty juggling, whereby these fall and thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the people, that they have brought them from the love of God unto an unlawful idolatry, and make them to believe that to be Christ our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is not God nor man, nor hath any life in itself, but in substances is the creature of bread and wine, and in the name of the Lord’s table is the sacrament of Christ our Lord, in this holy ordinance, for which the Lord hath ordained them in his table, to re-present unto us his blessed body torn upon the cross for us, and his blood there shed, that pleased him to call them his body and blood: which understanding Christ declares to be the true meaning of the faith, Do this in remembrance of me. And again, St. Paul likewise doth set out the fame more plainly, speaking of the same sacrament, after the words of consecration, saying, As often as ye shall eat of this bread and drink of this cup, ye shall do it (be meate and drink of the face) the Lord’s death until his coming again. And here again these thieves have also robbed the people of the Lord’s cup, contrary to the plain words of Christ written in his gospel.

Now for the common public prayers which were in the vulgar tongue, these thieves have brought in again a strange tongue, whereas the people understand not one word. Wherein what do they else, but rob the people of their divine service, whereupon they ought to pray together with the minister? First of all, there is what I call it, the barbarousness, childlike, unprofitable folly, yea, and plain madness.

For the godly articles of unity in religion, and for the whole former homilies, what do these thieves place in the stead of them, but the pope’s laws and decrees, lying legends, feigned fables, and miracles to delude and abate the simplicity of the rude people? Thus this robbery and theft is not only committed, nay, farcicile, and wicked spoilt of heavenly things, but alas in the head of the same, is brought in there, instead of the abominable deification of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Sennacherib, of the shameless faced king, and of the Babylonian beast. Unto this robbery, this theft and farce, for that I cannot confess, nor (God willing) ever shall be to long as the breath is in my body, because it is blasphemy against God, high treason against Christ our heavenly King, Lord, Master, and our only Saviour and Redeemer, it is plainly contrary to God’s word, and to Christ’s gospel; it is the subversion of all true godliness, and against the salvation of mine own soul, and of all true godliness, and of all the power of darkness, who hath freely bought, with no less price than with the perfection and shedding forth of his most precious blood. Therefore all you my true lovers in God, kinsfolk and countrymen, for this cause, I say, know ye that I am not to death, and as one that would by grace I will willingly take, with hearty thanks to God therefore, in certain hope without any doubting, to receive at God’s hands again, of his mercy and grace, everlasting life.

Although the cause of the true man flain of the thief, helping his neighbour to recover his goods again, and the cause for which I am to be put to death, in a generality is both one (as I said before): yet know ye that there is no small difference. These thieves against whom I do stand, are much worse than the robbers and thieves of the borders. The genet, wild beast, and flies, more precious, and their kinds of fight are far different. These thieves are worse (I say) for they are cruel, more wicked, more false, more deceitful, and crosy: for these will but kill the body, but these will kill both body and soul. Thieves, for the general theft and murder they called, and are indeed thieves and robbers: but these for their spiritual kind of robbery, are called Sacriligeri, as you would say, Church-robers. They are more wicked: for tho’ go to spoil men of worldly things, worldly riches, gold and silver, and worldly goods: these go about the devil in his spiritual father, to steal from the universal church, and particularly from every man, all heavenly treasure, true faith, true charity, and hope of salvation in the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to us, of our Saviour Jesus Christ, of his gospel, of all things necessary to be known concerning the kingdom of heaven, so dearly purchased with the death of our Master and Saviour Christ. These are goods and godly substance whereupon the Church fore God must live, and without which he cannot live. And, I say, these thieves go about to spoil us of. Which is a thing in the sight of God they excel and surpass all worldly goods, even unto death, such thieves go on to spoil both us and the whole church of God, most prosperous and honourable of all grace done to God.

These church-robers are as cunning, crafty, and deceitful, than the thieves upon the borders: if these have not the crafty to accomplish their thefts, they dare avouch it, and therefore as acknowledging themselves to be evil, they feign commonly in the sight they dare not appear in judgments and fames, where justice is executed, and when they are taken they be other and a thither, they never hang any man, but they have times hanged for their faults. But these church-robers can do to cloak and colour their spiritual robbery, that they can make people to believe them full of falsehood, and truth, and falsehood, good to be evil, and evil to be good; light to be darkness, and darkness light; for fiction to be true religion, and idolatry to be the worship of God; and that which is in falsehood, to be the truth; and to put upon the first, but only the semblance of Christ the living Lord, and God and man. And with this their falsehood and lie, they can so juggle and bewitch the understanding of simple, that they dare avouch it openly in court and town, and fear neither hanging nor hearing, as you may see, in the watchmen of Christ’s flock, the warriors that are in the Lord’s war, must fight with another kind of weapons and armour. For here the enemies of God, the soldiers of Antichrist, although the battle is set forth against them with spear and lance, with bow and bill, and all such kind of bodily weapons as the true church have: but here as the enemies of be another manner, in the watchmen of Christ’s flock, the warriors that are in the Lord’s war, must fight against flesh with the flesh, and the power of darkness, their members are spirits of wickedness, wicked spirits, spirits of errors, of vanities, of all deceit and ungodliness, spirits of sedition, superition, and hypocrisy, which are called by St. Paul principes, and angels of darkness, and princes of wickedness in the darknes of this world, and spiritual spirits concerning heavenly things; therefore our weapons must be mild and meet to fight against such, not carnal nor earthly weapons, as spear and lance, but spiritual and heavenly, we must fight against flesh with the flesh, not intending to kill their bodies, but their error, that fallacious and heretical, theirs idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, and to safe (as much as lie in us) both their bodies and their souls.

And this is the remedy which they preach us, "We fight not against flesh and blood," that is, we fight not with bodily weapons to kill the man, but with the weapons of God to put to flight his wicked errors and vice, and to subdue both body and soul. Our weapons therefore are faith, hope, charity, righteousnes, truth, pure preaching, and so forth, our weapon is not directed to our enemies, but and better and bear down all falseness is the Word of God. With these weapons, under the banner of the cross of Christ, we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand master and captain, Christ, who fighteth in the way of the devil their spiritual father, to steal from the universal church, and particularly from every man, all heavenly treasure, true faith, true charity, and hope of salvation.

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example of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs: (if I say we are thin in our mortal bodies by inward enemies, and are most cruelly and wickedly seized down like a flock of fowls. And the more cruelly, the more vilely and spitefully the death whereunto we be put, the more glorious is the more blest and happy we reckon (without state) our martyrdom to be.

And thus much, dear beloved friends in God, my brethren and kindred. I have spoke for your compassion at my death ye might be abashed, or think it whereas ye have rather cause to rejoice (if ye indeed) that it hath pleased God to call me to a greater honour and dignity, than ever I did expect, either in Rochester or elsewhere. For I had in the fee of Durham, where I was last of all elected and named; yea, I had greater honour before God indeed to die in his presence, where I had nothing, than in any earthly or worldlly promotion or honour that can be given to a man in this world.

And he that is knoweth the heart, to be Christ's quarrer, and of his children, to be the common weal of all the elect and of the children of God, of all the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; who is he (I say) that knoweth not this folly by God's word, and the utmost happiness of their own persons that are the children of God; that is the king, but by his grace acknowledge myself to whom is he, I say, that knoweth this and both loveth and believeth his father Christ, and his blessed gospel; loveth him also, the chosen children of God, and his father's grace; who is he, I say, that would not or cannot find his heart in or to be content to die? The Lord forbid that such should be the cause to forfeit this grace of God. I truft in my Lord God, the God of mercies, and Father of all comfort through Jesus Christ our Lord, and will, and will, afferting his Holy Spirit in my heart, to stand against the work of the enemy in his cause, and to chuse rather the fulness of my earthly and fowling in his hands, whereas I most heartily bestow his most sacred Majesty of his infinite goodness and mercy, upon Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

Now that I have taken leave of my countrymen and friends, and the Lord doth give me grace, and giveth me to the other good friends of mine and kin, I leave no place also, farewell. And whom first or last, I mean my Lord, where I have found myself the greatest, the last, and the most, the more, the better, that thou usedit to give and behould upon thee the dear children, that thou thoughtest good for me? But didst bellow on me all thy school-children, the common offices, the chaplainship of the university, the bowels of the professorship, and of a common reader; and they privy parts and private secrets in colleges, and by what means thou madest me not partner of? First be a scholler, then be a fellow, and after my figure from thee, thout called me again to a fellowship of a right worshipful college. I thank thee, and I thank God, for all thy kind and loving, compassionate and unchangeable, that thou usedit to give and behould upon thee the dear children, that thou thoughtest good for me? But didst bellow on me all thy school-children, that thou mightest do, and none also, none also, none also, none also, none also, none also.

Farewell, Pembroke Hall, of late mine own college, my place, and my charge: what cafe thou art in now, I know not well. Thou wert named before I knew thee, which is not thirty years ago, to be skittish, well learned, and a greater promoter of gospel, and of God's true word; so I found thee, and blest be God, so I left thee indeed. Woe is me for thee mine own dear college, if ever thou fall art not, or never sawt to be brought from that trade. In thy orchard (the walls, buts, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness) I learned without book almost all St. Paul's epistles, yea, and I think all the canonical epistles, five only the Apocalypse. Of which study, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof I trust I shall carry with me into heaven: for the profit thereof I think I have in all my life-time ever after, and I think of it (whether they abide now or no, I cannot tell) there were others that did the like. The Lord grant that this zeal and love toward the word of God's word, which is a key and true commentary to all the holy scripture, may ever abide in that college so long as the world shall endure.

From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, that most true and my Lord's father, and of him I preferred to be vicar of Herne, in East Kent. Wherefore, farewell, Herne, thou worshipful and wealthy parish, the first cure whereunto I was called to preach God's word. Thou hast heard of my mouth oftentimes the word of God preached, not after the popish trade, but after Christ's gospel: O that the fruit had laid to the feet of the Lord! Yet I must acknowledge me to be thy debtor for the doctrine of the Lord's supper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not revealed unto me: but I blest God, in all that godly virtue and zeal of God's word, which the Lord by preaching of his word did kindle manifestly both in the heart and in the public places of the godly woman there, lady Phines, the Lord grant that his word took like effect there in many others.

Farewel, thou cathedral church of Canterbury, the metropolitical see, whereof I once was a member. To speak things pleasant unto thee I dare not for danger of confusion, and displeasure of my Lord God, and to say what lieth in my heart were now too much, and I fear were able to doe thee now but little good. Nevertheless, for the friendship I have found in some there, and for charity's sake, I wish thee to be washed clean of all worldliness and ungodliness, that thou mayst be found of God after thy name Christ's church, in deed and in truth.

Farewel, Rochester, some time my cathedral see, in whom (to say the truth) I did find much gentleness and obdience; and I truft thou wilt not say the contrary, but I did use it with God's glory, and unto thine own profit in God. O that thou hadst and mightest have been, and gone forward in the trade of God's law wherein I did leave thee: then thy charge and burden should not have been so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose verily it is like to be (as alas) in the latter day.

To Weftminster other advertisement in God I have not now to say, than I have had before to the cathedral church of Canterbury, and so God give thee of his grace, that thou mayst learn in deed and in truth to please him after his own laws: and thus fare thee well.

O London, London, to whom now may I speak in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speak to the prebendaries of St. Paul's? Alas, all that loved God's word, and were the true gentrys-thence tiroe, are now, (as I hear say) some burnt and flame, some exiled and banished, and some confined in hard prison, and appointed to be put to the mutch for Christ's gospel sake. As for the rest of them, I know they could never brooke me well, nor could I ever delight in them.

Shall I speak to the see thereof, whereinof of late I was placed almost, and not fully the space of three years? What, what may be said, being as I hear say I am deplored and expelled by judgment as an unjust usurper of that room. O judgment, judgment! Can this be just judgment to condemn the chief minister of God's word, the pastor and bishop of the diocese, and never bring him into judgment that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor even suffer him to have any
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

[Q. MARY, A.D. 1562]

place or time to answer for himself? Thinkest thou hereof who will be true judge and shall have place, this judgment can ever be allowed either of God or man? Well, as for the cause or whole matter of my deposition, and the spoil of my goods which thou pourest yet, I refer it unto God, who is a just judge; and I becheef God, if it be his pleasure, that the thing which is but my personal wrong, be laid to thy charge in the latter day, this only I can pray for.

O thou now wicked and bloody se, why dost thou set up again many altars of idolatry, which by the word of God are fully taken away? Why dost thou daily chuse, maketh thy malice instead of the Lord’s holy supper, which ought to be common as well (faith Chrysolom, yea, the Lord himself) to the people as to the priest? How darest thou to deny to the people of Christ, contrary to his express commandment in the gospel, his holy cup? Why dost thou to the people of Christ, pray in a strange tongue, wherein St. Paul commandeth in the Lord’s name, that no man should speak before the congregation, except it should be prorously declared in their common tongue, that all might be edified? Nay, hearken, thou wilt disorder God’s holy table, and make thee the abettor of the prophets of God? Why dost thou thus wallow in thy filth, which will ne’er dissemble, will not hear thy voice, because thou art a stranger, and will follow no other but their own prophet Christ’s voice? Thus, the Lord will require their blood at thy hands? Thy God, which is the work of thy hands, and whom thou fayset thou half power to make, that thy dead and dumb god, I say, will not indeed, nor can, (although thou art not afraid to call him thy Maker) make thee the abettor of the revenging tongue of the high and Almighty God. Be thou assured, that the living Lord our Saviour and Redeemer, who trurth on the right hand of his Father in glory, he feeth all thy wicked ways and cruelty done to thy dear members, and he will not forget his holy ones, and his hands (O thou whorish drafi) shall have ne’er the power to save me, now I say, Fie, upon thee, lie upon thee, filthy drab, and all thy false prophets.

Yet (O London) I may not leave thee thus. Although thy episcopal see, now being joined in league with the least of Satan, thus hath now both handled me and the taints of God, yet I do not doubt, but in God’s good time there may be many private mourners, who do daily mourne for that mischief, who never did nor shall content to that wickedness, but do themselves and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But these privy mourners here I will pass by, and bid them farewell with their fellow hereafter, for this is not the place here. Among the worshipful of the city, and especially which were in office of mayoralty, yet, and in other cities also (whom now to name is not necessery) in the time of my ministracy, which was from the latter part of Mr. Rowland Hill’s year, unto Mr. George Barnes’s year, and a good part of the next, I do acknowledge that I found so small humility and gentleness, as I thought: but to (say the truth) that I do esteem above all other for true christian kindnes, which is the word in God’s saufe, and done for his sake. Wherefore, O Dobs, Dobs, alderman and knight, thou in this place have for evermore, for that honourable act, that most blest work of God, of the ection and setting up of Christ’s holy holpasts, and truly religious houses, which by thee and through thee were begun. For thou, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christ’s poor, and members to be holpen from extreme misery, hunger, and famine, thy heart, I say, was moved with pity, and as Christ’s high honourable officier in that cause, yea, and not only in thine own person thou didst for Christ’s saufe, but to further the matter, thou broughtest to it a considerable number of the city before the alderman alone, whom thou hadst assemblen there together to hear me speak what I could say, as an advocate by office and duty, in the poor men’s cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the comfort of the brethren whereby the matter was brought to the common council, and to the whole body of the city; by whom, with an uniform consent, it was permitted to be drawn, ordered, and devised by a certain number of the most witty citizens and police, and also with godliness, and with ready hearts toward such a noble act, as could be chos in all other age of the world. This act, as true and faithful as it is, both in the city, and their matter Christ, to one and all, brought forth the matter, that thousands of the members of Christ, which else for extreme humbleness of spirit, and poverty of wealth, should have famished and perished, shall have received, holpen, and brought up, and shall have caused to be ministered to a multitude of Christ’s poor, and the whole body of the city; but especially O Dobs, and of those chosen men, by whom this able work of God was begun and wrought, and done long throughout all ages, as that godly work shall be blessed. And when I pray Almighty God may he even to the world’s end, Amen.

And thou, O Sir George Barnes, the truth is confected to God’s glory, and to the good example others, thou wast in thy year not only a further visitor of that which before thee by thy power for so was well begun, but also did labour so in the perfect work, that it should have been a tongue and perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness unto all Christendom. Thence endeavoure was to raise up a house of occupations, both that all kind of people may be employed to work, finallly and the like. And as they probably they might have been occasioned to Christ’s house and the wealth of the city, and also to have retired poor babes brought up in the hospitals, what had come to a certain age and strength, and all which the hospitalis alone had been before at Christ’s house. To add to this, to bring forth this to pass, they obtain, notwithstanding of diligence and labour, both in and the brethren, and of that godly king Edward, a Christian and perfec prince’s hand, his principality of Bridewell, and what other things to the perfection of his last and also the our last time, that this time in which he had not like forces, this is not in thee, but in the condition and state of thee, the tate of the Lord’s infiniy mercy vouchsafe thing when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.

Forever now, all you citizens that be of God, of that condition over you be. Undoubtedly you have heard God’s word truly preached. Myself desire and daily prayer shall be for you, as for my time, I know to my God I am sensable, that you never sverve, neither for evils of wordly goods, from God’s grace, and end and perfection, Antichrist: whereupon must needs follow the same displeasure of God, and the los of both of your body and souls, into perpetual damnation everlasting.

Now that I have gone through the places where dwell any space in the time of my pilgrimage here earth, remembering that for the space of my reign, which was the time of mine office in the first time, London and Rochester, I was a member of the house of parliament; therefore seeing my God had given me leisure, and the remembrance thereof, I bid the lords of temporal power, still ould, but with grace, to take in ill part what I tend to say. As for the spiritual prelacy that now have nothing to say to them, except I should report a great part of what I have said before now already in the city of London. To you therefore, my lords of temporal power, I say, and the like, whatsoever thy mind, that when I wrote this, I looked daily in the I should be called to the change of this life, and that this my writing should not come to your knowledge, the time of the dissolution of my body should be expired; and therefore know you that before mine eyes even the fear of God, and charitable love of God, and charitable affection towards you, which moved me to write; you hereafter look not in this world, either further my displeasure. If my talk shall do you much pleasure or profit, you cannot promote me to that, if I displeave you, can you hurt me or harm me, I shall be out of your reach. Now therefore, if you
and, and can be content to hear the talk of him that speak nothing at your hands, but to serve God, and to do good, hearted, and husband. For, if Paul faith in Galatians, I wonder what hath become of it, that you so suddenly are fallen from Christ to Antichrist, from Christ's gospel to man's traditions, in the Lord that bought you, unto the bishop of Rome. I warn you of your peril; be not deceived, ye will be at it next. For if you think thus, We are laymen, in the matter of religion, we follow as we are taught; if our teachers and governors teach us and anathema, the fault is in them, they shall bear the death. My lords, this is true, (I grant you) that both public and private apostles have died of the death of their subject, whom they have falsely cursed and corruptly led, yea, and his blood shall be required at their hands. But nevertheless shall the public death the death himself, as Paul, as shall all be required for his own; and thereby you blind lead the blind, and not the leader only, but he that hath both you into the ditch. Shall the synagogues and the fatness of the church, which of you that forsook Christ, and confounded his death, therefore be excused, because Anna's and Simeon's, with the scribes and Pharisees, and their clerical warming of their sect, and angry manner of speech, and also because of the emperor's lieutenant, by his tyranny, did cause him to underteach for death. Forsooth no, my lords, For not withstanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pickavant's of his hands, neither shall excuse that Gregory, or Pelagius; but as a rule I have, for the effect is, all shall drink of your own cup. You are witty, and understand what I mean, before I will pass over this, and return to tell you you are fallen from Christ to his adversary the king of Rome.

And last, my lords, you may peradventure think, thus to call the bishop of Rome Christ's admirers, (to speak in plain terms) to call him Antichrist, that is done in mine unguiness, and that do but rage, and deride, the man do not care what I say, or upon whom you therefore that your lordships may perceive my sense, I speak of that I speak the words of the apostles, in theZN (St. Paul said unto Festus) be cast unto your lordships, (the living Lord beareth me witness) before, whom I speak I do think many a good man, many martyrs and saints of God have fat and flesh that place Christ's gospel truly, which thereunto may be called apostolic, that is, true doctrine of the apostles, and also that church and apostleship of Christians be to a right apostolic church; yea, and certain hundred years after the fame was first erected built upon Christ, by the true apostolic doctrine and the mouth of the apostles themselves. If you know how many hundred, and how many hundred, to be curious in point of the precious matter, I will not be too bold, but thus I say. So long in many hundred years as this did truly preach such that gospel, that religion, exercised that, and ordered every thing by those laws and rules that be of the apostles, and (for I speak of the apostles, and (or) the faith) that the apostles of Christ, and Christ of God:

I say, that thus might well have been called and Paul's chair, and the bishop thereof Apostolical true diocese and successor of the apostles, and bishop of Christ. For since the time that that fame hath degenerated the trade of truth and true religion, which it received the apostles at the beginning, and hath preached the gospel, hath set up another religion, hath exercised power, and has taken upon it to order the church and government of other strange laws, canons, rules, in such it received of the apostles, or the things it doth at this day, and hath continued to (as it) so long a time; since the time, I say, that is such condition of that fame hath been changed, and the power of duty and of right to have the names and god of the father and of the fitter therein. Forolland, my lords, it was neither for the privilege of the place or person thereof, that that fame and bishop thereof were called apostolic; but for the true trade of Christ's religion, which was taught and maintained in that fame at the first, and of thole godly men. And therefore as true, and justly as that fame then, for that true trade of religion, which was confounded doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Christ's apostles, was called apostolic; so as truly and justly for the contrary of religion, and diversity of doctrine from Christ and his apostles, that fame and bishop thereof, at this day both ought to be called a false and undue antichristian.

The fame is the fame of Satan, and that false bishop of the same, that maintaineth the abominations thereof, is Antichrist himself indeed. And for the fame caueth this fame at this day is the fame which St. John calleth in his Revelation Babylon, or this whereof of Babylon, and the spiritual Sodom and Egypt, or mother of fornication and of the abominations upon the earth. And whereof Joel speaks and do spiritually meddle, and lie with her, and commit most flinking and abominable adultery before God, all these kings and princes, yea, and all nations of the earth which do content to her abominations, and use, or practice the fame; that is (of the innumerable multitude of them to reprove some for example's sake) her dispensations, her pardons and pilgrimages, her invocation of saints, her worshipping of images, her false counterfeit religion in her monasteries and friaries, and her traditions, by which the Lord's laws are defiled; as her malling and falsie ministration of God's word and the sacraments of Christ, clean contrary to Christ's word and the apostle's doctrine, whereof in particular I have touched something before in my talk had with the fame of London, and in other treatises more at large; wherein (if it please God to bring the fame to light) it shall appear, I trust by God's grace, to the man of God, and to him whose rule in judgment of religion is God's word, that that religion, that rule and order, that doctrine and faith which this whereof of Babylon, and the beast whereupon the little horn, maintaineth at this day, with all violence of false word, with spoil and bannishment (according to Daniel's prophecy); and finally with all faithfulness, deceit, hypocrisy, and all kinds of ungodliness, are as clean contrary to God's word, as darkness is unto light, or light unto darkness, white to black, or black to white, or as Belial to Christ, or Christ to Antichrist himself.

I know, my lords, and forefay when I wrote this, that so many of you as should see this my writing, not being before ended with the Spirit of grace and the light of God's word, so many (I say) would at the first words, lord-like lump and lump, and spit thereat. But lober yourselves with this writing, and do, and know ye, that in my writing of this, my mind was only to show you, that in God (as the living God doth bear me witness) both to do you profit and pleasure. And otherwise, as for your displeasure, by that time this shall come to your knowledge, I trust by God's grace to see me, in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my heavenly father and the living Lord, which is (as St. John faith) the greatest of all, and then shall not need, I suppose, to fear what any lord, nor any lord nor any king or prince can do unto me.

My lords, if in times past you have been contented to hear me sometimes in matters of religion before the prince in the pulpit, and in the parliament or elsewhere, and have not seemed to have despised what I have said (whan as else if you had perceived just occasion, you might then have fulfilled me in my talk, though it had been reasonable, otherwise (of worldly gain, or fear of displeasure) how then have your lordships more cause to hearken to my word, and to hear me pass away? But now you cannot justly think of me being in this cafe appointed to die, and looking daily when I shall be called to come before the eternal judge, otherwise but that I only flury to these, and to say, and to say that thing which I am persuaded affliyed by God, and well doth please me, and profit all the more which I shall give grace to hear and believe what I do say? And I do say even what I have said hereafter of both the fame of Rome and of the bishop thereof, I mean after this their present flate at this day, wherein if ye will not
not believe the ministers of God, and true preachers of his word, verily I denounce unto you in the word of the Lord, except ye do repent hence, it shall turn to your concupiscence and to your bloody death and to the bitter day. Forget not what I say, my lords, for God's sake forget not, but remember it upon your bed. For I tell you moreover, as I know I must be accountable for this my talk, and of my speaking thus, to the eternal judge (who will judge nothing amiss, if thou be accountable of thy daily in your hearing, and shall be charged, if you will not hearken to God's word, for not obeying the truth. Alas, my lords, how chanceth this, that this matter is now anew again to be perjured unto you? Who would have thought it? now that your lordship hath been so weakened, or not so weakened sufficiently, or that you could ever have agreed to uniformly with one content to the abolishment of the usurpation of the bishop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policy wherein the prince must be obedient; how is it now made a matter wherein (as your loyalty now is, and so the pope's law indeed) handeth the unity of the catholic church, and a matter of necessity of our salvation? Hath the time, being so short since the death of the two last kings, Henry the eighth, and Edward his son, altered the nature of the matter? If it had not been for the great and dangerous danger then as it is now, and be now (as it is laid by the pope's laws, and the intentions of the time in English to the curates of the diocese of York) indeed a matter of necessity of salvation: how then chanced it that you were all (O my lords) so light, and forsook the policy of your Catholicism, and the unity thereof, without which no man can rejoice, as for your prince's pleasure, who were but mortal men, to forfake the unity of your Catholic faith, that is, to forfake Christ and his gospel? And furthermore, if it were both then, and now so necessary to salvation, how chanced it all that ye, all the whole body of the parliament agreeing with you, did not only abjure and expel the bishop of Rome, but also abjure him in your own persons, and did decree in your acts great oaths to be taken both of the spirituality and temporality, whatsoever should enter into any weighty and chargeable office in the commonwealth? But on the other side, if the law and decree which maketh the suppression of the fee and bishop of Rome over the universal church of Christ, to be a thing at necessity required unto salvation by another antichristian law (as it is indeed) and such intestine rebellion given to the country of York, be it given to Babylon, by the craft and fatality of his false prophets, as of truth, compared to God's word, and truly judged by the same, it shall plainly appear that they be, then my lords never have this thing other, but this act being done, when you shall be agreed with this your understanding, that since you had well done, and with this your perjury and breach of your oath, which oath was done in judgment, justice, and truth, according to God's law. The whore of Babylon may well for a time daily with you, and make you to drunken with the wine of her filthy whoredom, and her blindfolds (as with her dispensations and promises of pardon for punishment and crime) that for drunkminded and blindfaced men may think yourselves safe. But be ye advised, when living Lord shall try the matter by the fire, and judge it according to your oath, who shall not put this on one another, but that they be then you, my lords, repent if you will be happy, and love your own soul's health; repent, I pray, or else without all doubt you shall never cleave the hands of the living Lord, for the guilt of your perjury, and breed of your oaths given to this, and laced by the whoredom, and her blindfolds, and such like abominations; so shall you drink with her (except ye repent betime) of the cup of the Lord's indignation and everlasting wrath, which is prepared for her beast, his false prophets, and all that walk with the same. For he that is in their whoredom and abominations, must also be partner with them in their plagues, and in the latter day shall be thrown with them into the lake burning with brimstone and unquenchable fire. Thus fare you well, my lords all. I pray God give you understanding, and bless will and pleasure, and make you to embrace the truth. Amen.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY

Another FAREWELL to the PRISONERS in Christ's GYSSLS, and to all those who for the Cause are banished from their own Country, rather to leave all earthly Goods than lose Christ.

FAREWELL, my dearly beloved brethren in Christ, both you my fellow-prisoners, and you that are exiled and banished out of your countries, because you will not forfake all worldly advantages, than the glory of Christ. Farewell all you together in Christ; farewell my mercy, for you know that the trial of your faith brings forth patience, and patience shall make you perfect, whole, and found on every side, and such, where ye know shall receive the crown of life, according to the promise of the Lord made to his dear faithful let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord. As the husbandman abideth patiently the former latter rain for the increase of his crop, let us be patient, and place anything in waiting, let us keep patient and wrestling, not desisting from our labours.

Let us, my dear friends, take example of patience in tribulation of the prophet, who likewise speak Christ's word truly in his name. Job: be to us an example of patience, and the rest of the Lord suffered, which is full of mercy and truth, was at that time is much more precious than any corruptible good, yet that is tried by the fire; even so our faith is tried likewise in tribulations, that it may be tried when the Lord shall appear, laudable, glorious, honorable. For as we do now suffer more for Christ, for the Lord's sake, for them are we and that is our state and vocation, wherewith let us content. Christ, we know, suffered for us afflication, losing us an example that we should follow his footsteps for he committed no sin, nor was there any guile in his mouth; when he was reviled, and abused, he did not revile again: when he was evil spoken of, he did not threaten, but commingled the punishment thereon to him that judged aright.

Let us ever have in our remembrance those wonderful comfortable innocent sprokes spoken by the means of the prophet speaking the things for righteousness' sake, for their is the kingdom in heaven. Blessed are ye when men revile you, profess, and speak evil against you for my sake, and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; and the day shall come when ye be beloved. Our matter hath told us beforehand, that the brethren should put the brother to death, and the sinner, and the children should rise against their parent and kill them, and that Christ's true apostles mock hated of all men for his name's sake, but that he shall abide patiently unto the end, that he be saved.

Let us then endure in all troubles patiently, after the example of our master Christ, and be contented with, for he suffered, being our Master and Lord, doth then become us to suffer. For the difference above his Master, nor the former, or the Master, or the Companion of none is believed by the brethren of Christ and our Master hath told us beforehand, that the brethren should put the brother to death, and the sinner, and the children should rise against their parent and kill them, and that Christ's true apostles mock hated of all men for his name's sake, but that he shall abide patiently unto the end, that he be saved.

Know ye that our heavenly Father hath ever serious eye and respect toward you, and a father's patience unto you, that without his knowledge.
For nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore all come upon him, and he shall provide that which is best for us. For if two of small sparrows, which are sold for a mite, of one of them lighteth not itself on the ground without your Father, and all the hairs of our head are numbered, shall not your Father feed them nor them faith (I perish) (for you are more worthy than many more, and the daily care of all the congregations of Christ, and among them every man's pain did pierce his heart, and every man's grief was grievous unto him? O Lord, is this Paul's privy, whereto he thought so much good that he did exceed others? Is not this Paul's fusing unto Timothy his own scholar? And is not Christ's true folders? Hear thou, faith he, affliction like a true soldier of Jesus Christ. This is true; if we die with him (he meaneth Christ) we shall live with him; if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him; if we deny him, he shall deny us; if we be faithful, he re- meaneth the faith which he may have and have that would have known to every body; for there is no other way to heaven but Christ and his way; and all that will live godly in Christ and (faith St. Paul) suffer persecution. By this way went to heaven the patriarchs, the prophets, Christ, and all the holy, and all the godly since the beginning. And as it was bred of old, that he which was born after the flesh, perverted him who was born after the spirit, for so it was in Isaac's time; for said St. Paul, it was in his time also. And whether it be now or no, let the spiritual man, the fell-Father, the meaner, the meek and lowly, the Spirit of Almighty God, let him be judge. Of the crofs of the patriarchs, as ye may read in their stories, if ye read the book of Genesis, ye shall perceive. Of others, St. Paul in a few words comprehends much matter, speaking in a generality of the wonderful afflictions, deaths, and sufferings which his crofs have, and God's crofs, and for the truth's sake, willingly and gladly did suffer. After much particular reproof of many, he faith, Others were racked and despised, and would not be delivered, that they might obtain a better reformation. And again we were tossed in waves, and in dangers, and moreover with bonds and imprisonments; they were flaven, borne alder, tempted, fell, and were lain upon the edge of the sword; some wandered to and fro in sleep; in great pains, in great sighs, oppressed, afflicted, such godly men as the world was unworthy of, walking in wofulness, in mountains and caves, and in dens, and all these werecommended for their faith. And yet they abide for us the servants of God, and for their brethren which are to be slain as they were for the word of God's sake, that none be shat out, but that we may all go together to meet our master Christ, and that their crofs may be to be in bliss with him in body and soul for evermore.

Therefore seeing we have so much occasion to suffer, and to take afflictions for Christ's name's sake patiently, to many advantages thereby, to many good examples, so great necessity, to pure promisses of eternal life and heavenly joys of him that cannot let us throw away whatever might hinder us, all burden of sin, and all kind of carnalitie, and patiently and constantly let us run for the best game in this race that is set before us, ere having our eyes upon Jesus Christ, the captain and perfecker of our faith, who for the joy that lay before him endured the cross, despising the shame and ignominy thereof, and is set now at the right hand of the throne of God. Consider this, that he suffered such thrice of sinners against himself, that ye should not give over nor faint in your minds. As yet, brethren, we have not withstood: let us not thrust the fightings of the cross. Let us never forget, dear brethren, for Christ's sake, that fatherly exhortation of the wise man that spake unto us, unto his children, the godly wisdom of God, laying thus: My son, despise not the correction of the Lord, nor fall from him when thou art rebuked of him; for whom the Lord loveth, him he correcteth; every child whom he receiveth.

What child is he whom the father doth not chasten? If ye be free from chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then ye are baffardis, and no children. Seeing then, when as we have had carnal parents which chastened us, we reverenced then, shall not we much more be fulfilled unto our spiritual Father
Father that we might live? And they for a little time have taught us after their own mind, but this Father teacheth us to our advantage, to give unto us his holy nefs. All chattiness for the present time appeareth not pleasant but painful; but afterwards it rendereth the fruit of righteousness on them which are exercised in it. We are not concerned of good children, and brethren, and let us pluck up our feble members that were fallen or begun to faint, heart, hands, knees, and all the rest, and let us walk upright and straight, that no limping nor halting bring us out of the way. Let us not look upon these things that are profane, but with the eyes of our father let us steadfastly behold the things that be everlasting in heaven, and so chuse rather in respect of that which is to come, with the chosen members of Christ to bear Christ's crofs, than for this short life-time to enjoy all the riches, benefits, pleasures of this low world. Why should we Christians fear death? Can death deprive us of Christ which is all our comfort, our joy and our life? Nay forsooth. But contrary, death shall deliver us from this mortal body, which loadeth and beareth down the spirit, that it cannot so well perceive heavenly things; in which to long as we dwell, we are absent from God. Wherefore understanding our state in that we bechristians, that if our mortal body, which is our earthly house, were destroyed, we have a building, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, therefore we are of good hope that when we are in the body, we are absent from God; for we walk by faith, and not by sight. Nevertheless we are bold, and had rather be absent from the body, and present with God. Wherefore we strive, whether we be present at home, or absent abroad, that we may always please God: and when faith hath true faith in our Saviour Christ, whereby he knoweth somewhat truly what Christ our Saviour is, that he is the eternal Son of God, Life, Light, the wisdom of the Father, all good, all righteousness, and whatsoever is good that heart can desire, yea infinite plenty of all things, and man's heart can conceive or think (for in him dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead corporally), and also that he is given us of the Father, and made of God to be our wisdom, our righteousness, our holiness, and our redeption: who (I say) he that believeth this indeed, that would not gladly be with his matter Christ? Paul for this knowledge coveted to have been loosed from the body, and to have been with Christ, for he counted it much better for himself, and had rather be loosed than to live. Therefore these words of Christ to the thief on the crofs, that asked him of him in the fulness of comfort and place: This day shalt thou be with me in paradise. To die in the de- cline of Christ's gospel, it is our bounden duty to Christ, and also to our neighbour. To Christ, because he died for us, and rose again that he might be Lord over all. And seeing he died for us, we also, faith St. John, should hazard, yea give our life for our brethren, and this kind of giving and losing, is getting and winning indeed: for he that giveth or loseth his life for Christ's sake, will find it again at the resurrection. Death, which can do us no harm, otherwise than for a moment to make the flesh to smart: but that our faith, which is fainted and fixed upon the word of God, tell eth us that we shall be anon after death in peace, in the hands of God, in joy, in solace, and that from death we shall go straight unto life, For St. John faith, He that liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die. And in another place, he saith he shall depart from death unto life. And therefore this death of the christian man's enemies have done that death after that they have no more to do. What cared our poor Lazarus that lay at the rich man's gate, his former penury and poverty? his misery, tears, and horrible feast and ficknes? No; for soon had he both his志 and his heart, and carried his lot to the rich, and said, What left he by death, who from misery and pain conducted, by the ministry of angels, into a full and joyous felicity? Farewell, dear brethren, farewell; let us confess the hearts of all miserable, and in death with God's face for heaven and earth shall perish, but the word of God endureth for ever. Farewell, Christ's dearly beloved spouse, hereafter living in this world in a strange land, encompassed with all tribulations and adversities. Farewell, farewell, O ye the whole unchristian generation of the chofen of God here living upon earth, true church militant of Christ, the true mystic church of Christ, the very household and family of God, andchristendom, farewell to the everlasting of the Holy Ghost, farewell. Farewell, O thou little flock of the high and mighty of Christ, for to you he hath pleased the lord, Father to give an everlasting and eternal farewell. Farewell, thou spiritual house of God, thou holy house, thou chosen generation, thou elect, thou won spouse, Farewell, farewell.


A LAS, what misery is thy church brought! O Lord, at this day! Where of late the house of the Lord was truly preached, was read and heard in the palaces, and by the Tune of God, and by the mouth of honest man's house, alas, now it is exiled and banish out of the whole realm. Of late who was not taken a lover of God's word, for a reader, for a ready hearer, and for a learner of the fame? And now, alas, we see how we are gone, to bear any open countenance towards it, but turn our content in Christ's caufe, and for his word and wordl, and to the danger and loss of all they have! Of late there were to be found, of every age, of every degree and kind of people, some that gave them their children to learn (as they call) out of God's word, the marks of which they have learned but not the meaning of God, the Lord's prayer. The babes and young, the aged, the aged folk, which had been brought up in blindness, and in ignorance of those things which every child and man is bound to know, when other were they could not understand, whereby their old blindness is brought home again to the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the young are abashed and ashamed, even of that which they have learned, even though it be God's word, and due to more meddle. Of late in every congregation throughout all England, prayer and petition was made unto God to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his delectable enormities, from all false doctrine and heres;} and now alas, Satan hath perfudued England by false and false doctrine, to revoke her old godly prayer, to recant the fame, and draw down the fearful wrath and indignation of God upon her own pate. Of late by strict laws and ordinances, with the confent of the nobles and commonalty, and full agreement of counsel of the prelates and clergy, the beam of light shone through main and all, and all the means that then could be deviled for to gede the purpose: but now, alas (alle these laws are treased an,
beneath, or in the water under the earth, thou shalt not bow down to them and worship them: thou shalt not worship any strange god, which thou knowest not. 4:29 But the commandment of God, I say, was graven almost everywhere in every church, was learned by every body both old and young; whereupon images that provoked the simple and ignorant people unto idolatry, as the wise man faith, were taken out of all places, and strictly forbidden that none should any where either know them, use them, or worship them but now, alas, God's holy word is blasted and razed out of churches, and flocks and stones are set up in the place thereof. 4:30 God commanded his word to be ordered, that it might be had in continual remembrance at every place, and in every city. But on the other side, he forbids images and idols to be either made or set in any place, where any should bow or worship them. 4:31 And thus God's commandment is not minded, and that which he forbiddeth, is powerfully maintained by falsehood and craft, and wickedly upheld. 4:32 Of late all ministers that were admitted to the public office and ministry of God's holy word, in their admission made a solemn profession before the congregation, that they should teach the people nothing as doctrine necessary to eternal salvation, but that which is in God's own holy word, or may be thereon grounded without any doubt; whereby vanished and melleved away of themselves many vain, yea, wicked traditions of men, as wax before the fire: but now at one bount they are revived, and are in full hope also to return again in great flourish have been every where. 4:33 And hence men may look for any other thing, but when you have received the head, you must also receive the whole body, or else how can the head abide? The head, under Satan, of all mischief, is Antichrist and his brood, the same is he which is the Babylonish beast. The beast is he, whoe- upon the whore falleth. The whore is that who have lain by this whore, and merchandize of the earth, by virtue of her pleasant merchandize, have been made rich. 4:34 Now what city is there in all the whole world, that when John wrote, ruled over the kings of the earth; or what city can be read of in any time, that of the city itself challenged the power of the earth, but only the city of Rome, and that since the utterance of that see hath grown to her full growth? And is it not read that the old and ancient writers understand Peter's former epistle to be written at Rome, and it to be called of him in the same epistle in plain terms, Babylon? By the above it is manifest that the whole trade of the Romish religion, under the name and title of Christ, which is contrary to the only rule of true religion, that is, God's word. What word of God hath that devilish draught for the maintenance of her manifold abominations, and to fet to fake such merchandize, whereby (as alas! the madness of man) the wicked harlot hath almost bewitched the whole world? Did not Peter, the very true apostle of Christ (of whom this thinking trumpet beareth herself to high, but falsely and without all just cause) did not he, I say, give all the world warning of such false doctors and apostles (for this whore will be called the Christ's apostle, whatsoever say nay) after this manner in his latter epistle? "There were among the people in time past false prophets as there shall be among you in time to come false preachers, which shall privily bring in damnable heresies, even such as they that bought them and redeemed them, procuring to themselves swift damnation, and many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be rolled upon, and through coveritchens by counterfeits tales or sermons, they shall make merchandize upon you." And John likewise, in his latter epistle, after he hath reckoned up a great rabbishment of this whore's mystical merchandize, at the last (as though he would knit up all in plain words, without any mist at all, setting out the whore's merchandize) reckon up amongst
amongst the rest, and conclude, faying, And the souls of men too? Whereupon, I pray you, elle rote this true proverb in Latin, Omnium Rurum benedictus, that is, All things for money are fet to fale at Rome?

But you would know which be these merchandizes which you find thereof at Rome, for with all her sally prophets, with all their jugglings and gayly glosses, cannot bring one jot of God's word. Surely, they be not only all these abominations which are come into the church of England already (whereof I have spoke somewhat before) but also an innumerable rabblement of f needless services and wicked simonies, which must needs follow; as popish pardons, pilgrimages, Romish purgatory, Romish masses, dispensations, and immunities from all godly discipline, laws and good order, pluralities, unions, with a thousand more. Now shall come in fatter fing frizz and the fatter panderers, and play their old pranks and knavery as they were wont to do. Now shall you have (but of the fee of Rome only, and that for money) canonizing of such fains as have flood stout in the pope's caufe, shirring of relics, and from any kind of wickedness (if you will pay well for it). I mean that, milk that is without all guile, as thousands of years; or, and at every bishop's hand and suffering, ye shall have hallowing of churches, chapels, altars, fayer-altars, chalices, and of all the whole household fluff and adornment which shall be used in the church after the Roman guile, for all these things must be done at such a high price, that they may not be done but by a conciliated bishop only. O Lord, all these things are such as thy apostles never knew. As for conjuring (they call it hallowing, but it is conjuring indeed) of water and falt, of thrilling of bells, and such like things, what need I to fpeak of? For every priest that can burn such high power (they say) it is only to be done by a consecrated bishop only. O Lord, how many of these things are such as thou hast given us.

After the sphere of the said abominations, and remembering of a number of much more, (which the Lord knoweth) it grieveth me to think upon, and were too long to describe: when I consider on the other side the external word of God that abideth for ever, and the unedified law of the Lord which turneth the soul from all wickedness, and giveth wisdom unto the innocent babe; and, as Peter calleth it, that good word of God, that word of truth that must be engraven within the heart, and then is able to save men's souls; that wholesome, that mortal, but immortal, of the external and everlasting God, and that the man is born again and made of the Church of God, that feed of God, whereby the man born of God (as John saith, the means so long as that feed abideth in him) that holy scripture which hath not been devised by the wit of man, but taught from heaven by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct, and to give order in all righteousness, that the man of God may be whole and found, ready to perform every good work: when I lay, I consider this holy and wholesome true word that teacheth us truly our bounden duty towards our Lord God in every point, which teacheth us comfort and plaifure, and that his infinite great goodnes and mercy is, what he hath done for us, how he hath given us his own dearly beloved Son to death for our salvation, and by that hath made the revelation of his blessed will and plaifure, what his eternal word willeth us both to believe, and also to do, and that for the same purpose inspired the holy apostles with the Holy Ghost, and sent them abroad into all the world, and also made them and other disciples of Christ inspired by the same Spirit, to write and leave behind them the same things that they taught (which as they did, they did in the holy place, faith and truth, and the confession of all them that ever were endued with the Spirit of God, were sufficient to the obtaining of eternal salvation) and likewise when I consider that all that man both profeth in his regeneration, when he is received into the holy catholic church of Christ, and is now to be accounted for one of the lively members of Christ's own body, all that is grounded upon God's holy word; and how much of these commandments which are all contained in his holy word.

And furthermore, when I consider who are Christ's sheep, and how they are to be fed, whom Moses giveth his benedictions to, how the ways the law, the prophets, the psalms, the scriptures, both new and old, do declare to be the word of the Lord, what is good for man to observe in God's favour, which is that which includeth all the offices of the church, and the duties of that infinite God himself, all which are the properties of heaven, which is that undefined religion which is allowed which things Christ himself calleth the weighty parts of the law, which thing is that which is only reserved in Christ, and what knowledge is that that is so beneficial, and this thing shall allow, which shall be the judge of all things, give sentence upon all things, and every living thing of eternal damnation, or of everlasting salvation, which sentence there shall be no place to appeal, shall serve to educe, nor any power to withhold, whether of heaven or earth, nor to declare the word of the Lord and to confer the same again and again all things. In flanfeth the substance of the Romish religion of I spake before it may be evident and easy to see that these two ways, these two religions, these Christ, the other of the Roman fee, in which man be as far distant from the other as the sun and the moon, and dark, good and evil, righteouscufes and unholy, Christ and Belial. He that is hard of heart him note and weigh well with himself that holy scripture whereupon this talk is grounded, and may with great reason receive some light. And a contenpror I have nothing to say of the faying of the prophet Isaiah, which Paul fay unto the Jews in the end of the Acts of the apostles. But he had expounded to them the truth of the Lord and declared to them Christ out of the law of Moses, saying, for a long time, he said unto them that would not believe, spake the Holy Ghost unto our fathers, saying, unto this people and tell them, ye shall hear in your cars, and not understand, and seeing ye are so much behold, and not see the things: for the heart of this people is hardened, and their ears are hard of hearing, and they have shut their eyes, that they should not see, nor hear in their ears, nor understand with their heart, they might return, and I should heal them, saith the Lord God.England, alas, that this heavy plague of fals shall fall upon thee. Alas, my dearly beloved earl, what thing is it now that may doe thee good? Undeni- edly thy plague is so great, that it is utterly meanst but by the bottomless mercy and infinite power of the mighty God. Alas, my dear country, with what a noise thou hast provoked the wrath of God and caused him to pour out his vengeance upon the thine own defects? Canst thou be content to hear these faults told thee? Alas, thou haft heard oft, and we never amend. England, thy faults of all degrees, especially of the nobility; of magistrates, of the ministers, of the common people, were never so plainly told, thou bore that name, than thou diest hear them even before the magistrates in king Edward's day. And thou hearest them only, and didst amend never at all. For even of thy greatest magistrates some (that are highborn then, that innocent, that godly, such people young christian and there mentioned) ever the kindest and most bountiful and most wherewith to cure them, even unto the prince himself, and yet would not hear them. Notwithstanding, this is not the time to be told. The work of God is not to be hindered by such things. For the time is come to speak herewith. Hear one word in all this. God be thanked and praised. Amen.
All these things doth minimiter more matter of mourning and bewailing the miserable state that now is: for by this it may be perceived, how England hath deferred this just pilgrimage of God. And also it is greatly to be feared, that thò good things, whatsoever they were that had their beginning in the time when God's word was so freely preached, now with the exile and banishment of the fathers, are departed for ever. But to return again to the consideration of this miserable state of Christ's church in England, and to leave father and more exquisite searching of the causes thereof unto God's secret and unsearchable judgments, let us see what is best now to be done for Christ's little flock. This is a thing that I cannot but give my utmost voice and power for, to hinder; He that denieth Christ before men, him shall Christ deny before his Father and all his angels in heaven. And therefore every one that looketh to have by Christ our Saviour everlasting life, let him prepare himself to, that he deny not his matter Christ, or else he is but a calumniator of Christ, howsoever he be counted or taken here in the world.

Now then seeing the doctrine of Antichrist is returned again into this realm, and the higher powers (as are) so deceived and bewitched, that they are persuaded it is the truth, and Christ's true doctrine to be error and heresy, and the ministers of Antichrist are desired to return with the power of their father again: what was hereafter looked for, by reason, to the man of God, and true christian, abiding in this realm, but extreme violence of death, or else to deny his matter? I grant the hearts of princes are in God's hands, and whithersoever he will be he can make them bow: and also that christian kings in old time used a more gentle kind of punishment, even to them which were hereticks indeed; as degradation, and deposition out of their rooms and offices, exile and banishment out of their dominions and countries: and also (as it is read) the true bishops of Christ's church were sometime intercessors for the heretics unto princes, that they would not destroy them as is read of St. Augustine. But as yet Antichrist's kingdom was not so erected at that time, nor is now accustomed to order them that will not fall down and worship the beast and his image (but even as all the world knoweth) after the same manner that both John and Daniel hath prophesied before, that is, by violence of death; and Daniel declarETH farther, that the kind of death accustomed should be by sword, fire, and imprisonment.

Therefore, if thou, O man of God, dost purpose to abide in this realm, prepare and arm thyself to die: for both by Antichrist's accustomed laws, and these prophecies, there is no argument but there is something else, thing, except thou wilt deny thy matter Christ, which is the losas at the last both of body and soul unto everlasting death. Therefore my good brother or sister in Christ, whatsoever thou be, to thee that canst and mayst go to do, that counsel that I think is the best safeguard for thee, and for the church's sake, is this; that thy soul's health, is that which I shall dwell the heretic. But first I warn thee to understand me to speak to him or her, which be not in captivity, or called already to confess Christ, but are at liberty abroad.

My counsel, I say, therefore is this, to fly from the plague, and get thee hence. I counsel thee, as therefore the bodily perilizations of Satan, and how he is able to deceive by his false persuasions (if it were possible) even the chosen of God, and also the great frailty, which is oftentimes more in a man than he doth know in himself, which in the time of temptation then will utter iflines: I do not only consider the things, I say, but that matter Christ, whose life was and is the perfection of that rule of the fathers, that he himself avoided oftentimes the fury and madness of the Jews, by departing from the country or place.

Paul likewise, when he was fought in Damascus, and the gates of the city was hid in wait for him, he was conveyed by night, being let down in a basket at a window over against him, and Elizabeth and Perpetua, the perfection of wicked Jezabel: and Christ our Saviour faith in the gospel, "When they persecute you in one city, flee unto another: and so did many good, great learned, and virulent men of God, who were great and W"
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flout champions nevertheless, and flout counsellors and maintainers of Christ and his truth, in due time and place. Of such was the great clerk Athanasius. But this is so plain to be lawful by God's word, and examples of such men, that I need not to fland in it.

Having set my ground, I lay to thee, O man of God, this reformed to me be the most sure way for thy safeguard, to depart and flee from between the plague, and that twelfl also: for truly before God, I think, that that abomination that Daniel prophesied of fo long before, is now set up in the holy place. For all the doctrine of Antichrist is empty, and thin, and empty religion contrary to Christ, and so to the true serving and worshipping of God, I understand to be that abomination: Therefore now is the time in England for those words of Christ, "Then they that be in Judea, let them flee to the mountains." Then (saith he) mark this Christ's (Then) for truly I am perishing, and I trust, by the Spirit of God, that this (Then) is accomplished; That (faith Christ) they be that be in Jewry, let them fly into the mountains, and that he is on the housetop, let him not come down to take away anything out of his house, and he that is abroad in the field, let him return not to take his coats. Woe be to the great-blessed women, and to them that give suck; but pray (faith Christ) that your flight be not in winter, or on the fasthath-day.

The words of Christ are myctical, and therefore had need of interpretation. I understand all those to be in Jewry spiritually, which truly confieth one true living God, and the whole truth of his word, after the doctrine of the god of this world, such as they whom Christ here biddeth, in the time of the revelation of Antichrist's abominations, to fly unto the mountains, which signifieth places of safeguard, and all such things which are not to defend from the plague. That he biddeth him that is on the housetop, not to come down, and him that is in the field, not to return to take with him his cloaths: he meaneth that thou shalt fix them before them that are come, be not theme left in their terrour, whilest thou art working provision, they may be trapped in the inexactever they are aware, and caught by the back, and for gain of small worldly things, endanger and cast themselves into great perils of more weighty matters. And where faith, Woe be to the great-blessed women, and to them that give suck; women great with child, and nigh to their lying down, and to be brought to bed, and not able to travel; and also those women which are brought to bed, and now give their babes suck: by these therefore Christ spiritually understandeth all such to be in extreme danger, which this word (Woe) signifieth; all such, I say, are fixed by any manner of means that they no ways be able to fly from the plague. And where Christ faith, Pray you that ye might not be in the winter, nor on the fastthath day; in winter, the cold of the winter; and therefore it is a hard thing then to take a far journey, for many incommodeities and dangers of the ways in that time of the year; and on the fasthath-day it was not lawful to journey, but a little way. Now Christ therefore declareth we should have need, both to fix our journey quickly, which cannot be done in the winter, for the badness of the ways, and also to go far, which cannot be done on the fastzath-day: he biddeeth us therefore pray that our flight be for the winter, nor on the fasthath-day; that is, to pray that we fly in time, and also far enough from the danger of the plague. Now the caues why we should fly, follow in the name of St. Matthew's gospel, which I now pass over; thou mayst read them there.

And in the eighteenth chapter of the Revelation, the angel is saith to have cried mightily with a loud voice, "Fear, my people out of Babylon, left ye, be infected with her faults, and so be made partners of her plague, for her offences and sins are grown so great, that they shall come unto the heavens." Certainly the time doth approach, but Lord's day is at hand. Hear, I beseech you, also holy Paul, he blessed apostle, he plainly forbiddeth us, "To join or couple oursevles with the unfaithful: for what fellowship can there be betwixt faith and unbelief, of righteousnes with unrighteousnes, what company hath light with darkness, or what cometh together with that which is unlike? Now that is to be the unfaithful, or how doth he that believeth agree with unrighteousnes or idolatry? For you are destroyed as God saith, when I will cast you out, in me, I will be their God, and ye shall know no people: wherefore depart from among them, and take away from you, from them, faith the Lord, and touch not on such thing: and I will receive you, and be to you as a father, and you shall be unto me as sons and daughteres, faith the Almighty God. This counsel to depart from them, I do not only think seem to divers (even of them), that this be a token to you to Godward" diversly. Many (I trust) have learned shall think the counsel good.

Another word of precaution, that will think it rather things to be intolerable, and that it may be by God's utmost fully done, rather than God's counsel unfulfilled to be done, they will peradventure say, we should counsel a way to do that which is best of all, in a certain proportion: but boldly in Christ's caufe to spend a life, is best of all, and of most perdition, and to be Iuneli to need of cowardice. In many things, that is best for one at sometimes, is not best for all times, and it is not most perilous, nor meet for one to covet to run before he can go. I will not here enter into a duscourse in this matter, what might be hereby, and what might be answered again; I leave this to as eloquent men of the world.

This is the word in which I would thou shouldst be, O man of God, as I would that, and I do pray, and grant righteous God it may be, that each one of thee, a brother or sister (after they be called, and brought to the reeling place, to strife in Christ's cause) and I grant, that is, to confide the truth of the gospel, as the chariots faith, in hope of everlasting life (though thin or reten one inch, nor give back, whilest they beal, but to stand and to tackle, and not evil even unto death, as they will Christ's (Then) is at the latter day; so likewise I dare not to go, and to either brother or sister, of their own accord, start up into the flag, or to cast themselves, either before, and farther in danger than time and need find requisite: for undoubtedly when Christ feeth his time, is his pleasure, that his glory be forth, and the church edified by thy death and confition may be found by his fatherly universal providence, that he shall have some prefumptuous provocation, that they lawfully might do to thy gent, and to play thy part. The miserable end that Quintus came unto, my prayer is, a warning, and a fearful example for all men to base of pretumption, and rutheness in faith, to show what must be written in heaven. In this situation or lib, a cap. It is a third form of men there be, who also called countours of God's word, and are (I find) number far more, and wert it to be perfused to that which is the godly mean; a mean of such as will adventure say or think, that my former counsel was to fly the infection of the antichrist's doctrine, by departing out of the realm, is more than needed, no such ways and means may be found, both to abide; and also to be out of danger of the aforesaid plague. It that could be found, both to abide, and also to be out of danger of the aforesaid plague, truly agreeable to God's word, I would be as glad to the former, as I would witness as any other man. Yes, peradventure, will I say thus, it may be: thou mayst keep thy faith, and thy breath; and thou mayst known to thyself, and inwardly as privily worship God in spirit and truth, and outwardly fee thou be no open meddlers of the world, neither mingled for of common order: so mayst thou so live, as not to be commonwealth, and verily thy religion without offence doth prove thy confidence. In other countries somewhere the peradventure might be used, but in England what shall be, God knoweth; it was never yet, so far as I have known or heard. Therefore how can it be, that thou yet must thou transgress the communication, is writ in the Roman laws and customs, which have been written in England, in times past of popery, and now (it is certain) they return again: I say, thou must either be a brother
Chr., and observeveth and keepeth them, it is he that loveth me: and to dread God above all others, is rather willingly the danger and peril of all fearful things, than willingly to do such things that are contrary to his blessed will and commandment: and to trust in him above all things, is affliuced to trust to his promises of his reward, and of his tuition, and of his goodnesse and mercy, and to prefer that above all things in the world, seemeth to thee so strong, so wife, or so good. Now, how canst thou say truly, that after this manner of fort, when thy deeds doe declare far another thing? Thy body, O man, is God's, and all the parts thereof, even as thy soul is: he made them both, and Chr.ith with his blood redeemed them both for he hath bought them both dearly: and darest thou fullher any part of either to depart to do for them? Surely in so doing thou committst sacrilege, and doft rob God: thou defildest the living temple of the living God, if thou suffer thy body to do Satan service. "Do you not know faith St. Paul, that your body is a luylye temple of God?" And may a man then take and use any part thereof but in the service of God? No, surely, it is not lawful to do for the man of God, neither with hand, tongue, nor feet, nor any part of the whole body.

Doth not Paul command that to the Romans, which pertaineth to every christian soul? "As you havel in time past, faith he, given your members to do service unto unclean spirits, but now yield yourselves to God, as in new u吏ability, and not of the flesh, but of the Spirit of God."

An hundred things more may be reckoned, and every one of them more weight, and of more evident superition and hardness, than some of these which I have now read, which God knoweth, be ill enough: but these enough to declare, and to set before thine eyes, the undeserving and wondrous grace of God in England, thou must either do thee, and many other contrary to God's word, which forbiddest not the very thine which is evil, but also faith, Abstain from things that have any appearance of evil: or else if thou wilt not do them, how thou canst live in England, and yet be of a holie and godly conscience; for whereat the great avadenture (as man is ready to find, and invent colour to cloak his conscience, to do that thing (his heart detereth) thou wilt fay, though at any time I shall be forced to do any of these things, and alike, yet will I have no confidence in them, but with my body; I will keep my heart unto him, and will not do that of my own willing or otherwise, but to avoid no inconvenience I trust for God will hold me excused, for he shall have no power, what can I do more?

My friend, beware for God's sake, and know that the ordinances of Satan are adultery. Deeply, he that is not able to God's word to perceive the grace of God, and with David; Lord, let me not have a mind to I exusest thee: I examine, my dear friend, wedays with the word of God, and if they do, thou mayest use them: if not, know, though mayst of every time and goodly, yet indeed they are of man's hand. God's word is certain, that forsooth on worship the creature for the Creator, for that matter idolatry, and against the first commandment God, and it affront against the second commandment the not able to bow down, or to worship unto any God, or of any other thing; and God's word must not only the mouth neither of the mouth: and to bear part of the charges, the maintenance of things ungodly: what is that, but thy doing, a content to the thing done? Now consider the doers, God's word accounteth to be right. And it is not lawful, by St. Paul's doc. which was not infringing the Spirit of God, to do that thereof the thing which is good may come. Thy heart, thou sayest, God shall have, and yet wilt use the body to do the thing that God doth abhor. O man, take heed what thou sayest: man may not do what he list, but no man may decree God, for he is God, and is the author of the creature. Nor give God thy heart, to give him thy whole heart, to him, to dread him, and to trust in him above all else things: "He that hath my commandments, faith..."
of Elias, that he should not come in person, but in spirit, this is, one that should be endowed with the spirit and gifts of grace of Elias, which was indeed John Baptist, as Christ himself did declare to his apostles: and of Meleias's reign, all the prophets were to be underfoot of the reign of his spiritual kingdom over the house of Jacob, and of his seed over the house of Israel. And so it is by that their groans and carnal understandings, they mistook both Elias and the true Meleias, and when they came, knew neither of them. So likewise, I fear, nay, it is certain, the world that wanteth the light of the Spirit of God for the world is not able to receive him, (John 1:10) neither doth he know the beast, nor his marks, though he rage cruelly, and live ever so beastly, and though his marked men be in number like the sand of the sea. The Lord therefore vouchsafed to open the eyes of the blind with the light of grace, that they may see and understand the words of God, after the mind of his Spirit. Amen.

Here remain two objections, which may seem weighty, and which may peradventure move many not to follow the former counsell. The former reason is, A man shall say, O sir, it is no small matter you speak of; to depart from a man's own native country into a strange realm. Many men have of great hindrances, as how is it possible that they can, or may do so? Some have lands and possessions, which they cannot carry with them: some have father, mother, brothers, sisters, children, and kinsfolk, from whom to depart is as hard a thing (and all one almost) as to suffer death, and to go to a strange country that thou knowest not, neither the manner of the people, nor how thou mayst either with the people, or with the country: or what a hard thing it is to live among a foreign people, where language thou dost not understand, &c.

I grant here thou mayst heap a number of worldly disadvantages, which are surely very likely to enucle the departure out of a man's native country, I mean out of the world in a frame, and of all these, and a thousand more of the like sort: I will fer into all ones saying of our Saviour Christ, which unto the faithful child of God, and to the true christian, is able to counterswear all these, yea, and to weigh them down, Christ our Saviour faith in Luke, If any come to me, and not hate his father and mother, he meanceth, and will not in his caufe for sake his father and mother, &c. his wife, children, and brethren, yea, and his life too, he cannot be my disciple: and whatsoever doth not bear my croos, and come after me, he cannot be my disciple. And, in another place, he sayeth, by the two parables, he is like one of a builder, and the other of a king that is a warior, that every man that will not, in Christ's caufe, forsake all that ever he hath, he cannot be his disciple. Look the places where will; the matter is so plainly set forth, that no objections can come in the way of a man of God, can serve to the contrary. Many places there be for the same purpose for the embracing of Christ's croos, when Christ and his caufe layeth it upon our back; but this is to plain, that I need here rehearse no more.

This latter reason and objection, wherefore I speak before, is of more force, and includeth a necessity, which, after the common saying, hath no law, and therefore it is more hard to dispose for it a good answer. This may be objected of some; alas, sir, I grant all these things do grieve me much, and because I understand they do not agree with God's word, which is the rule of my conscience, I both either to look on, or to hear them. But, alas, as I am an impotent man, an aged man, a sick man, a lame man; or I have so many small infants, and a little wife, who all live by my labour, and by my provision: if I leave them, they will starve, and I am not able to carry them with me, such is my state. Alas, sir, what shall I do? And these caues may chance to some men of God, whereby either that is no means, or minutes for impossibilities to depart the other country, or else in departing they shall be enforced to for saketh in extreme necessity, of whom both God and nature have committed unto them the care.

Alas! what counsel is here to be given? O lamentable state! O sorrowful heart! that neither can be, and without extreme danger and peril, to carry still. And these are they whom our Savannah- law before should be, and called them in his time the latter time, great hellish, or travelling a monstrous world that give, after they were sought to bed, for their beds. And of the face of such as is the infection of the pestiferous plague of abominations, Christ lamenting, and not caring, Woe be to the great belied and travelling and women that give suck in those days. For it is written in the Book of the Sixth, Two hundred and forty and eight, which will be the number of the old people, and the number of all the people, which will be delivered again? In what perils was Moses, whom he directed to fly for the sake of his life? And what was sent again to deliver the Israelites from their bondage? Not before they were in bondage by their misery. And when did the Lord mighty deliver people from the sword of Pharaoh? Not being were brought into such straits, that they were forced to pass on every side, the main sea on one side, the main land on the other, that they could look forth, yea, what did they indeed look for, either to have been drowned in the sea, or to be fallen on the edge of Pharaoh's sword? These things which wrought most wonderful things in the deliverance, were given when God directed His people, nor the woe before of his will before, but by his will, it was, for the purpose of the people of God. And this is the reason, why the prophet saith I fear, that is to declare, for Christ's sake, of the prophets of God, whom God saith in the prophet of the earth, that is to declare, to be brought into extreme perils, mightily delivered them again; as Elias, and John, and many others, whom it would not be long to rehearse and set out an account of. And did the Lord preserve his servants otherwise in the new law after Christ's incarnation? Read the Acts of the apostles, and shall see no. Were not the apostles cast into prison, brought out by the mighty hand of God? Did not the angel deliver Peter out of the prison, and bring him out by the iron gates of the city, and set him free? And when I pray, you? Even the same night was Herod appointed to have brought him to judgment, and he was brought in, and he had killed, before the brother of John. Paul and Silas, who had been fore too long, were put into the inner prison, and there laid fast in the stocks. I pray you, what was there that the magistrates should begin the next day themselves to them, to desire them to content, and to depart in peace? Who God delivered with so much power and authority, and brought to Felix the emperor's deputy, as both the high-priest, the pharisees, and rulers of the Jews confirned to inquire judgment of death against him, he being fall in prison, and add more thyself.
made all the doors of the prison to fly wide open, and the foundation of the same, like an earthquake, to tremble and shake.

Thinkst thou, O that man of God, that Christ our Saviour had left affection to the first martyr St. Stephen, because he suffered his enemies even at the first conflict to fling him to death? No surely; nor James, John's brother, who was one of the three that Paul called pri-
mates or principals amongst the apostles of Christ. He loved him never a whit the worse than he did the other, although he had suffered, and then he cut off his head. Nay, doth not Daniel say, speaking of the cruelty of Antichrist's time; And the learned (he meaneth truly learned in God's law) shall teach many, and shall fall upon the sword, and in the flame (that shall be burned in the flaming fire) and in captivity (that is, which shall be taken and robbed of their goods for a long season). And afterwards in the same place of Daniel it followeth, And of the learned there be, which shall fall or be overthrown, that they may be known, tried, chosen, and made freth and lusty. If that then was foretold to be done to the godly learned, and for such gracious causes, let every one to whom any such thing by the will of God doth chance, be merry in God and rejoice, for it is to God's glory, and to his own everlasting wealth. Wherefore is he that ever he was born, for whom thus graciously God hath provided, having given him the strength of the Holy Ghost to stand steadfastly in the height of the form. Happy is he that ever he was born, whom God his heavenly Father hath vouchsafed to appoint to glorify him, and to edify his church by the effusion of his blood.

To die in Christ's cause is an high honour, to which no man certainly shall or can aspire, but to whom God vouchsafeth that dignity: for no man is allowed to presume to take upon himself any office of honour, but who is therein called of God. Therefore John faith well, speaking of them who have obtained the victory by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony, that they loved not their lives, even unto death.

And our Saviour Christ faith, 'He that shall lose his life for my cause shall find it.' And this manner of speech pertineth not to one kind of christians (as the world doth wickedly dream), but to all that do truly pertain unto Christ. For when Christ had called unto him the multitude together with his disciples, he said unto them (mark that he said not this to the disciples and apostles only, but he said it to all), Whosoever will follow me, let him forsake himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me; for whomsoever shall lose his life (he meaneth, whosoever will, to save his life, for sake or leave him and his truth), and whosoever shall lose his life for my cause and the gospel's sake, shall save it. For what shall it profit a man if he shall win the whole world, and lose his own soul, his own life? or what shall a man give in exchange for what is of life eternally? For the life of the body is naught, the body is naught, but the life of the soul is life indeed. Thou可知 it is one thing, but no two things.

The world without doubt (this I do believe, and there-fore I say) draweth towards an end, and in all ages God hath his own manner, after his secret and unsearchable wisdom, and that we do not know; for although we have the not faith of them for certain, God wrought such things, or because, after he had for the truth of his doctrine by such means then sufficiently, the time of so many miracles be done was expired. Which of them that are unpardoned, or either there be any other, howbeit I leave that to God. But know thou this, well beloved in God, that God's hand is as strong as his arm was, he may do what his gracious pleasure is, and his good and gracious as ever he was. Man changeth the garment doth, but God our heavenly Father changeth the weather now that he is, and shall be for evermore.

The world without doubt (this I do believe, and therefore I say) draweth towards an end, and in all ages God hath his own manner, after his secret and unsearchable wisdom, and that we do not know; for although we have the not faith of them for certain, God wrought such things, or because, after he had for the truth of his doctrine by such means then sufficiently, the time of so many miracles be done was expired. Which of them that are unpardoned, or either there be any other, howbeit I leave that to God. But know thou this, well beloved in God, that God's hand is as strong as his arm was, he may do what his gracious pleasure is, and his good and gracious as ever he was. Man changeth the garment doth, but God our heavenly Father changeth the weather now that he is, and shall be for evermore.
and flain. Of whom some were racked, as the apostle faith, and would not be delivered, that they might receive their crown of incorruption: but these were not by mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover by bonds and imprisonments: they were floned, they were fawn after, they were tempted, they were slain with the sword, they wandered up and down in hampkins and goatskins, with a song. Condemned, such men as the world was not worthy to have, wandering in wilderness, in mountains, in dens and caves of the earth.

All these were approved by the testimony of faith, and received the promise, because God provided better for them that were without, that without them should none be conformed. They tarry for us now undoubtedly, longing for the day: but they are commanded to have patience yet (faith the Lord) a little while, until the number of their fellow-servants be fulfilled, and of their brethren which are not yet flain, as they were.

Now (thou, Om of God) for our Lord's sake, let us not for the love of this life, tarry then too long, and be occasion of delay of that glorious conformation, in hope of expectation whereby they departed in the Lord, and which also the living induced with God's Spirit, ought to be the banner of the faith of Christ, for with all the creatures of God. Let us all, with John the servant of God, cry in our hearts unto our Saviour Christ, Come, Lord Jesus, come. For then when Christ, who is our life, shall be made manifest, and appear in glory, then shall we be conformable to that world which shall be revealed: for this our weak body shall be transfigured, and made like unto Christ's glorious body, and that by the power whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself. Then that which is now corruptible shall be made incorruptible: that which now is vile, shall be made glorious: that which is now weak, shall rise mighty and strong: that which is groggs and carnal, shall be made fine and spiritual: for then we shall see and have the unsearchable joy and fruition of the glorious Majesty of our Lord, even as he is.

When then shall hinder us to jeopard, yea, to spend this life which we have here in Christ's cause? O therefore, thou man of God, thou that art laden, and so hindered like unto a pregnant woman, that thou canst not fly the plague, yet if thou lust after such things as I have spoken of, stand fast, whatsoever shall befall, in thy matter's cause; and take this thy hindrance to fly, for a calling of God to fight in thy matter Christ's cause. Of this be thou certain, they can do nothing unto thee, which thy Father is not aware of, or hath not foreseen before: they can do no more than it shall please him to forbear it for the furthering of his glory, exalting of his church, and thine own salvation. Let them then do what they shall, seeing to thee, O man of God, all things shall be forced to serve, and to work with thee unto the bell before God. Be not afraid, and remember the end.

All this which I have spoke for the comfort of the lamentable cafe of the man whom Christ called great belled woman, I mean to be spoke likewise to the captive and prisoner in God's cause: for such I count to be as it were already summoned and prefigured to fight under the banner of the cross of Christ, and as it were soldiers allowed and taken up for the Lord's wars, to do their Lord and master good and honourable service, and to thicke, as men of truly servite in his cause, even unto death, and to think their life lost in his cause, to the glory of his cause, to the glory of his apostles, and meantime to all his name in St. Mark's gospel. Fear not them which kill the body, for they cannot kill the soul, but fear him more which may destroy and cut both body and soul into hell-fire. Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing, and one of them shall not fall upon the ground without your Father? All the hairs on your head are numbered. Fear them not, you are much more valued than are the little sparrows. Every one that shall speak evil of you before men, him shall I likewise sacrifice, and (for) whatsoever I shall say before me, I shall deny him likewise before the Father which is in heaven.

The Lord grant us therefore of his benediction, grace, and strength, that here we may so confide but that we may not be afraid, and firmly think that he may confide us again, and neither do we fear his Father which is in heaven, to our glory after leaving comfort, joy, and salvation.

To our heavenly Father, to our Saviour and redeemer Jesus Christ, and to the Holy God, be honour now and for ever. Amen.

NICHOLAS RIDC.
newly begun, than truly impugned. Such was the off-
poison of that man (as it feemed) that of purpoze he
never affected to feem in a manner to be a ontritor or
executioner of the king, though they were for ever roten with age. Amongst
other matters, this one I cannot but marvel at in my
mind, when I fee how proudy he braggeth, and vainly
vaunteth himfelf (as well in his letters to the lord pro-
ctorate, and others of the great of this city, for
his long matter articulated and exhibited before the
archbishop of Canterbury, and other the king's commit-
tione (on the high favour he had of the noble king
famous memory, king Henry the Eighth, when indeed
nothing was les true; neither did hekefelf favour any
of his council, than he would, and yet he was nor
feem to have feemed the fad bithop to be a fecret maintainer
of the bithop of Rome unfurth authority, and a feem
interferer and hinderer of his proceedings in reformation
of religion. And therefore he did in fuch mulhe displeafe him,
that he did not only mind (if it had pleafed God to grant
his highnes longer life) to have ufed the extremities of
the law againft him, upon very fure and juft matter of
old committed by him (and yet not taken away by any
pardon), thereupon often commanding the lord Paget,
then his fecrety, to keep faw certain writings which he had
gainft him; but he hefeemed them not as he could, put
them out of his left will and fefentment, not fuffering
either to be one of his executors, or in any cafe to
be of his fon's council, no, although he were exafte conclufion
contrary to the ftrangery of the lords, and others of his highnes council, laying
him to be a troublesome, and headstrong man, and not meet to be
about his fon, or to have any thing to do by his will.
Now, amongst other caufes that moved the king thus to
feuft his fidelity towards his godly proceedings in
religion, I find this to be one. He pleated his majesty,
after his abolifhing the bithop of Rome, that he had
usurped the authority (amongst other emblaffages to foreign princes), to
find the fad bithop of Wincheffer, and fir Henry
Knevet, knight, as joint ambaffadors to the emperor,
being then at a diet or council at Ratlimb, appoynting
alfo fir Henry Barry, fir William Blundell, knights, and
Andrew Bainton, efquire, (their highnes fautors) to
give their attendance upon the fad fir Henry Knevet,
for the more honouring of his embaffage. It happened
also at that time, that fir Henry Knevet entertainen
d in his fervice (as Reward of his houfhold) one William
Wolfe, who had in his capacitate of a countajian
Thomas Wyatt, knight, the king's former ambaffador
there, and by that means had good acquaintance in those
parts, as well in the emperor's court, as elsewhere. This
Wolfe, towards the latter end of the diet or council,
happened to walk (without hed) towards the emperor's
courfe to hear fome matter; but met Ludovico,
Italian merchant, one of his old acquaintance.
Who, supposing the fad Wolfe to have attended upon
the bithop of Wincheffer, (not knowing of any other
joint ambaffador) required Wolfe, for old acquaintance,
to do him a pleafure, whereunto he willingly granted.
Whereupon Ludovico showed him, that the pope's
legate, or ambaffador to the emperor (which was cardi-
inal Contarene) departing the day before towards Rome,
and having no leaufe to end his businesf himfelf, had put
the fad Ludovico in truth for the accomplifhment of
him of all other things, and amongst thefe other things
charged him, that he should repair to the ambaffador of
England, and require of him an anfwer to the fopere's
letters, which the legate did late fend unto him, ad-
drefled to him from Rome, and that upon the receipt
thereof he should fend them after with all fpeed; and
therefore if his lord ambaffador would write by that
courier, he prayed Wolfe to tell him that it was time to
write, for the courier went away within a day or two.
At thifite Wolfe being abathed, and yet partly guflfing
which ambaffador he meant, thought it not mee to tell
the whole fervant he had from the waterer, but by the
front he found that he meant the bithop of Wincheffer. And
to the end that Ludovico should fufpefit nothing, he an-
swered him, that he being not the ambaffador's fecretary,
could fay little therein; however he would not fail to
put his fecretary in remembrance of it: which thing
Ludovico
Ludovico also desired him to do, for that he had no other acquaintance with the ambasador, and for that time they departed. This matter seeming to Wolfe of some importance, he immediately revealed it to Sir Henry Knevet, his master; who weighing also the greatness of the case, and the relief that might result from one man's bare report to attempt aught, in the place and time whereby such a person was to be touched, charged Wolfe well to advise himself, that no hatred, displeasure, or other passion, did move him to disclose this, but truth only. Wolfe replied, That he weighed well the weightiness of the case, and was as to his own respect, to be persuaded over in silence, for avoiding of his private displeasure, if the duty of allegiance bound him not otherwise. But sir, (says he) if you think not my hearing thereof, one to one, to be sufficient, I warrant you to do me service, for the satisfaction of your friends. (till) Jean, I hear the like words from Ludovico's own mouth as well as I. Upon which sir Henry Knevet devise what of his servants he might use to that purpose, and at last reposed upon Mr. Thomas Chalenor, his secretary, because he had the Italian tongue. Not making him privy to any matter, but desired Wolfe to take him aboard with him of his own private motion, for they were very familiar friends. Whereupon the next morning, being Sunday, Wolfe came to Chalenor's chamber, and prayed him familiarly to take a walk with him abroad to the Piazza, or Mark square. As he was accordingly ready, and knowing of any special cause why. When they came to the Piazza, overtook the emperor's palace, (near whereunto also the pope's legate had lodged) and had there walked a while together, there came thither the said Ludovico, and eipying him, if he had not that gentleman of his being friendly, and volunteered into talk about the Exchange, and other matters, Chalenor being still with them. At last upon an occasion, they entered into a little talk about the former letters that the ambasador of England had received from Rome by the pope's legate, of which Ludovico had in the same time given an answer, and departed the next day, and therefore prayed Wolfe to put the ambasador's secretary in remembrance of them. Whereunto Wolfe answered, That he would willingly do it; but he did not well know which ambasador he meant, for that there were two: one, the bishop of Winchester, and the other, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber. To whom Ludovico replied, That he meant not the gentleman of the privy chamber, but the bishop. By which talk, and much such like, (as upon the former day) Mr. Chalenor being moved, (and not knowing what to answer or what to do) before the departure of Ludovico from them, said unto Wolfe, that Ludovico had but homely talk with him, noto be passed over lightly, and therefore he would tell his master of it. To whom Wolfe answered, Do as you will, if you think of any other manner. And therefore at his return home, he told Sir Henry Knevet what speech he had heard at Ludovico's mouth.

Sir Henry Knevet being thus further ascertained of the matter, opened the whole to Sir John Barkley, Sir William Blunt, and to Mr. William Bainton, who all agreed yet to hide a further question at the present time. And Wolse should procure Ludovico to bring certain velvets, and other silks, unto Sir Henry Knevet's lodging, as well for himself as for the other gentlemen, which that afternoon he had accomplish'd, and brought Ludovico unto Sir Henry, where also were the other gentlemen. After they had all viewed the silks, and had some talk about the price, Wolfe took occasion again to ask Ludovico, if Sir Henry was the ambasador of whom he was to demand an answer of the letters sent by the pope's legate? To whom the merchant answered, No, it was not his negociy, but it was an answer that had *---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
himself repenting in his deportations) in imputing
the king to the said bishop, deluded and misled, and
encouraging and concealing the king's false and
pernicious white towards the popish religion and
concealing the king's false and pernicious white towards
him, which thing this valiant bishop noted not.

Whoever he was, he being now gone, I refer
to my diary, to whom he shall hand or fall. As
when his death and manner thereof, I have ex-
pressed them elsewhere, as I shall do what they
are convertible for the most of the Delaware
in the five articles, inculcating God's faults, in
Christ's sincere religion, and his own act and
work, and that he had a very good reason to bring them to
also the lady Elizabeth. For whatsoever
dead that she was in, it did (no doubt) cause
the bishop bishop, who was the cause thereof.
Neither which we have heard, that she high-
sounding in the Tower, a writing came down from certain
for an execution, it is not out of contro-
versy, the former was the former of that engine, who
she had that one day, had brought this whole
and more ruin, had not the Lord's most graci-
ously, through Mr. Bridges then the lieuten-
ian, and the lady the queen, certified her exec-
tion. The former was pronounced by the nuns. For which
she was in her last hour, the nuns and the congrega-
tion of all English churches, Amen.

Thus uncertain, I must speak uncertainly, for
vital information, or else put adventure there
in or in the calm can far more than I have here-
expressed.

For a thing being a story, there is nothing
more than a story, and after all his devices, had not all his power
being the one, and in casting such a platform,
all in words at his death is too confounding to
appear upon, as he thought, was true, and could
not avoid. For the most of things uncertain, I
shall not generally.

Wherefore as touching the manner
of his death, how rich he died, what words
last, that little repentance he showed, whether he
struck his tongue twice, and out of his mouth, as did
Assam, archbishop of Canterbury, or whe-
ter as cardinal Wolsey, if he was a man,
which he died in despair, it being Latomus and others
look. At this I refer to their reports of whom I
also, or have it to the knowledge of them who
are better.

Dwelling here, by the way, touching the
above, I find, I might not or should not
set him here-lay, which not long since came
to the information of a certain worthy and credible
man, and another gentleman of the same name
named, which Mrs. Munty, the wife of Mr. Muc-
son, then secretary to the old lord Thomas,
was a Norfolk, a most excellent witness of this that
they destroyed in the house of a worshipful
in the inane office in this city, words and effect as
such. The same day as bishops Ridley and Lat-
field, at Oxford, being about the 15th day of
this day, there came into the house of Stephen Girdi-
sher, of the earl of Norfolk, with the aforesaid Mr.
the next, reported as before, says, being not well
ded, there waiting for his dinner, the
repairing, not yet disposed to dine, deferred the time
face a clock in the afternoon. At length about
week, as his servant, serving from Oxford,
pertinacious to the bishop what he had heard and
said, and his being dissuaded, and the other matter,
and hearing by man that fire was let upon them, come out rejoicing to the
N, and had, let us go to dinner. Whereupon
leaving half, not even a few bits, but
hands full of God's terrible hand fell upon him
very fast, as immediately he was taken from the

able, and so brought to his bed, where he continued the
space of fifteen days in such intolerable anguish and tor-
ments, that all that was did not last the twenty days, he
could not void by urine or otherwise, any thing that
he received: whereby his body being miserably inflamed
within, (who had inflamed so many good martyrs be-
fore) was brought to a wretched end. And therefore,
no doubt, as most likely it is, came the thrilling out of
his tongue from his mouth, and the great torments of
the inflammation of his body. A spectacle worthy to
be noted and beheld of all such bloody and burning
percutaets.

But to proceed farther in the sequel of our story: I
could name the man (but I abdite from names), who
was the inciter thereof, and the great enemi
t to the bishop of Winchelter, reported to us concerning the said bishop,
that when Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, came to him,
and began to comfort him with words of God's promise,
and with the free justification in the blood of Christ our
Saviour, repeating the scriptures to him; Winchelter hearing that, What, my lord, (quoth he) will you open the
gap now? then farewelled all together. To me, and
to such others in my face, you may speak it, but open this
window to the people, then farewelled altogether.

Moreover, what Dr. Bonner soon bid in him, or what
he heard of him, and what words passed between them
about the time of extremity, because I have reported and
am here.

If Dr. Bonner did then behold any thing in the
study, and might turn to his good example, I exhorted him to take it,
and to beware in time, as I may God he may. Here
I could bring in the frivolous epistle that was made on his
death, devil'd by a papist for a papist bishop, but I
omitted it, and instead thereof I have here inserted certain
things of others, wherein may appear what an earnest and vehement
enemy he was to the pope, which would have been con-
fident in himself; and how unconceited he varied from
himself; and also the kind of his sight, the irregularity of
his own wit, varied from other papists in certain
particulars: Such as are (as I think) in his almanacs, and tediousness also in reading; yet I thought
not to omit the fame, upon certain considerations,
namely, for so far many yet to this day there he, who
flicks so much to Gardner's wit, learning, and religion,
taking him for such a substantial pillar of the pope's
church. To the intent therefore, that such as kith and
kin have been deceived by him, may no longer believe
therein, if they will either credit his own works, words,
sermons, writings, disputations; or else he will be judged
by his own witnesses of his own party produced, we
have here collected such manifest probations, which
may notoriously declare how effectually first he was withstood
and then afterwards deposed, who declare the manifest contrariety and repugnancy of the said
Gardiner, first with other writers, and lastly with himself:
first beginning with his sermon preached before
king Edward. The sum and effect of which sermon,
brevily collected by Mr. Udall, hereunder followeth.

The Sermon and Effect of Dr. GARDINER'S SERMON,
preceded before KING EDWARD, Anno 1530.

Most honourable audience, I purpose, by the
grace of God, to declare some few things of
that is accustomably used to be read in the church
at this day. And because that without the special grace of
God, neither can I speak any thing to your edifying,
nor we receive the fame accordingly, I shall desire
you all that we may jointly pray all together for the
affection of his grace. In which prayer I commend to Almighty
God your most excellent majesty, our lord and
king of England, France, and Ireland, and of the church
of England and Ireland, next and immediately under
God here on earth, the supreme head; queen Catharine
dowager, my lady Mary's grace, my lady Elizabeth's
grace, your majesty's most dear fathers; my lord pro-
curator's grace, with all others of your royal council, the spiritual and temporality; and I shall de-
fire to you to commend unto God with your prayer,
the fruits departed unto God in Christ's faith, and amongst

THE END.
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS. [Q. M. 1945.]

The Gospel beginneth, Matthew xvi. 13, 14, 15, 16. When Jesus came into the parts of Cæsarea, a city that Philipus builded, he asked his disciples, and said, Whom do men say that the Son of Man is? They said, Some say that he is John the Baptist, some that he is Elia, and some that he is Jeremiah, or one of the prophets. He said to them, But whom do ye say that I am? Then answered Simon Peter, and said, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God, Acts.

I cannot have time, I think, to speak of the gospel thoroughly, for other matters that I have here now to say, but I shall note unto you such things as I may, and first, of the diversity of opinions; concerning Christ, which were among the people; but among this is, that the disciples of Christ’s school, there was no variety, they agreed all together in one truth, and among them there was no variety. For when Peter had, for all the reft, and in the name of all the reft, made his answer, that Christ was the Son of God, they all confess, that he had spoken the truth. Yet these opinions of Christ that the people had of him, though they were sundry, yet they were honourable and not blunderous: for so to say that Christ was Elia, and John the Baptist, was honourable: for so thought him to be, because he did frankly, harshly, and openly rebuke them. But when they called him the Son of man, he had in them an honourable opinion of him, and thought him so to be, because of his great learning which they perceived in him, and marvelled where he had it. And they that said he was one of the prophets, had an honourable opinion of him, and favoured him, and thought well of him, but there was another sort of people that spake evil of him, and slandered him, and railed on him, saying that he was a glutton, and a drinker of wine; that he had a devil in him; that he was a deceiver of the people; that he was a carpenter’s son, as though he were the worse for his father’s craft. But of these he asked no question; for he was not agreed with the other. Wherein ye shall note, that man of his own power and strength can do nothing: no, nothing that is good can he do of his own invention or device, but ereth and faileth; when he is left to his own invention, he ereth in his imagination, and falleth in his own computation, that he devieth nothing well, whenever he is left to himself without God, and then never do any such agree in any truth, and wander and err in all that they do. As men of law, if they be asked their opinion in any point touching the law, ye shall not have two of them agree in any thing; whereas there are two of them in their opinion in any matter, if they should answer all one thing, they fear left they should be supped and thought to have no learning. Therefore be they ever so many of them, they will not agree in their answers, but devieth each man a fundry answer in any thing that they are at.

The philosophers that were not of Christ’s school ered every one in their vain opinions, and no one of them agreed with the other. Yea, men of simplicity, though they meant well, yet being out of Christ’s school, they varied and agreed not in their opinion of Christ, though they thought well of him. Some said he was John, some Elia, some Jeremiah, but none made the right answer. He that answered here, was Simon the son of Jonas, and he said, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God.

Here ye may note the properties that were in Peter. He is firm, which is the meaning of Peter, and John is a dove; so that in him, that is of Christ’s school, must be these two properties, obedience and simplicity. He must be humble and innocent as a dove, that will be of Christ’s school. Pride is a hindrance of Christ’s school; for as the wife man, God subdueth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble and meek. And according to the same doth Christ in the gospel say, Oh Father, I confess unto thee, that I have sinned thee, that thou hast hid these things from me, and hast opened them to the world. Whereupon faith St. Augustine, that the knowledge and knowledge of sciences are no more Christ’s school, but a furtherance thereof, if well applied and used as they ought to be; but he is proud, and feedeth himself, with his own conceit of himself, and nothing is of God. And applying his learning and knowledge to God and following of his own fancy, is no right of Christ, but felleth into error. When they fell and themselves to be wife, they were made gods and philosophers had every one of his own sect, and of his sect, had many gay sentences for the comprehension of opinions, and every man thought his own opinion the best: but because they applied all to their own pagan glory, and not to the honour of God, nor heard themselves as they ought have done, but followed their own fancy, they were dead and fell out of the way, as not of Christ’s school: and all that go out of Christ’s school, pride hath brought them on all ways, as such as have not entered, have kept themselves in it with pride likewise: therefore all such as will fall out of Christ’s school and discipline, must be humbled, and all such that think to become absurd fellows to be wife, they were made fools.

He that cannot learn this lesson of Peter, and confounds with him, that Christ is the Son of the living God, is no scholar of Christ’s school, he is either ever so well learned, ever so well read in other books. But Peter not only declared Christ to be the Son of the living God, in this place, faith he answered, “Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God.” And St. Luke faith, “Thou art the Christ.” And St. John faith, “Thou art the Christ.” But in that is no variety; for to say, Christ the Son of the living God, and to say, Christ is the Lord, is no variation; the Christ of God, and the Christ in effect all one, and no diversity in it; for the alone is the whole; and he that confounds Christ, is a thoroughly christian man, and doth confounds him to be the Lord and Saviour of the world, who now must confound what Christ is; he was first our Messiah, our Saviour: he was sent to be our king, and also our sacrifice: he was sent from the Trinity to be our Mediator between God and us, and to mediate us to the favour of the God the Father: he was the sacrifice that offered for our sins, and the sacrifice that was used in the temples in his name, and he is our bishop, he is our true mensifier, for that is his office; and for this we sacrifice the sins of the people, and make intercession for the people; and as he was our sacrifice, so was our reconciliation to God again.

But we must confound and believe him thoroughly. He was our first bishop, then, do faith, he is all in all, he is in us in Christ, and in God; and this sacrifice was made sufficient to deliver us from our sins, and bring us in favour with God; so to continue in us in the favour of God, he ordained a perpetual remembrance of himself, he ordained himself for a remembrance of himself at his last supper, when he took the cup of the fruit of the altar, not for another redemption as that the world needed a new redemption from sin, but we might thoroughly remember his most holy passion, intituled the sacrifice by his most holy word, being, “This is my body,” which word is sufficient to the remembrance and make sufficient sacrifice for us, and of Christ, and of God, and of our redemption. And this daily sacrifice be intituled continued among christian men, not for need of redemption or satisfaction for the sins of the world, which was sufficiently performed by the sacrifice of Christ, and body and blood done upon the cross; neither is this sacrifice sufficient, neither doth this sacrifice any thing, for that was made for sin to continue in us in the remembrance of the passion suffered for us, so made us strong in believing the fruit of his passion, to make us diligent in these giving for the benefit of his passion, to establish the new faith, and to make it strong in acknowledgment of the dominion of Christ, and the case is the true understanding of the mafs, not for another redemption.
I have now declared what I think of the act of parliament made for the receiving of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ in both kinds. You have my mind and opinion concerning a proclamation that came forth for the same act, and I have declared my mind therein given at majesty, and I think and have ever been agreeable to this point; I have oftentimes reasoned in it, I have spoken and also written in it, both beyond the seas, and here; my books are abroad, which I cannot now unwrite again. I was ever of this opinion that it might be received in both kinds, and it was a constitution provincial, scarce two hundred years ago, made by Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, that it should be received in both kinds, or at least in the great churches, for in the smaller churches it was not thought to be so expedient. Thus I ever thought of this matter, that it was but another mode, nor have I changed my confidence, but I have obeyed and followed the order of the realm, and I pray you to obey orders as I have obeyed, that we may all be children of obedience.

Now will I return to the text. When Simon had answered, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God: then Christ saith unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona, for flesh and blood hath not opened that unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven: and I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Bielled art thou (faith he) for flesh and blood hath not opened that unto thee. For otherwise in John, Andrew told of Christ; and said, I have found the Messiah, which is Christ. But that is not enough. He that shall confess that Christ is the Son of God, hath the inward teaching, and must be spiritually taught by the Father of heaven, for Andrew's confession was nothing but a carnal confession, and such a one as any other might have made by nature: but the confession of Peter was above the reason of man; for Christ was there a very man, and Peter's eye told him that he was a very man, and yet he was inwardly taught by the Father of heaven, and had a secret knowledge given him from heaven, not by flesh and blood, that is to say, by man's reason, but inwardly by the Father of heaven: and seeing this was the reason, it is a marvellous thing that Peter should be told to deny faith, which is not within the precinct of carnal men, and such as use gross reason.

But Peter had another reason inwardly taught him, and because he understood his lefion, Christ gave him a new name: for Peter is a name, a new name of a christian man, for with faith Peter says, I will build my church, that is, I will establish all those which I intend to gather unto thee, and the devils shall not prevail against it: for he that with a good heart and sure faith confesseth this, he is sure from all evil: this world nor Satan can hurt thee.

But now for a farther declaration, it is a marvellous thing, that upon thence words the bishop of Rome should found his supremacy: for whether it be Super Petram, or Petrus, all is one matter, it maketh nothing at all for the purpose of a foundation of any fash supremacy. For otherwise (when Peter spake carnally to Christ, as in the same chapter a little following) Satan was his name, where Christ saith, Get behind me, Satan: for the name of Peter is no foundation for the supremacy, but as it is said in scripture, Ye are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, that is, by participation (for every man's meaning was, even as plainly as the other), he might be called the head of the church, as the head of the river is called the head, because he was the first that made this confession of Christ, which is not an argument for dignity, but for the quality that was in the man. For the first man is not made thence any better than the rest. The quaff, is not always the best man in the quaff, but is chosen to be the head-man for some other quality that is in him. Virtue may allure men, so that the inferior person in dignity may be the better in place, as the king sometimes chuffeth a mean man to be his prime minister, of whom he knoweth a good opinion, and the act is the king the king. And in some case the king of England might tend to Rome, and if the bishop of Rome were
were a man of such wit, wisdom, virtue, and learning, that he was able in matters of controversy concerning religion, to set an unity in the church of England; the king might well enough fend to him for his counsel and help, and yet should not in so doing give the bishop of Rome any superiority over the king. For if a king be in this world the chief physician; if the has who will have the best captain; and yet there are not the superiors, but the inferiors.

A schoolmaster is a subject, a physician is a subject, a captain is a subject, councillors are subjects, yet doth the order and direct the king. Wherefore, leaving the bishop of Rome out of the question, to declare what opinion I am of. I do not now speak what I could say. I have spoken beyond the seas, I have written, my books be abroad. But this is not the place here, I say that this place maketh nothing for the bishop of Rome, but for Christ only, for other foundation can no man lay, than what is laid, which is Jesus Christ. And he that goeth forth declaring my mind, in my time had some alterations. First, a great alteration it was to renounce the bishop of Rome's authority, and I was one that fold it in. A great alteration it was, that abbeys were dissolved. A great alteration it was that images were pulled down: and to all these I could easily consent; for I could easily be a maintainer of superficiality, and have been called a matter of the ceremonies, and of outward things; and I have been noted to take that religion which confiseth in outward things, as though he were a right christian that fulfilled the outward ceremonies, whereas I promised to declare no man's duty but to God; and I have often seen so-called ceremonies, and that I have never been of other opinion than I am concerning ceremonies, and my opinion I have gathered of Augustine and Jerome, ancient fathers and doctors of the church.

Ceremonies serve to move men to serve God, and as he should serve for that purpose, they may be well used in the church: but when man maketh himselfe fervant to them, and not them to serve him, then be our ceremonies brought to an abuse. If by overmuch familiarity of them men abuse them, they do evil. For we must not serve creatures but God. We had monke, nunny, and trity, of a wonderous number, much variety of garments, variety of devices in dwelling, many fundry orders and fallitions in moving the body. Those things were first ordained to admonish them of their duty to God, to labour for the necessity of the poor; and to feste from their own bellies to the poor; and therefore we must tyrannically use such orders. And because they abused those things, and fet them in an higher place than they ought to do, not taking admonition thereby the better to serve God, but esteeming perfection to confit in them, they were disliked, and their garments were taken away.

But one thing the king Henry would not take away, that was the chalice. The vow of obedience he converted to himself, the vow of chality he willeth still to remain with them.

We had many images whereat pilgrimages were done, and many tombs that men were used to visit, by reason whereof they fell into a fancy of idolatry and superstitious, and therefore they might have been taken for and because that they had not the use they were ordained for, they were left. When men put the images in a higher place than they forced for, then were they taken clean away: give a child a gay book to learn upon, and then if he gaze upon the gorgeousness of his book, and leave the uses of learning, according to the intent that that book was given for, the book is taken away from him. So the images, when men had them in higher place and embellishment than they were first set up in the church for, then they might be taken away; and I never was of other mind, nor ever had other opinion of them. Divers' books there be in the church which be in the liberty of the ruler to order as he feareth cause; and he that is ruler may either let them stand, or else may cause them to be taken away.

There be two manner of reformations. There be things in the church, which if they be abused, may not be taken away, as for baptism, if it be abused, there may not be another thing be put in the place of it, but the church must be reformed, and brought to the right use again. In like manner, preaching, if it be abused, may not be taken away, as for the preaching of such persons as desisted them. It is true, I've preached against the desisters of them, and by that images might be suffered and used in the church as lay-men's books, yet I never otherwise dealt with them, but to be used for such purpose as they were made for in the church; but now that men be by their own wanton, they are clean taken away, whereas external reformation is no more touched, than when books were away for abusing of them.

There was an order taken for books not to be sold wherein some might have said, the books are good, let us use them, but therefore we use them not enough. I will therefore take the devices of them, and bid them: but if thou halt any charity, thou mightst be contented rather to have them clean taken away to declare thyself to have another opinion that ought to have.

As touching ceremonies, I esteem them all as idolatry, and things indifferent, whereas he kept, the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, see ceremonies. Nevertheless we have time, place, number, as a certain number of psalms to be used, times, which may be done without superficiality in these things must serve us, and not we serve them. I think, if in them we make such abuse as have passed, the religion of God is not in these exercises, and therefore in taking away the religion of Christ is nothing touched or hindered. But men must in such things be contented, not for the ceremony, but for obedience. And that faith, that we shall rebuke every broch, with my conviction, and confidence tellleth me that I have spoken plain, you may know what I am, and that you may not be received in me, nor be flandered in me, nor make a further search to know my heart.

I like well the communion, because it proveth another mark of unity in the church. I like well the communion, because it flappeth the mouths of all heretics, and reverently speak or rail against the sacrament. I like well the rest of the king's majesty's proceedings concerning the sacrament. I have now told you what I like well.

But shall I speak nothing of what I dislike not in the same? I shall say I dislike not any thing, because of what I like. I will therefore say that I have no view or opinion, nor do I like well the communion, because it flappeth the mouths of all heretics, and reverently speak or rail against the sacrament. I have now told you what I like well.

I dislike not the communion, because it proveth another mark of unity in the church. I dislike not the communion, because it flappeth the mouths of all heretics, and reverently speak or rail against the sacrament. I have now told you what I like well. But shall I speak nothing of what I dislike not in the same? I shall say I dislike not any thing, because of what I like.
The POPE's SUPREMACY denied by BISHOP GARDINER.

Item, For the space of fourteen years together, he preached against the pope's supremacy in divers sermons, and especially in one sermon before king Henry, CEREMONIES, IMAGES, CHAUNTRIES, &c. discountenanced by Bishop GARDINER.

Item, For ceremonies and images which were abused to be taken away by public authority, he did well allow it, as a child to have his book taken from him when he abused it, or delighteth only in the golden covenant.

The dissolving of monasteries and religious houses, he allowed and granted, that they justly suppressed.

Friars he never liked in all his life.

Monks he counted but belly-gods.

The going about of St. Nicholas, St. Catharine, and St. Clement, to be approved.

The taking away or transporting of Chantry Obits, he referred to the arbitrement of the politic rulers, granting that if they did divide them, it might well be done.

Item, He wifithem to be committed to a better use, and that monasteries were justly taken away.

The observing of days, hours, number, time, and place, if they be orderly and publicly commanding by the rulers, it is but to set the church in an outward and public order; but if a man inwardly and privately be addicted to the same, shewing his prayer otherwise not available, but by observing thereof, it is an error.

The communion let out by king Edward he liked well.

The book of common service he was content both to keep himself, and cause it to be kept by others.

For the baniies, he exhorted the people in his preaching to come to the church to hear how the church of England did correct the same.

In sum, to all injudicions, flatudes, and proclamations fet forth by the king and superior powers, he yielded and granted.

Now, reader, compare these writings, preachings, and sayings of this bishop in the days of king Henry and king Edward, with his doing in queen Mary's time, and thou shalt find how inconsistent and contrary to himself, how perjured and false, and far differing from that which he was reported to be, in a certain English book set out in queen Mary's time, which faith that there were three only in England, whose confidence had never been stained in religion: of whom he falsely faith, the aforesaid bishop of Winchester was one.

Although bishop Gardiner in granting to these points of religion, (as just related) and other points also denying, could not therefore deliver the name and fame of a perfect christian, yet notwithstanding, if he had continued in his judgment still, and been constant in himself, he might have had more commendation both with God and men. But as soon as he began to allow the likewise altering with the time, was so far changed from what he seemed, that neither he agreed with other papists, nor yet with himself, as Dr. Ridley in certain treatises hath well noted of him: wherein, in as a glass, may be seen the manifest contrariteness and repugnance in him, not only from the truth of God's author, and but also how the said bishop standing so much in singularity by himself, neither agree with other his fellow-writers of his own faction, nor yet fully accordeth with himself, in certain cases of the sacrament, as the aforesaid Dr. Ridley, in examining his words and works, hath well declared.

Here we see this stout prelate of Winchester, with all his prosperities, doings, and qualifications, as in a certain anatomy proportioned out, whereby we may easily judge what is to be esteemed of him by his fruits, that he neither was a true protagonist, nor right papist; neither constant in his error, nor yet steadfast in the truth; false in king Henry's time, a differer in king Edward's time, double perjured, and a murderer in queen Mary's time, mutable and inconsistent in all times.

Todescrbe and point out the infallibility of this bishop.

No. 32.
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS. [Q. MARY. A.D. 1555]

before, no more need be added; yet notwithstanding, feeling the matter is too large to be lost, I may not forbear to introduce a piece of Dr. Roper's letter, written to one Crispin, physician, in Oxford, from Antwerp, concerning the doings of this bishop of Wincheste.
The copy of which here follows.

BEFORE my departure from the city of Paris, I wrote to you by our friend the Englishman, &c.

Now you shall be contented only with the narration of your bishop of Winchester, who (as aspetuated to the ambassadour of the noble prince) came to Lamb va with a great hurry, and was there received at one Jersey's house, and most honourably entertained, where the faculty of divines, for honour's sake, presented him with wine in the name of the whole university. But our famous doctors, and learned masters, for that they would more deeply search and understand the learning and excellence of the prelate, perused and scanned a certain oration made by him, and now extant, intitled, De vera Obediencia, in which oration he did deny the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and preferred his lord's and king's authority, before the holy apostolic fee, (as to the latter) to avoid reading and considering by it, they did not only regret that they had given him such honour, but also recanted that which they had done: and did not so much honour him before, but now they were as earnest and pitiful against him. Richard the bishop, a sort of teacher with the favour of that fraternity, and other champions of the falling church, disputed with him concerning the pope's supremacy. This bishop stoutly defended his said oration.
The divines on the contrary side, stantly maintained their opinions, and divers times openly with exclamations, calling the said bishop an excommunicate person, and a schismatic, to little reproach and injury of the English nation. The bishop not long after minding to say mass in St. Peter's church, they did deny unto him, as to an excommunicate person, the ornaments and vestments made in holy fane, where he was being highly offense, suddenly halted his journey from thence. The next day after the dean made an elegant oration, where-in he openly disgraced and defamed him. You have heard now a true story, for our doctor was a beholder of the whole tragedy, &c.

And thus now being sufficient for Gardiner's story, to leave him to his judge, and to let him go, we shall return and proceed (by God's leave) as the course of these doleful days shall lead us, to prosecute the residue of Christ's martyrs, as now in order followeth.

The Martyrdom of John WEBB, Gentleman, GEORGE ROPER, and GREGORY PARKE, at Canterbury.

JOHN WEBB was brought before the bishop of Dover, and Nicholas Harpsfield, or some other deputed in their room, on the 16th of September, and there had propounded unto him such articles as were commonly administered by Bonner to those of his jurisdiction: and being willed for that present to depart, and to deliberate with himself upon the matter, against the neglect of his appearance, he made answer, that he would no otherwise pay (by God's grace) than he had alreadypaid, which was this: As touching the sacrament of Christ's body, said he, I do believe it to be left unto his church (with thanksgiving) in commemoration of his death and passion, until his coming again. So that it being in remembrance of his body, and not by him, of consecration to be made wholly his body, really, substantially, and the fame body that was born of the virgin Mary: I utterly deny that.

After this comes the third day of October, the said John Webb, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were all brought together before the said judges; who there and then agreeing, and stedfastly allowing the former answer made before by Mr. Webb, were by the bloody prelates adjudged heretics; and therefore about the end of the same month they brought one of prison together to the place of tyrannical laying certain plagues mournfully as they were going to the stake.

And being thus brought (as I said) to the scaffold, there encompassed about with a chain, were bound together in one fire at Canterbury, most pitifully during their torments, and accounting himself guilty and before the Lord that they were made willing to suffer for Christ's gospel sake.

A short Account of WILLIAM WISEMAN, The 13th of December, William Wiseman, a poor man of London, died in London. He was in prison and bonds for the Gospel of Christ, thought, that either through famine, or for some murdering papists, he was made away. But nowhere of the coroner, named John Gibbs, gentleman, with an inquest of twelve men, sat upon him, though to outward appearance he was said to have found him in itself but only God's visitation, yet when a privy cause there might be of his death, the knoweth, I have not to say.

After the said William Wiseman was departed (as I said) in the Tower, the papists cast him into fields, commanding that no man should bury him according as their devout manner is to do with all that die there, whom they account to be profane and worthy of no burial, but to be cast to dogs and fowls. And yet notwithstanding this their merciless commandment, some good Tobits there were who buried him the evening, as commonly they did all the refusals of him, whom they were wont to call night to cover, and many times the archers in the flaying and, felling plausis together at their hand.

In the same month of December, James Gos died in prison at Colchester, laid there in bons for truth of God's word.

The History of Mr. JOHN PHILPOT, who was an anaesthetist, condemned, and Martyred for the Defense of the Gospel of Christ.

THE troubles of Mr. Philpot have been profusely related before, in the beginning of queen Mary's time, in prostituting the disputation in the convocation house. He came of a worshipful family, the son of a knight, born in Hampshire, brought up at New College, Oxford, where he continued, where he was a student for a few years, besides other liberal arts, especially languages, and particularly he wonderfully advanced in the Hebrew tongue. In wit he was most pregnant and of a singular courage, in spirit fervent, in religion valiant, and also well practiced and exercised in arms (which is no small matter in a true divine), of nativity plain and apert, far from all flattery (as doth evidence appear in all his behaviour), farther from all hypocrisy and deceitful dissimulation. What his learning was, his own examinations, penned with his own hand, did declare.

From Oxford, defirous to see other countries, occasion served thereunto, he went over into Italy and places therewithabout, where he coming upon a time from Venice to Padua, was in danger through a certain Franciscan friar accompanying him in his journey, who made there arch-deacon of Winchester, under Dr. Poinet, who then succeeded Gardner in that bishopric. Thus he continued during the time of king Edward's great profit of those parts therewithabout. When Edward
half, without any calling to answer before now, and my living taken from me without law.

Roper. Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal, yet we may by our commission and by the law, draw no answer to the sufficition of a flander going on you: and besides this, we have statutes to charge you herein withal.

Philpot. If I have offended any statute, charge me therewithal, and if I have incurred the penalty thereof, pass it not by my acquittance. And because you are magistrates and executors of the queen's majesty's laws, by force whereof you do now act, I desire that if I be found no notorious transgresser of any of them, I may not be burdened with more than I have done.

Cholmley. If the justice do suffice a felon, he may examine him upon sufficition thereof, and commit him to prision though there be no fault donc.

Story. I perceive whereabout this man goeth: he is plain in Cardmaker's cafe, for he made the same allegations. But they will not serve thee; for thou art an heretic, and holdest against the blessed mass: how fayet thou to that?

Philpot. I am no heretic.

Story. I will prove thee an heretic. Whoe'er hath held against the blessed mass is an heretic: but thou hast held against the same, therefore thou art an heretic.

Philpot. That which I speak, and which you are capable to charge me withal, was in the conversation, where, by the queen's majesty's will and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his confidence, and to speak his mind freely of such questions in religion, as were propounded by the procutors for which now I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I have been, neither now be compelled by you to answer for the same.

Story. Thou shalt go to Lollards' Tower, and be handled there like an heretic as thou art, and answer to the same that thou there didst speak, and be judged by the bishop of London.

Philpot. I have a matter already been conveyed of this matter before the lord chancellor, mine ordinary, who on this long time hath kept me in prision therefore, if his lordship will take my life away, as he hath done my liberty and living, he may, which I think he cannot do of his confidence, and therefore hath let me lie thus long in prision: wherefore I am content to abide the end of him herein, that mine ordinary, and do refuse the auditor of the bishop of London, because he is an incompetent judge for me, and not mine ordinary.

Story. But, sir, thou fayetkest words in the conversation-house, which is in the bishop of London's diocese, and therefore thou shalt be carried to Lollards' Tower, to be judged by him for the words thou fayetkest in his diocese against the blessed mass.

Philpot. Sir, you know it is against all equity, that I should be twice vexed for one cause, and that by such as by the law have nothing to do with me.

Roper. You cannot deny, but that you spoke against the mass in the conversation-house.

Story. Doft thou deny that which thou fayest there, or no?

Philpot. I cannot deny that I have spoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death for it, I am here ready to suffer whatsoever I shall be judged unto.

The Serjeant. This man is fed of vain-glory.

Cholmley. Play the wife gentleman and be conformable, and be not stubborn in your opinion, neither cast yourself away. I would be glad to do you good.

Philpot. I desire you, sir, with the rest here, that I be not charged further at your hands, than the law chargeth me, for what I have done, since there was no law directly against that wherewith I am now charged.

Roper. I shall add you, Mr. Doctor, (of old acquaintance in Oxford) I tryst will shew me some friendship, and not extremity.

Story. I tell thee, if thou wouldst be a good catholic
I, would be thy friend, and spend my own to thee good; but I will be no friend to a heretic, as they both will spend both and my cost, but I will burn thee. How fayest thou to the sacrament of the altar? Philpot. Sir, I am not come now to dispute your matter, and the time now serveth not thereto, but to answer to that I may be lawfully charged withal.

Story. Well, since thou wilt not revoke that thou hast done, thou shalt be had into Lollard's Tower.

Philpot. Sir, since you will needs fwe me this extremity, and charge me with my confession, I do desire to fwe your commissiow, whether you have this authority to do, and after view thereof, I shall (according to my duty) make you further answer, if you may by virtue thereof burthen me with my conscience.

Roper. Let him fee the commissiow: is it here? Story. Shall we let every man see our commissiow?

Cholmley. Let him go from whence he came, and on Thursday shall fee our commissiow.

Story. Let him lie in the Lollard's Tower; for I will sowe the King's-Bench, and all other prions also, of these heretics; they shall not have that reform as they desire, nor all their heretics.

Philpot. You have power to transfer my body from place to place at your pleasure; but you have no power over my soul. And I mind not whither you commit me, for I cannot be worse intreated than I am, kept all day in a clove chamber: wherefore it is no men in the world the flees be pulled up, wherewithal Mr. Doctor is offended.

Story. Marshal, take him home with you again, and fee that you bring him again on Thursday, and then we shall rid your fingers of him, and afterwards of your other heretics.

Doctor. God hath appointed a day shortly to come, in which he will judge us with righteousness, howsoever you judge of us now.

Roper. Be content to be ruled by Mr. Doctour, and shew yourself a catholick man.

Philpot. Sir, if I should speak otherwise than my conscience is, I should dissemble with you: and why be you so earnest to have me shew myself a diffamible both to God and you, which I cannot do?

Roper. We do not require you to dissemble with us to be a catholick man.

Philpot. If I do stand in any thing against that, whereas I am able to burthen me with one jot of the scripture, I shall be content to be counted no catholick man, or an heretic, as you please.

Story. Have we scripture, scripture? and with that he role up, saying, Who shall be judge, I pray you? This man is like his fellow Woodman, which the other day would have nothing else but scripture. And this is the beginning of the tragedy.

The SECOND EXAMINATION of Mr. PHILPOT, before the QUEEN'S COMMISSIONERS, Mr. Cholmley, Mr. Roper, Dr. Story, Dr. Cook, and the SCRIBES, Oct. 29, 1555, at Newgate Sessions-Hall.

At my coming, a man of Aldgate, of mine acquaintance, laid me unto, God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world; for Dr. Story said, that my lord chancellor had commanded to do you away. After a little conversation had between them, Mr. Cholmley called me unto him, saying:

Cholmley. Mr. Philpot, shew yourself a wife man, and set your business in your own case; but be conformable to the queen's proceedings, and live, and you shall be well aprofit of great favour and reputation.

Philpot. I shall do as it becomes a christfian man to do.

Story. This man is the ranket heretic that hath been, in all my lord chancellor's diocese, and hath done more hurt there: and therefore his pleasure is, that he should have the law to proceed against him, and I have spoken with my lord herein, and he willeth him to be committed to the bishop of London, and there to recant or else burn. He howled and wept the convocation-house, and made the sheriffs do as he said: this man did, as all the heretics do when they know how to answer. He shall go after his fellows. He fayeth thou, wilt thou recant?

Philpot. I know nothing I have done that I need to recant. Well, then I pray you let us commit for the Lollard's Tower, there to remain, and he be therther examined before the bishop of London; for I am too fine fed in the King's-Bench, and he hath much favour there; for his keeper said yesterday, he was the thirteenth fellow, and one of the best learned Englishmen, and with this his fame and wit he was.

Cook. This man hath most floutly maintained heresiies since the queen's coming in, above any that I have heard of; therefore it is most meet that he be adjudged by the bishop of London, for the heresy he hath maintained.

Philpot. I have maintained no heresies.

Cook. No, have you not? Did you not openly fwe against the sacrament of the altar in the convening house? Call you that no heresy? wilt thou recant or not?

Philpot. It was the queen's majesty's pleasure that we should refrain thereof, not by my seeking, but by other men's procuring, in the hearing of a council.

Cook. Did the queen give you leave to be there? you may be fure her grace will not do so. We will disperse that matter with you; my lord deth said that he proceeded by inquisition, and that, and the wilt not recant, thou shalt be burned.

Philpot. My lord of London is not mine ordinary this behalf, and I have already answered unto mine ordinary in this matter: and therefore, (as I have foretold you) you shall do me great wrong, to vex me for a matter, since I have fulfilled this long imprisonment, besides the loss of my living.

Roper. You were a very unmeet man to be an arch-deacon.

Philpot. I know I was as meet a man as he that it.

Cook. A meet man, quoth he? He troubled Mr. Sparper and the whole country.

Philpot. There never was poor arch-deacon he led at your hands as I am, and that without any cause you be able to lay unto me.

Cook. Thou art no arch-deacon.

Philpot. I am arch-deacon still, although another in profession of my living; for I was never deprived any law.

Cook. No, sir, that needeth not: for a notorious retic should have no ordinary proceeding against his privation; but the bishop may, upon knowledge thereof, proceed to deprivation.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor, you know that the common law is otherwise: and besides this, the statutes of the realm be otherwise, which give this benefit to everyone, though he be an heretic, to enjoy his living until he be put to death for the fame.

Cholmley. No, there thou art deceived.

Philpot. Upon the living I mind not. But the just dealing grieveth me, that I shoul be thus treated for my conscience, contrary to all law.

Cholmley. Why, will not you agree that the queen's majesty may cause you to be examined of your faith?

Philpot. Ask you Mr. Doctor Cook, and he will tell you that the temporal magnificates have nothing to do with faith, for determination thereof. And so he brofeth faith, that the things of God are not subject to the power and authority of princes.

Cook. No. May not the temporal power commit to be examined of your faith to the bishop?

Philpot. Ye, sir. I deny not that; but you grant that the fame may examine any of their own authority?

Cook. Let him be had away.

Philpot. Your matterhship promis'd me the left
be at quiet until he went to the bishop's register, deferring to see his bill again; which, as soon as he had received, he tore it in pieces, and after he was as joyful as any man might be. Of which when my lord of London underfoot, he sent for him, and fell upon him like a lion, and like a man the bishop buffeted him well, so that he made his face black and blue, and plucked away a great piece of his beard: but now, thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the cross as any of us, and very forry for his former infirmity. I write this, because I would all men to take heed how they do contrary to their consciences, which is, to fall into the pains of hell.

The Manner of my being called first before the Bishop of LONDON, the second Night of mine Imprisonment in his COAL-HOUSE.

The bishop sent Mr. Johnfon his register to me with a mels of meat, and a good pot of drink and bread, saying, That my lord had no knowledge before of my being here, for which he was forry; therefore he had sent me and my fellows that meat, not knowing whether I would receive the same. I thanked God for my lord's charity, that it pleased him to remember poor prisoners, deferring Almighty God to incease the fame in him, and in all others; and therefore I could not refuse his beneficence, therewith took the fame unto my brethren, prizing God for his providence towards his afflicted flock, that he stirred our adversities up to help the fame in their necessity.

Johnfon. My lord would know the cause of your being sent hither (for he kneweth nothing thereof), and wondereth that he should be troubled with prisoners that are not of his own diocese.

Philpot. I declared unto him the whole caufe. After which he said, My lord's will was, that I should have any friendship I would desire, and so departed.

Within a while after, one of my lord's gentlemen came for me; and I was brought into his presence, where he sat at a table with three or four of his chaplains waiting upon him, and his register.

Boner. Mr. Philpot, you are welcome; give me your hand.

With that, because he so gently put forth his hand, I render courteously for courteously, kissed his hand and gave him the fame.

Boner. I am right sorry for your trouble, and I promise you that I will within these two hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cause of your being sent hither: for I promise you I know nothingtherof as yet, neither would I you should think that I was the cause thereof: and I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters; but I must be obedient to my betters, and I fear men speak otherwise of me than I deserve.

Philpot. I swore him the sin of the matter; that it was for the dissipation in the convocation-houfe, for which I was against all right molested.

Boner. I marvel that you should be troubled for that, if there was none other cause but this. But peradventure you have maintained the fame ince, and some of your friends of late have alked, whether you do stand to the fame, and you have said, yea; and for this you might be committed to prison.

Philpot. If I did not bear my lordship I am burdened no otherwise than I have told you, by the companions which sent me hither, because I would not retract the fame.

Boner. A man may speak in the parliament-houfe, though it be a word of free speech, so as he may be imprisoned for it, as in case he speak words of high-treason against the king or queen; and so it might be that you speake otherwise than it became you of the church of Christ.

Philpot. I speak nothing which was out of the articles which were called in question, and agreed upon to be disfrusd by the whole houfe, and by permission of the queen and council.

Boner. Why, may we dispute of our faith?
Philopat. That we may.

Bunner. Nay, I think not, by the law.

Philopat. Indeed by the civil law I know it is not lawful, but by God's law we may reason thereof. For St. Peter faith, "Be ye ready to render account unto all men at the hope which is in you, that demand of you the name of thee."  

Bunner. Indeed, St. Peter faith so. Why, then I ask of you what your judgment is of the sacrament of the altar.

Philopat. My lord, St. Ambrose faith, that the dispensation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unless it be to edify. But now I cannot shew you my mind, but I must run upon the heels in danger of my life for it. Therefore, as the said doctor said unto Valentinian the emperor, so say I to your lordship; Take away the law, and I shall reason with you. And yet if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the law to answer, I truth I shall utter my conscience as freely as any that hath come before you.

Bunner. I perceive you are learned, I would have such as you be about me. But you must come and be of the church, for there is but one church.

Philopat. God forbid I should be out of the church, I am sure I am within the fame: for I know as I am taught by the scripture, that there is but one catholic church, one dove, one fount, one beloved congregation, out of which there is no salvation.

Bunner. How chance it then, that you go out of the fame, and walk not with us.

Philopat. My lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the church wherein fles is built, which is the word of God.

Bunner. What age are you of?

Philopat. I am four and forty.

Bunner. Do you not now of the fame faith your godfather and godmothers promised for you, in which you were baptized.

Philopat. Yes, I thank God I am for I was baptized into the faith of Christ which I now hold.

Bunner. How can that be? there is but one faith.

Philopat. I am aforesaid of that by St. Paul, saying, "That there is but one God, one faith, and one baptism," of which I am.

Bunner. You were twenty years ago of another faith than you are now.

Philopat. My lord, you told me plainly I was then of no faith, a neater, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold.

Bunner. Why, do you not think that we have now the true faith?

Philopat. I desire your lordship to hold me excused for answering at this time. I am sure that God's word was thoroughly with the primitive church, and all the ancient fathers do agree with this faith I am of.

Bunner. Well, I promise you I mean you no more hurt to mine own person; I will not therefore burden you with your conscience now; I marvel that you are so merry in prison as you are, singing and rejoicing, as the prophet faith, Rejoicing in your naughtiness. Methinks you do not well herein; you should rather lament and be sorry.

Philopat. My lord, the mirth that we make is but in singing certain psalms, according as we are commanded by St. Paul, willing us to be merry in the Lord, singing together in hymns and psalms: and I trust your lordship cannot be dissatisfied with that.

Bunner. We may say unto you as Christ said in the gospel. We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced.

Philopat. Here my lord stumbled, and could not bring forth the text, and required his chaplain to help, and to put him in remembrance of the text before; but they were mum: and I recited out the text unto him, which made nothing to his purpose, unless he would have us to murmur, because they, if they laugh, sing still sorrowful things unto us, threatening faggots and fire.

Philopat. We are, my lord, in a dark conducted place, and therefore it behoveth us to be very strict as to Solomon faith, formed ruthfuless eat up at the fire.

Therefore I trust your lordship will not be angry to me, although I speak according to St. Paul faith, if I may be of an upright mind, let him sing." And we therefore, to testify that we are of an upright mind to God (though we be in misery) do sing.

Bunner. I will trouble you no farther now, if I can find any good, I be glad to do it you. God be with you, good Mr. Philopat, and give you good night. Have him to the cellar, and let him drink a cup of wine.

Thus I departed, and by my lord's regale I was brought to his cellardoor, where I drank a good cup of wine. And my lord's chaplain, Mr. Coules, follow me, making acquaintance, saying, that he was welcome, and wished that I would not be forgot.

Philopat. I am well told the contrary by Solomon saying, Woe be to him that is alone. After that I was made to drink another cup of wine, where I will find companions do house together in fraternal bands (we thank God) as others do in their beds of rest. Thus for the third fit.

The FOURTH EXAMINATION of Mr. Philopat in the Archdeaconry of London's Hall, in a Month of October, before the Bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester.

Bunner. Mr. Philopat, it hath pleased my lord to take pains here to-day, to dine with my lord archdeacon, and in the dinner-time it chanced we had communication of you, and you were praised by many that knew you at New College, in Cambridge. And I also do pity your cause, because you seem me by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned: and therefore now I have sent for you to come before them, that real cause here, for I had no so many learned bishops at my house, I would not vouchsafe them to talk with you, and you request (I thank them) they are content so to do. We therefore utter your mind freely, and you shall have your favour be satisfied. I am sorry to see you lie in a cage as you do at New College again, where I would have fain you should do there, as you may if you please.

Bath. My lords here have not sent for you to lay upon you, but for charity sake to exhort you to come into the right catholic church.

Bunner. Before he began to speak, he said he that call upon God for grace, and to pray that might please God to open his heart, that he may receive the truth.

Philopat. With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer in this manner: "Almighty God, which art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee of thine holy goodnes and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (and vile sinner in thy sight) the spirit of wisdom to know and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the satisfaction of the hearers, before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding if I be deceived in my thing."

Bunner. Nay, my lord of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer. For this thing they have a singular pride in, that they can make their vain prayers, in which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain altar heretics, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily and peremptorily go before him and reverently sing the psalms. But my lord, God make me, and all you present such heretics as those were that sung their morning hymns: for they were right christian, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended with their well doing.

Philopat. Pray God to do to him as he hath prayed I cannot tell for what.

Bunner. Say on, Mr. Philopat; my lords will gladly hear you.
Cole. You may call him before you, my lord, if he be found in your diocese.

Philpot. But I have by force been brought out of my own diocese to your lordship's, and required to be judged by your own ordinary: and therefore I know Mr. Doctor will not lay of his own knowledge, that your lordship ought to proceed against me. And here Mr. Doctor would say nothing.

Bouyer. Do you not think to find before my lord here, as good equity in your cause, as before your own ordinary?

Philpot. I cannot blame my lord of London's equity, with whom (I thank his lordship) I have found more gentleness since I came, than of mine own ordinary (I speak it for no partiality) this year and half before, who never would call me to answer, as this lordship hath done now twice. No man is forbid to use his own right due unto him; but I ought not to be forefalled of my right, and therefore I challenge the fame for divers other causes.

Bouyer. Now you cannot say hereafter but that you have been gently commended with by your lords here, and yet you will be willful and obstinate in your error, and in your own opinions, and will not shew any cause why you will not come into the unity of the church with us.

Philpot. My lords, in that I do not declare my mind according to your expectations, is (as I have said) because I cannot speak without stringent danger of my life. But rather than you should report me by this either obstinate or foolhardy without any just ground whereupon I stand, I will open unto you somewhat of my mind, or rather the whole, defying all heretics, which seem to be the pillars of the church of England, to satisfy me in the fame: and I will refer other causes in which I differ from you, unto one or two articles, which includeth them both; in which if I can by the scriptures be satisfied at your mouths, I shall as willingly agree to you as to any other, in all points.

Bouyer. These heretics come always with their life, as this man doth now, saying, if he can be satisfied by the scriptures: so that he will always have this exception, I am not satisfied, although the matter be ever so plainly proved against him. But will you promise to be satisfied, if my lords take some pains about you?

Philpot. I say, my lord, I will be satisfied by the scriptures in that wherein I stand. And I protest here before God and his highness Son, that I shall not cease, the Holy Ghost, and his angels, and you present, who be judges of what I speak, that I do not stand in any opinion of wilfulness or singularity, but only upon my conscience, certainly informed by God's word, from which I dare not go for fear of damnation: and this is the cause of mine earnestness in this behalf.

Bouyer. I will trouble your lords no longer, seeing that you will not declare your mind.

Philpot. I am about to do, if it please your lordship to hear me spake.

Bouyer. Give me leave, my lord, to hear what he hath to say.

Philpot. My lords, it is not unknown to you, that the chief cause why you do count me, and such as I am, for heretics, is because we be not at unity with your church. You say, that, though there is no out of your church is damned: and we think verily on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted in God's word, we should stand in the state of damnation. Wherefore if your lordships can bring any better authoritie from your church than we can do for ours, and prove by the scriptures that the church of Rome now (of which you are) is the true catholic church, as in all sermons, writings and arguments you do uphold, and that all christian persons ought to be ruled by the fame, under gain of damnation, (as you say) and that the fame church (as you pretend) hath authority to interpret the scriptures as it seemeth her good, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations only; I shall be as conformable to the same church as...
as you may desire me, which otherwise I dare not; therefore I require you for God's sake to satisfy me in this.

Coke. If you stand upon this point only, you may soon be satisfied if you please.

Philop. It is the thing that I require, and to this I will stand, and refer all other controversies wherein I now stand against you, and will put my hand thereto, if you misprime my word.

Baner. I pray you, Mr. Philop, what state were you of twenty years ago? This man will have every year a new faith.

Philop. My lord, to tell you plain, I think I was of no faith; for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God, nor what it was to do, God forgive me.

Baner. No faith? that is not so. I am sure you were of some faith.

Philop. My lord, I have declared to you on my conscience what I then was, and judge of myself. And what is that to the purpose of the thing I desire to be satisfied of you?

Baner. Mr. Doctor Coke, I pray you speak your mind to him.

Coke. What will you say, if I can prove it was decreed by an universal council in Athanasius's time, that all the bishops of Rome should follow the determination of the church of Rome? but I do not now remember where.

Philop. If you, Mr. Doctor, can shew me the same granted to the see of Rome by the authority of the scripture, I will gladly hearken to you there. But I think you be not able to shew any such thing: for Athanasius was president of the Nicene council, and there was no such thing decreed I am sure.

Coke. Though it were not then, it might be at another time.

Philop. I desire to see the proof thereof.

And upon this Mr. Harpsfield, the chancellor to the bishop of London, brought in a book of Irenacus, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the bishops to help them in their perplexity, if it might be: which after the bishops of Bath and Gloucester had read together, the bishop of Gloucester gave me the book, and said:

Take the book, Mr. Philop, and look upon that place, and there you may see how the church of Rome is to be followed of all men.

I took the book and read the place, which after I had read, I said it made nothing against me, but against Arians and other heretics, against whom Irenacus wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, because they did teach and follow after strange doctrine in Eur- ope. But I thought the chief church of the time, was founded by Peter and Paul, and had to this time continued by faithful succession of the faithful bishops in preaching the true gospel, as they had received of the apostles, and nothing like to these late sprung heretics, &c. Whereas by he concludes against them, that they were not to be heard, neither to be credited. Which thing, if you, my lords, be able to prove of the church of Rome, then had you as good authority against me in my cause now, as Irenacus had against those heretics. But the church of Rome hath swerved from the truth and simplicity of God's word, which it maintained in Irenacus's time, and was uncorrupted from that which it is now, wherefore your lordships cannot justly apply the authority of Irenacus to the church of Rome now, which is so manifestly corrupted from the primitive church.

Baner. So will you say still it maketh nothing to the purpose, whatsoever authority we bring, and will never be satisfied.

Philop. My lord, when I do by just reason prove, that the authorities which are brought against me do not make to the purpose, as I have already proved, I trust you will receive mine answer.

Worcest. It is to be proved most manifestly by all ancient writers, that the see of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain heretics had defaced the same.

Philop. Let that be proved, and I have done.
Philpot. I mean verily so.

Gloucester. What if you take the doctors in one sense, and I in another: who shall be judge then?

Philpot. Then let that be taken which is most agreeable to God's word.

Col. My lords, why do you trouble yourselves to answer him in this matter? It is not the thing which is laid to his charge, but his error of the sacrament, and he to shift himself of that brought in another matter.

Philpot. This is the matter, Mr. Col., to which I have referred all other questions, and desire to be satisfied.

Warrener. It is a wonder to see how he floundeth with a few against a great multitude.

Philpot. We have almost as many as you. For we have Aria, Africa, Germany, Denmark, and a great part of France, and daily the number of the gospel doth increase: so that I am credibly informed, that for this religion in which I stand, and for which I am like to die, a great multitude daily come out of France through persecution, that the cities of Germany be scarce able to receive them: and therefore your lordship may be sure, the word of God will one day take place, do what you can to the contrary.

Warrener. They were well occupied to bring you such news, and you have been well kept to have such reftor unto you. Thou art the arroganct fellow, and floutest fuid fellow, that ever I knew.

Philpot. I pray your lordship to bear with my halily speech: it is part of the apostles' nature to speak somewhat hastily: but for all that, I mean with humility to do my duty to your lordship.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, my lords will trouble you not farther at this time, but you shall go from whence you came, and have such favour as in the mean while I can shew you: and upon Wednesday next you shall be called upon again to be heard what you can say for the maintenance of your error.

Philpot. My lord, my desire is to be satisfied of you in that I required; and your lordship shall finde me as I have said.

Warrener. We will be as well as ourselves.

Philpot. I think the same (my lords), but fear you are deceived, and have not zeal of yourselves, not according to knowledge.

Warrener. God fend you more grace.

Philpot. And also God increase the same in you, and open your eyes, that you may fee to maintain his truth, and his true church.

Then the bishops rose up, and consulted together, and caused a writing to be made, in which I think my blood by them was bought and sold, and thereto they put their hands; and after this I was carried to my cell-house again.

Thus ended the fourth part of this tragedy. God haften the end thereof to his glory. Amen.

Because I have begun to write unto you of mine examinations before the bishops and others, more to satisfy your desire than it is any thing worthy to be written; I thought it good to write unto you also that which had been done of late, that the fame might come to light which they do in darknes, and in privy corners, and that the world now, and posterity hereafter, might know how disorderly, unjustly, and unlearnedly these ravenous wolves do proceed against the holy and faithful flock of Christ, and condemn and persecute the sincere doctrine of Christ in us, which they are not able by honest means to relift, but only by tyranny and violence.

The FIFTH EXAMINATION of Mr. JOHN PHILPOIT, before the Bishops of LONDON, ROCHESTER, St. ASAPH, &c. and others, in the GALLERY of my Lord of LONDON'S PALACE.

BONNER. Mr. Philpot, come you hither, I have defired my lords here, and other learned men, to take some pains once again to do you good, and because I do mind to fit in judgment on you to-morrow, as I am
am commanded, yet I would you should have as much favour as I can shew you, if you will be any thing con-
formable; therefore play the wise man, and be not singular in your own opinion, but be ruled by those
learned men.

Philpot. My lord, in that you say you will sit on me
in judgment to-morrow, I am glad thereof: for I was
promised by them which sent me unto you, that I should
have been judged the next day after: but promise hath
not been kept with me, and therefore I am full of my father's
grief. I look for neither life nor death at your hands, and I am as
ready to yield my life in Christ's cause, as you are to
require it.

Bomer. Lo, what a wilful man is this? By my faith
it is but folly to reason with him, neither with any of
these heretics. I am by my soul I do believe no more
more of this, and therefore I am pressed to shew extreme
towards you.

Philpot. My lord, you need not to shew extremity
against me unless you will: neither by the law (as I
have said) have you any thing to do with me, for that
you are not my ordinary, however I am (contrary to
all right) in your prison.

Bomer. Why, the queen's commissioners sent you
hither unto me, upon your examination held before them.
I know not well the cause: but I am sure they would not have sent you hither unto me, unless you had some
word with them, otherwise it became a scandal to
the body, duly ministered, to be such matter of fact
as the word teacheth me to believe.

St. Afspa. I pray you, how is that?

Philpot. As for that I will declare nothing but
when I shall be lawfully called to dispize you on
this matter, but I am not yet driven to that
And the scripture faith, "All things ought to
after an order."

Another Bisp. This is a froward and
man.

Bomer. It is not lawful for a man by the
to dispute of his faith openly, as a
latus, De fana Trinitatis & fide Catholicae.

Philpot. My lord, I have another question before.

Bomer. Why, I never asked thee of this
now.

Philpot. Yes, that you did at my last coming and
therefore I answered your lordship by St. John, that
the church is congregated by the word, not
man's law. Wherefore I now add further to
faying, "That he which refuteth the word, al-
jecteth the law, is an unjust man, because
shall hold by his faith." And whereas it is called
the law, which your lordship alledgeth out of the law,
it is not unlawful to dispute of all the articles of
but of the Trinity.

Bomer. Thou liest, it is not so: and I will
you by the book how ignare he is.

And that he went with all haste to his
and brought his book, and openly read them for
the title of the law, and charged me with it
me to make for his purpose, saying, How is
thou to this?

Philpot. My lord, I say as I said before, the
law may not the catholic faith, but a
county of Chalcedon, where the articles of
were only concluded upon.

Bomer. Thou art the veriest beast that ever
heard, I must needs speak it, thou compell
thence.

Philpot. Your lordship may speak your plain
But what is this to the purpose, which your
ship is so earnest in? You know that our faith
 grounded upon the civil law: therefore it is not
me whatsoever the law faith.

Bomer. By what law wilt thou be judged? wilt
be judged by the common law?

Philpot. No, my lord, our faith dependeth
the laws of man.

St. Afspa. He will be judged by no law, but by
himself.

Worchester. The common laws are but
then the scriptures and doctors.

Bomer. Whatever you do make them, of
no ground of my faith, by which I ought to be
judged. I must needs proceed against you
tomorrow.

Philpot. If your lordship do so, I will have
ation for: You are not my compatriarch, and
what law wilt thou refer thereof to the
thy judge?

Philpot. By the civil law; De competenti pot.
There is no such title in the law. In what as so cunning a lawyer as you are? 

My Lord, I take upon me no great cunning but: you drive me to my merits for my de- and I am sure if I had the books of the law, I and as to what I do. 

What is a competent judge? I will go bring the books. There is a title indeed, De effici 

Veit, that is the same De competentia judicis, I have affidended. 

My Lord, I fland not here to reaer matters in law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the law; for that I have been a student in the law ten years; but to answer to the articles of faith which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas I am not at all deputized to proceed, I challenge as to my knowledge, the benefit of the law in my. 

Why, thou wilt answer directly to nothing at all excepted with: therefore say not hereafter but thou have been satisfied by learned men, if thou wilt. My Lord, I have declared my mind unto and to other of the bishops at my last being with thee, desirous to thee to be satisfied but of one thing, whereas I have referred all other controversies: which if headings now, or other learned men can sufficiently be its, I am of opinion that the matter of the thing, as I shall require, is to prove that church of Rome (whereof you are) is the catholic church. 

Do you not believe my creed, "I be- 

Yes, that I do: but I cannot understand me (wherein you burden us) to be the same, like to it. 

It is most evident that St. Peter did build the church at Rome. And Christ said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church," unless you have that rock to signifying Rome, as you would make suitably believe. And although you can prove the possession of the bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove the possession of the catholic church, unless you can prove the possession of Peter's faith, whereupon the church is built, to have continued in his face. 

Are there any more churches than one catho- 

I acknowledge one holy catholic and apost- 

I pray you, can you tell what this word that is signified? I know it if you can. 

Yes, that I can, I thank God. The catho- 

That is not the only church, nor the only catholic church, is not as now a-days, as you are taught, to be that which is most universal, nor shall all men receive, whereby you do infer that it is to be hung upon the multitude, which is not to: from the catholic church to be as St. Austin 

We judge, faith be, the catholic church that hath been, is, and shall be. So you cannot be able to prove, that your faith and faith be from the beginning taught, and is, shall be, then you may count yourselves catholic, otherwise not. And catholic is a Greek word compounded of KAT, which signifieth, after, or, according, and HOLON, a sum, or principle, or whole. So that catho- 

Bunmor. Doth St. Austin say fo as he alledgest it? or doth he mean as he taketh the same? How say you, Mr. Curtop? 

Curtop. Indeed, my lord, St. Austin hath such a saying, speaking against the Donatists, that the catholic faith ought to be passed on one order, and as they are practiced according to the fame, and ought to be through all ages, and not after a new man- 

Philpot. You have laid well, Mr. Curtop, and after the meaning of St. Austin, and to confirm that which I have said for the signification of catholic. 

Curvery. Let the book be seen, my lord. 

Bunmor. I pray you, my lord, be content, or in good faith I will break even off, and let all alone. Do you think that the catholic church (until within these few years, in which it was upon singularity have twerked from the fame) had err. 

Philpot. I do not think that the catholic church can err in doctrine: but I require you to prove this church of Rome to be the catholic church. 

Curtop. I can prove that Ireneco (which was within an hundred years after the death of Christ, sent to Victor, then bishop of Rome, to ask his advice about the communication of certain heretics, which (by all likelihood) he would not have done, if he had not taken him to be supreme head. 

Curvature. Mark well this argument. How are you able to throw the fame? Askew if you can.

Philpot. It is soon answered, my lord, for that is of no force; neither doth this field of Irenenco make any more for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, than mine hath done, who have been at Rome as well as he, and might have spoken with the pope if I had lived, and yet I would none in England did fear his supremacy more than I. 

St. Ailp. You are more to blame (by the faith of my body) for that you favour the fame no better, since all the catholic church (until the few years) have taken him to be the chief head of the church, besides this good man Irenenco. 

Philpot. That is not likely, that Irenenco took him, or the primitive church: for I am able to shew seven general councils after Irenenco's time, wherein he never took him for supreme head. 

The man that is saved in this world shall never be satisfied, say what we can. It is but folly to reason any more with him. 

Philpot. O, my lords, would you have me satisfied with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who hath better authority, which he bringeth the example of one man going to Rome, or I that by these many general councilis am able to prove, that he was never so taken in many hundreds years after Christ, as by Nicene, Ephene, the first and second Chalcedon, Confinatimperialis, Carthaginense, Aquilenense. 

Curvature. Why will you not admit the church of Rome to be the catholic church? 

Philpot. Because it followeth not the primitive catholic church, neither agreeeth with the fame, no more, than an apple is like a nut. 

Curvature. Wherein doth it differ? 

Philpot. It were too long to recite all, but two things I will name, the supremacy and transubstantia- 

Curtop. As for transubstantiation, albeit it was first and decreed for an article of faith not much above three hundred years ago, yet it was always believed in the church. 

Bunmor. Yes, that it was. Very well said of you, Mr. Curtop. 

Philpot. You have said right, that transubstantiation is but a late plantation of the Bishop of Rome, and you are not able to shew any ancient writer, that believed any such thing; and with this Curtop shrank away.
away. And immediately after the ambassador of Spain came in, to whom my Lord of London went, leaving the others with me. To whom I said, My Lord, if you can think of the church of Rome (whereof you are members) is the true catholic church, I shall be content to be one thereof, and as conformable to the same as you can require me in all things; for I know there is no salvation but within the church.

Covency. Can you disprove that the church of Rome is the catholic church?

Philop. Yes, that I am able, but I defere rather to hear of you the proof thereof. And seeing I cannot have my request at your hands, neither be satisfied with any probable authority, I will shew you good proof why it is not. For if the primitive church were catholic as it was instituted, and ought to be the form and school-mistres unto the world's end; then is not the church of Rome now the catholic church, which differeth so far from the same both in doctrine and use of the sacraments.

Covency. How prove you that the church of Rome now differeth in doctrine and use of the sacraments from the primitive church?

Philop. Compare the one with the other, and it shall soon appear; as you may see both in Eusebius and other ecclesiastical and ancient writers.

Covency. What have you to say more, why it is not the catholic church?

Philop. Because it is not [by your interpretation of Catholic] universal, neither ever was, albeit you falsely persuade the people it is so. For the world being divided into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe, two parts thereof, Asia and Africa, professing Christ as well as we, did never consent to the church of Rome, which is of Europe; which is a sufficient testimony that your faith was never universal.

Covency. How prove you that?

Philop. All the historians which write the proceedings of the church, do tell the same. Besides that, this present time doth declare that to be true which I say; because the church of the parts of Asia and Africa, do not consent to the church of Rome. Yes, and besides all this, most part of Europe doth not agree, neither allow the church of Rome; as Germany, the kingdom of Denmark, the kingdom of Poland, a great part of France, England, and Zealand, which is a manifest pro\n\n\n
proof that your church is not universal.

After this the bishop of London called away the other bishops, and left with me divers gentlemen, with certain of his chaplains, as Dr. Saverfon, an Englishman, who began with me in this manner.

Dr. Saverfon. Mr. Philop, I remember you beyond this matter; if you acquiesce with a friar, (a notable learned man) coming from Venice to Padua in a barge.

Philop. I cannot forget that; for the friar threatened to accuse me of hereby as soon as he came to Padua, because I talked to him so boldly of the truth. He was not so learned a man as you name him to be, but only in his school points a good purgatory friar.

Dr. Saverfon. Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am sorry that you this day, having commixed with so many notable learned men, are no more conformable to them than you be.

Philop. I will be conformable to all them that are conformable to Christ in his word. And I pray you, good Mr. Doctor, be not so conformable to please men more than God, contrary to your learning, for worldly estimation fake.

Dr. Saverfon. No, that I am not. Upon what occasion could you think thus of me?

Philop. Upon no evil that I do know of you, Mr. Doctor, but I speak as one willing that you should not be led away from the truth, for promotion's sake, as many be now-a-days.

Dr. Saverfon. I have heard your arguments hitherto, and I must say a great many of the old ancient writers be against you, in that you do not allow the church of Rome, neither the supremacy; for St. Cyprian, which is an ancient author, doth allow the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the church.

Philop. That I am sure he doth not. For being to Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, certain letters, contrary to Christ, and his bishop, neither writing to him the name cither of pope, or any other such terms, which now be ascribed to the bishop of Rome to the setting forth of his dignity.

Dr. Saverfon. You cannot be able to those ancient Cyprian calleth Cornelius his fellow-bishop.

Philop. I will wager you that I am, that you do not make, that I can influe you in St. Cyprian's have said.

Dr. Saverfon. I will lay no other wager, where he make any book for book, that it is not so.

Philop. I agree thereto, and I pray you one book to that point, you shall then see it not there by here.

Dr. Saverfon. And with that one of them, you may study, and he brought forth Cyprian, and at that time turned to the first book of his epistles, the tenth, and there he would have seemed to gather a tremendous argument for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, if he had not, it is now good

Dr. Saverfon. How can you avoid this plain maketh to plainly for the bishop of Rome, is very much.

Philop. It maketh not so plainly, Mr. Doctor, as you gather, as by and by I will you to understand. But first I challenge the word of God, which we made, that your book is mine. For here see that he calleth Cornelius his fellow-bishop, and also in other places. And for the understanding of this place, you do misinterpret it, to take the high-priestly for the bishop of Rome, and otherwise than his time.

Therefore St. Cyprian writing to Cornelius, prince of Rome, (whom he calleth his fellow-bishop) he himself offended that certain heretics, being well communicated by him, (as the Novarians were) from his diocese, which was their chief help, (being to be obedient to him and to be reformed) to draw into Rome, and the patriarch of Constantinople, which were received in communion of the congregation, it was a violation of order and discipline in the church, to the great discouragement of heretics and apostates. But those that were confessing, and schisms daily rising here, the obedience was not given to the priest of God, nor is it once considered him to be in the church for them the priest, and for the time the judge in Christ; but (as in the decree of the Nicene council was appointed) the Bishop of Rome only rule, and they be a priest and a key to it, who had every one of them a college or college church of learned priests, in hearing whom we convocation of his fellow-bishops, with the consent of the people, all here; and this is the meaning of St. Cyprian.

Dr. Saverfon. You take it so, but it be otherwise.

Philop. Upon what ground it should feene other unto you I know not, but this meaning which I declared, the general councils, seven or eight, and another, confirmed it to be so, which did not allow a fellow-bishop head only.

Penelop. There were no so many general councils but four only allowed.

Philop. That is not so, Mr. Peneloon, where there be four specially allowed for the confirmation of the Trinity; but besides those four, there were other general councils, as you may learn by ancient writers.

A Chaplain. Did not Christ build his church in Peter? St. Cyprian faith so.

Philop. St. Cyprian, Dr. simplicissimi Praetext., &c.
The Fifth Examination of Mr. John Philpot

In what repect he so faid: "God gave in peron the man, the keys to all, that he might lightly the word to all men. And afo 8t. Augustine faith in the trey of St. John, If in Peter had not been the of the church, the Lord had not faid unto him, go unto thee the keys. For if that were faid to the church hath them not, if the church had not Peter, then when Peter received them, he signifieth the key-word: he showed to Peter, a priet of Rome, neptan faith, That all churches do lean on the keys of the heaven, where he speaketh of the ecclesiasticity or regiment, where he maketh no mention of the bishop of Rome. And to Evagrius, he faith, If a priest have not the key-word, whether it be at Rome, or Phrygia, or at Regium, he is of one power and jurisdiction.

St. Hierom De celiæ Hierarchia? Do you mean you.

I say not this. Hierem wrote no book so But I say, that in the epistle by me alluded, which mention of the ecclesiastic regiment.

St. Hierom. I wonder you will stand so steadfast in error to your own destruction.

I am sure we are in no error, by the prophecies of Christ himself, which is, that he gives to his true church such a spirit of wisdom, the adversaries thereof should never be able to refute, by this I know we are of the truth, for that by refining, neither by writing, your syna- nose of Rome is able to answer. Where is there one of the learned men of your church that can answer the learned ministers of Germany, who have discolored the church of religion? Which of you all (at this day) can to answer Calvin’s confusions, who is minister in Geneva?

St. Hierem. A godly minister indeed, a receiver of the apostles and legates of God. And of late I can you, there is such contention fallen between him on a wit, that he was obliged to fly the town, to an epistle. I tell you truth, for I came by you here.

I am sure you blaspheme that godly man, that godly church where he is minister; as it is your chief disposition, when you cannot answer me by argu- ment, to answer them with blasphemies and fal- lacies. For in the matter of predestination he is in your opinion that all the doctors of the church be, in the scripture a young faith. Men are able to answer him if they will. I pray you, which of you has answered bishop Brad’s book?

Philpot. Yes, Mr. Doctor, that book is answered, and if you like to feel what hath been done against him.

And after this Dr. Story came in. To whom I said, Doctor, you have done me great injury, and which I have finally imprisoned me, more like a dog than a man; and besides this, you have not kept pro- fession, for you promised that I should be judged next day after.

I am come now to keep promise with thee. Where ever such a fantastical man as this is? Nay, he is a beast; yes, these heretics be mad with rage, for they will upon a vain fin- ger take upon them to be wiser than all men, being very fool, and soff, not able to maintain which of an arrogant obstinacy they do stand in.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor, I content me to abide your judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am asunder under your feet to trodden on as like; God forgive you, yet I am yet no heretic. Fellow you nor any other shall be able to prove that I one jot against the word of God otherwise than a man ought.

The word of God? Forsooth the word of God! It is but a folly to reason with these heretics, for they are incorrigible and desperate. But yet I may reason with them, not that I have any hope to win thee: whom thou appoint to judge of the word whereto thou art.

Philpot. Verily the word itself.

Do you not see the ignorance of this beastly heretic? he willith the word to be judged of the word. Can the word speak?

Philpot. If I cannot prove that which I have said by good authority, I will be content to be counted an heretic and an ignoramis preacher, and further what you please.

Story. Let us hear what wife authority thou canst bring in.

Philpot. It is the word of Christ in St. John, “The word which I have spoken, shall judge in the last day.” If the word shall judge in the last day, how much more ought it to judge within the church itself. And hence I have my judge on my side, who will abdole and justify me in another world. Howsoever now it shall please you by authority unrighteously to judge of me and others, I dare in another world to judge you.

Philpot. What! you purpose to be a flaming martyr, and to fit in judgment with Christ at the last day to judge the twelve tribes of Israel?

Philpot. Yea, fir, I doubt not thereof, having the promise of Christ, if I die for rightouchways fake, which you have begun to persecute in me.

Story. I told thee it was in vain to argue with this heretic; he is drowned in heresies without all learning.

Philpot. Sir, I have brought you good authority for what I have f: out of God’s book, to which you an- swer nothing, but God will give ruling judgment against me with your own judge.

Story. I will come to you by and by. When the judge in Welminster-Hall give sentence, doth the word give sentence, or the judge? Tell me.

Philpot. Civil matters are subject to civil men, and they have authority by the word to be judges of them. But the word of God is not subject to man’s judgment, but ought to judge all the wisdom, thoughts, and doings of men, and therefore your comparison dis- proved nothing that I have said, neither answered any whit thereof.

Philpot. Yea, if it be according to the word of the true church: and this I say to you, as I have said here- fore, that if you can prove the church of Rome (whereof you are) to be the true church of which I ought to follow, I will be as readily to yield thereto (as long as it can be so proved) as you may desire me.

Story. What a fellow is this? He will believe nothing but what he knoweth himself. Are we not in possession of the church? Have not our forefathers the same hundred years the true church for us? or what are we now? And if we had no other proof but this, it were sufficient; for the prescription of time maketh a good title in the law.

Philpot. You do well, Mr. Doctor, to allledge pre- scriptiion of many years, for it is all that you have to shew for yourselves. But you must understand, that prescription hath no place in matters belonging unto God, as I am able to shew by the testimony of many doctors.

Story. Well, sir, you are like to go after your father Latimer the letter-carryer, and Ridley, who had nothing to allledge for himself, but that he learned his heresy of Cranmer. When I came to him with a poor bachelor of art, he trembled as though he had had the palsy, as though he had been for a man may know them, as you may see this man’s eyes do tremble in his head. But I dispatched them; and I tell thee that there never yet hath been one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and have been a cause of his dispatch.

Philpot. You have the more to answer for, Mr. Doctor, as you shall feel in another world, how much more however you do now triumph of your. proceedings, I know.

Story. I tell thee I will never be confest thereof. And because I cannot now tarry to speak with my lord, I pray one of you to tell my lord, that my coming was to testify to his lordship, that he must outr of hand put

No. 32.

Phoebus.
this heretic out of the way. And going away he said to me, certes, thee, that thou mayest thank no other man but me.

Philip. I thank you therefore with all my heart, and forgive it you.

Stony. What, dost thou thank me? If I had thee in my study half an hour, I think I should make thee sing another song.

Philip. No, Mr. Doctor, I stand upon too sure a ground to be overthrown by you now. And thus they departed all away from me one after another, until I was left alone. And afterwards going with my keeper to the gaol-house, as I went I met with my lord of London, who spake unto me very gently, saying,

Bacon. Philip, if there be any pleasure I may shew thee in my house, I pray you require it, and you shall have it.

Philip. My lord, the pleasure that I will require of your lordship, is to have my judgment which is committed unto you, and to dispatch me out of this miserable world unto my eternal rest. And for all this fair speech I cannot attain hither this fortnight's space, neither fine weather, nor good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, and to be counted amongst the vilest, that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore praised be God that hath humbled me, and given me grace with gladness to be content therewith. Let all who love the truth say Amen.

Thus ended the fifth tragedy.

The SIXTH EXAMINATION of Mr. PHILIPOT, before the Right Honourable Lords, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, the Viscount Hereford, commonly called Lord Ferras, the Lord Rich, the Lord St. John, the Lord Windsor, the Lord Shandons, Sir John Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower, and two others whose Names I know not, with the Bishop of London, and Dr. Chessey, Nov. 6, 1555.

WHILE the lords were eating themselves, the bishop of London came aside to me and whispered in my ear, defining me to behave prudently before the lords of the queen's majesty's council, and to take heed what I said; and thus he pretended to give me counsel secretly, but which he wished me to do well, as I might now if I would.

And after the lords and other worshipful gentlemen were fat, my lord of London placed himself at the end of the table, and called me to him, and by the lords I was in the upper end, and between him, where I kneeing down, the lords commanded me to stand up, and the bishop spake to me in the following manner.

Bacon. Mr. Philipot, I have herefore both privately and openly before the lords of the clergy, more times than once cautioned you to be converted with, to reform you of your errors, but I have not yet found you so tractable as I could wish: wherefore now I have declared those honourable lords of the temporality, and of the queen's majesty's council, who have taken pains with me this day, I thank them for it, to hear you, and with the lords, that they may judge whether I have taught all means to do you good or no: and I may be bold to say in their behalf, that if you shew yourself conformable to the queen's majesty's proceedings, you shall find as much favour for your deliverance as you can wish. I speak not this to fawn upon you, but to bring you home unto the church. Now let them hear what you have to say.

Philip. My lord, I thank God that I have this day such an honourable audience to declare my mind before. And I cannot but commend your lordship's equity in this behalf, which is no less agreeth with the order of the primitive church, which was, if any body had been fustigated of heresy, as I am now, he should be called first before the archbishop or bishop of the diocese where he was fustigated; secondly, in the presence of others his fellow bishops and learned elders; and thirdly, in hearing of the laity; where after the judgment of God's word declared, and with the assent of our bishops and people, he was condemned for no heresy. And the fact of the contrary is, that good men have found at your lordship's hands already, what I was called before you and your fellow bishops, that you have the third sort of men, at whose hands I had find more righteousnes in my cause, than I have in the hands of the lords of the clergy: God grant that I have at the last the judgment of God's word crown the same.

Bacon. Mr. Philipot, I pray you ere you go further, tell your lords here plainly, whether you be by me or by my procurement committed to prison, nor whether I have had any such power as you may credit, if you have been committed to my prison.

Philip. If it shall please your lordship to leave to declare forth my matter, I will trouble you afterward.

Rich. Answer first of all to my lord's questions, and then proceed forth to the matter.

Stony. Say you? Were you imprisoned by my lord?

Can you find any fault with his council? or with his procuring you the prison?

Rich. I cannot lay to my lord's charge, either of my imprisonment, neither may I say that the prison is unfair. But for the other part I may say, I have found more gentleness at his hands than I did at my own ordinary's, for the time been within his prison, because he hath called me four or five times to mine answer, to which I was in and out of his house half an hour.

Rich. Well, now go to your matter.

Philip. The matter is, that I am inconsistent in the disputations held by me in the conversation against the sacrament of the altar, which matters was moved principally by me, but by the procuring, by the advice of the queen's majesty and of the public-house, and that house, being a member of the parliament-house, which ought to be a place of freedom for all men of the house, by the ancient and frail customs of this realm. Wherefore I think myself have suffered infinite great injury for speaking more freely in such a place as I might lawfully do, and I desire your honourable lordships judgment in all the parliament-house, whether of right I am to be impeached for the same, and suffer therein for living (as I have done), and moreover of my life, as is sought.

Rich. You are deceived herein; for the conversation-house is no part of the parliament-house.

Rich. My lord, I have always understood it contrary by such as are more expert men in this realm than I; and again, the title of one lawyer, to think otherwise, which altogether agree not the spirituality and temporalities together.

Rich. Yea, that is meant of the spiritual lord and the upper house.

Windo. Indeed, the conversation-house is called the eye of the body of the parliament, as old customs; notwithstanding that house is not part of the parliament-house.

Rich. My lords, I must be contented with your judgments in this behalf.

Rich. We have told you the truth. And ye would not that you should be troubled for any that there was spoken, so that you have finding amends, do declare now that you are sorry for what you have said.

Bacon. Mr. lords, he hath spoken there what he thought, and there he must stand against the blessed sacrament of the altar (and while he put off his cap, that all the lords might see and vail their bonnets at that idol as he did); and was not the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the same, yet, my lords, God should endeavour to fiew himself for doing so, when he shall repent and revoke his wicked actions, in faith he will so do, with your lordships contents, shall be released by and by; if he will not, he shall have the extremity of the law, and that shortly.
My lord of London speaketh unto you: take it while it is offered you.

How far you? will you acknowledge the whole person of the body and of the soul of Christ, as all the person of Christ, and do so, and sure of this: I will do it in the main, and as I do, I believe so long as I live, I do profess it so.

My lord, I do acknowledge in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ such a person as of God doth allow and teach me.

That shall be no otherwise than you like.

A sacrament is the sign of a holy thing; so is the sign of the sign which is the accident (as the token, roundness, and shape of bread), and there is the thing itself, as very Christ both God and man. These herbs will have the sacrament too.

How far you would have any of my lords here, you do allow the thing itself in the sacra-

ment.

I do confess that in the Lord’s supper care is due respects both the sign and the thing itself, when it is daily administered after the institu-

tion of Christ.

You may see how he goeth about the bush he hath done before) with my lords of the clergy, dare not utter his mind plainly.

Shew us what manner of person you allow the sacrament.

If ye please you, my lord of London, to allow to proceed orderly hereunto, and to let me declare my mind without interruption, I will thor

oughly open my mind therein.

And shew me. I pray you, my lord, let him speak.

My lords, that at first I have not plainly laid my judgment unto you, the reason is this, I cannot speak hereof without the danger of life.

There is none of us here that feeleth thy means to take any advantage of that thou failest.

Although I misseth not your honourable ship that be here of the temporality; yet here is that fitter against me (pointing to the lord of

honor), that will lay it to my charge even to death, unhoulding, feering your honors so dear to me to the mind of the presence of Christ in the sacra-

ment, that ye may perceive that I am not inflamed of absence of Christ, neither do maintain any opinion that debar you from sufficient authority of the scripture, the church, whereof, I am convinced unto me, if not my lord, yet the presence of my.

My lord, permit him to say what he can, for he is willing to know his mind.

I am content, my lords, let him fly what can, I will bear him.

That which I do intend to speak unto you (my honourable lord) I do profess here, first before all my angels, that I speak it not of vain-glory, but of singularity, neither of willful futons, nor upon a good conscience, grounded upon this, against which I dare not go for fear of loss, which will follow that is done con-

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Neither do I disagree to the pro-

 cure of this word in the true religion, in that I love not even whom I love from the bottom of my heart), because I ought to love and fear God in his word what man in his laws, though I stand, as I seem to say in this consideration, and for no other, as God will to his own purposes.

There are two things principally, by which the thing at this day deserveth the whole realm; that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacra-

ment of the voice of the church: they do both hold, lying indeed neither of them. And as touch-

the queen's majesty, and you of the nobility of this realm, in making yow to believe that it be a sacrament which is none, and cause you to commit manifest idolatry in worship of God, which is no God. And in testimony of this to be true, besides manifest proof, which I am able to make to the queen's majesty, and to all yow of her nobility, I will yield my life; which to do, if it were not upon lure ground, it were to my utter damnation.

And where they take on them the name of the catholick church (whereby they blind many people's eyes) they are nothing so, coming from you the true religion which was revealed in the teaching of Edward's time, unto vain superstition. And this I will say for the trial hereof, that if they can survive him, then it is not a Christian church (as they shall never be able to do), I will set forth against their doings, but revolve all that I have said. And I shall define you, my lords, to be a means for me to the queen's majesty, that I may be brought to the trial hereof. Yea, I will not refuse to stand against such, and the best of them have said. And if they be able to prove otherwise than I have said, either by writing or by reasoning, with good and lawful authority, I will here promise to recant whatsoever I have said, and to confute them in all points.

And in the declaration of these things more at large, which now I write, I think that the bishop of London would have interrupted me, but the lords procured my liberty to make out my argument, to the great grief of the lord bishop of London, as it appeared by the sparks he was in,

Bower. It hath been told me before, that you love to make a long tale...

Rich. All heretics do boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a church by him, as Joan of Kent, and the Anabaptists. I had myself Joan of Kent a week in my house after the writ was out for her to be burnt, which in the Bishop of Canterbury, and bishop Ridley refuted almost daily unto her; but there was was too high in the Spirit, that they could do nothing with her for all their learning. But she went willingly into the fire, was burnt, and so do you now.

Philpot. As for Joan of Kent, she was a vain woman (I knew her well) who never was of any good, and well worthy to be burnt, because the flood against one of the manifold articles of our faith, contrary to the scriptures: and such vain spirits are soon known from the true Spirit of God and his church, for that the name abideth within the limits of God's word, and will not go out of the same, neither shall the spirit of the things contrary to the word, as I have God's word that highly on my life to swor for that I stand in,

Bower. I pray you, how will you join me; the two

scriptures together; Peter major us eff; & Peter & Casan

Thus I must interpret the name, because my lords here understand not the Latin, that is so far, "The Father is greater than I: and I and the Father are one." But I cry your mercy, my lords, I have mis-

poken, in laying you understand not Latin; for the most part you understand Latin as well as I. But I speak in consideration of my lord Shandies, and Mr. Bridges: his brother, which is to be no great linen men. Now show your cunning, and join these two scriptures by the word if you can.

Philpot. Yes, that I can right well. For we must understand that in Christ there be two natures, the divinity and humanity, and in respect of his humanity, it is spoken of Christ, "The Father is greater than I." But in respect of his Deity he said again, "The Father and I be one." Bower. But what scripture have you? Philpot. Yes, I have sufficient scripture for the proof of that I have said. For the first, it is written of Christ in the Psalms, "The heavens declare." And there I misconceived, whereupon my lord took me.

Bower. It is in "O Lord, our Lord." You may see, my lords, how well this man is used to say his matins.

Philpot.
Though I say not matters in such order as your lordship meaneth; yet I remember of old, that “O Lord, our Lord,” and “The heavens declare,” be not far amiss; and although I mis-named the psalm, it is no prejudice to the truth that I have proved it.

Bonner. What say you then to the second scripture? how couple you that by the word to the other?

Philpot. The text itself declareth, that notwithstanding Christ did abase himself in our human nature, yet he is still one in Deity with the Father. And this St. Paul to the Hebrews doth more at large for forth. And as I have by the scriptures joined these two scriptures together, so am I able to do in all other articles of faith which we ought to believe, and by the manifold word of God to expand them.

Bonner. How can that be, seeing St. Paul saith, “That the letter killeth, but it is the Spirit that giveth life?”

Philpot. St. Paul meaneth not the word of God written, in itself killeth, which is the word of life, and faith but the getting on of the Lord; but that the word is unprofitable, and killeth him that is void of the Spirit of God, although he be the wiselest man of the world, and therefore St. Paul said, “That the gospel to some was a favour of life unto life, and to others a favour of death unto death.” Also an example hereof we have in the sixth chapter of the Romans, where the name of God without the Spirit, were offended thereby; wherefore Christ said, “The flesh proveth nothing, it is the Spirit that quickeneth.”

Bonner. What? do you understand that of St. Paul and of St. John also? Philpot. It is not mine own interpretation, it is agreeable to the word in other places; and I have learned the fame of ancient fathers interpreting it likewise. And to the Corinthians it is written, “The natural man perceiveth not the things that be of the Spirit of God, but the manifold man, who is endued with the Spirit, judgeth all things.”

Bonner. You see, my lords, that this man will have his own mind, and willfully call himself away, I am sorry for him.

Philpot. The words that I have spoken are none of my own, I am no greater man than the gospel, whereas I ought to fall. And if you, my lord of London, can bring better authority for the faith you will draw me unto, than that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear the fame by you or by any other in this realm.

Wherefore I, kneeling down, besought the lords to be good unto me a poor gentleman, that would fain live in the world if I might, and testify as you have heard me to say this day, that if any man can prove that I ought to be of any other manner of faith than that which I am now, and can prove the fame sufficiently, I will be neither willful nor desperate, as my lord of London would make you believe me to be.

Rich. What countryman are you? Are you of the Philpots of Hampshire?

Philpot. Yea, my lord, I am Sir P. Philpot’s son, of Hampshire.

Rich. He is my near kinman; wherefore I am the more sorry for him.

Philpot. I thank your lordship that it is pleafeth you to challenge kindred of a poor prisoner.

Rich. In faith I would go an hundred miles on my bare legs to do you good.

Lord Chamberlain. He may do well enough if he will.

St. John. Mr. Philpot, you are my countryman, and I would be glad you should do well.

Rich. You said even now, that you would desire to maintain your belief before ten of the best in the realm. You did not well to compare with the nobility of the realm. But what if you have ten of the best in the realm to hear you, will you be tried by them? Philpot. My lord, your lordship mistaketh me to think that I challenge ten of the best of this realm. It was no part of my mind, but the best learned on the contrary side.

Rich. Well, I take your meaning; but be made to the queen’s majesty that you shall be tried before whom you will be judged by them?

Philpot. My lord, it is not meet that I should be judged by her adversaries.

Rich. By whom then would you be judged?

Philpot. I will make my honors shall be hearers of us, and be bold to procure for the queen’s majesty that you shall have reason to hear them; and twenty or forty of the best to hear, so you will promise to abide their sentence. How far you, will you promise here before God to do?

Philpot. I will be contented to be judged by Rich. Yea, but will you promise to any judgment?

Philpot. There are causes why I may refuse unless I were sure they would judge according to their honor.

Rich. O, I perceive you will have no but yourself, and think yourself wiser than all men in this realm.

Philpot. My lord, I feel not to be mine own, but am willing to be judged by others, so that they are men of the same faith, and of the primitive church, which is, first that God’s word was taught; and thereunto both the gifts of the spirit and temporality were gathered together, and the word and judgment, and such kind of judgment as he will give me to.

Bonner. My lords, he would make you be undoubtedly known in ancient wise judgments of the primitive church, and never any such manner of judgment would talketh of.

Rich. In the epistles of St. Cyprian I saw it you.

Bonner. Ah, I tell you there is no such thing as Cyprian, neither.

Philpot. You shall find it otherwise when you come. And Dr. Chadsey, his chaplain, appraised (to fetch his book,) whispered in his ear, and brought not the book; in like manner he should have fulfilled the approach therefor the book had been brought. Well, my lord, Sir Doctor knowest thou it, or else he would have the book ere this.

Rich. You would have no other judgment, I the word.

Philpot. Yes, my lord, I will be tried by and by such as will judge according to the word, for an example, if there were a controversy your lordship and another upon the words of the word not the words of the future judge and the controversy?

Rich. No marry, the judges of the law mine of the meaning thereof.

Bonner. He hath brought as good an answer himself, as can be.

And here the bishop thought he had a good argument against me, and therefore enlarged it to words to the judgment of the church.

The Lords. He hath overthrown himself by his argument.

Philpot. My lords, it seemeth to your honor you have great advantage of me by the brought in to express my cause, but if it be thoroughly, it maketh wholly with me, and against me, as my lord of London hath pressed it still, and the lords, and the Lord Rich here, whom I know good knowledge in the laws and customs of the kingdom, although a judge may discern the meaning of a word to the words, whereas the same made meaning contrary to the express words or no?
Bonner. Why, wilt thou not say that Christ is really present in the sacrament? Or do you deny it?

Philpot. I deny not that Christ is really present in the sacrament to the receiver thereof according to Christ's institution.

Bonner. What mean you by really present?

Philpot. I mean that Christ is really present, prefect indeed.

Bonner. Is God really present everywhere?

Philpot. He is so.

Bonner. How prove you that?

Philpot. The prophet Isaiah, 'That God filleth all places.' And wheresoeuer there be two or three gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst of them.

Bonner. What, his humanity?

Philpot. No, my lord, I mean the Deity, according to that you demanded.

Rich. My lord of London, I pray you let Dr. Cheykey reason a little with him, and he shall answer him, for I tell thee he is a learned man indeed, and one that I do credit before a great many of you, whose doctrine the queen's majesty and the whole realm doth well allow, therefore hear him.

Bonner. My lords, I pray you, will it please you to drink? You hath good wine, and great white, and much is thirsty. I will leave Mr. Doctor and him reasoning together a while, with your leave, and will come to you by and by again. He went, as I suppose, to make room for more drink, after the lords had drank.

My lord Rich said to the lords, I pray you let the poor man have his drink, and we shall hereafter provide for a cup of drink, and gave it me, and I drank before them all: God require him, for I was thirsty indeed. Afterwards Dr. Cheykey began in this wise, making a great procels, of which this is the effect.

Graafy. Mr. Philpot findeth fault with the convocation-houses before: let him defend his doings, that he hath done this long in prison, and that he had there a dozen arguments, whereof he would not be sufferable to profer one thoroughly, which is not so; for he had leave to say what he could, and was answerbred as much as he was able to bring: and when he had nothing else to say, he began to weep, and also to weep; there was there present, and can testify thereof; although there is a book abroad of the report of the disputation to the contrary, in which there is never a true word. And whereas you require to be satisfied of the sacrament, I will shew you the truth thereof, both by the scriptures, and by the doctors. Philpot. It is not only possible that we may not conclude with any truth, since you have begun with so many untruths, as to say that I was answerbred while I had any thing to say; and that I wept for matter of the report of the disputation is not true. God be praised, there were a good many noblemen, gentlemen, and worshipful men that heard and saw the doings thereof, which can testify that you here have made an unjust report before the noble lords. And that I wept, was not for lack of matter, as you slander me; for I thank God I have more matter than the buff of you all shall ever be able to answer, as little learning as you have, and weeping was, as Christ was upon Jerusalem, seeing the destruction that should fall upon her: and I foreseeing the destruction which you (through violence and uncomfortable which you there declared) would work against the true church of Christ and her faithful members, as this day beareth witness, was compelled to weep in remembrance of that which I with many more have felt and shall feel.

All these words I did then speak out, being interruptyed by my lord Rich, saying, that I should suffer him to proceed out in this matter, and afterwards I should have liberty to answer him in every article. But he promised me more than he performed, as the end of it shall declare, for he had not the content of the spirituality to his prince, which now rule the roaft. God flört their cruel days, for his elect's sake. And therefore I add this, which I purposed to have spoken, if then I might have been suffered, lett any that perfectly know not the things done in the convocation-house and now laid to my charge, if they should not be answered by me, might reckon...
reckon Dr. Chedsey's saying to be true. And as concerning the book of the report of the disputations I wrote that, as you find true, or false, or of no argument, as Mr. DoddLL, of Recluf, and Mr. Cheynly, archdeacon of Hereford, (being yet alive, and within the realm) can testify.

Chedsey. You have of scriptures the four evangelists for the proof of Christ's real presence to be in the sacrament, the words of confession, with St. Paul to the Corinthians; which all say, "This is my body." They say not, as you would have me believe, this is not the body. But especially the 6th of John prove this most manifestly, where Christ promised to give his body, and so performed in his last supper, as it is spoken by these words, "The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." Philo. My lord Rich, with your leave I must needs interrupt you a little, because he speakeoth open blasphemy against the death of Christ: for if it be true, what is brought in by St. John, was performed by Christ in his last supper, then he needed not to have died after he had given the sacrament.

Rich. Let Mr. Doctor make an end of his arguments, and afterward object to him what you can.

Phil. There is no need, for I am not speaking in my laude, as Dabo in this saying of St. John, and the first is referred to the sacrament of the altar, and the second to the sacrifice upon the crofs: and besides these manifest scriptures, there are many ancient doctors proving the same, as Ignatius, Irenaeus, St. Cyprian (whose authority he reciteth at large), and many others. For I do omit, because I was not permitted to answer the same.

Rich. Now answer, and object to him what you can, and you shall be heard.

Phil. My lord, the chief ground wherein he with the false of the ground themselves against us, are these words, "This is my body," with a full preface of the omnipresence of God. And before I will come to the particular answers of all that he hath alleged, for that your lordships may the better understand me, I will mean, and whereupon I stand, I will first require Mr. Doctor to answer me, if first of all it be true, that first I do protest to your honours that I think as reverently of the sacrament, as a christian man ought to do, and that I acknowledge the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, ministered after Christ's institution, to be one of the greatest treautes and comforts that he left us on the earth. For the very wife, it is most fruitful and abounding, not being ministered as it ought to be, as it is used now-a-days.

And now to my question, which is this: whether these words only, "This is my body," spoken by a priest over the bread and wine, may make the body and blood of Christ as truly and visibly be administered as in the Eucharist.

Chedsey. Studying what he might say, at last answered, That these words, without the presence of the priest, are sufficient to make the bread and the wine to become the very body and blood of Christ really.

Rich. But I think it is blasphemy to say, and against all the scriptures and doctors, who affirm that the form and substance in consecration must be observed which Christ used and did institute, as St. Cyprian faith, "In the sacrifice which is Christ, only Christ is to be followed." And by the law it is forbidden to add or to take away from God's word. And St. Peter faith, "If any man speak, let him speak as the word of God." Wherefore whatsoever faith that these words only, "This is my body," do make a presence of Christ, without "Bless, Take, and Eat," which are three as substantial points of the sacrament, as, "This is my body," he is highly deceived.

Therefore St. Augustine faith, "Let the words be joined to the element, and it becomes a sacrament:" So that if the intent words of Christ's institutions be not observed in the ministration of a sacrament, it is no sacrament, for then the sacrificers which the ten tribes did offer at Bethel to God, were not acceptable, because they were not in all points done according to God's word. Wherefore except blesting be made after the word, (which is a due thanksgiving for our redemption in Christ) and a flowing forth of the Lord's death in such words, and the congregation may be edified, and moreover a salutation after Christ's commandment, "Come, eat me," as the first three parts be first performed, (which is not done in the mass) these words, "This is my body," are placed last in the institution of the Lord's supper, can be understood. For their command as said, "Take, eat me," as "This is my body.

Chedsey. Christ said, "Take, Eat, this is my body, and not Take ye, Eat ye.

Philo. Did he not, Mr. Doctor? be not these the words of Christ, "Accept, Membra te," and do not they declare, that the word is not taken in the plural number, but in the singular, "Take ye, eat ye," and not Take thou, Eat thou, as you would have us prove?

Chedsey. I grant it is as you say.

Philo. Likewise of consecution, you (Mr. Doctor) must needs deny what you have said, that these words, "This is my body," being only spoken, be sufficient to make the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, as you have untruly said.

Then the bishop came in again and said, Why is that you would have Mr. Doctor deny it?

Philo. My lord, Mr. Doctor hath affirmed the sacrament of Christ's body. This is my body," spoken by the priest only, do make the sacrament.

Broun. Indeed if Mr. Bridges should speak words over the bread and wine, they would be effectual: but if a priest speak them after a due and right manner, and effectually, and made by "Take, and Eat," Philo. Mr. Doctor hath said otherwise.

Broun. I think you mistake him; for he need not of the words truly pronounced.

Philo. Let him revoke that he hath granted, then will I begin again with that which before was said, that in the sacrament of Christ, Lambs are not to be, except it be taken, and you may, Take, and Eat, duly go before. And therefore these words do not go before, "This is my body," but preposterously follow in your sacrament of the mass, if not the sacrament of Christ, neither hath Christ in his precepts said, "This is my body," only do not read the words, "This is the body," being only spoken, be sufficient to make the sacrament.

Philo. I grant that the one without the other make the sacrament. And it can be no sacrament to leave the whole nature of Christ thence concurring together to the first institution.

Broun. Why, then you would not have it to be here?

Philo. No, nor I, in any other, but such as can effectually receive the same.

Broun. No verily, it is not the very body of Christ in any other, but such as can effectually receive the same: nor his institution.

Broun. Is not a loaf a loaf, being set on the table, before the bread be there broken, be it received?

Philo. It is not, nor is my lord; for a loaf is left before it be set on the table; but so is not the sacrament perfect sacrament before it be duly administered the table of the Lord.

Broun. I pray you what it is in the manner before it is duly received?

Philo. It is, my lord, a sign begun of a holy thing, and yet no perfect sacrament until it be received. For in the sacrament there be two things to be combined, the sign, and the thing itself, which is Christ and his whole passion; and it is that to none but faithful christs receive the body and blood of Christ, according to Christ's institution.

Winstrott. There were never any that denied the word of Christ as you do. Did he not say, "This is my body?"

Philo. My lord, I pray you be not deceived; we do not deny the words of Christ; but we say they are of none effect, being spoken otherwise than Christ did institute them in his last supper. For example, Christ biddeth the church to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. In this particular, their words over the water shall be, and there be the child to be baptized; these words only pronounced, and not make baptism. And again, baptism is only baptism to such as be baptized, and to none otherwisefland
Philo. Mine answer shall be thus, that if your lordship can prove your mafs, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true service of God, whereunto a christian ought to come, I will afterwaids come with a good will.

Bonner. Look, I pray you; the king and queen, and all the nobility of the realm do come to mafs, and yet he will not. By my faith, thou art too well handled; thou shall be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee.

Philo. If to lie in a blind coa-houfe, may be counted good handling, without either fire or candle, then may it be said, I am well handled. Your lordship hath power to treat my body as you please.

Bonner. Thou art a fool, and a very ignorant fool. Mr. Chancellor, in good faith I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleness as they can defire. I did let their friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what? the other day they had gotten them selves up into the top of the leads, with a number of apprentices gathering abroad as though they had been at liberty; but I cut off your refort: and as for the apprentices they were as good not to come to you, if I take them.

Philo. My lord, we have no such refort to us as your lordship imagineth, and there come very few unto us. And of apprentices, I know not one, neither have we any leads to walk on over our coa-houfe, that I know of: wherefore your lordship hath mistraken your mark.

Bonner. Nay, now you think (because my lord chancellor is gone) that we will burn no more: yes, I warrant thee, I will dispatch you shortly, unless you do recant.

Philo. My lord, I had not thought that I should have been alive now, neither to raw as I am, but even well resolved to alliance.

Chancellor. Call not yourself wilfully away, Mr. Philop. Be content to be ruled by my lord here, and by other learned men of this realm, and you may do well enough.

Philo. My confidence heard me record that I seek to please God, and that the love and fear of God caueth me to do as I do: and I were of all other pleasures most miserable, if for mine own will I do lose all the conveniences I might have in this life, and afterwards be cast into damnation. But I am sure it is not my will wherein I stand, but God's will, who will not suffer me to be call away, I am sure.

Chancellor. You are not to sure, but you may be deceived.

Bonner. Well, since thou wilt not be conformed by fair means, I will proceed against thee Ex Officio, and therefore hearken here to such articles as I have here written, and I charge thee to make answer to them. And with that he read a libel which he had in his hand of divers atticles, and when he had done he bade me answer.

Philo. Your libel, my lord, containeth in sum two especiall points: the first pretendeth, that I should be of your diocese, and therefore your lordship upon divers false pretences, and the infamous of herely going upon me, is moved to proceed against me by your ordinary office: which first is not true, for that I am not of your lordship's diocese, as the libel doth pretend. And the second, that I being baptized in the catholic church, and in the catholic faith, am gone from them, which is not so, for I am of that catholic faith and church which I was baptized into.

Bonner. What? art thou not of my diocese? where are you now, I pray you?

Philo. I cannot deny but I am in your coa-houfe, which is your diocese: yet I am not of your diocese.

Bonner. You were sent hither unto me by the queen's majesty's commissioners, and thou art now in my diocese: wherefore I will proceed against thee as thy ordinary.

Philo. I was brought hither through violence, and therefore my present being now in your diocese is not enough to abridge me of mine own ordinary's jurisdiction.
jurisdiction, neither make it me willingly subject to your jurisdiction, since it cometh by force, and by such men as had no just authority so to do; no more than a sanctuary man, being by force brought forth of his place of privilege, doth thereby lose his privilege, but always may challenge the same wherever he be brought.

Chededy. Hath not the queen’s majesty authority, by her commissioners, to remove your body whither she will, and ought you not to obey herein?

Philpot. I grant that the queen’s majesty (of her just power) may transport my body, whither it shall please her grace to command the same. But yet by your laws, spiritual causes are not subject to the temporal power. As for example: you, Mr. Doctor, if the queen’s majesty would appoint two temporal men to be judges over you in certain spiritual matters, might you not allege the privilege of a clerk, and demand competent spiritual judges in your cause?

Bunner. Doth not a judge (I pray you) appoint a court at his own discretion?

Philpot. My lord, your rule is true in temporal matters, but in spiritual causes it is not so: which be otherwise privileged.

Bunner. What sayest thou then to the second article, and to the other?

Philpot. My lord, I say that I am not bound to answer the second, neither the rest, unless the first be proved.

Bunner. Well, suppose the first may be proved, as it will be, what will you say then to the second, that you are not of the same catholic faith, neither of the same church now as you were baptized in?

Philpot. I am of the same catholic faith, and of the same catholic church, which is of Christ, the pillar and establissement of truth.

Bunner. Nay, that you are not.

Philpot. Yes, that I am.

Bunner. Ye gods, fathers, and godmothers were of another faith than that you are now.

Philpot. I was not baptized either into my godfathers faith or my godmothers, but into the faith into the church of Christ.

Bunner. How know you that?

Philpot. Even from the beginning, from Christ and from his apostles, and from their immediate successors.

Chancellor. He will prove his church to be before Christ.

Philpot. If I did so, I go not amiss: for there was a church before the coming of Christ, which maketh one catholic church.

Bunner. It is so indeed.

Philpot. I will defire no better rule than the same which is oftentimes brought in of your fide, to prove both my faith and the catholic church; that is, antiquity, univerality, and unity.

Bunner. Do you not see what a bragging foolish fellow I am, for I pretend not to be very well versed in the doctors, and he is but a fool. By what doctor art thou able to prove thy church? Name him, and thou shalt have him.

Philpot. My lord, let me have all your ancient writers, with pen, and ink, and paper, and I will prove both my faith and my church out of every one of them.

Bunner. No, that thou shalt not have. Thou shall fee how he lieth. St. Cyprian faith, ‘There must be one high-priest, to whom the sacrifice must obey:’ and they will how he is head, neither vicar general.

Philpot. St. Cyprian faith not, that there should be a vicar general over all. For in his book De simplicitate Prelatuum, I am sure he faith the contrary: ‘There is but one bishoip, which is wholly pooffed of every bishop in part.’

Bunner. For hitherto the book, thou shalt see the manifest place against thee.

Dr. Chevedey brought the book, and turned to a place in an epitile written unto Cornelius, bishop of Rome, and recited these words in form, which went well with the church, where the bishop was not obeyed; and so would not conclude the confirmation of the bishop’s saying.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor, you mis-construe the place. St. Cyprian; for he meaneth not there by the bishop; the bishop of Rome, but every parishioner in every place from Rome appointed in his person.

And in writing unto Cornelius, he meaneth he high-priest, himself, who was then bishop; whose authority the heretics began to dispute. When he complaineth to Cornelius, and faith, the church cannot be well ordered, where the chief minister of God’s truth is not the lawful judge of the scriptures, and if with agreement of the people, and the consent of his own bishops, is not obeyed.

Bunner. Hath not the bishop of Rome always been supreme head of the church, and Christ’s vicar on earth, even from Peter?

Philpot. No, that he was not. For by the word of God he hath no more authority, than the bishop London hath.

Bunner. Was not Peter head of the church, and not the bishop of Rome, who is his successor, it is auhtentique?

Philpot. I grant that the bishop of Rome, by the succesor of Peter, hath the same authority Peter had: but Peter had no more authority than that of the apostles had.

Chancellor. Yes, that St. Peter had; for Christ especially unto him, I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,” which he fished to none other his disciples finicularly, but to him.

Philpot. St. Augustine answerest otherwise to the objection, and faith, “That if in Peter there had been the figure of the church, the Lord had not said unto him, ‘I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Which if Peter received not, they receive them not; if the church hath them, then Peter hath them not.”

Bunner. What if I can prove and shew you out of the civil law, that all churffenlomb ought to have the holy catholic church of Rome, as they have a special title thereof, De catholica fide & sancto Rosis ecclesiae?

Philpot. That is nothing material, seeing the thing of God be not subject to man’s laws; and the divine matters must be ordered by the word of God, and not by men.

A Doctor. What will you say, if I can prove the Christ built his church upon Peter, and that out of St. Cyprian? will you then believe that the bishop of Rome ought to be suprême head of the church?

Philpot. I know what St. Cyprian writeth in the behalf, but he meaneth nothing as you take it.

A Doctor. St. Cyprian hath these words, That upon Peter was built the church, as upon the first beginning of unity.

Philpot. He declareth that in an example, as unity must be in the church; he grounded in Peter’s church and faith, and not to be very well versed in the doctors, and he is but a fool. By what doctor art thou able to prove thy church? Name him, and thou shalt have him.

Philpot. My lord, let me have all your ancient writers, with pen, and ink, and paper, and I will prove both my faith and my church out of every one of them.

Bunner. No, that thou shalt not have. Thou shall see how he lieth. St. Cyprian faith, ‘There must be one high-priest, to whom the sacrifice must obey:’ and they will how he is head, neither vicar general.

Philpot. St. Cyprian faith not, that there should be a vicar general over all. For in his book De simplicitate Prelatuum, I am sure he faith the contrary: ‘There is but one bishoip, which is wholly pooffed of every bishop in part.’

Bunner. For hitherto the book, thou shalt see the manifest place against thee.
Dorset. Yes, then I have done with you, and go away.

Philpot. You are too young in divinity to teach me the matters of my faith. Though you may be more read in other things than I, yet in divinity I have no longer practised than you, for any thing I can do of you; therefore I must not be hasty to judge what I do not know well.

St. John. Peter and his successors from the beginning have been allowed for the supreme head of the church, and that by the scriptures, for Christ said unto Peter, in St. John xvi. 17, Feed my flock.

Philpot. That is no otherwise to be taken, than he spake it, and preach, which was spoken to all the disciples as well as unto Peter, and that Christ said, Feed my flock, it signifies nothing else than he earnestly lusted that the ministers of God have power in preaching the word. God grant that you may not be deprived of your grateful duty in this behalf when you do. Is this a just interpretation of the figure, to take Feed my flock, for to be lord of the whole world?

In the mean while a bachelor of divinity came in, who is a master of Greek and Latin, belonging to the bishop, and he took upon him to help Mr. St. John.

St. John. What will you say if I can shew you a reek author called Theophylact, to interpret it so? Will you believe his interpretation?

Philpot. Theophylact is late writer, and one that is taken up with the faith of Rome, and therefore it would not be credited, since his interpretation is contrary to the determination of many general councils.

St. John. In what general council was it otherwise, that the bishop of Rome was not supreme head of all Christ.

Philpot. In the council of Nice I am sure it was otherwise; for Athanasius was then the chief bishop of the council, and the not of Rome.

St. John. Nay, that is not so.

Philpot. Then I perceive you are better seen in that than in knowledge of things; and I will lay before you, you will be so, as you may feice in the pome of the councils.

St. John. I will fetch Eufebius and shew the council, and the book of General Councils. He went in my lord's closet, and brought Eusebius, but the other Counsels he brought not, saying (for having been bold, and come, he would have had that he was otherwise in Eusebius, but he was not able to shew the same, and knave away confounded.

Counsellor. The church of Rome hath been always the head of the catholic church; therefore I would also advise you to conform the same with us. You see all the men of this realm do commend you. And why will you be so singular?

Philpot. I have said, and still do say, that if you are able to prove it unto me, that will I be of the same.

Counsellor. But I am sure that the church, which you call the church of Rome, is of a false church, and a synagogue of Satan. And you, which are the learned men of the realm, do not approve the true church, and condemn such as are not righteous among you.

Counsellor. Do you hear, Mr. Doctor, what he saith that the church of Rome is the devil.

Philpot. I had thought, and more reverently of the church of Rome, that will you say if I can shew you a book that is written against it, that the whole general council of Carthage allow the church of Rome to be the chief over all.

Philpot. I am sure you can shew no such thing. And with that he showed me the book of St. Auffin, in his epistle of great deference to pope Innocent, which the whole general council of Carthage allow the church of Rome to be the chief over all.

Philpot. I shew you the book of St. Auffin, in his epistle of great deference to pope Innocent, that the whole general council of Carthage allow the church of Rome to be the chief over all the apostolic see. And besides this, they write to him, certifying him of things done in the council for the condemnation of the Donatists, requiring his approbation in the same; which they would not have done if they had not taken the church of Rome for the supreme head of others. And moreover you may see how St. Auffin doth prove the church of Rome to be the universal church, by continual succession of the bishops until his time, and that this succession we can prove unto our days: therefore by the same reason of St. Auffin we say now, that the church of Rome is the catholic church.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor, I have considered how you do weigh St. Auffin; and contrary to his meaning and words, you would infer another conclusion. As concerning that it was called by him a universal see, that is not material to prove the church of Rome now to be the catholic church. I will grant indeed that it is the apostolic see, in respect that Paul and Peter did once preach the gospel, and abode there for a certain season. I will with you, there is no other see to be proved to be it, the apostolic see of the true religion and sincerity as the apostle left it, and did teach the same; which if you could do, you might boast of Rome as of the apostolic see; otherwise it is now of no more force, than if the Turks at Antioch and at Jerusalem should boast of the apostolic see, because the apostles did there once abide, and founded the church of Christ.

And whereas the whole council of Carthage did write unto pope Innocent, certifying him of what was done in the general council, and willing him to set his helping hand to the suppressing of the Donatists, as they were in Africa; then it is of the council doth not prove the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, no more than if the whole convolution house now gather together, and agreeing upon certain articles, might send the same to Rome bishop that upon certain impediments is not present, deeming him to agree thereto, and for that reason to be his successor. Which fact doth not make any such bishop of greater authority than the rest, because his content is brotherly required.

And touching the succession of the bishops of Rome, brought in by St. Augustine, it maketh nothing new thereby to prove the same catholic church, unless you can conclude with the same reason as St. Augustine doth. And the rehearsing of the succession of the bishops of Rome pretend to this only, to prove the Donatists to be heretics, because they began, as well at Rome as in Africa, to found another church of their own setting up, than was grounded by Peter and Paul, and by their successors, whom he receiveth until his time, which at that time is called a church, neither such church as the Donatists. And if you can shew, how you are able to prove by the bishops of Rome (whereof you do glory) that such doctrine hath not been taught by any of the successors of Peter's see, as is now taught and believed by us, you have good reason against us: otherwise it is no reason as I am able to declare.

Chancellor. Well, Mr. Doctor, if you can we do can no good in persuading of him; let us administer the articles which my lord hath left us, unto him. How say you, Mr. Philpot, to these articles? Mr. John- fon, I pray you write his answers.

Philpot. Mr. Chancellor, you have no authority to inquire of such matters, and it is but an idle thing to go about, for I am not of my lord of London's diocese, and to be brief with you, I will make no further answer here- in than I have already to the bishop.

Chancellor. Why then let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away.

Thus ended the seventheen part of his tryad,

A private CONFERENCE between Mr. PHILPOT and BISHOP BONNER.

EARLY the next morning the bishop sent one of his men to me, to call me up into his chapel to hear me next day.

Bishop's man. Mr. Philpot, where are you? Philpot. Who is that calleth me? Bishop's man. My lord's will is, you should rise and come to hear mass: will you come or no? 5 E Philpot,
Philo. My stomach is not very good this morning: you may tell my lord I am sick. After this, the keeper was sent to bring me to my lord.

Keeper. Mr. Philpot, you must ride and come to my lord.

Philo. I am at your command, Mr. Keeper, as soon as I can: and going out of the prison, he asked me, saying:—

Keeper. Will you go to mass?

Philo. My stomach is too raw to digest such raw meats of fish, blood, and bone, this morning. After this, my keeper prefrented me to the bishop in his hall.

Bum. Mr. Philpot, I charge you to answer unto such articles as my chaplain and my registrar have from me to object against you; go and answer them.

Philo. My lord, all judgments ought to be public. Therefore if your lordship has any thing to charge me lawfully with, let me be in judgment lawfully and openly called, and I will answer according to my duty; otherwise in corners I will not.

Bum. Thou art a foolish knave I see well enough, thou shalt answer whether thou wilt or no; go thy ways with them, I say.

Philo. I will go with them at your lordship’s pleasure, I will make them no further answers than I have said already.

Bum. No, wilt thou not, knave? Have him away, and set him in the stocks: what, foolisb knave?

Philo. Indeed, my lord, you handle me, with others, like fools: and we must be content to be made fools together; for fools and knaves are your bybiffs, like asms. You go about by force in corners to opprress, and are affained that your doings should come to light: God shorten your cruel kingdom for his mercy’s sake. And presently after I was put into the stocks, in a house alone, separate from my fellows; God be praised that he hath thought me worthy to suffer any thing for his name’s sake. Better it is to fit in the stocks of this world, than fit in the stocks of a damnable conversation.

Another conference between the bishop and Mr. Philpot, and other prisoners.

PHILOT. The day after, an hour before day, the bishop sent for me again by the keeper.

Keeper. Mr. Philpot, arise, you must come to my lord.

Philo. I wonder what my lord meaneth, that he sendeth for me thus early, I fear he will use some violence towards me, wherefore I pray you make him this answer, That if he did send for me by an order of law, I will come and answer; otherwise, I am not of his diocese, neither is he mine ordinary, I will not (without I be violently constrained) come unto him.

Keeper. I will go and tell my lord what answer you make: and so he went away to the bishop, and immediately returned with two of the bishop’s men, saying, that I must come whether I would or no.

Philo. If by violence any of you will enforce me to go, then I must go, otherwise I will not; and there with one of them took me by force of the arm, and led me up into the bishop’s gallery.

Bum. What? thou art a foolish knave indeed; thou wilt not come without thou be fetched.

Philo. I am brought in that manner by violence unto you, and your cruelty is such, that I am afraid to come before you; I would your lordship would gently proceed against me by the law.

Bum. I am blamed by the lords the bishops, that I have not dispatched thee ere this. And in faith, I made suit to my lord cardinal, and all the convocation-house, that they would hear thee. And my lord of Lincoln stood up, and said thou wast a frantic fellow, and a man that there is no law to have the word. And they all have much blamed me, because I have brought thee so often before the lords openly: and they say, it is meat and drink to you to speak in an open audience, you glory

fo in yourself. Wherefore I am commanded as a further order with thee, and in good faith I will not relent, I will make no further case of it, if thou wilt yet be conformable, I will adjudge that is part, and thou shalt have no hurt for it, or that is already spoken or done.

Philo. My lord, I have an answer that I could contribute for myself, which I would deliver for the sake of Mr. White, bishop of Lincoln, I know him to be known to be mine enemy, for that I believe he did communicate him for preaching naughty.

If Christ my matter was called a madman, it was not, vel though you count me frantic.

Philo. Hah! thou hast not a pig brought to thee this day with a knife in it? Wherefore too (thee) but to kill thyself? or, as it is told me, I am counselled to take heed of thee to kill me, if I fear thee not, I think I am able to defend my feet, do the bulk thou canst.

Philo. My lord, I cannot deny but there is a knife in the pig’s belly that was brought to me, who put it in, or for what purpose, I know not, it were because he that sent the meat, thought it without a knife, and so put it in. But all this lordship needeth not to fear; for I was not knave, if I came to prison for myself, and in person, thou shalt live long if you should be about to kill you; and I confess, by violentness thy life is able to overcome me.

Bum. I charge thee to answer to mine host. Hold him a book. Thou shalt swear to answer to him, as I shall demand of thee.

Philo. I will first know your lordship’s pleasure, before I swear herein.

Bum. What, we shall have an Abraham that thinketh it not lawful to swear before judge.

Philo. My lord, I am an Abraham; I have lawful to swear before competent judges lawfully required. But I refuse to swear in these things before your lordship, because you are not mine ordinary.

Bum. I am thine ordinary: hereupon I am here presented by the bybiffary peremptory; and thou art of my diocese: and here he ordereth be called in to bear him witnesw. And I make the taking one of his servants by the arm to be my witness. And now hearken to my articles, to which (she) had read them he) he admonished me to make an answer. Fetch me from without, and I will make him be witnesses against thee.

In the mean while came in one of the sheriffs, don whom the bishop (calling for two chief priests by him, saying, Mr. Sheriff, I would thou didst stand how I do proceed against this man.) He shall hear, and he shall hear, and he shall hear, and he shall hear; and to read a rabblement of falsely accused articles. I should deny baptism to be necessary to them was born of christian parents, that I denied fasting, prayer, and all other good deeds, that I named only bare faith to be sufficient to salvation, whether a man did besides, and I maintained God to be the author of all sin and wickedness.

Philo. Ha, my lord, have you nothing else to charge me withal, but you must be false to these blaspheous lies against me? You might as well have falsified your former. The first for that God will destroy all men that speak lies; he is not your lordship’s abashed to say before this worshipful gentleman, (who is unknown to me) who maintained these abominable blasphemies which you have heard, I maintain? which if I did maintain, I were not heaven, nor earth, nor time, to be burnt to death sometimes if it were possible.

Bum. I do object them unto thee, to hear thou wilt lay them in, and how thou canst defend them.

Philo. Then it was not justly said of thy kitchen in the morning, that I did maintain them, whereas I hold none of these articles you have read, in them they are written.
I have laid wait for your doings, and am certified of you well enough to requite you therefore from them, and you shall hurt them not a hair of their heads: you have done, and I will out of hand dispatch you as I am commanded, unless you will be a conformable man.

Philpot. My lord, you have my body in your custody, you may transport it whither you please, I am content. And therefore you would counsel abdication in my judgment, as you say; I long for it, and as for conformity, I am ready to yield to all truth, if any can bring better than I.

Bonom. Why, will you believe no man but yourself, whatsoever thereupon you judge?

Philpot. My belief must not hang upon men's sayings, without sure authority of God's word, which if they can flow me, I will be pliant to the same; otherwise I cannot go from my certain faith to that which is uncertain.

Bonom. Have you then the truth only?

Philpot. My lord, I will speak my mind freely unto you, and upon no malice that I bear to you, before God. You have not the truth, neither are you of the church of God; but you pervert both the truth and the true church of God, for which you cannot prosper long. You see God doth not prosper your way, according to your expectations: he hath of late thwed his just judgment against one of your greatest doers, who by report died miserably. I envy not the authority you are in. You that have learning, should know how to rule. And fear God, and do good, and living again, use the fame to God's glory, and to the setting forth of his true religion; otherwise it will not continue, do what you can. With this saying he paused, and at length said: Bonom. That good man was punished for such as these art. Who is the keeper? Come, let him have him to the place that is provided for him. Go your way before.

Philpot. And he followed me, calling the keeper aside, commanding him to keep all men from me, and sorrow to search me, (as the sequel did declare) and brought me to his privy door that goeth into the church, and commanded two of his men to accompany the keeper, and to see me placed.

And afterwards I passed through St. Paul's up to Lollards' Tower, and after that turned along the west-side of St. Paul's through the coal, and passing through fix or seven doors, came to my lodging, where, according to my desires, I was furnished as I was pleased. Where I called to remembrance, that Strait is the way to heaven. And it is in a tower, right on the other side of Lollards' Tower, as high almost as the battlements of St. Paul's, eight feet in breadth, and thirteen in length, almost over the wall, where a window opening towards the eay, by which I could look over the tops of a great many houses, but see no man passing into them; and who so walk in the bishop's outer gallery going to his chapel, might see my window, and my standing in the same.

And as I came to my place, the keeper plucked off my gown, and searched me very narrowly, and took away a pen-case, inkhorn, girdle, and knife, but (as God would) I had an inking a little before I was called, of my removal, and thereupon made an errand to the fool, where (full fore against my will) I cast away many sweet and friendly letters, but I had written ten of my last examination before, I thrust into my hole, thinking the next day to have made an end thereof, and with walking it was fallen down to my leg, which he by feeling did soon find out, and asked what that was. I said, they were certain letters; and with that he was very busy to have them. Let me alone, said I, I will pluck them out with that I put my hand, having two other letters therein, and brought up the same writing into my breeches, and there left it, giving him the other two letters that were not of any great importance; which to make a new that they had been weighty, I began to tear as well as I could, so they thrashed them from me, and deluded him (I thank God) of his purpose.

Then he went away, and as he was going, one of them
that came with him, said, that I did not deliver the writing I had in my hous, but two other letters I had in my hand before. Did he not, says he? I will go and search him better; which I hearing, convoyed my common mother into his chamber, there I lay in bed, and took all my letters I had in my purse, and was tarring of them when he came again, and as he came: I threw the same out of the window, saying, That I heard what he said; wherefore I did prevent his searching again, and I was right glad. God be praised that gave me that pleasant sight, and I will keep it from the knowledge of my writings, which if they had known, it would have been a great occasion of straiter keeping and looking unto, although they looked narrowly enough.

The EIGHTH EXAMINATION of Mr. JOHN PHILPOT, before the Bishops of London and ST. DAVID'S, Mr. MORDANT, and others in the Bishop's CHAPLAINS.

THE next day after, my keeper came in the morning before day to call me down, and so I was brought down into his warderobe, where with a keeper I was left, and there continued all the day. But after dinner I was called down into the chapel, before the bishops of London and St. David's, Mr. Mordant, one of the queen's council, Mr. Archdeacon of London, and before a great Many other Baalamites. And the bishop spake thus to the keeper:

BONNER. Sir, I here object, and lay unto you, in the presence of my lord of St. David's, and of Mr. Mordant, and of these worshipful men, these articles here in this libel contained: and openly he read them.

To whom when I would particularly have answered to some of his blasphemies, he would not permit me; but said, I should have leisure to say what I would, when he had spoken.

And unto these here I add another schedule. Also, I require thee to answer to the catechism set forth in the schismatical time of king Edward. Also I will thee to answer to certain conclusions agreed upon in Oxford and Cambridge. And here do bring forth these witnesses against thee in thine own presence, namely, my lord of St. David's, Mr. Mordant, and Mr. Harpsfield, with as many as were present at the disputation you made in the convocation-house; willing you to testify, of your oaths taken upon a book, his stubborn and irreligious book without touching his name, the blessed sacrament of the altar. Give me a better and received one, he opened the same, saying, I will teach him here one trick in our law, which he knoweth not; that is, my lord of St. David's, because you are a bishop, you have this privilege, that you may swear by looking on the gospel without touching the same. And so he opened the book in his sight, and that it again, and caused the others to put their hands on the book, and take their oath, and desired them to refer to his register to make their depositions when they might be at best at leisure. And afterwards he turned to me and said, Now, sir, you shall answer but two words, whether you have been so seduced of which I have laid unto you, directly, yes, or nay?

PHILPOT. My lord, you have told a long tale against me, containing many lying blasphemies, which cannot be answered in two words: besides this, you promised me at the beginning, that I should say what I could say within my defence, and now you will not give me leave to speak. What law is this?

BONNER. Speak yea, or nay, for you shall say no more at this time.

[The cause was, as I guess, that he faw so many there gathered to hear.]
Coffs. What, will you go? Then there is no reasoning with you. Thus Mr. Coffs gave over in the plain field for want of further proof. And then the morrow-mas chaplain began to speak for his occupation; and with that Mr. Harpsfield came from my lord with St. Augustine’s epistle, saying: Harpsfield. My lord hath sent you here St. Augustine to look upon, and I pray you look what he faith in a certain epistle which he writeth; I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the celebration of the mafs, and how it is managed; you shall see any action of learning so well understood, I shall be as conformable as you may require me to be.

Yes, marry, now you speak somewhat like common man. You might have had a great deal of my favor in your humility, and liberty have you and you shall lack nothing if it be within my calling to call for and you shall have it. And what is to you would openly by learning be somewhat false in? Tell me.

Harpsfield. My lord, I have openly said, and do believe, that your facrail of the mafs is no warrant.

Coffs. What, do you deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament?

Harpsfield. No, my lord, I deny not the presence of it in the facrail, but I have denied the facrail of the altar, as it is used in your mafs, to be the facrail of Christ’s institution: and first it must be a facrail before there can be any presence of it.

Coffs. Why, do you deny the mafs to be a facrail? I pray you, what is a facrail? Is it not of a holy thing, as St. Austin doth define it?

Harpsfield. Yes, verily that it is. Then I make this argument unto you: A mafs is the sign of a holy thing: but the mafs is sign of a holy thing: therefore, it is a facrail.

Coffs. You must add this to your major, or first position, as St. Augustine doth mean, that a facrail is the sign of a holy thing instituted of God, and mandated; for otherwise it can be no facrail; for men cannot make a facrail.

Harpsfield. I grant that; and such a sign of a holy thing is the mafs of Christ’s institution.

Coffs. I deny that, my lord.

Harpsfield. I will prove this by St. Augustine by and by. I go show you the book, and you shall have any help you can have from it. Call me Mr. Doctor Chadley, Mr. Archon, Mr. Coffs, and other chaplains hither here.

Coffs. Mr. Doctor Chadley is gone to Welfer, and Mr. Archdeacon Harpsfield was here even now.

Harpsfield. Mr. Coffs, I pray you examine him upon these articles, and write the answer he maketh to every one of them. I will go examine his fellows, and send St. Augustine by and by. I find this man more formable than he was before.

Coffs. I trust, my lord, you shall find him at length as a poor catechumen. Marry, here’s a fight of here and there. I dare say you will have the assassins, nor fland them of. How say you to the first?

Harpsfield. Mr. Coffs, I have told my lord already, I will answer to none of these articles he hath objected me; but if you will with learning answer what is in question between my lord and me, I gladly have the employment with you.

Coffs. Will you not? Why, if what is that then that question between my lord and you?

Harpsfield. Whether your mafs be a facrail or no.

Coffs. What, the mafs to be a facrail? Who would have that proved.

Harpsfield. If it be an undoubted truth, you may the better prove it; for I doubt much thereof.

Coffs. Why, I will prove it. It is the sign of a holy thing: therefore, it is a facrail.

Harpsfield. I deny your antecedent. § 36.
action of the priest alone is in vain, where there is no communion, how can that be a sacrament, which bereaves a man of a vain oblation, and a vain standing at the altar?

Copus. Such a fellow I have never seen, nor have I ever seen the morrow-mafs Chaplain; we shall have you both in Archeacon and him together; and (for we were told that he would have us as well to do as myself, and I pray you think of me.)

Philopat. I thank you for your good will toward me; but if you be deceived (as I am sure you are), if you do not succeed with me deceived with you. Before God I tell you plainly, that Christianity is highly decent, and maintains that religion, and he must not talk of yourself; and if you do not repent, and quit off your pernicious truth, you will go to hell for it. Therefore consider it in time, give warning, for else in the day of judgment I think I will speak against you, that I told you this here talk together.

Harpsfeld. Fie, that is but your own singulation; I perceive you are now still that man in Oxford.

Philopat. I trust you can report no notorious evil everywhere, which is not true.

Harpsfeld. I say no evil of your communion, but I knew you to be a stedious man. Marry, if you remember when we met in disputation in Paris, you would not lightly give over, and for that cause I have what I have said.

Philopat. Mr. Harpsfeld, you know in the decade of Oxon, when we were young men, we did from one upon vain glory, and upon contention, most of the truth: but now our years and riper learning can use us to fall to a truth, which must be our portion ever. And if I was then, in my time ignorant, and own in my own cause, I ought now to be equal to my master Christ's cause, and his truth. I know not that nothing done upon vain glory and contentions please God, it have ever so godly a flood where it is not true. I pray judge not so of me now.

Harpsfeld. Well, I will talk with you no more now, but pray God to open your heart.

Philopat. I pray God open both your hearts, to draw his will than we have done in times past.

Harpsfeld. Ho, keeper, take him away with you. Mr. By, you have not, by this pronoun (Hoc) doth demonstate and show, the indicative proposition as you call it, Hoc est meus, this is my body.

Harpsfeld. It doth demonstrate the substance of a bread, which by the words spoken by the priest, by the word of God, is turned into the substance of Christ's body.

Philopat. Is the substance of bread, as you turned into Christ's body?

Harpsfeld. Yea, that is it.

Philopat. Why, then Christ's body received by a great increase of many thousand pieces of bread in his body, and this body become now, as it stood before, and by this you seem to make, that it is an alteration in Christ's glorified body, which wicked thing to think.

Harpsfeld. Then he fetched about again, and boasting himself better, and seeing the incomprehensibleness of the sacrament, of the substance, into Christ's body, he said, That the substance of the after the words spoken by the priest, was even vanished away by the omnipotence of God.

Philopat. This is another song than you forgot.
here you may see how contrary you are to your- 
self. For indeed your schoolmen do hold, That the 
flavine of bread is really turned into the very 
substance of Christ's body. And now you perceive 
at the inconveniency which is objected against you, 
at your opinion, are driven to imagine a new thrift, and 
the flabellation of bread is evacuated, contrary to 
which your church hath at first believed and taught. 
and to de- 
scribe the finer truth.
are not God omnipotent? and cannot he 
be hath paid.
But his omnipotence will not do as you 
yay, nor will his word and his honour. It is not God's 
will, nor can include him bodily into a piece of bread, 
and colour to tie him thereto. It is not God's honour 
not to make a piece of bread God and man, which 
with your face doth purify after a cer- 
mony. Is it not his omnipotence as able to give 
with the sacramental bread, as to make fa- 
motions away of the bread, as you do, and that 
the scripture, which calleth it bread 
times after consecration? Are you not all 
liable to many alterations of the Lord's institution 
do, and not always the subfutant parts of the 
for, that "Take ye, eat ye, drink ye all of this; 
and in remembrance of me;' and to place in 
head, Hear ye, gaze ye, knock ye, worship ye, 
ye, sacrifice ye for the quick and the dead! I 
not blasphemy to God and his sacraments, to add 
 speculative word to this, and that contrary to the 
all ancient writers, and contrary to the 
explain all his apostles, tell me.
Know you have gathered the sayings 
or religious persons together which make for your 
no longer with you.
pray God open both our hearts, to do 
the way we have done in times past.
Ho, keeper, take him away with you.
TENTH EXAMINATION of Mr. PHILPOT.
the Bishop Bonser, his Register, and others, 
next day, after dinner, I was brought into 
my lord's upper hall, and there he called me before 
and his register, and before Dr. Chedsey, in the 
隐蔽 of two homely gentlemen, and a priesty which 
not at which time the bishop said:
I do here lay to this man in your presence, 
the thing against him, as much as 
any in any of them) these articles, this book of 
which, made in king Edward's days, also the 
ious agreement upon both in Oxford and Cambridge; 
I lay unto him, that he hath defiled the censures 
the church, and hath florid accursed above this 
party, yea, thou not accursed by my lord 
s? What, I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, 
without any jurt cause, and without order of law, 
never personally cited.
I did not then tell me the other day, when 
they came to the mass, that thou wast 
communicated, and therefore by law could not 
not? How long hast thou thus been excom- 

More than a year and a half.
Lo, you may hear what he faith: write
But as you would have written what I 
said, I have been thus long excommunicated 
he nor could not give it me, saying, That I 
communicate, because if I was an heretic, 
pleased him to call me, therefore accursed by 
and so commanded me to prion, where I 

Why do you not require absolution at 
hand's hands now?
came to hint about other matters, to I swear also to be a witness against me, who was a person in a dying state.

Benner. You shall I swear also to depose all the truth of certain articles you shall be inquired of concerning this man; and here I (according to the law) do bring them forth in thy presence.

Philpot. My lord, I do not agree to the production of them, but do appeal from all these and other your precedents to God; and require you, Mr. Regifter, that my appeal may be entered, and I will pay you for your labour.

Regifter. Your appeal shall be entered at leisure. Whom do you appeal unto? Tell me.

Philpot. I appeal to a higher judge, as to the lieutenant of the archbishopric of Canterbury, for I know not who is bishop thereof at this present. With that the bishop went away, and my Baalamite kinsman looked big upon me, but said never a word.

Thus have I in haft fribbled out all mine examinations hiterto, that the fame with hath been done unto me in the dark might come to light, and that the papists' unjust proceedings and nakednesses in their false religion, might be known to their confusion. Jefius is Emanuel, that is, God with us. Amen. 1555.

The ELEVENTH EXAMINATION of Mr. PHILPOT, on St. Andrew's Day, before the Bishops of Durham, Chichester, Bath, and London, Mr. Christopherson, Dr. Chedevry, Mr. Morgan, Oxfor, Dr. Jost, Dr. Field, Archdeacon, Mr. Cosines, and Mr. Johnson, Regifter to the Bishop of London, in his Palace.

BEING fent for with my keeper, the bishop of London met me at his hall-door, and full narrowly he observed the gentleman-usher to bring me before the lords, saying,

Bower. My lords, I shall desire you to take some pains with this man, he is a gentleman, and I would he should do well, but he will wilfully cast away himself.

Durham. Come hither, sir, what is your name?

Philpot. My name is Philpot.

Durham. I have heard of that name to be a worshipful flock, and since you are a gentleman, do as you may live worshipfully among other gentlemen. What is the cause of your trouble now?

Tell me the cause, as in my former examinations is expressed.

Durham. Well, all causes set apart, will you now be a conformable man to the catholic faith, and leave all new-fangled opinions and heresies? I was in Germany with Luther at the beginning of these opinions, and there I began. Leave them and follow the catholic church throughout the whole world, as the whole realm now doth.

Philpot. My lord, I am in the catholic faith, and desire to live and die in the same, but it is not unknown to your lordship, that I, with others, these twenty years have been taught another manner of faith than you now go about to compel us unto; wherefore it is requisite that we have time to weigh the same, and to hear how it agreeth with God's word. For faith is at a sudden either won, neither removed, but as St. Paul faith, "A Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word." And the gospel is written, and was not delivered unto me, but as a parable, addressed to the general audience, that they might learn the great truths of the gospel, and so were not the church?

Chicheley. And if you will give me leave, my lord, I will shew him how he taketh the saying of St. Paul, amiss, as many others now-a-days do, alleging the same, that they ought not to be compelled to believe, whereas St. Paul meanceth of infidels, and not of the faithful; and so St. Auffin, writing against the Donatists, faith, That the faithful may be compelled to believe.

Philpot. St. Bernard, if he pleads your lordship doth take that sense of St. Paul as I do, saying, that fact must be persuaded to a man, and not enjoined. And St. Augustine speaketh of such as were first thoroughly persuaded by manifest scriptures, and yet would refuse of stubborn willfulness.

Chicheley. So Bernard meanceth of infidels also.

Philpot. No, my lord, that he doth not, for the word doth not of such as are deceived by errors.

Chicheley. My lord of Durham, I have been for some time to interrupt your lordship of your tale, I gave you now proceeded on.

Durham. Philpot, will you be of the same catholic faith and church with us you were impressed in, and your godfathers promised for you, and what will you do? and then may you be rid out of trouble, ccc. e. you are learned, and it is a pity but you shall do well.

Philpot. I am of the same catholic faith and church I was baptized into, and in that will I live and die.

Durham. That is well said; if you hold there, you cannot but do well.

Chicheley. Yes, my lord, but he meanceth otherwise than that do. Are you of the same faith through your godfathers, and godmothers were, or no?

Philpot. I cannot tell what faith they were of certainly, but I am of the same faith I was baptized into, and is the faith of Christ; for I was not baptized unto faith of my godfathers, but in the faith of Christ.

Chicheley. St. Auffin faith, that infants are baptized in the faith of their godfathers.

Philpot. St. Augustine, in faith saying, members of the faith of Christ, which the godfathers do, or ought to believe, and not otherwise.

Chicheley. How far, will you believe unto all and the learned of the realm, or no? and in one church with us?

Philpot. My lords, it is not unknown to you that there have been always two churches.

Chicheley. Nay, that is not so: there is but one catholic church.

Philpot. I shall define your lordships to hear me talk, and to take my meaning. For I know there was only one true church; but always from the beginning the same hath been joined to the fame true church, a false church, adversary to the true: and that was declared at a full council, and or eponym, in whom (St. Augustine witsfeth) is represented holy and true church. And that as soon as God had chosen his peculiar people, and shewed unto them his favour, holy statutes, and will, anion after the false church, and ten of the twelve tribes of Israel divided themself from true church of God, and so made one to themselves at Bethel, and set upon golden calves, and yet pretended therewith to serve God, and so abused his word. Notwithstanding God was displeased with them, and ceased not his work until he had utterly destroyed them.

Chicheley. After Christ had chosen his apostles, and there not a Judas in the new law, but a Simon Magus, and were they not of the church?

Chicheley. Yes, but I mean after the gospel was written, where can you find me two churches as Christ had ascended, and sent the Holy Ghost?

Philpot. The gospel was written within eight years after the ascension written by St. Matthew, and the writing thereof is not material to the declaration of these two churches to have been always from time to time, any example it may be w ewed: and yet as bad as my memory is, I remember in the New Testament it is said, As it appeared in the revelations, and also as St. Paul to the Thessalonicans makes mention, that Antichrist, with his false generation, that fit in the temple of God. To which Chicheley replied not.

Durham. The church in the scripture is likened to a great city that was were contained in it both good and bad filth. I truth you will be of the better part, and lean to the truth.

Philpot. My lord, it is my whole declaration to be.
Dr. Chedey, and to have his meat from the bishop's own table. How far you, my lords, was this well done of him, being the prince to write this? and yet he hath written a shameful lie, that he was in Dr. Chedey's keeping. How far you, Mr. Dr. Chedey, is it not a shameful lie?

Chedey. Yes, my lord, he was never in my keeping.

Brower. Art thou not ashamed to write such shameful letters? Come hither, Mr. Green, did I not thou thee this letter?

Green. Yea forsooth, my lord, you shewed it me.

Brower. How think you, my lords, is not this an honest man to believe me?

Philpott. Your lordship doth mistake all things. This letter (as your lordship may perceive, and all others that have heard the fame) was not written by me, but by a friend of mine, certifying me at my request, how Mr. Green fared at the bishop of London's hands: and there is nothing in the letter that either I, or he that wrote it, need to fear, but that might be written as my report.

Brower. Then tell me who wrote it, if you dare.

Philpott. No, my lord, it is not my duty to accuse my friend: and especially seeing you will take all things at the worst: neither shall you ever know of me who wrote it. Your lordship may see in the end of the letter, that my friend did write unto me upon the occasion of my appeal which I have made to the whole parliament-house, about such matters as I am wrongfully troubled for.

Brower. I would see any fo hard to put up this appeal.

Philpott. My lord, I cannot tell what God will work, I have written it, speed it as it may.

Brower. My lords, I have used him with much gentleness since he came to me. How fancy thou, have I not?

Philpott. If to lie in the vilest prison in this town, (being a gentleman and an archdeacon) and in a coal-house, for the space of five or six weeks already, without fire or candle, may be counted gentleness at your hands, I must needs say I have found gentleness. But there were more men so cruelly handled as we are in these days.

Brower. Lo, what a varlet is this. Besides this, my lords, even yesterday he procured his man to bring a bladder of black powder, I cannot tell for what purpose.

Philpott. Your lordship needeth not to mistrust the matter: it is nothing but to make ink withal for lack of ink, as I had it before in the King's-Bench, when my keeper took away my inkhorn.

Brower. And why shouldst thou go about any such thing unknowing to me, being thy keeper? for I am thy keeper in this house, I tell thee.

Philpott. Your honour have caused my pincake and inkhorn to be taken from me, I would yet be glad my friends should know what I lack, not that I intend to write any thing that I would be afraid should come to your sight.

Brower. More than this, my lords, he caused a pig to be roasted, and made a knife be put between the skin and the flesh that put purpose judge you. How fancy thou, didst thou not so?

Philpott. I cannot deny but there was half a pig sent me, and under the fame a knife lying in the sauce, but for no ill purpose that I know; your lordship may judge what you will. It was not to kill myself nor any other, as you would have men to believe; for I was never yet without a boy carried by me. Therefore at these be but false furfurny, and not worth reheartful.

Brower. I have here to lay to his charge (chiefeft of all) his book of the report of the disputation in the conf¬

convocation-houfe, which is the rankeft hereby that can be against the bliffed facrament of the altar. How lay you, Dr. Welton, did he maintain the fame there hubbly, or no?

Welton. Yen, my lord, that he did, and would never
never be answered. And it is pity that the same worshipful congregation should be slandered with such untrue reports.

Philpot. You answered me indeed, Mr. Doctor, (being then prolocutor) godly, with, Hold thy peace, and, Have him to prison, and, Put him out of the house. I have read the book, and I find the report of every man's argument to be true in all points. And if there be any fault, it is, because he fretted forth your doings too favourably, and nothing like to that you did use me, being an archdeacon, and not of the world in the house. We live in a great archdeacon.

Philpot. Indeed, Mr. Doctor, you have amongst you un-archdeaconed me now, (I thank God for it) and that without all order of law.

Bonner. I pray you, my lords, hearken to what he writ of himself, and lend it over the morning, and make a note of it. He said that Dr. Welton called him a frantic and mad-man, and fied, he should go to Bedlam.

Philpot. Indeed, my lord, so it pleased Dr. Welton to taunt at me, and say his flamboyant plebeur, but yet I was not so much for the more so to the less, and more as Chrit was when the scribes and pharisees said likewise he was mad, and that he was pollfled of a devil, most blaspheously.

Durham. My Lord of London, I can carry no longer, I must needs bid you farewell. Mr. Philpot, me-thinketh I have reproved you well; but I shall say no more in the catholic faith; and in the catholic church: I pray you so do, and you shall do right well. And so he departed with Dr. Welton and Mr. Hulsey.

Philpot. I have purpose so to do, howsoever I need, by God's grace.

Bonner. I pray you, my lord of Chichester, and Mr. Prolocutor, and Mr. Dr. Morgan, to commune with him while I go to my lord of Durham.

Chichester. Mr. Philpot, I was acquainted with you at Rome, if you remember it, but you have forgotten me, for I talked somewhat with you of thosé matters, and I find you now the same man that you were then, I wish it were otherwise. For God's sake be conformable to men that are better learned than you, and bán not in your own conceit.

Philpot. Whereas you call me in remembrance of an old man, I am not one of the more so for all his sayings, than Chrit was when the scribes and pharisees said likewise he was mad, and that he was pollfled of a devil, most blaspheously.

Bonner. Where is the place? Let me see. By faith here it is a place alone. Come hither, sir, what dost thou to this? Nay, cary a while, I will help thee. I have seen him in town, and elsewhere, he is the first champion of the Romans, where he faith, That their faith

Chichester. You know the world was dangerous at that time.

Philpot. Nothing so dangerous as it is now, but let the time come when you say you find me to be the same man I was then, I prate God that you see me not like a reed waving with every wind. And whereas you would have me follow better learned men than myself; indeed I acknowledge that you, with a great many others, are far better learned than myself, who am only such as carry after you; but faith and the wisdom of God confineth not in learning only, and therefore St. Paul willeth that our faith be not grounded upon the wisdom of man. If you can thereby by learning out of God's book, that I ought to be of another faith than I am, I will hear you, and any other shall have the like.

Chichester. I marvel why you should differ from the catholic church, since it hath thus long been universally received, except within these five or six years here in England.

Philpot. I do not differ from the true catholic church, but I do only differ from the bishop of Rome. And if you prove to be the catholic church of Christ, I will be of the same allio with you.

Chichester. Will you believe St. Cyprian, if I can shew out of him, that the church of Rome is such a church as you were to be in no mistake, and I know God's word cannot approach it? Philpot. I am sure you cannot shew any such fact laying out of St. Cyprian.

Chichester. What will you lay thereon? Philpot. I will lay as much as I am able to make.
Philpot. I thank God, I understand them better for you have Exercitationes Cordis. The blind fold of heart, that you understand not only what you read, but what you sit by the wall here, as your taking the Cyprian body declare. And, before God, you are not more able to write a sentence, neither have you scripture or ancient authors on your side, the being truly taken.

Morgan. Why, all the doctors are on our side, and will you stake your neck?

Philpot. Yes, so I say when you are in your pulpit, and none to answer you. But if you will not call accounts with me thereof, I will venture to recant your letters, that I (as little light as I have the doctors) will bring down some of the authorities of ancient men on your side that you shall be able for your’s, that the truth being most, to hit him the other fag.

Are you willing so to do?

Christoperfon. Is it but folly to reason with you, you believe no man but yourself?

Philpot. I will believe you or any other learned man, you can bring it before being worthy to be believed. You cannot win me with vain words from my faith.

See God there is no truth in you.

Morgan. What, no truth? No truth? ha, ha, ha!

Philpot. Except the articles of the Trinity, you are in all other things, and found in nothing.

What, what say you, do we not believe well on this account?

Philpot. It is the thing which (among all others) I do most abuse.

Morgan. Whence do I pray you? tell us.

Philpot. I have told you before, Mr. Doctor, in the

Morgan. Yes matter: indeed you told us there very ill. For there you fell down upon your knees, and weeping, ha, ha, ha!

Philpot. I did weep indeed, and so did Christ upon the cross, and am not accused for it, if you confute of my weeping.

Morgan. What, make you yourself Christ? ha, ha, ha!

Philpot. No, fir, I make not myself Christ; but I am ashamed to do as my master and Saviour did, to hang and languish under infidelity and idolatry, which foregoeth through tyranny you would bring again this realm, as this day doth declare.

Morgan. That is your argument.

Christoperfon. Wherein do we abuse the sacrament? I say.

Philpot. As I may touch but one of the least abuses, a minister is not in both kinds as you ought to do, it keep the one half from the people, contrary to Christ’s institution.

Christoperfon. Why, is there not as much contained in one kind, as in both? And what need is it then to believe in both kinds?

Philpot. I believe not for: if it had, Christ would be given but one kind only: for he instituted that Superfluous: and therefore you cannot say that the whole effect of the sacrament is as well in one kind as both, since the scripture teacheth otherwise.

Christoperfon. But, you say, the bread can be eaten by scripture, and we may administer it in one kind? The apostles do, as it may appear in the Acts of the Apostles in two or three places, where it is written, that the apostles commanded “in prayers and in breaking of bread,” as being one of the sacraments.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor, do you not know that Luke, by making mention of breaking at bread, teacheth the whole use of the sacrament according to Christ’s institution, by a figure which you have learned Grammar, Synodicon, where part is mentioned, and whole understood to be done, as Christ commanded for Eucharist.

Christoperfon. Nay, that is not so: for I can shew out of Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, there was a man of God, whom he named, that the sacrament in one kind by a boy, to one that

Philpot. I have read indeed that they did use to give what was left of the communion-bread to children, to mariners, and to women, and so peradventure the boy might carry a piece of what was left to the sick man.

Christoperfon. Nay, as a sacrament it was purposely sent unto him.

Philpot. If it were so, yet you cannot precisely say, that he had not the cup administered unto him also by some sent unto him: but though one man did use it thus, doth it follow that all men may do the like? St. Cyprian note many abuses of the sacrament in his time, which role upon singular men’s examples, as witty of wiles, andd before he faileth, “We must not look what any man hath done before us, but what Christ first of all did and commanded.”

Christoperfon. Hath not the church taught us so to use the sacrament? And how do we know that Christ is Homousios, that is, of one substance with the Father, but by the determination of the church? How can you prove that otherwise by express words of scripture, and where find you Homousios in all the scripture?

Philpot. Yes, that I do in the first of the Hebrews, where it is written that Christ is the express image of God’s own substance, Ex Deo genitus.

Christoperfon. Nay, that is not so. That is, there is more but Expressa fumo substantiae, the express image of God’s substance, and image is accident.

Philpot. It is in the text, Of his substance, Substantiae illius, or his own substance, as it may be right well interpreted. Besides this, that Christ spake of himself in St. John manifeteth the same, saying, I and the Father are one thing, Ego & Patre unum sumus. And whereas you say, Imago here is an accident, the ancient fathers use this for a strong argument to prove Christ to be God, because he is the very image of God.

Christoperfon. But this is a good argument, because we are the image of God, therefore we are God.

Philpot. We are not called the express image of God, as it is written of Christ, and we are but the image of God by participation; and as it is written in Genesis, We are made to the likeness and image of God.

Christoperfon. But you ought to know, Mr. Christoperfon, that there is no accident in God, and therefore Christ cannot be the image of God, but he must be of the same substance with God.

Christoperfon. Tell.

Morgan. How say you to the presence of the sacrament? Will you stand here to the judgment of your book, or no? Will you recant?

Philpot. I know you go about to catch me in words. If you can prove that book to be my fetting forth, lay it to my charge when I come to judgment.

Morgan. Speak, are you of the same mind as this book is of, or no? Sure I am you were once, unless you are become another manner of man than you were.

Philpot. What I was, you know; what I am, I will not tell you now: but this I will say to you by the way, that if you can prove the sacrament of the mass (as you now use it) to be a sacrament, I will then grant you any! defence; but you cannot prove the false sacrament, and afterward treat of the presence.

Morgan. Ho, do you doubt that it is a sacrament?

Philpot. I am past doubting; for I believe you can never be able to prove it a sacrament.

Christoperfon. Yea, do you? Good Lord, doth not St. Augustine call it the sacrament of the altar? How say you to that?

Philpot. That maketh nothing for the probation of your sacrament. For he with other ancient writers do call the holy communion or supper of the Lord, in respect that it is the sacrament of the presence which Christ offered upon the altar of the cross, which sacrificeth all the altars and sacrificeth done upon the altars in the old law did prefigure, and shadow, which containeth nothing to your sacrament hanging upon your altars of lime and stone.

Christoperfon.
matters: methinks you are more like a fouler in a
than a medical doctor to instruct a man; you hang
fence of flame, than dance naked in a nec, and
your own nakedness.
Morgan. I pray you, be not so quick with us,
us talk a little more calmly together.
Philot. I will talk with you as mildly as you
desire, if you will speak learnedly and charity,
if you will mourn with taunts to delude the truth, I
not hide it from you.
Morgan. Why will not you submit your judgments
to the learned men of this realm?
Philot. Because I fee they can bring no ge
ground whereupon I may with a good confidence
my faith, more timely than on which I am
grounded upon by God's manifest word.
Morgan. Can they not? It is marvellous that
my learned men should be deceived.
Philot. It is not marvellous to St. Paul, for
faith, "That not many wife, neither many learn,
world be called to the knowledge of a
gospel."
Morgan. Have you then alone the Spirit of God
and not we?
Philot. I say not that I alone have the Spirit
God, but as many as abide in the true faith of
have the Spirit of God as we have.
Morgan. How know you that you have the Spirit
God?
Philot. By the faith of Christ which is in me.
Morgan. Ah, by faith do you? I think the
spirit of the beasts, which your fellows have been
burned before you, who were drunk before
their death, and I believe drunken unto it.
Philot. It appeareth by your communication,
you are better acquainted with the spirit of the
than with the Spirit of God; wherefore I may not
thee, thou hast painted and hypocrisy, in the name
the living Lord, whose truth I have told thee, that
shall rain fire and brimstone upon such hunters of
and blasphemers of his people as thou art.
Morgan. What, you rage now.
Philot. Thy foolish blasphemies have compassed
the Spirit of God, which is in me, to speak that
fay to thee, thou enemy of all righteousness.
Morgan. Why do you judge me so?
Philot. By thine own wicked words I judge thee,
blind and blaspheous doctor; for as it is said,
by thy words thou shalt be justifie, and by thy
truth be slandered. I am become a fire on God's
half, and now I have done with thee thus.
Morgan. Why then I tell thee, Philot, thou art
heretic, and shalt be burnt for thine heresy, and
dictates to hell-fire.
Philot. I tell thee, thou hypocrite, that I did
not thy threats of fire and faggots, neither, thou
right, thou art, and pray for thee, (unless thou speedily repent) and be for
hypocrites as thou art.
Morgan. What, thou speakest on wine, thou
stipulated not my true by appearance.
Philot. So far the cursed generation to the goat,
being repilinied with the Holy Ghost, and fearing
the works of God; they said they were drunk, when they had nothing else to say, as should
now.
Morgan. Why, I am of opinion I am able to
swer thee.
Philot. So it fenneth, with blasphemies and
Morgan. Nay, even with learning, fay what that
cant.
Philot. That appeareth well at thy dispersion in
the congregation-house, where thou didst undertake to an
swer these few arguments I was permitted to make, but
yet were not able to answer one; but in thine own
art did fumble and flambe, that the whole house was
afamed of thee: and the final conclusions of all
honestly; but before God you are the heretics which so
fluently and stubbornly maintain so many things directly
against His word, as God in His time will reveal. As I went out of his chamber, the bishop called me
aside, and said:

Bourn. I pray thee in good faith, what didst thou
mean by writing in the beginning of thy Bible, "The
Spirit is the vicar of Christ on the earth?" I suppose
you have gone astray in meaning therein.

Philp. My lord, I have no other meaning than
as I have told you already, That Christ, since his ascen-
sion, worketh all things in us by his Spirit, and by his
Spirit doth dwell in us. I pray you, my lord, let me
have my bible, with other lawful books and writings
which you have of mine; for whereas many of them be
none of mine, but lent to me by my friends.

Bourn. Your bible you shall not have, but I will
perhaps let you have another, and after I have perused
the rest you shall have such as I think good.

Philp. I pray your lordship then, that you would
let me have my candle-light.

Bourn. To what purpose, pray?

Philp. The nights be long, and I would fain oc-
cupy myself about somewhat, and not spend my time
idly.

Bourn. Then you may pray.

Philp. I cannot well say my prayers without
light.

Bourn. Can you not say your Pater-nother without
a candle? I tell you, you shall have some meat and
drink of me, but candles you shall have none.

Philp. I had rather have candles than your meat
and drink; but seeing I shall not have my request, the
Lord shall be my light.

Bourn. Have him down.

Cheffey. I will bring him to his keeper, my lord,
Mr. Philpout, I wonder all these learned men whom
you have talked withal this day can nothing at all persuade
you.

Philp. Why, Mr. Doctor, would you have me to
be persuaded with nothing? or would you have me
build my faith upon fable? What do you all bring,
whereby I ought by any sufficient authority to be
persuaded by your means.

Cheffey. I am forry you will so wilfully cast your-
self away, whereas you might live worshipfully: do you
not think that others have fowls to be saved as well as
you?

Philp. Every man shall receive according to his
own doings. Sure I am that you are deceived, and main-
tain a false religion; and as for me I am away. I with
my burning day was to-morrow, for my delay is
every day to die, and yet not be dead.

Cheffey. You are not like to die yet, I can tell
you.

Philp. I am the more sorry thereof. But the will
of God be done of me to his glory, Amen.

The TWELFTH EXAMINATION of Mr. JOHN
PHILPOT, on Wednesday, December 4, before
the Bishops of LONDON, WORCESTER, and
BANGOR.

The morning I was brought down to the wardrobe
adjoining to the chapel, and within a while after
were three of the bishop's chaplains unto me, saying:

Chaplains. Mr. Philpot, my lord hath sent us unto
you, to defire you to come to mas, certifying you, that
there is a doctor of divinity, a chaplain of my lord's
called Dr. Chedlwy, going to mas: therefore we alto
pray you, good Mr. Philpout, be content to come, it
is hard-by.

Philp. I wonder my lord would trouble you in
fending you about this matter, seeing he knoweth I
am a man (by your law) that cannot hear mas, be-
cause I fland excommunicate.

Chaplains. Your excommunication is but upon a
conunacy, and my lord will dispence with you if you
will come.

Philp. My lord cannot, for he is not mine ordi-

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as you. Therefore misrule your own judgment, and come home to us again. I never liked your ordination; but it is far better by chance and tyranny, that is no true token of true religion. And as God has been so free to man then that I was not and a great many more. Marry, for fear we hold our grace before that time. Wherefore, Mr. Philpot, if you will, for I love you; and therefore I come home with us again into the catholic church of Rome.

Philpot. Where, my lord, (as I may begin the answer you say, that religion is to be misrule. But if a man be far from belief and tyranny, I pray God you give me some light, and make the judgments by this day, which is no other argument to stand by, be it as I can shew any good sufficiently ground why I would have my conscience, that the church of Rome is a true catholic church, whereunto I call you, I am glad, be of the faine, otherwise I cannot befriend the religion I have learned these many years.

B Surrey. Where was your religion to be truly prayed you an hundred years ago, that any man loved it?

Philpot. I was in Germany, and in six-syllable letters.

Worcester. Jefus! will you be fill'd so fingerless? What is Germany to the whole world?

B Surrey. My lords, I pray you give me leave to tell you, that I sent for him to hear maids this morning to thank you what execrable he made unto me, for not to have heard his name, alledg'd his own name. He prays as the valiant Latimer did at Cambridge, to the bishop of Worcester, chancellor for him (who intended to have communicated for his heresy), and the chancellor coming to his chamber, he hearing thereof, makes fever. And I was ill of the plague, and edicts challenge; even to this man faith, he was sick because he will not come to maids.

Worcester. My lord (I am sure) here does hate himself like a father unto you; therefore be a friend by him, and by us, that come now friendly with us, and follow your fathers before you.

Philpot. It is forbidden us of God by the preb. Ezekiel, to follow our fathers, or to walk in their commandments.

Worcester. It is written also in another place, 

"And of your fathers,

You have sought to ask indeed our fathers during more experience and knowledge than we of God's, but no more to allow them, than we perceive the agree with the scripture.

Worcester. You are a contentious man, I fear, and St. Paul's faith, that neither we, nor the church God have much to do with you.

Philpot. I am not contentious but for the spirit of my faith, in which I ought to contend with all who do impugn the same without any just objection.

Worcester. Let us rest, my lord, for we see not do our good.

B Surrey. Nay, I pray you, tarry and hear the articles I lay to his charge. And after he had read them, they arose, and stood to reason with me while.

Worcester. Mr. Philpot, I am very sorry that you will be so singular. I revile not my very yet, diocese; but after some communication had with me, they have been contented to revoke their errors, and to teach the people how they were deceived, and to do much good, as you may like. For as I understand, they were archdeacon of Wincheffer, (which is the reaf that said you may do much good in the same country, if you would forake your errors, and come to the Catholic church.

Worcester. Where withal you so soon perfused them to your will, I see not. Error, that I know, I hold none, and where catholic church I am.

Worcester. The catholic church doth acknowledge a real presence of Christ in the sacrament, and so will not you.

Philpot. That is not so: for I acknowledge that.
Philot. I will refuse to hear none that will counsel me any good, and if any can bring me better matter than I have, I will seek them out.

Wrig. I would have you, Mr. Philpot, agree with the catholic church, and not to stand in your own counsel; you fear not the many learned men against you.

Philot. I am, Mr. Doctor, of the unformed catholic church, and will live and die therein; and if you can prove your church to be the true catholic church, I will be one of the same.

Wrig. I came not to dispute with you, but to exhort you. You are better learned than I, who can inform you better.

Cleofey. What proof would you have? I will prove unto your church to have it’s being and foundation by the scriptures, by the apostles, and by the primitive church, confirmed by the blood of martyrs, and with the testimony of all contoversists.

Philot. Upon your hand, Mr. Doctor, prove that, and have with you.

Cleofey. If I had my books here, I could sooner prove it, I will go fetch some; and with that he went, and brought his book of annotations, saying, I cannot well bring my books, therefore I have brought my book of annotations, and turned there to a common place of the sacrament, asking me whether the catholic church did allow the presence of Christ’s body in the sacrament, or no? I hear say you do confess a real presence: but I’ll be hanged if you will abide by it: you will deny it by and by.

Philot. What have I said I cannot deny, neither intend, whatsoever you say.

Cleofey. If there be a real presence in the sacrament, then evil men receive Christ, which thing you will not grant, I am sure.

Philot. I deny the argument, for I do not grant in the sacrament, by transubstantiation, any real presence, as you falsely bring it in, but in the due administration to the worthy receivers.

Cleofey. I will prove that the evil and wicked men eat the body of Christ, as well as the good men, by St. Augustine here.

Philot. And in the beginning of his text St. Augustine seeeth to approve his assertion; but I had him read out to the end, and there St. Austin declareth most evidently that it is =Quodammodo=, after a certain manner the evil men received the body of Christ, which is sacramentally, only in the outward sign, and not really, or indeed as the good do. And thus all the doctors that you seem to bring in for your purpose, be quite against you if you had rightly weigh them.

Cleofey. By God you are a subtle fellow. See how he would write St. Augustine’s words.

Philot. See which of us doth write St. Augustine mott, you or I, who take his meaning by his own express words. And seeing you charge me with subtlety, what falselie is this of you, to say, that you will prove your matter of the church, even from the beginning, promising to chew your books therein, and when they do come to the proof, you are able to shew none, and for want thereof slip into a by-matter, and you faint in the proof thereof? Before God you are ridiculous and without shame in your religion.

Cleofey. You shall be constrained to come to us at length, whether you will or no.

Philot. Hold that argument fast; for it is the best you have, for you have nothing but violence.
Philpot. We must be taught of God, and I will with all humility learn of them that will inform me by God’s word, what I have to do. I confess I have but little learning in respect of you, that both of your years and your exertion is such; but faith consisteth not in learning, but in the simplicity which God’s word teacheth. Therefore I shall be glad to hear both of your lordship, and of any other, (that God hath revealed unto by his word) the true doctrine thereof, and to thank you that it doth please you to declare it to us, that we may take the first alledged amis, as though all men should be taught by inspiration, and not by learning. How do we believe the gospel, but by the authority of the church, and because the name hath allowed it.

St. Paul faith, “He learned not the gospel by men, neither of men, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ.” Which is a plain and sufficient prove that the gospel teacheth not it’s authority of man, but of God only.

Chichester. St. Paul speaketh but of his own knowledge how he came thereto.

Philpot. Nay, he speaketh of the gospel generally, “which cometh not from man, but from God;” and that the church must only teach that which cometh from God, and not man’s precepts.

St. Paul. Both not St. Augustine say these words, “I could not believe the gospel, if the authority of the church did not move me thereto.”

Philpot. I grant the authority of the church doth move the unbelievers to believe; but yet the church doth not give the word it’s authority; for the word it’s authority only from God, and not of men; men be disserter thereof. For first, the word was not before the church, and the word is the foundation of the church, and first is the foundation stone, before the building thereon can be builded.

Chichester. I perceive you, mistake me, I speak of the knowledge of the gospel, and not of the authority; for by the church we have all knowledge of the gospel.

Philpot. I confess that; for faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. And I acknowledge that God hath appointed an ordinary means for men to come unto the knowledge now, and not miraculously, as he hath done in times past; yet we that be taught by men, must take heed that we learn nothing else but that which was taught in the primitive church by revelation. He that is the bishop of York and Bath, and they had settled one another, and commended a while together, the archbishop of York called me unto them, saying,

York. Sir, we hearing that you are out of the way, are come of charity to inform us, and to bring you into the true faith, and to the catholic church again; willing you first to have humility, and to be humble and willing to learn of your betters, for else we can do no good with you. And God faith by his prophet, “On whom shall I rest but on the humble and meek, and such as tremble at my sight?” Now if you be so, we shall be glad to deal with you.

Philpot. I know that humility is the door whereby we enter unto Christ; and I thank his goodness I have entered in at the same unto him, and with all humility will hear whatsoever you shall speak unto me.

York. What be the matters you stand on, and require to be satisfied in?

Philpot. My lord, if it shall please your grace, we were entered into a good matter before you came, of the church, and how we should know the truth but by the church. God. Indeed that is the head we ought to begin at, for the church being truly known, we shall sooner agree in particular things.

Philpot. If your lordships can prove the church of Rome to be the true catholic church, it will do much to persuade me towards what you would have me incline unto.

York. Why, let us go to the definition of the church. What is it?

Philpot. It is a congregation of people dispersed throughout the world, agreeing together in the name of God, using the sacraments, and all other rites according to the same.

York. Your definition is of many words to my point.

Philpot. I do not precisely define the church, but declare unto you what I think the church is.

York. Is the church visible or invisible?

Philpot. It is both visible and invisible. The true church consisteth of the elect of God only; the visible church consists both of good and bad, using all things according to God’s word.

York. The church is an universal congregation of faithful people in Christ throughout the world, and this word catholic doth well express; for what else can this be called catholic else? doth it not signify universal?

Philpot. The church is defined by St. Augustine to be called catholic in this wise, “The church is therefore catholic, because it is universally received of all christians nations, for that part.”

Philpot. The church was catholic in the old time, yet was it not universally received of all christians nations, for that part. It was received of the whole world, therefore it is catholic church, and all persons receiving the same be counted the catholic church. And St. Augustine, in another place writeth, that the catholic church that believe eth not may be.

York. If you will learn, I will gear you St. Augus
tine, writing against the Donatists, that he speaks of the catholic church by two principal points, namely of universality and sucession of bishops, in one apostolic see, from time to time. Now thus I will make an approbation.

The church of Rome is universal, and hath succession of bishops from time to time.

Therefore, it is the catholic church.

How answer you to this argument?

Philpot. I deny the antecedent, that the catholic church is only known by universality and succession of bishops.

York. I will prove it, and with that he beheld a book, which he had noted out of the bible and turned to his common places thereunto and cited them. He took the book of St. Augustine, de decore, out of his epistle written against the Donatists, that St. Augustine manifestly proved, that the Donats were not the catholic church, because they had succession of bishops in their opinion, neither universality; and the same force hath St. Augustine’s argument against you.

Philpot. My lord, I have weighed the force of your argument before now, and I perceive it maketh much against me, neither cometh it to your purpose; I will stand to the trial of St. Augustine for the sake of the catholic church whereof ye talk. With all the force of universality joined with faith and of faithful successors of Peter before came into the church. And therefore if you can declare the argument for the see of Rome now, as St. Augustine might do in his time, I would say it might be done upon the same.

St. Augustine proved the catholic church principally by succession of bishops, and therefore I understand not St. Augustine. For what, in that case was the opinion of the Donatists, against what did they stand? what could they be? or what could they be not?

Philpot. They were a certain sect of men, affixed to other heresies, that the dignity of the bishop depended upon the worthiness of the minister; if the minister was good, the sacraments which were administered were available, or else not.

Chichester. That was their error, and they had good
The THIRTEENTH EXAMINATION of Mr. JOHN PHILPOT.

MARY A.D. 1555.

... but that... And he read another authority of St. in one of his books which he brought, even to the fame
that the other was.

Chichefier. I challenge St. Aulfin to be with me thoro-
gously in this point, and will stand to judgment, taking
place with another.

Philpot. If he will not have the church to be in, I pray you by whom will you be judged in mat-
ter controvert.

Chichefier. I do not deny the church to be certain; but
that is not necessarily tied to any place, longer than
doth in the word; and for all controversies the word
is to be judged by it.

Philpot. But what if I take it one way, and you
another, how then?

St. Aulfin fheweth a remedy for that, and I have
That one place of the scripture ought to be read
by the majority.

Chichefier. How answer you to this argument?

Rom. hath known fuccession of bishops, which
your church hath not.

Therefore, that is the catholic church, and year's
is not, because there is no such fuccession can be
proved in your church.

Philpot. I deny, my lord, that succession of bishops
is inablable to shew, I know the church by; for there
is no succession of bishops known in a place, and yet
be no church, as at Antioch and Jerusalem, and in
places where the apostles abode as well as at

But if you put to the fuccession of bishops, election
dominion of doctrine withal, as St. Aulfin doth, I will
not be a good proof for the catholic church; but
the matter is only is nothing available.

Chichefier. You will have no church then, I see well.

Philpot. Yes, my lord, I acknowledge the catholic
church, as I am bound by my creed; but I cannot
admit a false church for the true.

Chichefier. Why are there two catholic churches
both.

Philpot. No, I know there is but one catholic church,
there have been, and be at this present, that take upon
the name of Christ and of his church, which be
indeed, as it is written, "There be they that call
apartes, and be not so indeed, but the syna-
of Saul and liars." And now it is with us as it
was in the first mention in Sathron's time, which lay
there, and the one overlaid her child, and afterwards
abated to challenge the true mother's child.

Chichefier. What a babbling is here with you now?

If you lack humility. You will go about to teach,
not to learn.

Philpot. My lords, I must desire you to bear with
your speech, it is my infirmity of nature. All
I speak is to learn by, I with you did understand
my mind, that I might be satisfied by you through
your authority.

Chichefier. My lord, if it please your grace, turn
argument upon him which you have made, and let
the fuccession of the bishops of his church, as
you can do. How far your speech then is of the fucces-
ion of bishops in your church from time to time?

Philpot. This argument troubled Dr. Ridley so fore,
that could never answer it; yet he was a man well
learned, and they say you will fay so.

Chichefier. He was a man so learned, that I was not
able to carry his books for learning.

Philpot. I promise you he was never able to an-
swer that. He was a man that I loved well, and he me;
he came unto me divers times being in priofon, and
froiled with me.

Chichefier. I wonder, my lord, you should make this
memorial, when you would turn upon me, for the
behalf of my church whereof I am, or that you would
bear Ridley so ignorant that he was not able to
answer, since it is of no force. For behold, first
asserted you that a local fuccession of bishops in
places is a necessary point alone to prove the ca-
tholic church by, and that which I have denied you
cannot; and it is then reason that you should put me
to the trial of that, which by you is unproved, and of
no force to conclude against me?

Chichefier. I fee, my lords, we do but lose our la-
bours to reason with him, he thinketh himself better
learned than his master.

Philpot. I take upon me the name of no learning.
I boast of no knowledge but of faith and of Christ,
and that I am bound, undoubtedly to know, as I am sure I do.

Chichefier. These heretics take upon them to be
fere of all things they stand in. You should fa-
rather with them: I trut I know Christ, than that
you be sure thereof.

Philpot. Let him doubt of his faith that lifteth;
God giveth me grace always to believe that I am sure
of true faith and favour in Christ.

Balb. How will you be able to answer heretics,
but by determination of the known catholic church?

Philpot. I am able to answer all heretics by the word
of God, and convince them of the same.

Chichefier. How arrogantly is that spoken! I dare
not say so.

Philpot. My lords, I pray you bear with me; for I
am bold on truth's side, and I speak somewhat by experi-
tence that I have had with heretics, and I know the Arians
be the subtlest, the most, and do always find some
manifest scriptures to beat them down withal.

Chichefier. I perceive now you are the same manner
of man I have heard of, that will not be satisfied
with learning.

Philpot. Alas, my lord, why do you fay so? I do
most humbly desire to be taught, if there be any better
way than I have to show the heretics you have fighth
me no better, therefore I pray you, lordship not to
mis-judge without a caufe.

Balb. If you be of the true catholic church, then will
you hold with the real presence of Christ in the facra-
ment, which the true church hath ever maintained.

Philpot. And I, my lord, with the true church,
do hold the same; in the due administration of the
sacrament; but I desire you, my lord, there may be
made a better conclusion in our first matter, before we
enter into any other; for if the church be proved, we
shall soon agree in the rest. In the mean while my lord
of York was turning his book for more places to help
his cause.

York. I have found at length a very notable place,
which I have looked for this while of St. Aulfin, De
figulaticr ecrendi.

Philpot. It is but folly, my lord, for your grace
to read any more places to him, for he calleth them not.

Philpot. I cleeme them, inasmuch as they be of force,
as your lordship doth; but is not necessary to do,
but only require the true application of them, according
to the writer's meaning, and as by his own words may be
proved.

York. I will read him the place, and so make an
end. After he had read the sentence, he said, that by
four speeches St. Augustine here prooved the
catholic church. The first is by conformity of all na-
tions; the second, by the apostolic fee; the third,
by universality; and the fourth, by this word catholic.

Chichefier. That is a notable place indeed, if it
please your grace.

Philpot. I pray you, my lord, of what church doth
St. Augustine write the fame, of Rome, or not?

York. Ye, he wrieth of the church of Rome.

Philpot. I will lay your lordship as much as I have,
that it is not so; and let the book be see.

Barb. What art thou able to say? Thou hast nothing.

York. Dost he not make mention here of the apo-
tolic see, whereby he meaneth Rome?

Philpot. That is very straitly interpreted, my
lord, as though the apostolic see had been no where
else but at Rome. But let it be at Rome, and yet you
shall never verify the same, unless all the other condi-
tions do go therewith, as St. Auguine doth proceed
withal, whereof none, except the apostolic fee, can now
be verified of the church of Rome. For the faith which that see now maintaineth hath not the content of all nations, neither hath it. Besides that, it cannot have the name of catholic, because it differeth from the catholic churches which the apostles planted, almost in all things.

_Tyke._ Nay, he goeth about here to prove the catholic church by universality; and how can you shew your church to be universal fifty or an hundred years ago?

_Philpot._ That is not material, neither any thing against St. Augustine: for my church (whereof I am) were to be accounted universal, though it were but in ten persons, because it agreeith with the fame that the apostles did universally plant.

_Tyke._ Nay, there be an obdurate man in your own opinion, and will not be taught; wherefore it is but lost labor to talk with you any longer; you are a member to be cut off.

_Chichester._ I have heard of you before, how you troubled the good bishop of Winchester, and now I see in you what I have heard.

_Philpot._ I trust you fee no evil in me by this; I desire of you a sure ground to build my faith on, and if you shew me none, I pray you speak not ill of him that meaneth well.

_Chichester._ Thou art as impudent a fellow as any I have talked with. _Philpot._ That is spoken uncharitably, my lord, to blaspheme him whom you cannot justly reprove.

_Chichester._ Why, thou art not God: blasphemy is counted a rebuke to Godward, and not to man.

_Philpot._ Yes, it may be as well verified of an infamy laid to man, speaking in God's cause, as you now do lay unto me, for speaking freely the truth before God, to maintain your vain religion. You are void of all good ground. I receive you are blind guides, and leaders of the blind: and therefore (as I am bound to tell you) very hypocrites, tyrannically perpetuating the truth, which otherwise by just order are by no means able to maintain. Your own doctors and testimonies which you bring, be evidently against you, and yet you will not fee the truth.

_Chichester._ Have we these thanks for our good will, in coming to instruct thee?

_Philpot._ My lords, you must bear with me, since I speak in Christ's cause; and because his glory is defaced, and his truth is cruelly and wrongfully blam'd by you, because they will not confess to the diuinities of God, to hypocrite with you; if I told you not your fault, it would be required at my hands in the day of judgment. Therefore know you, ye hypocrites indeed, that it is the Spirit of God that testeth you the fin, and not I; thank God, I value not all your cruelty. God forgive you, and give you grace to repent. And so they departed.

_Another CONFERENCE the same Day._

_The same day at night, before supper, the bishop went for me into his chapel, in the presence of archdeacon Harpsfield, Dr. Chadley, and his other chaplains and servants. And there he said:_

_Bosner._ Mr. Philpot, I have by sundry means gone about to do you good, and I marvel you do so little consider it. By my truth, I cannot tell what to say to you; tell me directly whether you will be a conformable man, or no; and a man of chiefly stand.

_Philpot._ I have told your lordship oftentimes plain enough, wherein I chiefly stand, requiring a pure probation of the church whereunto you call me.

_Harpsfield._ St. Augustine, writing against the Donatist, declareth four special marks to know the church by, the opinion of many nations, the faith of the sacraments confirmed by antiquity, succession of bishops, and universality.

_Bosner._ I pray you, Mr. Archdeacon, fetch the book hither; it is a notable place, let him fee it. And the book was brought, and the bishop read it, demanding how I could answer the same.

_Philpot._ My lord, I like St. Augustine's four points for the trial of the catholic church, whereas I am able to abide every point thereof together, which you cannot.

_Harpsfield._ Have not we succession of bishops to the see and church of Rome? Wherefore then do you deny our church to be the catholic church?

_Philpot._ St. Augustine doth not put succession of bishops only to be sufficient, but he addeth then the sacraments according to antiquity, and doth universally gather the same by most nations from the beginning of the primitive church; which your church is far from. But my church can aver a better than your's; therefore by St. Augustine's judgment, which you here bring, mine is the other church, and not yours.

_Bosner._ It is but folly, my lord, to make you to reason with him, for he is incorrigible.

_Philpot._ That is a good thing for you to run to, when you are confounded in your own face, have nothing else to say; you are evidently shamed, and yet will not fee it when it is laid open to you.

_Thence have I at large set forth as many of the failings of John Philpot's examinations and private confessions are yet come to light, being faithfully written with their own hands. Although he was examined several other times, both openly and consily at St. Paul's, and also secretly in the bishop's garden; there was there said is not sufficiently known, either in his writings are some kept close, and not brought forth, otherwise than as the bishop's registrar hath with his own hand bagging of such matters, because it is (either fear or favour) his lordship's secret, as I have already declared in light of any true meaning can be gathered, and the breach of the answerer; however, such a thing thought I good to put forth; requiring the case to judge hereof according to his answers in his former examinations._

_The LAST EXAMINATION of Mr. PHILOPI
in open JUDGMENT, with his final CONFESSION,
BISHOP BONNER, in the CONSECRATION of St. Paul._

_The bishop, having sufficiently taken his place with Mr. Philpot in his private talk, and, less his zealous, learned, and immutable constancy, thoug this in some degree hindered his speaking with the thirteenth and fourteenth days of December fitting judicially in the consistory at St. Paul's, he could not but bring him to be brought thereto before him and others, more or less, for more or less's sake, than for any good satisfaction to the bishop in the matter of judgment. The effect of which was their two sundry proceedings, as well before the eleventh day of the same month in his chapel, whereupon manner in a manner to be all one. The bishop therefore, speaking to Mr. Philpot, said:_

_Bosner._ Mr. Philpot, amongst other things I would have never testified against you, yea, neither you were principally charged and buttred with. The first is, That you being fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, do refuse and will not come to be reconciled therein._

_The second is, That you have blasphemed against the face of the mass, calling it idolatry. And the third is, That you have spoken against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same._

_And according to the will and pleasure of the law legislative, you have been often by me invited and required to go from your said errors and heresies, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, which you will now willingly do, if you see yourself to be clearly and peaceably received, charitably used, and have all the favor I shew you. And now to tell you true, it is agreed and appointed me to give sentence against you, if you see yourself therein, and will not return. Wherefore if you are willing and of you whether you have any cause be you can flee, why I now should not give sentence against you._

_Philpot._ Under protestation, not to go from my peace that I have made, and also not to confest to
appealed from you, and therefore by your own law you ought not to proceed against me, especially being brought hither from another place by violence.

Bonner. Why, who sent you hither to me?

Philpot. Dr. Story, and Dr. Cook, with other com-
millioners of the true church, and, my lord, is it not enough for you to wear your own chest, but you must also meddle with other men's sheep?

Then the bishop delivered two books to Mr. Philpot, one of the civil, and the other of the canon law, out of which he would have proved that he had authority to proceed against him in such manner as he did. Mr. Philpot then perused the fame, and seeing the small and flender proof that was there, alleged, said to the bishop:

Philpot. I perceive your law and divinity is all one; for you have knowledge in neither of them; and I will, if you did know your own ignorance: but you dance in a galliard, and think that I am doth see you. Hereupon they had much talk, but what it was is not yet known. At last Bonner said unto him:

Philpot, as concerning your objections against my jurisdiction, you shall understand that both the civil and canon laws make against you; and for your appeal, it is not allowed in this case: for it is written in the law, There is appeal from a judge executing the sentence of the law.

Philpot. My lord, it appeareth by your interpretation of the law, that you have no knowledge therein, and that you do not understand the law; for if you did, you would not bring in that text.

Hereupon the bishop recited a law of the Romans, that it was for a man to aider a christian man in captivity, and use him as a slave, laying them to the said Philpot's charge that he did not understand the law, but did like a Jew. Whereunto Philpot answered,

No, I am no Jew, but you, my lord, are a Jew. For you profess Christ, and maintain Antichrift; you profess the gospel, and maintain superstition, and you are able to charge me with nothing.

Bonner and another Bishop. With what can you charge us?

Philpot. You are enemies to all truth, and all your doings be naught, full of idolatry, faving the article of the Trinity.

Whilst they were thus debating the matter, there came thither Sir William Garret, knight, then mayor of London, Sir Martin Bowes, knight, and Thomas Leigh, then sheriff of the same city, and sat down with the said bishops in the said confab, where bishop Bonner spake these words in effect as follows:

Bonner. Philpot, before the coming of my lord mayor, because I would not enter with you into the matter, wherewith I have heretofore, and now intend to charge you withal, until his coming, I did rehearse a prayer unto Christ, and unto Latin, which bishop Stokely, my predecessor, used when he intended to give sentence against an heretic.

And here did again read the said prayer both in English and Latin: which being ended, he spake again unto him, and said:

Bonner. Philpot, amongst others I have to charge you especially with three things:

First, Where you have fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, you have thereupon been invited and required, not only by me, but also by many and divers other catholic bishops, and other learned men, to return and come into the same, and when you have been offered by me, that if you would so reverend, both of your errors and heresies, you should be mercifully received, and have so much favour as I could shew unto you.

The second is, That you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mafs, calling it idolatry and abomination:

And thirdly, That you have spoken and held against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same.

This being spoken, the bishop recited unto him a certain
certain exhortation in English, the tenor and form whereof is this:

BISHOP BONNER'S EXHORTATION.

Mr. Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being reconciled to the unity of the catholic church, from whence you did fall in the time of the late schism, here in this realm of England, against the fee and apostolic power of Christ, you will now hearely and obliquely be reconciled to the unity of the same catholic church, professing and promising to observe and keep, to the best of your power, the faith and christian religion observed and kept by all faithful people of the same: and moreover, if, you which heretofore, in the year of Christ 1554, and many of you, have offended and trespassed grievously against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abominable: and likewise have offended and trespassed against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be there in the sacrament of the altar, affirming also withal, material bread and material wine to be in the sacrament of the altar; and not the substance of the body and blood of Christ: if you, I say, will be reconciled as aforesaid, and will forsake your heresies and errors before named, being heretical and damnable, and will also allow the sacrament of the mass, you shall be mercifully received, and charitably used with as much favour as may be: if not, you shall be reputed, taken, and judged for an heretic (as you be indeed). Now do you chuse what you will do; you are counsellled herein friendly and favourably.

In eff. quod Edw. Bonner, Episc. Lont.

The bishop's exhortation thus ended, Mr. Philpot turned him to the lord mayor, and said,

Philpot. To you, my lord mayor, bearing the sword, I am glad it is my chance now to stand before that authority, that hath defended the gospel and the truth of God's word: but I am sorry to see that that authority, which reprecenteth the king and queen's person, should now be changed, and be at the command of Antichrist: and you (speaking to the bishop) intend to be the followers of the apostles of Christ, and yet be very Antichrists and deceivers of the people: and I am glad that God hath given me power to stand here this day, to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Christ.

Therefore, as touching your first objection, I say that I should speak against the sacrifice of the mass; I do say, that I have not spoken against the true sacrifice, but I have spoken against your private masses that you use in corners, which is blasphemy to the true sacrifice; for your daily sacrifice is reiterated blasphemy against Christ's death, and it is a lie of your own invention: and that abominable superstition which you use in your private masses, instead of the living sacrifice, is idolatry, and you shall never prove it by God's word; therefore you have deceived the people with that your sacrifice of the mass, which you make a pillar.

Thirdly, where you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar you mean, whether it be the altar of the crofs, or the altar of stone: and if you call it the sacrament of the altar in respect of the altar of stone; then I defy your Christ, for it is a rotten Christ.

And as touching your transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was first brought up by a pope. Now as concerning your offer made from the fynod, which is gathered together in Antichrist's name; prove to me that you be of the catholic church (which you never can), and I will follow you, and do as you would have me do. But you are idolaters, and daily do command others. You be also traitors; for in your pulpit ye read good kings, as King Henry, and King Edward; and who have stood against the apostles' power of the bishop of Rome; against whom I have never taken oath, which, if you can shew me by God's law, I am taken unjufully, I will then yield unto you: but you; God turn the king and queen's heart from your pulpit and church, for you do abuse the good queen.

Here the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield began to shew where the true church was, saying:

Coventry. The true catholic church is spent upon the high places of justice.

Philpot. Yea, at Rome, which is the Babylonian church.

Coventry. No, in our true catholic church are apostles, evangelists, and martyrs; but before St. John Luther there was no apostle, evangelist, or martyr in your church.

Philpot. Will you now know the cause why Christ prophesied that in the latter days there should come false prophets and hypocrites, as you be.

Coventry. Your church of Geneva, which you say is the catholic church, is that which Christ prophesied, of the good kings, as King Henry, and King Edward; and of the doctrine of the same, for it is catholic and true; and doth follow the doctrine the apostles did; and the doctrine taught and preached in King Edward's days, was also according to the same. And are you so affirmed to perfecute me for your church's sake, which is Babylonian, and contrary to the true church?

Bonner. My lord, this man had a restful pig huge unto him, and this knife was put secretly betwixt him and the flesh thereof, and so it was sent to him in the prison. And also this powder was sent unto him, under pretence that it was not to be eaten and comfortable fire to eat and drink; which powder was prepared, that it should not to write with. For when his keeper did present, he took it and brought unto me: which I said, take it, I thought it had been gunpowder, and therefore I put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for poison, and so gave it to a dog, but it was not so. Then I took a little water, and it made as fair ink as I did write withal. Therefore, my lord, you may understand what a naughty fellow this is.

Philpot. Ah, my lord, have you nothing else a charge me withal, but these trifles, seeing I find you life and death. I say, the bishop of Rome is the true church of Rome to be the catholic church.

Then the bishop brought forth a certain influenza, containing articles and questions, agreed upon between Oxford and Cambridge. Also he exhibited proofs in print; the one was the catechism made in King Edward's day, in the year 1553, the other concerning the report of the disposition in the convention-houses, which is above expressed.

Moreover he brought forth two letters, and laid them to Mr. Philpot's charge; the one touching Bareke Green, the other containing godly exhortations and confirmations. And he charged me by him of some of his faculties the tenor whereof is most expressed.

A LETTER, Produced by BONNER, written by some Friends of Mr. PHILPOT's, and sent to him, concerning the Usage of Mr. Green, in Bonner's House at London.

YOU shall understand that Mr. Green came and set up the bishop of London on Sunday last, where it was courteously received; for what policy the bishop maintained for one day or two it is to dine at my lord's own table, or else to have his meat from thence. During these days he lay in Dr. Chedley's chamber, and was examined. Albeit in very deed, the bishop earnestly and faithfully promised my right worshipful men (who were suiters for him, let...
The CONDEMNATION of Mr. JOHN PHILPOT.

A LETTER

Written by the Lady VANE & Mr. PHILPOT, exalted likewise by Bishops Bonner.

HEARTY thanks I render unto you, my well beloved in Christ, for the book you sent me therewith I find great confolations, and according to the doctrine thereof do prepare my cheeks to the frikkes, and my wmannish back to the burden of reprofe, and so in the stength of my God I tru to leap over the wall, for his felices overcometh me daily, and maketh all these against my knowledges in the world even medicinal like in my mouth. For the continuance whereof, I beseche thee (my dear fellow-fodler) make thy faithful prayer for me, that I may with a strong and gladfome confidence finnish my course, and obtain the reward, though it be not white due to my work. I am not content that my names be memorized for the fame of my memory, but that I be remembered by them, for that is more worthy, but duty on my part, and small reflow to you. But if you would love me so much, that I might supply your wants, then would I think you believed my affection to be such as agreed with my heart. And for the work changes you speak of, the means are not so pleasant. If God (where my trust is in) will otherwise provide, but Solomon faith, “All things here have their time;” to-day, and to-morrow, and to the end of Adam’s line is soon run out. The mighty God give us his grace, that during this time this glory be not defaced through the fifery. Cause ye desire to shew yourself a worthy foder, if others do not. I do not make any request for the scarfe you wrote of, that you may present it before your captain, that I be not forgotten in the oblects of incence, which our beloved Christ offered for his own, to whom I beseeche both our bodies and souls.

Your own in the Lord.

Besides these letters, the bishops did also bring forth a supplication made by Mr. Philpot unto the high court of parliament, wherein all invention is made in the first of the two letters last mentioned; the copy whereof here follows.

To the KING and QUEEN'S MAJESTIES HIGHNESS, the LORDS Spiritual and Temporal, and the COMMONS of this present PARLIAMENT assembled.

IN the most humble wife complaineth unto this honorable court of parliament John Philpot, clerk, No. 36.

that whereas by the queen’s highness a parliament was called in the first year of her gracious reign, and after the old custom a convocation of the clergy, your suppliants then being out of the said convocation, understood, and matters there arising upon the using of the sacraments, did dispute in the same, knowing that there all men had and have free speech, and ought not to be for troubled for any thing there spoken, and yet that notwithstanding the not lasting after the said parliament, your said suppliants, without grumbling or murmuring, did not shew to be in prison in the King’s Bench by the late lord chancellor, where he had remained ever since, until now of late that my lord the bishop of London hath sent for your said suppliants, to examine him (being none of his diocese) upon certain matters wherein they would have your suppliants to declare his conscience, which the said bishop said he hath authority to do, by reason of an act of parliament made in the first and second years of the king and queen’s majesties reign, for the reviving of three statutes made against them that hold any opinion against the catholic faith: whereby he affirmeth, that every ordinary may, ex officio, examine every man’s conscience: and for that your said suppliants hath and doth refute, that the said bishop of London hath any authority over your said suppliants, because he is neither his diocesan, nor hath published, preached, or hold any opinion against the catholic faith; that he is neither their diocesan, nor that any diocesan of London detained him in the flocks in the coal-house, without a bed, or any other thing to lie upon but straw, and for that your said suppliants cannot appeal for his relief from the same bishop to any other judge, but the same bishop may refuse the same by their law, and therefore hath no succour and help by this high court of parliament, for the explanation of the said act, therefore may it please you, that it may be enacted by the king and queen’s majesties, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that no bishop or ordinary, or any person under colour of deans, or any endowed person or persons for the catholic faith, except he or they have spoken, written, or done some manifest act against the catholic faith; and the same to be lawfully proved against every such person or persons, by the testimony of two lawful witnesses, to be brought before the said person; and if he or they be either committed to prison or convicted for any such offence or offences, the said former statute, made in the said first and second year of our said sovereign lord and lady notwithstanding: whereby your said suppliants shall not only be set at liberty, and divers other more remaining: and hereby the king and queen's majesties true and faithful subjects preferred.

The CONDEMNATION of the worthy MARTYR of God, JOHN PHILPOT.

THESE books, letters, supplications, and other matters being thus read, the bishop demanded of him, if the book intituled, “The true report of the disputations, &c.” were of his penning, or not? Whereupon Philpot answered, That it was a good and true book, and of his own penning and setting forth.

The bishop offered to him an accusing, being able by any sufficient ground, either of God’s word, or of the true ancient catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him, fell with fair and flattering speech to persuade with him; promising, that if he would revok his opinions, and come home again to their Romish and Babylonian church, he would give him a place in the highest part, but also they would, with all favour and cheerfulness of heart, receive him again as a true member thereof. Which words when Bonner saw would take no place, he demanded of Mr. Philpot (and that with a charitable affection, I warrant you), whether he had any doubt or objection to what he saith of Bishops to be a heretic. Well, quoth Mr. Philpot, your idolatrous sacrament, which you have found out, you shall be fain defend, but you cannot, nor ever shall.

In the end the bishop, seeing his unmoveable steadfastness.
Then Alexander saith unto him, What is that to me? And with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into limbo, and so his command was filled; but before he could be taken from the block, the clerk would have a great.

Then one Witterence,eward of the house, took him on his horse, and the sheriffs and all men knew not whither. Wherefore Mr. Philpot said in great despair, Go to Mr. Sherff, and shew him how I am used, and shew Mr. Sherff to be good unto me; and so his fear went straightway, and took an honest man with him.

And when they came to Mr. Sherff, (which was Mr. Macham) and shewed him how Mr. Philpot was hanged in Newgate, the sheriffs hearing this, took his ring from off his finger, and delivered it to that honest man, that came with Mr. Philpot’s man, and bade him go unto Alexander. Keep him. Commanded him to take off his iron, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him.

And when they came again to the said Alexander, and delivered their message from the sheriffs, Alexander took the ring and said, Ah, I perceive that Mr. Sherff is a bearer with him, and all such heretics are, therefore to-morrow I will shew it to his better; yet at ten o’clock he went into Mr. Philpot where he lay, and took off his irons, and gave him such things as he had done before from his servants.

Upon Tuesday at supper, being the 17th of December, there came a messenger from the sheriffs, and said Mr. Philpot make ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at a stake with fire. Mr. Philpot answered and said, I am ready; God grant me strength, and let me be made as I should be. And while he was in the chamber, poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks, that he of his mercy had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

In the morning the sheriffs came according to order, about eight o’clock, and calling for him, he most joyfully went to the place to die. And there his man made to him a farewel, and said, Ah, dear master, farewell. His master made unto him, Serve God, and he will help thee. And so he went with the sheriffs to the place of execution, and when he entered into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the stake. Then he said mildly, Where is my cross? I have found that I am content to go to my journey’s end on foot. But first coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down there, saying these words, ‘I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield.’

And when he was come to the place of suffering, he killed the stake, and said, Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer the most vile death upon the cross for me? And then with an obedient heart, full meekly he said the creed, the prayer, and the Psalm; and when he had made an end of all his prayers, he said to the officers, What have you done for me? And every one of them declared what they had done, and he gave money to them.

Then they bound him to the stake, and set fire to that confidant martyr; who, the 18th day of December, 1555, at the same place, yielded his soul into the hands of Almighty God, and like a lamb gave up his breath, his body being consumed to ashes.

Thus have we presented the reader with the life and actions of this learned and worthy follower of the Lord, John Philpot, with all his examinations that came to our hands, being marvellously preferred from the hand and hand of his enemies; who, by all means not only to flump him from writing, but also to spoil and deprive him of that which he had written. For which cause he was many times stripped and searched in the prison by his keeper: but yet so happily these his writings were conveyed and hid in places about him, or else his keeper’s eye was blinded, that notwithstanding all this malicious purpose
The Pious and Learned Mr. JOHN PHILPOT, praying at the place of his Martyrdom in Smithfield.
LETTER I.

From Mr. PHILPOT to a CHRISTIAN CONGREGATION, exhorting them to refrain from IDOLATRY, and to serve GOD after his WORD.

It is a lamentable thing to behold, at this time in England, the faithless departing, both of men and women, from the true knowledge and use of Christ's church and religion, which so plentifully they have been taught, and do know, their own consciences bearing them to the very truth thereof. And we think it will be an act of good grace, of God, which, through receiving moisture and pleasantness from heaven, doth not bring forth fruit according to judgment; how much more grievous judgment shall such persons receive, who having received from the Father of heaven the perfect knowledge of his word by the ministry thereof, do not sow forth God's worship after the same? If the Lord will require, in the day of judgment, a godly use of all manner of talents which he hath bestowed unto men and women, how much more will he require the same of his pure religion revealed unto them (which is of all other truths of God left unprofitable to our exercise in life), if we hide the same as a napkin, and set it not forth to the use of God's glory, and edifying of his church by true conformance? God hath kindled the bright light of his gospel, which enliveth souls of men that are sealed, and hid under the vileness of man's traditions, and hath caused the brightness thereof to shine in our hearts, to the end that the light might shine before men to the honour of his name. It is not only given to us to believe, but also to confess and declare that we believe in our outward conversations, by the word of St. Paul written to the Romans, 'the belief of the heart justifieth, and to acknowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe.' It is all one before God, not to believe at all, and not to sow forth the lively works of our belief. For Christ faith, 'She make the tree good, and it's fruits good; or else make the tree evil, and the fruits evil; because a good tree bringeth forth good fruits, and an evil tree bringeth forth evil fruits.' So that the person who sheweth his master's will, and doth it not, shall be haled out of the kingdom of heaven, but he that doth will of the Father. And, 'Whoever in the time of trial is ashamed of me, (faith Christ) and of my words, of him the Son of man will be ashamed before his Father.' After we have built ourselves into this faith, we should never shew the same, but, by giving us over into the hands of the wicked synagogue, to prove our building, and to have it known as well to the world as to ourselves, that we have been wise builders in the true church of God upon the rock, and not on the sand, and therefore now the tempest is risen, and the storms do mightily blow against us, that we might notwithstanding stand upright and be firm in the Lord, to his honour and glory, and to our eternal felicity. There is no new foundation built up unto us, for with such tempests and dangerous weather the church of God hath been continually exercised. Now once again, as the prophet Haggai tell us, 'The Lord shaketh the earth, that none might abide for ever, which be not overcome.' Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stable and immovable in the word of God, and in the faithful observation thereof, and let no man deceive you with vain words, saying, that you may keep your faith to yourselves, and dilemble with Antichrist, and to live at ease, and quiet in the world, as most men do, yielding to necessity, and trusting in the indulgences of God, and he that is in the midst of the world is death and enmity to God, as our Saviour, for example, did aptly declare in Peter, the exhorteth Christ not to go to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover, and there to be slain, but counselled him to look better to himself.

Likewise the world would not have us to forsake it, neither to afflicthe ourselvs to the true church, which is the body of Christ, whereas we are lively members, and to use the word of God better with the world, which is our danger of our lives. But we must learn to answer the world as Christ did Peter, and say, "Go behind me, Satan, thou favourest not the things of God." Shall I not drink of the cup which the Father giveth me? For it is better to be abased and to be lain in the church of God, than to be counted the son of a king, in the synagogue of false religion. Death for rightcounshefs is not to be abhorred, but rather to be desired, which afflieth bringeth with it the crown of everlasting glory. These bloody executioners not only perfecthe Christ's commandments, but sown them with innumerable felicity; we were born into this world to be witnesseds unto the truth, both learned and unlearned.

Now since the time is come, that we must flew our faith, and declare whether we will be God's fervents in rightcounshefs and holiness, as we have been taught, and are bound to follow, or else with hypocrisy to serve unrightcounshefs: let us take good heed that we be found faithful in the Lord's covenant, and true members of his church, in which through knowledge we are ingrafted; from which if we fall, or suffer any with the common fort of people, it will be more straitly required of us, than many yet do make account thereof. We cannot serve two masters: we may not halt on both sides, and think to please God; we must be fervent in God's cause, or else we will call us out from him. For by the first and foremost, we are alienated from God, and more attached to God with all our heart, with all our mind, with all our power and strength. But they are manifest transgressors of this commandment, which with their heart, mind, or bodily power, do communicate with a strange religion, contrary to the word of God, in the papistical synagogue, which calleth itself the church, and is not. As greatly do they offend God now which do so, as the Israelites did in times past, by forsoaking Jerusalem, the true church of God, and by going to Bethel to serve God in a congregation of their own setting up, and after their own imaginations and traditions; for which doing, God utterly destroyed all Israel, as all the prophets almost do testify. This happened unto them for our example, that we might beware to have any fellowship with any like congregation to our destruction.

God hath one catholic church dispersed throughout the world, and therefore we are taught in our creed to believe one catholic church, and to have communion therewith: which catholic church is grounded upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, and upon Jesus Christ himself, as St. Paul witnesseth to the Ephesians. Therefore whereoeuer we perceive any people to worship God truly after his word, there we may be certain the church of Christ to be; unto which we ought to associate ourselves, and to delve with the prophet David, to praise God in the midst of his church. But if we behold through the iniquity of the time, separations to be made with counterfeit religion, otherwise than the word of God doth teach, we ought then, if we be required to be companions thereof, to say again with David, "I have set my love upon the house of the Lord, and will not set my heart with the wicked." In the Revelations the church of Ephesus is highly commended, because the tried such as said they were apostles, and were not indeed, and therefore would not abide the company of them. Further, God commanded his people, that they should not seek Bethel, neither enter into Gilgal, where idolatry was used, by the mouth of his prophet Amos. Also, we must consider that our bodies be the temple of God, and whatsoever (as St. Paul teacheth) doth prophan the temple of God, let God strike him, and those who enter into the temple of Christ, and make it the member of an harlot. All strange religion and idolatry is accounted whoredom with the prophets, and more detestable in the fight of God, than the adventurous abuse of the body.

Therefore
Therefore the princes of the earth, in the Revela-
tions of St. John, are said to go a whoring, when they are in love with false religion, and follow the false. He speaks to them also, as to a people, as if tolerable to be present at the popish private masses (which is the very preparation of the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ) and all other idolatrous worship-
plings and rites, which are not after the word of God, but rather to the deception thereof, in fering man's traditions above God's precepts, since God by his word judgeth all strange religion, which is not according to his institution, for whoredom and adultery.

Some fondly think that the professe of the body is no more than a cheat to do the devil and his wicked doings. But such persons little consider what St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, commanding them to glorify God as well in body as in soul.

Moreover, we can do no greater injury to the true church of Christ, than to have forsaken her, and disbelieve her by cleaving to her adversary: whereby it appeareth to others which are weak, that we allow the San
ders, and so contrary to the word, do give a great offence to the church of God, and do outwardly slander, is nothing less than betraying the true church, but we commit unto him by whom such offenses come. Better it were for him to have a mill-tone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the sea. Such are traitors to the truth, like unto Judas, who with a kiss betrayed Christ. Our Lord is a jealous God, and cannot be content that we should be drawn to the net of another religion, whereof he is the head only, and wherein he hath plant
ed us by baptism. This jealousy which God hath towards us, will cry for vengeance in the day of vengeance, against all such as have now such larges confessions to do that which is contrary to God's glory, and the sincerity of his word, except they do in time repent, and cleave inseparably to the gospel of Christ, how much now at this present both men and women otherwise in their own corrupt judgment do flatter themselves. God will use us as we have done, and to any law that which is holy and acceptable in his sight, and to ab
tain from all manner of evil, and therefore Christ commandeth us in the gospel to beware of the leaven of the pharisees, which is hypocrisy.

St. Paul to the Hebrews faith, “If any man with
draw himself from the faith, his soul shall have no plea
sure in him;” therefore he faith also, “That we are not such as do withdraw ourselves unto perdition, but we longing for faith, for the attainments of life.” St. John in Revelation is clearly the church of God, that none of those who are written in the book of life, shall be the mark of the beast, which is of the papistical synagogue, either in their forheads, or in their heads, that is, apparently or obediently.

St. Paul to the Philippians affirmeth, that we may not have any fellowship with the works of darkness, but in the midst of this wicked and froward generation we ought to shine like lights upholding the word of truth. Further he faith, that we may not touch any unclean thing: which signifieth, that our outward conversation in foreign things ought to be pure and undefiled as well as the inward, that with a clean spirit and rectified body we might serve God justly in holiness and righteoun

Finally, in the 18th of the Revelations, God biddeth us to be partakers of the Babylonial synagoge, and not to be partakers of her terrors. St. Paul to the Thessalonians commandeth us in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to withdraw ourselves from every brother that walketh inequitably, and not according to the ac
dition of faith, which we were received in when we receiv

Ponder ye therefore well, good brethren and sisters, these scriptures which are written for your erudition and reformation, whereof one jot is not written in vain: which be utterly against all counterfeit illusion to be used by any in their fancifal religion, and be adver
tures to all them that undervest certain religious

deliver them to the judge, which is Christ; and the judge will deliver them to the executioner, which is the devil: and the devil shall commit them to hell, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. Yet there is mercy over all. But the scripture teacheth us, The curst, and that the unmerciful servant shall be tormented in hell, which is the lake of fire and brimstone. The meaning of forgiven. Truth it is, that the mercy of God is over all, and yet upon such as fear him: for it is written in the Psalms, “The mercy of God is on them that fear him, and on such as put their trust in him.” Where we see least in men, the least that they have to do, the least that they have occasion to do wickedly, to the least that they have occasion to be tormented in hell, which is the lake of fire. What is as much as mercy is, the same as the delights of God. And if God be merciful, we shall be saved. It is writen in the Psalms, “Forasmuch as thou hast forgiven my transgression, destroy not thy servant: for I am a godly man.” The meaning of forgiven. Truth it is, that the mercy of God is over all, and yet upon such as fear him: for it is written in the Psalms, “The mercy of God is on them that fear him, and on such as put their trust in him.” Where we see least in men, the least that they have occasion to do wickedly, to the least that they have occasion to be tormented in hell, which is the lake of fire. What is as much as mercy is, the same as the delights of God. And if God be merciful, we shall be saved.
But what said I, confidence? Many affirm their confidence will bear them well enough to do all that they do, and to go to the idolatrous church service, while not only God's love but your own life convinces me that confidence is very large to satisfy man more than God. And although our confidence can bear them fo to do, yet it will be seen that a good confidence will not permit them to do to do which cannot be good, unless it be dictated after the knowledge of God's word; and therefore, I am certain in Latin this mind is called cogitatio, which is found in interpretation, as much as with knowledge.

And therefore if our confidence be led of herself, and not from true knowledge, yet we are not to be excused as St. Paul beareth witness, saying, “Although my confidence accuseth me not, yet my spirit is not justified.” And although a good confidence with these three be, charity, a pure heart, and unfeigned faith. Charity keepeth God’s commandments, a pure heart loveth and feareth God above all, and unfeigned faith is never ashamed of the profession of the gospel, whatever damage he shall suffer in body thereby. The Lord, who hath revealed, his holy will unto us by his holy spirit, we do not want us never to be ashamed of it, and give us grace to earnestly cleave to his holy word, and the true church, that for no manner of worldly respect we become partakers of the works of hypocrifly, which God doth abhor; for they may be the means of the end, both in heart, word, and deed, to the glory of God and our everlasting salvation. Amen.

Prisoner in the King’s-Bench for the testimony of the truth. 1555. John Philpot.

LETTER II.

From Mr. PHILPOT to Mr. JOHN CARELESS, Prisoner in the King’s-Bench.

My dearly beloved brother Careless, I have received your loving letters, full of love and compassion, in which they made my hard heart to weep, to see you to care for one that hath been so unprofitable a member as I have been, and am in Christ’s church. God make me worthy, that I am called unto, and I pray you not to pray for me, but cease to weep for him which hath not deserved such gentle tears; and praise God with me, for that now I approach to the company of them, whose want you may worthily lament; God give your pitiful heart his inward consolation, and consider of your care, me, your dear Careless, I am in this world in hell, and in the glories of heaven and death; but I that brought me for my defects down into hell, shall shortly lift me up to heaven, where I shall look continually for your coming, and other my faithful brethren in the King’s-Bench. And though I tell you that I am in hell in the judgment of this world, yet assuredly I feel in the same the consolation of heaven, I praise God; and this loathsome and horrible prison is as pleasant to me, as the walk in the garden of the King’s-Bench. You know, brother Careless, that the way to heaven out of this life is very narrow, and we must strive to enter in at the narrow gate. If God doth mitigate the rigours of my imprisonment, I pray God give us the rage of the fire whereunto I am appointed. And this has happened unto me, that I might be hereafter an example of comfort, if the like happen unto you, or to any other of my dear brethren with you in these cruel days, and gives the devil no occasion at the faithful flock of Christ, but in vain (I trust) and any of us, who are persuaded that neither life nor death is able to separate us from the love of Christ’s gospel, which is God’s high treasure committed to our brittle vessels to glorify us by the name. God of his mercy make us faithful friends to the end, and give us grace to fear nothing whatsoever, with this good pleasure God furtur for the fame. That I have not written unto you before this, the cause is, our strait keeping and the want of light by night; for the day serveth us but a while in our dark clime. This is the first letter that I have written since I came to this prison, besides the report of mine examinations; and I am faint to scribble it out in haste.

Commend me to all my faithful brethren; bid them with a good courage look for their redemption, and frame themselves to be hearty soldiers in Christ. They have taken my poor money a great while, and now let them shew themselves ready to leave him faithfully, and to fly out of the Lord’s camp into the world, as many do. Let them remember, that in the Revelation he that is not true to the Lord, shall be expelled the kingdom. Let us be of good cheer, for our Lord overcame the world, that we should do the like. Blessed is the servant, whom when the Lord cometh, he findeth watching. Let us watch and pray earnestly another another, that in all we lead into temptation we may not be caught. Be joyful under the crooks, and praise the Lord continually, for this is the whole burnt sacrifice which the Lord delighteth in. Commend me to my father Hunt, and deliver him to love and continue in the unity of Christ’s true church, which he hath begun, and then will he make me known under my crooks with him. Tell my brother Clements, that he hath comforted me much by his loving token in signature of unfigured unity with us; let him increase my joy unto the end perfectly. The Lord of peace be with you all. Supply my loving friends, Mr. Mering, Mr. Crouse, with all those relief and comfort, and this with great thanks for his kindness thewed unto me. Farewell, my dear Careless. I have dallied with the devil a while, but I am over the shoes: God fend me well out.

Out of the Cold-house, by your brother.

John Philpot.

LETTER III.

From Mr. PHILPOT to Mr. JOHN CARELESS, profitable to be read by all those who mourn for, and repent of their sins.

The God of all comfort, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, send unto thee, my dear brother Careless, the inward consolation of his Holy Spirit, in all the malicious afflictions and troublesome temptations of our common adversary the devil, Amen.

That God giveth you to contrite a heart for your sins, I cannot but rejoice to behold the lively mark of the children of God, whose property is to think more lowly and meanly of themselves than of any other, and oftentimes do set their sins before them, that they might the more be filled to bring forth the fruits of repentance, and learn the knowledge of the Lord, and this might be glad and rejoice. Such a broken heart is a pleasant sacrifice unto God: O that I had the like contrite heart. God mollify my stony heart, which lamenteth not in such wise as my former detestable iniquities.

Prayed be God that he hath given you this sorrowful heart in respect of righteousness, and I pray you let me be partaker of this godly forrows for sin, which be the testimony of the presence of the Holy Ghost. Did not the word of forrow pierce the heart of the elect and blest mother of our Lord? Did not Peter weep bitterly for his sins, which was so beloved of Christ? What must be the forrow of one of our Saviour with her tears, and received therewithal remission of her seven-fold sins?

Be of good comfort therefore, mine own dear heart, in this thy forrow, for it is the earnest penny of eternal consolation. In thy forrow laugh, for the Spirit of God is in thee; blest be he (that faith) that mourn, for thy shall be comforted. They went forth and wept, faith the prophet, faith shall come again having their forrow turned into gladness. And although a painful heart, in consideration of his sins, be an acceptable sacrifice before God, whereby we are forrowed up to more thankfully to God, knowing that much is forgiven us that we might love the more, yet the man of God must keep a measure in the same, lest he be swallowed up by much forrow. St. Paul would not that the Thesalonians should be forry as other men without hope: such a forrow is not commendable, but worketh diminu-
be careful? I would not have that unseemly addition to your name. Be as your name pretendeth, for doth it not say of you have no other care than that to be. Pray, I beseech you, that I may be still careful in all your affairs, as you have cause to be carefuls in your extremest distress. Be thankful, and put away all care, and then I shall be joyful in my poorest strait cafe. Commend me to your relations, and defire them to pray for me, that I may overcome my temptations, for the devil is the long against me: I am put in the stocks in a place unknown, because I would not answer to such articles as they would charge me with in a corner at the bishop's appointment, and I cause it to come to ma [sic], when the bishop first for me. By God's grace, I will joyfully die of my life in the stocks, rather than I will consent to the wicked generation. Praise God, and be joyful, that it pleased him to make us worthy to suffer somewhat for his name's sake. The devil must rage for ten days, Commend me to Mr. F., and thank him for his law-books: but neither law nor equity will take a plot among these blood-thirsty. I wish for your faith as the just dealing were noted unto the parliament-house, it might avail. God shoo[r] [sic] these evil days. I have answer'd the bishop meetly in plain, that I will not go to him, if he will call me in open judgment, I will shoo[r] him as plainly as he shall require; otherwise I have refused, because I fear they will condemn me in prison. The grace of God be with you, my dear brother. I write not much, for I am sickly and weak, which I have written I cannot read myself, and God knoweth I written very uneasily. I pray God you may pick up some understanding of my mind towards you. Written in a cool-house of darknese, out of a pair of pantaloon stocks, by thine own in [sic].

John Philpot

Letter IV

From Mr. Philpot to certain godly Women, who seek their own Country for the Gospel, full of fruitful Precepts.

The Spirit of truth, revealed unto you, my daily beloved, by the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, be continually abiding with you, and augmented into a perfect building of you into the lively temple of God, through the mighty operation of his holy power. Amen.

I read in the Evangelists, of certain godly women that went into the desert to visit the holy seer, and cast his shadow for that day, and fill'd his hands with oil and anoint his head, and gave him bones with which to build his temple. And thus they were made the oil of God's presence, for they were a holy oil, and never forsook him, but being dead in his grave, brought oil to anoint him, until he had shew'd himself unto them after his resurrection, and bidding them shew unto his disciples, which at his passion were dispersed, and forsook him, and wept for themselves, that they should see him in Galilee. To whom I may justly compare you (my loving fillers in Christ) who of late have seen him fuller in his members, and have ministr'd to their necessity, anointing them with the comfortable oil of your charitable affiance, even to the death, and now since you have seen Christ to live in the ashes of them whom the tyrants have slain, he will you go away upon just occasion offered you, and to declare to our dispers'd brethren and fillers that he is risen, and liveth, andelect members in England, and which doth overcome infidelity, and that they shall see him in Galilee, which is by forsaking this world, and by a faithful desire to pass out of this world by those ways, which he with his holy martyrs hath gone on before.

Therefore (intire fillers) direct your way, as he did Abraham and Tobias unto a strange land. God give you health both of body and soul, that you may go from virtue to virtue, and grow from strength to strength, until you may feel face to face the God of Sion in his holy hill, with the innumerable company of his beloved martyrs and saints. Let the place be that of any virtue, which is already planted in you. Be as the light of the just, such as Solomon faith increaseth to the perfect day of the Lord. Let the strength of God be commended in your weak velvels, as it is. Be examples of faith and constancy to all that shall come in company with
LETTERS written by Mr. JOHN PHILPOT.

Q.MARY.A.D.1555-]

whils. Let your godly conversation speak where your tongue may not go in the congregation. Be twill to hear, and low that speaks, after the counsel of St. James. Be not curiosous about other men's doings, but be occupied with prayer and continual meditation, with reverent talking of the word of God, without contentions among yourselves, nor reviling of the saints. Let your faith shine in actions as bright as in words, for it is said, ‘As it hath done in you own, that your Father which is in heaven may be glorified by you unto the end.’

This farewell I send you, not as a thing needful (which know already what your duty is, and be devisers to perform the same) but as one that would have you understand that he hath more of your good, than you think. Whereof he hath had good experience, and therefore writeth this to be a perpetual memorial betwixt you and me, until our meeting together before God, where we shall joy that we have here lovingly put one another in memory of our duty to perform it.

Farewell again, mine own dearest sir, and take with you wherever you go, and leave yourselves with me, that in spirit we may be present one with another. Commend me to the whole congregation of Christ, willing them not to leave their country without witness of the gospel; after that we are all flux which already is closed up, and all the more precious salvation; and in me may feele pray earnestly for our confiency, that Christ may be glorified in us and in them, both by life and death. Farewel in the Lord.

Yours for ever,

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER V.

Casting an Exhortation to his own Sitter, exhorting to the Truth, which he hath faithfully professed.

O D the eternal Father, who hast justified you by the blood of his Son Jesus Christ, and called you to hallow his name through a good conversation and profession of life, sanctify you with daily increasement of virtue and faith by his Holy Spirit, that you may appear with a resemblance of sanctification, in the midst of this wicked and perishing generation, to the laud and praise of the gospel. Amen.

I have occasion (my own dear sir) to praise God in you for two causes; the one, that to your ability you are ready to dwell yourselves a natural and loving father to your poor afflicted brother, as by your gentle tokens by your good offices, and your long-suffering and long-visiting me; which well declareth that you be a very natural father indeed, and to be praised in this behalf. But in the other, that you be also a father to me in faith, after Christ's gospel, I have occasion to thank God for much the more, how much the one excelleth the other, and the spiritual contiguity is more endurable than that which is of flesh and blood, and is a worker of that which is by nature: for commonly such as be ungodly, be unnatural, and only lovers of themselves, as daily experience teacheth us. The living Lord, which through our inexpressible need of his word hath begotten you to be my liege father, give you grace to grow in that generation, that you may increase to a perfect age in the Lord, to be my father with Christ for ever.

Look therefore that you continue a faithful father, as you are called and are godly entered, not only to me, but to the whole church of Christ, yea to Christ himself, who voucheth you, in this your unfeigned faith, worthy to be his father. Consider this dignity to surmount all the vain dignities of the world, and let it accordingly prevail more with you than all earthly delights: for everywhere you are called to an equal proportion of the everlasting glory of Christ, if in no wise you do not in any wise betray yourselves an unworthy father of his grace, and be in trouble, which I trust you never will do for any kind of worldly respect. You are under dangerous temptations to be turned from that natural love you owne unto Christ, and you shall be tried with God's people through a fire of great affliction: for so Satan defray thee to be fitted, that through fear of them the success we might fall from the benefits of our faith, and be deprived of that honour, joy, and reward, which is prepared for such as continue faithful brothers and fathers in the Lord's covenant to the end. Therefore the wise man, in the book of Ecclesiasticus, biddeth them that come to the service of the Lord, ‘To prepare themselves to suffer temptations.’

Wherefore that for the glory of God and our faith, we are called now to abide the brunt of them, and that when our adversary hath done all that he can, yet we may be fable and fland, this Christ, our first-begotten brother, looketh for at our hands, and all our brethren and fathers in heaven desire to see our faith through afflictions to be perfected, that through the faith of Christ's elect we may be witnesses in the world of this new verfial church here militant rejoiceath at our confiency, all whom by the contrary we should make forry, to the danger of the loss both of body and soul. Fear not therefore, whatsoever be threatened of the wicked: prepare your back, and see it be ready to carry Christ's crofs. And if you see any unwillingness in you, (as the flesh is continually repugnant to the will of God) ask with faithful prayer, that the good Spirit of God may lead your finful flesh whither it would not: for if we will dwell in the flesh and follow the counsel thereof, we shall never do the will of God, neither work that which tendeth to our salvation.

You are at this present in the confines and borders of Babylon, where you are in danger to drink of the whore's cup, unless ye be vigilant in prayer. Take heed the serpent seduce you not from the simplicity of your faith, as he did our first mother Eve. Let not worldly worldly cupidity, nor the shop of perverting justice, nor any such like sin (which is the toucheth tar), cannot but be defiled thereby. With such as be pervert, a man shall soon be perverted; with the holy you shall be holy. Therefore say continually with the prophet David, Psalm 35. ‘Unto the faints that be on the earth, all my will is on them.’ You have been sanctified, and made pure through the truth; take heed you be not unhallowed and defiled, left the left be worse than the worst. I write not this because I flant in any doubt of your sincere continuance, of which I have had so good experience; but because the days be evil, and in the name it is the duty of each of us to exhort and stir up one another; I am bold to put you (my good father) in remembrance of that which doth not a little comfort me to remember, in my troubles and daily temptations. Wherefore I doubt not but you will take that in good part, which cometh from your brother both in spirit and body, who tendereth your salvation as exceedingly as himself; I depart not from you, I go not away from you, I give you the word with such joy as the world shall never be able to take from us. Thanks be unto God, you have begun to run a good and a great time well in the ways of the Lord: run out the race to the end which you have begun, and then shall you receive the crown of glory. None shall be crowned, but such as lawfully strive. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good, and the Lord will make you one of those faithfull virgins that shall follow the Lamb wherever he goeth; which Christ grant both to you and me. Amen.

Commend me to all them that love me in the Lord ungenerously, and show your love for our faith, and give us never to be ashamed of his gospel. That fame requrest which I have made to my brother Thomas, I make also to you, desiring you by all means you can to accomplish my requrest, that my furteties might be satisfieth with what is mine own, to the content of my mind, which cannot be quiet until they be discharged; therefore I pray you help to purchase my quietness, that I may depart out of this world in peace. My dissilution I look for daily, but the Lord knoweth how unworthy I am of so high an honour, as to die for the testimonie of his truth. Pray that God would make me worthy, as he hath done to be called an instrument of his grace, to be praieth for ever. Pray and look for the coming of the Lord, whose wrath is great over us, and I will pray for you as long as I live. The 26th of July, in the King's Bench.

Your own loving brother, as well in faith as in body,

JOHN PHILPOT.

LET-
LETTER VI.

From Mr. PHILOP to certain godly Brethren.

THe grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Saviour Jesus Christ his eternal Son, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost our comforter, strengthen your hearts, and comfort your minds, that you may rejoice and live in the truth of Christ's gospel to the end. Amen.

We much rejoice, dearly beloved in the Lord, to hear of your constant faith in the word of God, which you have so purely received; which does not with the worldlings decline from the purity thereof, albeit you suffer grief and trouble thereby; for which I praise God most heartily, and the Lord of all strength, who hath begun this good work in you, make it perfect to the end, as I doubt not but he will, for the faithful zeal you have to his truth, and to his afflicted church. Therefore that you may the better feel and bear the brunt of many temptations you are like to be assaulted withal, in these wicked and barous days; I thought it good, as it is the duty of one christian man to exhort another in the time of trouble, to put you in remembrance thereof, and to warn you with the wise man to prepare yourselves to temptations; and to beware that you, which yet do stand in the strength of God, may not fall from your lively knowledge and hope. It is an easy thing to begin to do well, but to continue out in well-doing, is the only property of the children of God, and such as assuredly shall be saved. For so our Saviour in his gospel, after all the things that they do must unto the end.'

Let not therefore this certainty of your salvation, which is continuance in the sincerity of faith, slide from you. Else even more than all the riches and pleasures of this world, for it is the most acceptable treasur of eternal life. This is that precious stone, for which the wife merchant-man, after the gospel, doth fey all that he hath and buyeth the same. God, in Revelations iii. doth signify to the church, that there shall come a time of temptation upon the whole world, to try the dwellers upon earth. From the danger of which temptation all such shall be delivered as observe his word: which word is there called the word of patience; to give us to understand, that we must be ready to suffer all kind of injuries and flanders for the perfection thereof. Therefore God commandeth us there to hold it fast, that none of us yield us to our flesh, to buy it of glory; and St. Peter telesct us, now we are afflicted with diverse rows, as it is need it shold be so. That the trial of our faith being much more precious than gold that perisheth, and yet is tried by fire, might redound to the laud, glory, and honour of Jesus Christ. St. Paul to the Hebrews sheweth us, that our sufferings, was in heaven not perfect by afflictions, that we being called to perfection in him, might more willingly frustrate the troubles of the world, by which God giveth all them, that be executed in the same for his fake, his holines. And in the 12th chapter of the said epistle is written, My son, refuse not the correction of the Lord, nor slink when thou art rebuked of him: for the Lord doth chastise every son whom he receiveth, &c. Christ, in the gospel of St. John, bideth his disciples to look for afflictions, saying, That whoso believeth shall have life eternal, but ye shall have joy. And therefore in the midst of their trouble, in the 21st of St. Luke, he bideth them look up and lift up their heads, for your redemption, faith he, is at hand. And in the 22d he faith all such as are afflicted with the same have that continued me in my temptations, and therefore I appoy unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed for me, to eat and drink upon my table in my kingdom. Oh how glorious be the crosse of Christ, which bring the blessings of them unto so blest an end! Shall we not be glad to be persecuted for righteousness' sake as we may bring us to so high a dignity? God open our eyes to see all things as they be, and to judge uprightly. Then doubtless we would think with Moses, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, than to be counted the king of Egypt's son. Then should we joyfully say with David, in all our adversities and troubles, it is good, O Lord, thou hast brought me low, to the end I might learn thy righteousness. Therefore God would not glory in any other thing of the world, but in the cross of Christ, and in other his inhumanities; which are our pleasant and daily to take up our crofts and follow him. We have the godly examples of all his apostles and holy martyrs, who with great joy and exultation have suffered the los of all lands, and life, for the hope of a better reward, which is laid up for all them that unfeignedly clese to the gospel, and never be abashed thereof. Great is the feliuity of the world to the inward man, and very pleasant are the transitory delights thereof: but the reward of the righteous after the world is incomparably exalt them all, inasmuch that St. Paul to the Corinthians, he plainly affirm, that all the tribulations of this world cannot de- serve that glory which shall be shewed unto us. Let us therefore (good brethren and sisters) be meag and glad in these troublesome days, which be first of God to declare our faith, and to bring to the end and fruition of that which we hope for. If we would enter into the Lord's sanctuary, and behold what is prepared for us, we could not but deplore the Lord to halate the day of our death, in which we might yet set by, for he might yet be afraid to meet our adversaries, who so earnestly seek our death, as Christ did Judas and that wicked worm, which came to apprehend him, saying, I am he when ye see me. It is commanded us by the gospel, not to think that we shall see him, but to fear God, who can at both body and soul into hell, and we are bound to observe this commandment as any other which God hath given us. The Lord increaseth our faith, that we fear God more than man. The Lord gives us fast love towards him, and his truth, that we may be come to find the strength of God. Therefore in all our troubles we may love betw, for to what we love bett we shall feel. There is none worthy to be counted a christian, except he can find in his heart, for Christ's fake, if the ex- ception of his truth doth require it, to renounce all the lies and death, and follow him; and in doing he gaineth an hundred fold more in this life (as our Saviour did to Peter) and hereafter is affured of eternal life. Behold, I pray you, what he loatheth in this life receivest a hundred for one, with allureance of eternal life. O happy exchange! Perchance your outward man will fly, if I were full of inward riches. It is not that I am glad to for sake all; but where is this hundred fold in this life to be found? Yes, truly; for instead of this worldly riches which thou dost forake, which be temporal, thou hast found the everlasting riches of he- ven. And be of good comfort, and be assured that the promises of God, angels, and men; and for an earthly habitation, hast an eternal mansion with Christ in heaven; for one now thou art of the city and household of the faints with God, as it is verified in the fourth to the Philippians. For worldly peace, which can last but a while, doth oppose the peace of God, which paffeth all understand- ing; and for the lots of a few friends, thou art made a fellow of the innumerable company of heaven, and a perpetual friend of all those that have died in the Lord, from the beginning of the world. Is it possible to have more than an hundred fold? Is it possible to have more of God which we in this world have through faithful imitation of Christ (which the world cannot take from us) than in the fold more, than those things that most highly be- streamed in the world, without the peace of God? All that peace of the world is no peace, but a mere anguish, as a gnawing fire of hell: as of late God hath set exam- ple before our eyes, to teach us how horrible as a is to for sake the peace of Christ's truth, which break- eth a worm in the conscience that never shall rest, as well in damnation as holiness! Then should we not be dismayed at this troublesome time, neither sorrow after a worldly manner for the los which we are now like to sustain, as weak faiths per- sons do, which love their goods more than God, and the things visible above thoes which be invisible, but rather
ther would heartily rejoice and be thankful, that it pleased God to call us to be soldiers in his cause against the works of hypocrisy, and to make us like unto our Saviour Christ in suffering, whereby we may allure from the world the princes of this world from the glory of their eyes, and that we may be of his eternal glory: for all the miseries of Christ himself, as the members of his mystical body, in the suffering of his faith, that suffer the persecution of righteousness, be like. And as Paul witnesseth to Timothy, If we die with Christ, we shall live with Christ, and if we live, he will deny us. 

That we would enter into the veil of God's promise. Then should not we be like Paul to the Philippians, reject all, and commit all things but for denes, so that we may gain Christ, God, which is the enlightener of all men, and put away of all blindness, anoint our eyes with the true eye-salve, that we may behold his true glory, and our eternal felicity, because he is the Conqueror, and prepared for that which do abide in his temple: for blessed is that servant whom the master when he cometh (as Christ said) doth find faithful. Let us therefore watch and pray one for another, that we yield not in any part of our religion to the antichristian synagogues, and that we be not overthrown by these temptations. Stand therefore, and be not in the cause of your salvation; for his Spirit that is in us, is stronger than he which in the world doth now rage against us. Let us not put out the Spirit of God from us, by which we might have overcome our enemies and then shall we be happy. Why do ye weep? Why are ye so fearful, as though God hath forsaken you? He is never more plentiful with us, than when we are in trouble, if we do not forsake him. We are to believe and hope; and he can do us any injury or wrong without his good will and pleasure. He hath commanded his angels to keep us, that we stumble not at a stone without his divine providence. The devil cannot hurt any of us, and much less any of his ministers, unless his good will of our eternal Father. Therefore let us be of good comfort, and continually give thanks unto God for our estate, whatsoever it be; for if we murmur against the name, we murmur against God, who fadeth the name: which if we do, we kick but against the pricks, and provoke more the wrath of God against us; which by patient suffering others: would sooner be turned into our favour through faithful prayer.

I beseech you with St. Paul, to give your bodies pure and holy sacrifices unto God. He hath given us bodies which he hath purchased with his own blood, as a representation of his sacrifice. If many years God hath suffered us to use our bodies, which are his temples, after the lust of the flesh, in vain delights, not according to his glory; is it not our duty in the latter end of our life, the more willingly to yield unto God his glory our bodies, with all that we have, in demonstration of the truth: so that we may have evil speak before? Cannot the example of the blessed man Job, horribly afflicted, cause us to say, 

"The Lord hath given it, the Lord hath taken it: blessed be the name of the Lord, so is it come to pass?"

If we call our whole care like the upon God, he will turn our misery into felicity, as also did he to Job. God tempts us now as he did our father Abraham, commanding him to slay his son Isaac in sacrifice to him, which Isaac, by interpretation, doth signify the Father, Who by his obedience preferred Isaac unto God's glory and blessing, and offered in his flesh a ram that was tamed by the horns in the brambles. So likewise we are all commanded to sacrifice unto God our Isaac, which is our joy and consolation; which if we be ready to do, as our joy shall not perish, but live and increase, in the name of our Father, our Isaac: which doth signify, that the pride and conceit of our flesh, entangled through sin with the cares of this fleeting world, must be mortified for the present, and perfect augmentation of our mind and joy, which is sealed upon us in Christ. 

And to withstand these great temptations where it is we are now encumbered, you cannot have a better remedy than to set before your eyes how your Saviour Christ overcame them in the defeat, and to follow his example. That if the devil himself, or any other by him, willeth you to make flones bread, that is, to take such a worldly-wife way, that you may have your fair houses, lands and goods to live on flint, you must say, that shall he ever do thus? for otherwise what else doth proceed out of the mouth of God. 

Again, if the devil counselleth you to call yourselves down to the earth, as to revoke your sincere belief and godly conversation, and to becomformable to the learned men of the world, pretending that God will be well enough content therein; you will answer that it is written, that a man shall not tempt his Lord God. 

Further, if the devil offer you large promises of honour, dignity, and poffisions, fo that you will worship idols in his synagogues, you must say, Get behind me, Satan, for it is otherwise written, Ye must serve the man whom God hath appointed, and serve him only. 

Finally, if your mother, brother, sister, wife, child, kinman, or friend, do require you to do otherwise than the word of God hath taught you, you must say with Christ, that they are your mothers, brothers, sisters, wives, children, kinmen, which do the will of God the Father. To which will the Lord for his mercy conform us all unfeignedly to the end, Amen. Your loving and faithful brother in Christ, in captivity, JOHN PHILPOT.

L E T T E R VII.

From Mr. PHILPOT to Mr. ROBERT HARRINGTON.

GENTLE Mr. Harrington, I cannot tell what consign thanks I may give unto God for you, in respect of the great tenderness and pains which you have taken for the relief of me and of our other afflicted brethren in Christ. God be prised for his mercy, whose loving providence we have found towards us with such faithful favours as you have been towards a great many. Blessed be you of God for the loving care which you have taken for his poor flock. God hath referred your reward of thanks in heaven, and therefore I go not about to rend your eye, as I might seem to judge that you looked for that here, which is referred for a better place. I thank God for that which I have found by your faithful and diligent industry, and God forgive me my unworthines of so great benefits. God give me grace to serve him faithfully, and to run out my race with joy. Glorious is the victory of Christ over this world: here is the victory of the world: here is the true faith, and everlasting glory. Who is he that defeateth not to be found faithful to his master? And now is the time that every faithful servant of Christ hath just opportunity to shew himself a glorious soldier in the Lord's fight. Now do the Amalekites invade the true Israelites, that the Israelites might with speed be glorified; I need not for want of understanding to admonish you hereof, but as a willing soldier in Christ, to exhort you so to run as you may get the victory, and that so forkly with us. A man that is invited to a glorious feast, defers it not, but may go with him, and be partaker thereof. God doth call me, most unworthy, among others, to drink of the bride-cup of his Son, whereby we shall be made worthy (as many of our brethren have been before us) to sit at the right hand of the glory of Christ. O what unspakable condition is that? May any worldly thing hinder us from the afore thereof? Since we seek the kingdom of God, why do we not apprehend it, being so near offered unto us? 

Let us approach near unto God, and God will draw near unto us. God draw near unto us, that we may all run after the favour of his sweet ointments. Christ anoint us, that we may be supplied in these evil days to run lightly unto the glory of the Lord. Shame, imprin
foment, knfs of goods, and shedding of our blood, be the just price which we must willingly bellow for the fame. Wherefore (dearly beloved in the Lord) let not the great charges keep you back from receiving this glory: for the reward is ten thousand fold greater than the price.

That you have married a wife, whom God blest, I cannot excuse you from this mat, but you must bring your wife for an utter to the Lord, whose pleasure is godly yoke-fellows. I wish you to be as I am, except the horrible hands, but yet most comfortable to the spirit, afflerring you, that we are made worthy, through Christ, of the kingdom for which we suffer. Praised be the Lord for the afflictions which we suffer, and may he give us strength and continuance.

Command me to Mr. Heath, and tell him that I would with him with me, to prove how apt he is to carry the crofs of Christ. I pray for his continuance in Christ, as for mine own. Command me to his wife, and to Mrs. Hall, certifying them that I am brought into the gates of hell, that I might never enter into the fame, but be raffed up from hell to heaven, through the word that sanctifieth us. Command me to Mr. Elting and his wife, and thank them that they remembered to provide for me some ease in prison; and tell them that they have secured my lord’s cause, but could not make it black, yet it is more to be defied by the faithful than the queen’s palace. God make her a joyful mother, and preverve them both to the comfort of God’s people. Thus for this time farewell, dear brother. Written in prison, and an instant before my death.

This day I expect to be called before the commiNNers again. Pray, dear brother, for the Spirit of wisdom to remain with me. Command me to your wife, and I thank you both for your tokens. Your token I have sent to your wife; and my token unto you, is my faithful heart with this letter. Command me to all my friends, and tell them that I am cheerful in Christ, wifhing them to fear God more than man, and to learn to defpife earntly the vanities of this world; defring you all to pray for me, that I may end my journey with fidelity. Amen.

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER VIII.

From Mr. PHILPOT to the Lady VANE.

The principal Spirit of God the Father, given unto us by Christ our merciful Savior, confirm, strengthen, and establish you in the true knowledge of the gospel, that your faithful heart (worshipful and dear father in the Lord) may attain to fame with all the faints what is the height, the depth, the breadth, and breath of the sweet crofs of Christ. Amen.

Oh, happy are you amongst all other women, that have found this precious flince which is hidden in the gospel, for which we ought to tell all other things, and, to purchase the fame. Oh, happy woman, whose heart God hath moved and enlarged to be in the profession thereof. Others seek worldly goods, honours, and delights; but you seek with a good understanding to serve God in spirit and in truth. This is the gate that leadeth to heaven, this is your portion for ever. By this you shall fee God face to face (which fight is unfepeakable joy), and by this shall you have a full fight of all the beautiful heavenly bowers, and of all the celestial paracliffe. By this you shall know them that you never knew, and know them that you never knew; and you have known here in God, world without end.

Ah, I lament the infidelity of England, that after fo great light, is leapt into fuch huge darknes again. The fervant who knoweth his master’s will and doth not, shall he heet with many ftrife. Ah, great are the plagues that hang over England, you shall not hebet with many flrike. The pel should be reflored again. Happy shall thatperf son be whom the Lord shall take out of this world, not to fee them. Ah, the great perjury which men have run to willfully against God by receiving Antichrift again, and his wicked laws; which do threaten a great ruin unto England. O that the Lord would aim his judgments upon the authors of the transgression between God and us, that they might be brought low (as Nebuchadnezzar was) that his people might be left glory to the Lord. God grant the good luck which you hope shortly to overtake the house of God, be a true prophecy, and may well willing only. Ah, Lord, take away thy heavy hand from us, and stretch it out upon thine enemies, and upon their hypocrites, as thou hast hitherto, that they may be confounded. O let not the weak perifh for want of knowledge through our fin. Although thou kill us, yea, we will put our trust in thee.

Thus (dear heart) you teach me to pray with you a worship of God. May our hearts continually be joined, and give us the spirit of effectual prayer, to pour out our hearts continually together before God, that we may find mercy both for ourselves, and for our afflicted brethren and friends. I cannot but praise God in you, for that pitiful heart you take other folks’ calamities to heart as your own. Blessed be the Lord, that mourns for such shall be consoled. God wipe away all tears from your pitiful eye, and shov from your mercifull heart, that you use to double when you shall most joyfully rejoice with his children ever. You have to armed me to the Lord’s battle with infinest courage, and to pour out my heart most freely and legibly; and I will print your coat-armour before my captain, and in all the truth by him to overtake. The fear I defcribe as outward firm to shew our enemies, who fee not as glorious end, neither what God worketh inwardly in us, these are the kindnes of their hearts, that they neglect Christ’s crofs in us, whereby he hath sealed the truth of his gospel by his death unto us. I do that by our death (if need be) might confirm the same, and never be ashamed whatsoever torment we do suffer his name’s fake; and our weak brethren feeing the fame, might be more encouraged to take up Christ’s crofs, and to follow him. God give us grace to deal things to his glory. Amen.

The world wondether how we can be merry in such extreme misery, but our God is omnipotent whom earth misery into felicity. Believe me (dear friend) there is no such joy in the world as the people of Christ live under the crofs. I speak by experience; therefore believe me, and fear nothing that the world can do unto you. For when they imprison our bodies, let our souls at liberty with God; then is our trade to speak our peace when the devil will, then they bring us to everlasting life. And what greater glory can there be, than to be in conformity to Christ which afflictions do work in us.

God open our eyes to see more and more glory in the crofs of Jesus Christ, and make us worthy preachers of the fame. Let us rejoice with St. Paul in the crofs of Jesus Christ, by whom the world is enuiled unto us, and we to the world. The crofs of Christ is our standard to fight under for ever. While I am alive I will not forsake the crofs; for if I trouble you with my rude and inordinate clownes; but you must impute it to love which cannot quickly depart from them whom he loveth, but delights to pour himself into their bosoms.

Therefore they that are offended are whilst it might jally be at such rudenes, yet your spirit will fly nay, which taketh all things in good part that concern love. And now I am departing, yet will I take no leave ere I go, and would fain speak somewhat that might declare my sincere love to you for ever. Farewell afflicted, farewell on earth, whom in heaven I assure I shall not forget. Farewell under the crofs most joyfully, and until we meet, always remember the Christ faith, "Be of good cheer, for I have overcome the world." &c.


The Burning of Agnes Potten, and Joan Trunche, at Ipswich.

The Burning of Lytter, Mace, Spencer, Joyce, Nichols, and Hammond, at Canterbury.
LETTERS written by MR. JOHN PHILPOT.

God pour his Spirit abundantly upon you, mine own eye bowels in Christ, I say, you may come to see the God of all gods with his chieft in the everlasting Sion. And find you the kis of peace, with which I do most intially take my leave of you at this present. It is necessa.-
yourself, if we depart hence, or else we could not be glorified. Our heart is heavy because I say myself depart from you, it is the calling of the merciful Father, where-they you are content, and so am I. Be of good com-

L E T T E R IX.

To the world, and living to Christ, your own brother, sealed up in the verity of the gospel for ever.

JOHN PHILPOT.

I CANNOT but most heartily give God thanks for thes-e his gifts to you, whose brightmesses many beholding that work, are much encouraged to seek God like- y, and to cleave to him, having the example of so faithful and constant a gentlewoman before their eyes. If the queen of the south shall rive with the men of Christ's generation, and condemn them, for they came from the end of the world to hear the wisdom of Solomon; then shall your sincerity and godly conversation, thus shining in this dangerous time of the trial of God's people, (being a woman of a worshipful estate and worthy condition) condemn in the latter day a great many of these faint-hearted gospelers, which so soon be gone back and turned from the truth, at the voice of an handmaid; feigning that neither in the Lord, nor in God, nor in Christ, can they have comfort, neither the possession of the world, (where-will you are sufficiently endowed above a great many) can separate you from the love of the truth, which God hath revealed unto you; whereby it appeareth that the feel of God's word which was foun in you, fell neither in the highway, nor among the thorns, nor upon the dunes, but upon good ground, whereunto was given of God, and bringeth forth fruit with great affliction, an hundred fold to the glory of God, and the increasement of his church, &c.

In consideration whereof St. James biddeth us highly to rejoice, whenever we fall into many temptations, knowing that it is but the trial of the elect, and that you might bring forth that excellent virtue patience, by which we are made alike to our Redeemer Christ, with whom we here being like in suffering, affably shall hereafter be partakers of his eternal glory. Therefore St. Paul saith, “God forbid that I should glory in any thing but in the crofs of our Lord Jesus Christ.” I that am under the cross of Christ, (as I may be given to God therefore) have felt in the same more true joy and consolation, than ever I did by any benefit that God hath given me in my life before. For the more the world doth hate us, the higher God is unto us, and there is perfect joy but in God. Wherefore Christ said, “I am with you, I shall have joy, but in the world affliction.” Blest be God which bendeth us with this affliction, that we might perfectly joy in him. For this cause in the riper time of iniquity, and in the most fervent seacon of perfection of the true church, which Christ in the last long prophesied to come, he willheth us to be of good cheer, and to lift up our heads, for our redemption draweth naught but joy.

O that the Lord would come and deliver us from this world, which is a vale of misery, unto his own kingdom, where floweth perpetual joy and consolation. And verily that is the true and only joy that is conceived, not of the creature, but of the Creator, which when we do possess, nobody can take it away from us. To which joy all other joys being compared, are but mournings, all delights forrow, all sweetnees four, all brother filth, and finally, all other things that be counted pleasant, are tediousness. Your own self is better witnesses of this than I: ask yourself, with whom you are well acquainted. Dost not the Holy Ghost speak the same in your heart? Have you not perfumed yourself this to be true, before I wrote thereof? For how should you, being a woman, and a young gentlewoman, beautiful, and at your own liberty, have overcome this your frail kind and age, and despised your excellent beauty and estate, unless all things which are subject to the fenses, had been counted of you vile, and little to be esteemed in comparision of those things which inwardly do comfort you to overcome the flesh, the world, and the devil?

God increaseth your joy in all spiritual things, and effableth your hope to the day of eternal rest. You have forlorn darknes, and are entered into light; God grant the same may shine full in you, until the perfect day come of the Lord, in which is all our consolation. Here we must be darkened, that there we may appear as bright as the sun in the face of the whole world, and of all them that now condemn us for our well doing; whose judges then shall be, to their horrible grief, those now they wrongly judge us. Pray for us, and that often, that God once again for his Christ's sake would be merciful to his affliction church in England. Faithful prayer is the only remedy that we have against the fiery darts of the devil, that are kindled against us. By prayer the Amaelekites shall be overcome, and the whole flesh of the Avenger of the Lord is at hand, therefore watch and pray. The last day of May, 1555. Captive in the King's-Bench.

Your's with heart in Christ, JOHN PHILPOT.

L E T T E R X.

From the Same to the Same.

GOD the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ increaseth in your godly heart the faith of the gospel, which is your eternal inheritance, and the Holy Ghost confirmeth in your spirit with all spiritual consolation to the day of the Lord. Amen.

I cannot but praise God most highly and earneftly (my dear and faithful lady) for the great and unfeigned love which you bear unto me in Christ, declared oftentimes, as well now as of late, by manifest and liberal tokens. Blest be God that made you to worthy a member in his body, which is Christ, but shall reap with abundance in time of reward, that here do so plenteously in well-doing; although I am most unworthy to receive any such benefit as your hands as in respect of a pillar of Christ's church, which am scarce a shadow thereof. But the zeal of Christ's church in you wifeth me to be such an one as the time doth require. God fulfil your desire of me, that may be found confiant, and no wandering star. I am not worthy of the name of a prophet, or of a minister of God's word, for that I have (being hindered by the iniquity of the time) little or nothing laboured therein. I am a friend of our common fiothe Jefus, and do rejoice in the victory of his truth, for which (praised be his name) he hath couched me worth more, and indeed doth forever give a draught of water in the name of a disciple, as Christ promiseth, shall not lose his reward. Therefore that you gentlefathom of the name of him, which
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

LETTER XI.

To the same Lady.

The mercy of God the Father, and the consideration of the Holy Ghost through Jesus Christ, be with you, and strengthen you, my dear mother and sister in the Lord, in those dangerous days, to the comforts of eternity, and to the peace with God which now is offered to all faithful ser-
diers in the gospel, Amen.

As your good ladyship doth desire to hear from me, so am I defersive to write, as your gentlemen and only goodnews bind me. But Satan of late hath hindered me, when writing all good exercises which I have had since received by insuperable imprisonment. At times hath brought me out of the King’s-Bench into the confined London’s coal-house, a dark and an ugly prison, as I now about London, (but my dark body of sin hath well served the fame, and the Lord hath now brought me into outward darknesse, that I might the more be enli-
ished by him, as he is most prefill with his children in the midst of darknesse) where I cannot be suffered to have any candle-light, neither ink nor paper, but flesh.

Wherefore I cannot write to you as I would, but will only send into your hands this little letter, which I was sent from Annas to Caiphas, so am I sent from Winchester diocese to London, I trust to make a speedy end of my course; God give me grace and patience to be a faith-
ful follower of my murther, I have been already a work forty years, and I am late been four times called to mine answer, but hitherto not without success, which I do daily look for; but I fear they will prolong me, and try me by fratal imprisonment wherein, in which God’s will be done.

Pray (dear lady) that my faith faint not, which praiseth God, and suffer me to live with thee, but that I also be in times pass, I take and feel the faithfulness of God in his promises, who hath promised to be with his in his trouble, and to deliver them. I thank the Lord I am not alone, but have fix other faithful companions, who in our darkness doth fly with me, and runneth unto God for his great goodnesse. We are so joyful, that I with you part of my joy; but rather glad and thankful unto God with me, that it hath pleased him to make me, most wretched finner, worthy to suffer my thing for his sake. Hitherto we have not refristed unto blood; God make us never to count our blood no precious in our eyes than his truth.

Ah, my dear sister, I thank you again for the letter you sent me; it is a singular comfort unto me, as it is as I read the fame. I have it in my houset, and will card every day to it. I pray God Chrift hath so confant and faithful a lady in England.

God succour and keep that spirit in you; for it is the very spirit of adoption of the child of God. Such cheerful and holy spirits under the crostes are acceptable face incess in the sight of God; for Christ came to cast fire into the earth, and looketh that it shoule be kindled.

Be you fervent in spirit in Chrift’s cause, as you have begun, for that is the principal spirit wherewith I was dehred to be confirmed. O, how do I rejoice, your ladyship to go arm in arm with me to Christ, or rather before me! I cannot but joy of such a worshipful fol-

Methinks I see you mourne, and desire to be loosed out of the earthy and frail habitation of this body.

Oh how amiable and pleasant is it to dwell in God’s bene-

The last wrote I sent unto you the benefit of the beneficence to Oxford; I could not have a convenient meet-

Before as soon as I have word, you shall be satisfied of your requent. Love me as you do, and the God of love be with you. The 20th day of August,

By yours, with all his power in the Lord,

JOHN PHILPOT.
LETTER XII.

From John Philpot to the Said Lady, wherein he partly confutes the Diffusion and Perjury of Englishmen falling again to the Pope, and partly expresses his Joy in his Afflictions.

I cannot but joy with you (my heartily beloved in Christ) of the fall of Sennacherib: since it is to the glory of God, and to the consolation of his church, to see the fall of their enemies. But though living in this world, I can say, the just shall rejoice when he sees the overthrow of the wicked. God make this joy perfect, for as concerning myself I count not to see those good days whereby you have a glimmering in this life.

For although the cockatrice be dead, yet his pestilential venom, with the fiery red eyes of Babylonia, is still living. But a great deal there is of their stiff confusion, because God will not prosper their doings according to their expectation. Most happy shall he be, whom the Lord shall count out of this life, that he may not see the plagues which the manifast perjury, the manifold idolatry and detestable damnation, and that man cannot know the truth, do threaten to come.

The Lord is just, and all righteounnesses delighteth him, and either here or else in another world he will punish this great iniquity of the world: but his elect, and such as he loveth, will he consolde them that they be consoled hereafter with the world eternally: we have nothing so much to rejoice in, as in the cross of Jesus Christ, and in that we are partakers of his affliccions, which are the earnest-penny of that eternal kingdom which he upon the cross for us hath purchased.

For there shall be no remorse, faith, If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him. If we die with him, we shall live with him.

Therefore (mine own dear bowels) praise God with me most heartily, that it hath pleased him nowmercifully to visit theotts of my youth, and my huge unthankfulnes, for I cannot but think I have all this time been a great whiner, and that all affreum me of his great goodness and mercy, and turneth his fatherly chastisement into my crown of glory. O good God, what am I on whom he should shew this great mercy? To him that is immortal, inviolable, and only wife, be all honour, praise and glory therefore.

This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in the face of it. This too: the way too narrow, which is full of the peace of God, and leadeth to eternal bliss. O how my heart leapt for joy when I read of your exposing all. God be to me mine unthankfulnes and unkindness to you for your great glory. The wordes which pleased Mary's heart in the pation of our Saviour, which daily also goes through our faithful heart, be more glorious and to be desired then the golden specers of this world. O blessed be that man whom in this world to Godward, for they shall eternally be comforted: God make my heart joyful to sourne more than it doth. I have so much joy of the serendip that is prepared for thee, most wretched finner, that though I be in a place of darknes and mourning, and yet it is to me a life, but both night and day I am so joyful. I feel and see the presence of the Lord in me, and I am glad in the Lord, though I am not. For the entire day of my life was never so merry, the name of the Lord be praised therefore for ever and ever, and may I be pardon mine unthankfulness. Our enemies do fret, hate, and gnash their teeth, to see and hear that we, under this grievous affliction in the world, can be so. We are by that means, faying that I have patience for the certain hope and feeling which we have of our erstwhile salvation: and it is no marvel, for the world, men cannot perceive the things of God, they being blind and abomination to them.

Be thankful unto the Lord God, (mine own dear helper) for his wondrous working in his people. Pray that your joy be never taken from you, for it shall be all the delights of this world. This is the peace of God which famounteth all understanding; this peace the more the more, the chosen be afflicted, the more they feel, and therefore cannot faint, neither for fire, nor for water.

No. 37.

Let us pray for our weak brethren and sufferers, that it may please God to alleviate the grievous and intolerable burden of these cruel days. But touching ourselves, let us heartily belech our Saviour to vouchsafe to give us that glorious gift to suffer for his gospel's sake, and that we may think it the thought of the world to come, the world of his glory, it is indeed. God increase our faith, and our open eyes to behold what is prepared for us. I lack nothing, prairie be to God. I trust my marriage-garment is ready. I will fend you my examinations as soon as I can get them written, and then will send them.

God of his mercy fill your merciful heart with all joy and consolation of the hope to come. Out of the coal-house, the 19th of November.

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER XIII.

From John Philpot to a Friend of his, Prisoner the same time in Newgate, wherein he doth account the Matter of Question of the Baptizing of Infants.

THE God of all light and understanding enlighten your heart with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfect to the day of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereunto you are now called, through the mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, Amen.

I have received your letter (dear brother, faint, and fellow-prisoner for the truth of Christ's gospel) a letter, wherein you greatly require my judgment concerning the baptism of infants, which is the effect thereof. And before I donne you what I have learned out of God's word, and of his true and infallible church touching the same, I must first declare what vision I had the same night while musing on your letter I fell fast asleep, knowing that God doth not without cause reveal to his people, who have their minds fixed on him, special and spiritual revelation to their comfort, as a taste of their joy and kingdom to come, which flows and bleeds cannot comprehend.

In the midst of my sweet sleep, it seemed as if I saw a great beautiful city, of the colour of azure and white, four-square, in a beautiful composition in the midst of the sky, the light thereof so inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to express the consolation I had thereof, yet the remembrance thereof causeth as yet my heart to leap for joy: and as charity is no churl, but would with others to be partakers of his delight, so methought I called to others (I cannot tell whom), and while they came and we together beheld the same, by and by, to my great grief, it faded away.

This dream doth put me in mind of the illusory vision of the fienes, because it brought with it so much spiritual joy, and I take it to be of the working of God's Spirit for the contentation of your request, as he wrougth in Peter to satisfy Cornelius. Therefore I interpret this beautiful city to be the glorious church of Christ; and the appearance of it in the sky, signifieth the heavenly flerte thereof, whose conversation is in heaven; and that according to the primitive church which is now in heaven, men ought to measure and judge the church of Christ now on earth: for as the prophet David faith, 'The foundation of the earth is placed in the hand of the Lord, and the dwelling of all them that is in heaven.' And the marvellous quadrature of the same, I take to signify the universal agreement of the same, and that all the church here militant ought to content to the primitive church throughout the four parts of the world; as the prophet the great prophet, saith of God, 'Let them be teached in his judgment in one house.' And that I conceived to wonderful joy at the contemplation thereof, I understand the unpeakeable joy which they have that are with Christ's primitive church: for there is joy in the Holy Ghost, and peace, which paffeth all understanding: as it is written in the Psalms, as of joyful person is the dwelling of all them that is in heaven. And that I called others to the fruition of this vision, and to behold this wonderful city, I confirme it by the will of God this vision to have come upon me musing on your letter, to the end that under this figure I might have occasion to move.
move you with many others, to behold the primitive church in all your opinions concerning faith, and to conform yourself in all points to the same, which is the pillar and ground of the truth, and wherein is the true use of the sacraments, and having with a greater fulness than we have now, the first fruits of the Holy Ghost, did declare the true interpretation of the scriptures, according to all verity, even as our Saviour promised to another Comforter, which should teach them all truth.

And since all truth was taught and revealed to the primitive church, which is our mother, let us all, that be obedient children of God, further according to the judgment of the church, for the better understanding of the articles of our faith, and of the doubtful sentences of the scripture. Let us not go about to flow in us (by following any private man's interpretation upon the word) another spirit than they of the primitive church had, lest we deceive ourselves. For there is but one faith and one Spirit, which is not contrary to himself, neither otherwise now teacheth us than he did them. Therefore let us believe as they have taught us of the scriptures, and be at peace with them, according to the true catholic church is at this day: and the God of peace will affirmerly be with us, and deliver us out of all our worldly troubles and miseries, and make us partakers of their joy and bliss, through our obedience to faith with their doctrine.

Therefore God commandeth us in Job, to ask of the elder generation, and to fearfully diligently the memory of the fathers. For we are but yesterday's children, and are ignorant, and our days are like a shadow, and they shall teach thee, faith the Lord, and lead thee to thee, and shall understand words from their hearts. And by Solomon we are commanded, not to reject the direction of our mother. The Lord grant you to direct your steps in all things after her, and to abhor contention with her. For as St. Paul wrighteth, if any man be contentious, neither the church of God hath any such custody.

Hictherto I have shewed you (good brother) my judgment generally of that you stand in doubt and differing from others, to which I with you as mine own heart to be conformable, and then doubtless you cannot err, but boldy may be glad in your troubles, and triumph at the hour of your death, that you shall die in the church of God a faithful martyr, and receive the crown of eternal glory. Which thing, if you believed, and the occasion of a vision before God unfeigned. But that you may not think that I go about to satisfy you with uncertain visions only, and not after God's word, I will take the ground of your letter, and especially answer to the same by scripture, according to able reason. And if our old name, will prove the baptism of infants to be lawful, commendable, and necessary, whereas you seem to stand in doubt.

Indeed if you seek upon the papistical synagogue only, which had corrupted God's word by false interpretations, and hath perverted the true use of Christ's sacraments, you might seem to have good handfast of your opinion against the baptism of infants. But notwithstanding, as it is of more antiquity, and hath it's beginning from God's word, and from the life of the primitive church, which you are in respect of the same. If the papistical church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be used in Christ's church. Auxentius, one of the Ariam sect, with his adherents, was one of the first that denied the baptism of infants, and next after him Pelagius the heretic, and some others there were in St. Bernard's time, as it doth appear by his writings, and in our days the Anabaptists, an inordinate kind of men flitred up by the devil, to the destruction of the gospel. But the catholic truth delivereth the church for the use of infants by infallible reason, that all such are to be baptized, whom God acknowledges for his people, and voucheth them worthy of sanctification or remission of their sins. Therefore since that infants be in the number or fœl of God, they and all such by baptismal purication in Christ, it must needs follow thereby, that they ought to be baptized as well as those that can pro-

feet their faith. For we judge the people of God, well by the free and liberal promise of God, as we also have said before. For if to whomsoever God promises himself to be their God, and which is well known for his, those no man without great impiety may separate from the number of the faithful. But God promiseth that he will not only be the God of such as do possess, but also the God of such as are his infants, promising them his grace and remission of sins, as it appeareth by the several parts of the covenant made unto Abraham. "I will set my covenant between thee and me, faith the Lord, and let thy seed after thee in their generations, with an everlasting covenant, to be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee." To which covenant circumcision was added, to be a sign of sanctification as well as children as in men; and no man may think that this promise is abrogated with circumcision and other ceremonial law. For Christ came to fulfill the promises and abrogate them. Therefore in the gospel he faith of infants is, of such as yet believed not, "Let the little ones come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." Again, "It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that of these things one do perish." Also, "He that receiveth one of these little ones receiveth me. Take heed therefore that ye tread not on these babies, for I tell you their angels continueth in heaven in your Father's face." And he saith not Try them, but test them, for the heavenly Father that the infants should perish, whereby we may gather, that he receive them first unto his grace, although as yet they confess not this faith. Since then that the word of the promise, which is contained in baptism, pertaineth as well to children as to men, why should the sign of the promise, which is baptism in water, be withdrawn from children, the Christ himself commandeth them to be received of us, and promiseth the reward of a prophet to the father of that little one, as he for example did put before his disciples.

Now will I prove with manifest arguments that children ought to be baptized, and that the apostles did baptize children. The Lord commanded his apostles to baptize all nations; therefore all children ought to be baptized, for they are comprehended under this word, All nations.

Further, whom God doth account among the faithful, they are faithful, for it was said to Peter, "Thy name shall be written among the children of Israel, because of the sign that is given thee, because thou shalt put off unclean spirits." But God doth not here speak of the faithfulness of the name of Peter, but of his posterity, therefore he saith, because of the sign that is given thee, and as to men, why should the sign of the promise, which is baptism in water, be withdrawn from children, the Christ himself commandeth them to be received of us, and promiseth the reward of a prophet to the father of that little one, as he for example did put before his disciples.

The gospel is more than baptism, for Paul saith, "The Lord sent me to preach the gospel, and not to baptize:" not that he denied absolutely that he was sent to baptize, but that he preferred doctrine before baptism, for the Lord commanded both to the apostles: but children are to be received by the doctrine of the gospel. And although God doth not require, therefore that perfon of reason may deny them baptism, which is a thing lesser than the gospel? For in the sacraments be two things considered, the one thing signified, and the sign, and the sign signified is greater than the sign itself; and if the sign signified in baptism, children are not excluded; who therefore may deny them the sign, which is baptism in water?

St. Peter could not deny them to be baptized in water, to whom he said the Holy Ghost, which was given, "Ask in my name, and I will give you the Holy Ghost, for by this sign thou shalt know the Father and me: for he that hath seen me hath seen the Father also." May any body forbid them to be baptized in water who have received the Holy Ghost as well as to receive such a sign as this? Therefore St. Peter denied not baptism to be given, for he knew certainly both by the doctrine of the gospel, and by the giving of the Holy Ghost, that the kingdom of heaven pertaineth to infants.

None are received into the kingdom of heaven but
such as God loveth, and which are induced with the Spir-.

e: for whose hath not the Spirit of God, he is none of

The faith of the Spirit of God: wherefore if they have the

the name of the Lord? Of course, your text is corrupt.

been performed, did murmur against those which brought

their children unto the Lord, but the Lord rebuked

them, and said, ‘Let the babes come unto me.’ Why

then do not the heathen also which belong to the Law,

the circumcision of Christ, being buried together with him

through faith in the circumcision of a Circumcised one, which

is done without hands, but that with hands no man any longer ought to be

circumcised, although the mystery of circumcision do still

remain in faithful people.

To this I may add, that the Jewish Nation of God were

always ready to receive these sacred sacraments, and that

when they were instituted. As for an example, we

may behold Joshua, who most diligently procured the

people of Israel to be circumcised before they entered

into the land of promise; but since the apostles were

the teachers of the church, and the very faithful servants of

Jesus Christ, who might hereafter doubt that they baptized

infants, since baptism is in the place of circumcision.

The apostles did attempeter all their doings to the

shadows and figures of the Old Testament: therefore

it is certain that they did attempeter baptism according

ly to circumcision, and baptized children because they

were under the figure of baptism; for the people of Isra-

el, as we have already said, were delivered out of the

water of Jordan, with their children. And although

the children be not always expressed, neither the women

in the holy scriptures, yet they are comprehended and

understood in the same.

The scripture evidently teacheth us, that the apostles

baptized both for households, but the children were

comprehended in a family or household, as the chief

care and delight part thereof; therefore we may conclude,

the apostles did baptize infants or children, and not only

men of lawful age. And that the house or household is

called for man, woman, and child, it is manifest in the

12th of Genesis, and also in that Joseph doth call Jacob

with all his house, to come out of the land of Canaan

going Egypt.

Finally, I can declare out of ancient writers, that

the baptism of Infants hath continued from the apostles’ time

and never was it instituted by any councils

neither of that pope, nor of other men, but commanded

from the scripture by the apostles. Origen, upon the

dedication of St. Paul’s epistle to the Galatians, is

authorizing the 6th chapter faith, “That the church

received the baptism of infants from the very apostles.

St. Jerom maketh mention of the baptism

of infants in his third book against the Pelagians, and

in his epistle to Leto. St. Augustine reciteth, for this

purpose, a place out of John, Bishop of Constantinople,
in his first book against Julian, chap. 2. and he add-

suming to St. Jerom, epist. 28. faith, “That St. Cy-

pen, not making any new decree, but firmly observing

the faith of the church, judged with his fellow bishops,

that as soon as one was born, he might be lawfully bap-

tized.” The place of Cyprian is to be seen in his epistle

to Fidus.

Alfo St. Augustine, in writing against the Donatsits,

in the fourth book, chap. 23 and 24, faith, That the

baptism of infants is not derived from the authority of

man, neither of councils, but from the tradition or

doctrine of the apostles.

Cyril, upon Leviticus, chap. 8, approveth the bap-

tism of children and condemneth the iteration of bap-

tism. These authorities of men I do allege, not to tie

the baptism of children, as the councils and the contem-

poraries of the church write, but to shew how men’s testimonies do agree with God’s

word, and that the verity of antiquity is on our side, and

that the Anabaptists have nothing but lies for them, and

new imaginations, which feign the baptism of children

to be the pope’s commandment.

In order to this I can answer to the sum of your arguments

for the contrary. The first, which includeth all the

rest, is, “Go ye into all the world, and preach the glad

tidings to all creatures. He that believeth and is bap-

tized, shall be saved: but he that believeth not, shall

be damned,” etc.

To this I answer, That nothing is added to God’s word

by baptism of children, as you pretend, but

that is done which the same word doth require, for

that children are accounted of Christ in the gospel

among the number of such as believe, as it ap-

parently appears by these words, “He that offends one of

these little babes which believe in me, it were

better for him to have a millstone hung about his

neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea.” Where

plainly Christ calleth such as be not able to confess

their faith, Believers, because of his mere grace he repu-

teth them for believers. And this is no wonder to be taken,

since God imputeth faith to righteousness unto men for

the sake of grace: for both men and children, righteous-

nefs, by adoption, and sanctification, is of mere grace,

and by imputation, that the glory of God’s grace might

be praised.

And that children of faithful parents are sanctified, and

that among such as do believe, is apparent in the

seventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians.

And whereas you do gather by the order of the words

in the said commandment of Christ, that children ought

to be taught before they be baptized, and to this end

you allege many places out of the Acts, proving that

such as confessed their faith first, were baptized: I an-

swer, that if the order of words might weigh any thing in

this case, we should rather go for the former.

For in St. Mark we read that John did baptize

in the desert, preaching the baptism of repentance.

In which place we see baptizing go before, and preaching

to follow after.

And also I will declare this place of Matthew, exactly

considered, to make for the use of baptism in chil-

dren. For St. Matthew hath it written in this wise, “All

power is given me (faith the Lord) in heaven and in

earth,” therefore going forth matthetieusas, that is,

Disciple ye, (as I may express the significatio of the

word) Make or gather to me disciples of all nations.

And following, he declareth the way how they should

gather to him disciples out of all nations, “Baptizing

them, and teaching them to baptize and teach, shall

procure a church to me. And both these apply and

brieferly severall he feteth forth, saying, “Baptizing

them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of

of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things

whatsoever I have commanded you.” Now then, bap-

tismeth both knowledge, and gentle, and order.

But hereby I do not gather, that the Gentiles who never

heard any thing before of God, and of the Son of

God, and of the Holy Ghost, ought to be baptized,

neither would they permit themselves to be baptized

 before they knew to what end. But this I have declared to

show you upon how feeble foundation the Anabaptists

be grounded. And plainly it is not true which they

imagine of this text, that the Lord did only command

such to be baptized whom the apostles had first of all

taught
taught. Neither here verily is signified who only are to be baptized, but he speaketh of such as are perfect in age, and of the first foundations of faith, and of the church among the Gentiles, which were as yet rude and ignorant of religion.

Such as be of age may hear, believe, and confess that which is preached and taught, but they cannot: therefore we may fully collect, that he speaketh nothing here of infants or children. But for all this they ought not to be excluded from baptism.

It is a general rule, "He that doth not labour must not eat." But who is so barbarous as to think hereby, that children should be familiarized with His apostles, at the beginning of His setting up his true religion, unto all nations, unto such as were both ignorant of God, and were out of the covenant of God; and truly such persons it behoved not first to be baptized, and afterward taught; but first to be taught, and after baptized. If at this day we should go to the Turks to convert them to the faith of Christ, verily first we ought to teach them, and afterward baptize such as would yield to be the servants of Christ. Likewise the Lord himself in time past did, when first he revealed the covenant with Abraham, and ordained circumcision to be a seal of the covenant after that Abraham was circumcised. But he, when he perceived that the infants also to partake of the fruits of the covenant, and that infants also being by uncircumcision of the heart, and infants also being by uncircumcision of the flesh, were blessed from his own words, as you will find in the apostle Paul's Epistle to the Romans, chap. vii. 19. Among whom we reckon Isaac.

Even so, faithful people who were converted from heathen idolatry by the preaching of the gospel, and confessing the faith, were baptized; when they understood their children to be counted among the people of God, and that baptism was the token of the children of God, they procured also their children to be baptized. Therefore he saith, "Abraham circumcised all the male children in his house." In like manner we read in the Acts and writings of the apostles, that after the matter of the house was turned to the faith, the whole house was baptized. And as concerning those which in old time were compelled to confess their faith before they received baptism, which were called Circumciscumcision, they were such as with our fore-fathers came from the Gentiles into the church, who being yet in rude state of their faith, they did instruct them in their belief, that if they did baptize them, but the fathers of the ancient fathers notwithstanding did baptize the children of faithful men, as I have already partly declared, and because you do require a halfe answer of your letter, whereas it is but a dull writer, I am here enforced to write particularly to go through your letter in answering therein, knowing that I have fully answered every part thereof, that I have already written, although not in such order as it had been most, and as I purpose. But so much as I understand that you will be no contentious man, neither in this matter, nor in any other contrary to the judgment of Christ's primitive church, which is the body and fulness of Christ, I desire you in the fulness of him, or rather Christ deliver you by me (that you be as perfect, where you are now called) to submit your judgment to that church, and to be at peace and unity in the same; that the cost of Christ, which ought to be without fear, but rather, alas, most miserably is torn in pieces by many dangerous feels and malicious opinions, may appear to you in no part to have been rent, neither that any giddy head in these dog-days, might take an example by you to differ from Christ's true church: I believe thee, dear brother in the gospel, far from the flattery of the glorious in the primitive church, and of such as at this day follow the same; decline from them neither to the right hand nor to the left. Then shall death, be it ever so bitter, be more sweet than this life: then shall Christ embrace your spirits in unspakable gladness and exultation, who in this saith was content to join your spirit with their spirits, according as it is commanded by the word, that the spirit of the prophets should be subject to the prophets. One thing ask with David ere ye go down, and require the same, that you may dwell with us with a true accord in his house, for there is glory and worship, and to Simeon I will give thee the tongue of the Gentiles, that a peace Christ bring both thee and me, and all our loving brethren that love God in the unity of faith, by such ways as shall please him, to his plea. Let the bitter passion of Christ, which he suffered for your sake, and the horrid corruption which global martyrs of Christ have endured before us, and all that inestimable reward of your life to come, which a den yet a little while from you with Christ, strengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which ye run in, Amen.

Your sakes fellow in captivity for the spirit of Christ's gospel, to live and die with him in the unity of faith.

Joh. Philpot.

Other letters were written by Mr. Philpot to divine persons, but thefe, as most principal, I have inserted. Amongst which I thought here not much importance to the place, to asjoint another letter to a godly and noble master (a holy anime in his writing and life, not poor), who in defending and commending the quieral of Mr. John Philpot, the famous and worthy martyr of Christ, was therefore troubled and troubled before bishop Bonner. And so it pleased to appear upon a certain day a few words for herself; indeed kept not her day with her bishop, but instead of her appearance, sent him the letter here following.

"Woe be unto the idolatrous shepherds of England, that feed themselves. Should not the shepherds feed the flock? but ye have eaten the fat, ye have filled yourselves with the肥, theulia fed have ye lain, the breake of the flock have ye not considered. O召开 the flock have ye not healed, the breake have ye not bound together, the outcasts have not brought again, the lost have ye not sought, but cruelly and cruelly have ye used them. Ezekiel xxxiv.

FORASMUCH (my lord) as my businesse is such that I cannot come to your lordship, according to my promise, I have been so bold to write to you, partly for the absence, and partly for the fear of your lordship's demands at my last and my heavy departure from you. As touching the breake of my promise you in not coming again at the hour appointed, your lordship shall understand that I had no counsel of the angel, which sent me on my journey, to come again to your lordship according to their promise, but to return home again another way. Now, my lord, I receive your lordship to be a more cruel tyrant than I thought you was Herod, and more detestable to destroy such poor members than ever he was, who to defray his own fun, I thought good to take the angel's counsel, and to come no more to you; for I fear that you are set all in a rage like a raving wolf against the good lambs of Christ, appointed to the slaughter, according to the common of the truth. Indeed the devil, in the common of the sheep, to keep us out of the butcher's flay as long as we can: especially finding the other simple sheepe of the Lord, to keep us out of your butcher's flay as long as we can: especially finding the other simple sheepe of the Lord, to keep us out of your butcher's flay as long as we can: especially finding the other simple sheepe of the Lord, to keep us out of your butcher's flay as long as we can: especially finding the other simple sheepe of the Lord, to keep us out of your butcher's flay as long as we can: especially finding the other simple sheepe of the Lord, to keep us out of your butcher's flay as long as we can: especially finding the
chaplain might have the meat roasted in Smithfield at the life of 'the flake, yea, and when it is something fat and fair liking; for now there is nothing but skin and bones and, if the dogs come halfly to it, they may chances shortly be beheaded, and then your hunting chances shortly be beheaded, and then your hunting
hindered, if it be not altogether marred.
I hear say, my lord, that some of the butchers cars
a great deal of late to my house to seek their prey, and that
they go round about the city (as Daniel tells us) and that
they should have it hot upon the butchers' flay, and eaten
themselves up; for I hear say their friends could not be ful-
ly satisfied to feed them these three days and more; therefore I
perceive now that if I had come again according to my
promise, your lordship, like a true protestant, would have
of your hell-bounds, would quickly have warned me; but
I am not of my appointed time is not yet come, there-
fore I will yet live and thank God for my deliverance.
Continual songs of land and prate. Thus have I
been bold to trouble your lordship with telling you the
truth, and the very cause that I came not to you again
according to my unprofitable promise. I trust your
lordship will take this in good part, and accept it as
your lordship's and I will not doubt but your lordship
would have done the like if you had been in my

cal.

Now concerning the second part that caused me to
write unto your lordship, which is to answer the false
false or rather my judgment of the true and bleffed martyr of Christ Jesus, good Mr. Bishops. I will answer your lordship simply and plainly, what peril forever shall come thereof. Truly, my lord,
I do not only think, but I am also most certain and
true, that he was a very man of God, died a true martyr,
and confest confessor of his dear lord and savior Jesus
Christ, to whom he did most faithfully commit his dear
Lord, who will surely keep the same with him in joy for
eternity. Also, my lord, I do verily believe and
know, that your lordship hath committed a most cruel
murder in the unjust condemning and killing of him,
and that you shall make as heavy an account for his
blood, which shortly shall lie required at your hands, and
be charged to your head of your great grandfather, cruel Cain, did or shall do for his innocent brother Abel. Moreover, because I am
credibly informed, that your lordship doth believe, and
have in secret said, that there is no hell, I certify you,
that your lordship never did any thing in all your life
that did so much redound to your lordship's dishonour,
and flame to the name of the Lord by killing the body
of the bleffed prophet doth, especially seeing that he was
none of your dioces, nor had offended any of your lord-
ship's devilish and cruel laws. Verily I hear almost every
body say in all places where I come, that your lordship
is made: the common laughter-flace to all your fellows,
bite-speak bishops I would say; yea, the very papists
themselves come now to your part burned with fire, and famished in
prison, that you maintain them, and do not speak of them
within this three quarters of a year. Therefore, my
lord, though your lordship believe that there is neither
heaven nor hell, nor God nor devil; yet if your
lordship loves your own bonellty, which was lost long
ago, you were best to cease from this cruel burning of
the very body and soul of men, and therefore you are by
that indede offended men's immortal souls; yes, even
your old friends, the rankest papists that be.
For, say they, Felix the heathen ruler did not forbid
Paul's friends to visit him in prison, and to bring him
necessary relief; and therefore it is a very great shame
for you to refuse a bishop that beareth the name of a
christian, to be brought from his poor brethren, than an
heathen, Turk, or Infidel.

These are men's sayings in every place, not only of
this realm, but also of the most part of the world, and

the common talk they have of your lordship; therefore
I thought I should be bold with your lordship, as to tell
you of it, though perhaps you will be displeased; but small
thanks for your help.
Well, as for that, I put it to your lordship's choice, for I have as much already as I look for: finally, my lord, I will give you to un-
derstand, that the death of this confant martyr and valiant
soldier of Christ's Chrif, hath given a greater shaks to-
toward the church of England, and even to the pope. And
shall you ever be able to recover against this; for few years, do
the beft you can, and set as many crafty daubers to
patch it up with untemprated clay as you will; yea,
though prating Pendleton, that wicked apothecary, all
his wily wits to help them. Verily, my lord, by all
men's reports, his bleffed life could never have done the
least harm to you; but your lordship and yourself are a
mighty member, as his happy death hath done. You have broken a pot indeed, but the precious
word contained therein is so notably therewith fied
abroad, that the sweet favour thereof hath wonderfully
well refreshed all the true househol or congregation of
Christ, that they cannot abide any more the flinking
favour of your filthy ware that came from the dunghill
of Rome, though your lordship's Judases do set them
to face every where to fill your bags. I put your lordship
out of doubt, that if you do break any more fich pot,
you will mar your own market altogether: for I pro-
mise you, molt men begin to mislike your devilish
doings, and wonderfully to loathe your papil pedlary
war without end.

Thus have I (according to your lordship's command)
shewed you simply what I think of that good man's
death, whose blood crieth for vengeance against your
lordship's butchery bloody proceedings in the cars of
the Lord of Hosts, who will shortly revenge the fame
upon your papil pate, and upon the rest of your con-
thorn brethren, the very marked castle of the great
Antichrist of Rome. The measure of his iniquity is
filled up to the brim, therefore God will shortly pour
in doublet unto your deferred destruction. And then
your new made profyeles will be glad to cover their
crowns with filth and dirt (saying your lordship's reverence I
thought well, I will like lordship, but you must put it to
your limb of the devil to blaspheme, slander, and belis him,
now he is dead? O vigorous generation, feed of the
serpent, and right children of the devil: full well do
you counterfeiat your father's steps, whom Chrif callich
t a murderer, and a liar from the beginning; which two
things are the same with you, maintaining all your mis-
chief, that is to say, lying and murder; for whom you
cannot overcome with your lying persuasions, them you kill most cruelly, and then
blaspheme and belie them with railing sentences when they
are dead. But all this will not blind the people of
God, nor yet make them any whit the less believe the
truth, instead from what they believe. And now, then,
yea, it is a true sign and a token that they are the
very disciples of Chrif; for he hath said, "Blasphered are
ye when men revile you, and say all manner of evil say-
ings against you for my name's sake. Rejoice and be
glad, for great is your reward in heaven." And doubt-
less great is that good-man's reward in heaven by this
time, as you have denied, betrayed, and done all that
except you repent and cease from shedding innocent
blood. But it is to be feared your heart is hardened as
Pharaoh's was, seeing that with Judas you have sold and
betrayed
articles there administered unto them, with their tokens also to the same, according as they all agreed, after the same manner and form together, as here by the words both of the articles and their answers underwritten, may appear.

The Form and Words of Bishop Donne's Amitr administered to the Seven Perfous about-mentioned, in his Conclivity.

AND first to behold the manner of speech in these bishops, sitting in their majesty to swear the oaths of the simple with, let us hear the pontifical speech of this bishop, beginning in this form.

The within written articles, and every of them, at every part and parcel of them, we Edmund, by the permission of God, bishop of London, do observe and administer to thee Thomas Whittle, &c. of our own office, for thy soul's health, and for the reforming of thine offenses and mistrusts, admonishing thee in the virtue of obedience, and under the pain of both civils of the church, and also of all the pains of the law, to answer fully, plainly, and truly to all the same.

FIRST, that thou N. hast firmly, stedfastly, and stately believed in times past, and dost now believe at this present, that there is here in earth a catholic church, in which catholic church the faith and religion of Christ is truly professed, allowed, received, and retained by all faithful and true Christians of people.

2. Item, That thou the said N. in times past hast also believed, and dost believe at this present, that there are in the catholic church seven sacraments, instituted and ordained by God, and by the council of the holy church allowed, approved, received, kept, and retained.

3. Item, That thou the said N. wast in times past baptized in the faith of the said catholic church, professing by thy godfathers and godmother, the faith and religion of Christ and the observance thereof, announcing there the devil and his works and works, and was by the said baptism incorporated to the catholic church, and made a faithful member thereof.

4. Item, That thou the said N. coming to the age of fourteen years, and to the age of discretion, did not depart from the said profession and faith, nor fail mishifike any part of the same faith or doings, but did as a faithful christian person abode and continue in all the same faith and practice of certain years, ratifying and confirming all the same.

5. Item, That thou the said N. notwithstanding the précises, haft of late, that is to say, within these two years hast past within the city and diocese of London, dwelled at the least way from some part of the said catholic church long since, and amongst other things thou hast mishifike and carelessly spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, the facrament of the altar, and the unity of the church, railing and maligning the authority of the feast of Rome, and the faith obsered in the same.

6. Item, That thou the said N. hast heretofore refused, and dost refuse at this present to be recorded again to the unity of the church, not acknowledging and confessing the authority of the said feast of Rome to be lawful.

7. Item, That thou the said N. misliking the sacrifice of the mass, and the facrament of the altar, haft refused to come to the parih-church to hear masses, and to receive the said facrament, and haft expressly faid, that in the said facrament of the altar there is not the body and blood of Christ visibly, substantially, and truly, but haft affirmed expressly, that the mass is idolatry and abomination, and that in the facrament of the altar there is none other substance but the doctrine of Christ, the body and blood only, that and the substance of

Christ 3
Barlet Green, answering to this article, said, that he never voted not from the catholic faith, but only from the church of Rome, &c.

To the sixth article they answered, and confessed the fame to be true, rendering the cause thereof, because (said they) the fame church and doctrine therein set forth and taught, disagreed from the unity of Christ's word, and the truth thereof.

Whereunto Bartlet Green answered, that he was contented to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's catholic church, but not to the church of Rome.

In like manner added also John Went.

To the seventeenth article they answered, and confessed the contents thereof to be true, giving withal the reason and cause of this their so doing, for that the mass with the sacrament thereof, as it was then used and set forth in the church of England, was dianoant to the word and teaching of the people, &c.

John Went furthermore said, as concerning the mass, that he believed no less, but the mass which he called the supper of the Lord, as it is now used in the realm of England, is naught, full of idolatry, and against God's word so far as he seeth it; however, he faith, that since the queen's coronation by chance he hath been present where the mass hath been said, whereof he is sorry.

Ihab Fosler also anfwrering to the said articles, with the other before, confessed moreover, that since Queen Mary's reign she had not heard mass, nor received the sacrament, but had refused to be in the place where it was administered: for she knew no such sacrament to be. And being demanded of her belief in the fame, she faid, that there was but one only material bread, and material wine, and not the real fulfulness of the body and blood of the Lord in the fame sacrament: for before she had been taught to believe by the preachers in the time of king Edward, whom she believed to have preached the truth in that behalf.

To the eighth article they grant the fame, and the contents thereof to be fo.

The King Whittile adding and affirming, that the lord chancellor that then was, sent him up to the bishop there present.

Bartlet Green added, that he was sent up to the said bishop, but for no offence herein mentioned.

John Went said, that Dr. Story, queen Mary's commissioneer, examined him upon the sacrament, and because he denied the real presence, he prelected this examinant to him.

John Tudfon, likewise examined by Mr. Cholmley, and Dr. Story upon the fame matters, and for not coming to the church, and accused by the fame, because he would not agree to them, was sent to the bishop.

Thomas Brown also said, that he for not coming to the church of St. Bride's, was brought by the confable to the bishop, &c.

Joan Warne confessed, that she was sent by Dr. Story to the bishop of London, about twelve weeks ago, since which time she hath continued with the said bishop.

To the ninth article they confess and say, that as they believe the presbytery before by them confessed to be true, so they deny not the fame to be manifefl, and that they are of the jurisdiction of London.

And thus having expreft their articles, with their answers jointly made unto the fame, it remaineth further more fully to difcours the fories, and handling of all the feven afofeaid matters severally and particularly by themfelves, firft beginning with Thomas Whittile.

The History of Thomas Whittle, Martyr.

MENTION was made before, in Mr. Philpot's story, of a married priest, whom he found in bishop Bonner's coal-houfe at his firft going thither, in heaviness of mind and great sorrow, for recanting the doctrine which he had taught in king Edward's days, whole
whole name was Thomas Whittle, of Evesh; and thus
lieth his story. This Thomas Whittle, after he had been
sent for from the place in Evesh where he served,
went abroad where he might, now here and there, as
occasion offered, preaching and fowing the gospel of
Christ. At length being apprehended by one Edmund
Alabaster, in hope of reward and promotion, which he
had obtained of his former master, he was brought
before the bishop of Winchester, who then was lately
fallen sick of his disease, whereof not long after
he died most strangely. But the apprehender for
his proffered service was highly check'd by the bishop,
asking if there were no man unto whom he might bring
such matter. But after, he was suffered to have way
there. Hence, (unto him) out of my fight, thou varlet, why dost thou trouble me with
such matters? The greedy comorant being thus defeat-
ed of his desired prey, yet thinking to seek and to hunt
further, carried his princiœ to the bishop of London,
with whom what ill Usage this Whittle had, and how he
was by the bishop beaten and buffeted about the face,
by his own narration in a letter sent to his friend,
manifestly may appear.

Upon Thursday, which was the tenth of January, the
bishop of London sent for me, Thomas Whittle, mi-
nor sister of the same Edmund Whittle, who I believe
was then sick all night, lying on the earth, on a little low bed, where I
had as painful a night of sickness as ever I had. And
when I came before him, he talked with me many
things of the sacrament so grossly, as is not worthy to be
rehearsed. And among other things, he asked me, if I
had not seen the Lord's supper given me, where is he
then? What part have I felt my infirmities, and yet I found God
pretent help and comfort in time of need, I thank him
therefore.

The night after I had subscribed I was forewarned,
and for no new of confidence could not report the
deliverance of my body out of bonds, which I
had to have, I could find no joy nor comfort, but this
in my conscience tormented more and more, being
angered by God's Spirit and his word, that I through evil
counsel and advice had done amiss. And both with
mind and body and with all other crudely, I was sickly,
lying upon the ground when the keeper came; and so I desired him to pray Dr. Harpsfield to
come to me, and so he did.

And when he came, and the regifter with him, I
told him that I was not well at ease, but especially I
could not suffer it: for they will have no corner of my
conscience and mind because I had subscribed. And I said
that my conscience had so accused me, through the fall
judgment of God and his word, that I had felt hell in
my conscience, and Satan ready to devour me; and therefore I pray you, Master, let me have the bill again (for I will not stand to it). So he
then commanded it to be fetched, and gave it me,
and suffered me to put out my name, whereas I
was right glad when I had so done, although death
follow. And hereby I had experience of God's con-
dence and mercy towards me, who trieth his people,
and suffereth them to fall, but not to be lost: for in
the midst of this temptation and trouble, he gave me warn-
ing of my deed, and also delivered me; his name be
praised for evermore, Amen.

Neither devil nor cruel tyrant can pluck any
child of God from out of his hand. Of which flock of
Christ's sheep I trust undoubtedly I am one, by mean
of his death and blood-bredding, which shall at the
last day stand at his right-hand, and receive with other
his blest benediction. And now, being commanded
to say, my conscience and mind to God, is quite
in Christ, and by his grace am very willing and con-
tent to give over this body to the death, for the testi-
mony of his truth and pure religion, against Antichrist
and all his false religion and doctrine. They shall not
port other wise of me, speak not truly. And as for
Fountain, I say not all this while.

By the Thomas Whittle, Milner.
Concerning the troubled mind of this good man, and
training him out of this, here followeth the re-
port of the same. You know even in the letters both of the said
Mr. Harpsfield, and also of Johnfohn the regifter, being
then present thereat, and reporters of the same unto the
bishop, as in their letters hereunto annexed is to be
seen.

Mr. HARPSFIEld's Letter to BONNER, Bishop of London,
Observing MR. WHITtLE.

PLEASE your good lordship to understand, that
yesterday I dined with my lord of Exeter, who after my first coming to the table, I
informed my lord of a good that I had heard.

Nor said I why, it is a rumour in the city, that to-
dermine the queen's grace will take her journey to-
towards the king. I answered, that I thought it not to
be any whit true, but an invention of heretics; yea, and
further, said he, there is a report made abroad of my lord's
total交付, that he is in discomfort, and there-
fore will suffer no man to come unto him. When I
heard thus much, I began to laugh, and to declare how
unto this report was: so that my lord (who before was
very sad) afterward, knowing the truth, rejoiced
very much to hear that all was well with your lordship,
and desired me to have his hearty commendations to your
lordship.

One of my lord of Pembroke's retinue, a very hand-
some man, and, as far as I can yet learn, a catholic, is a
favorite in your lordship to have license to erect a school;
the order which he intendeth to use, is contained in a
printed paper, which I send here enclosed to your
lordship, I would be glad for my lord of Pembroke's
sake, that he understand, that upon my motion your
lordship's consent should be given as he intendeth.

Mr. Johnfohn and I have travailled with the priest, and
he hath subscribed his name to this draught which is
here enclosed, and hath promised he will stand to the
same before the king.

When I had written thus much, suddenly came ti-
ing to me, that he was turned the other side of Jordan.

Chuemy coming to the priest, found him lying prostrate,
and groaning as though he had died forthwith.

Then Chuemy took him up, and set him upon a stool,
and came to me, and told me of the matter. It hap-
nened that Mr. Johnfohn was with me, and we went to
his friend heretic, and found him lying all along, hold-
ing him, hands up, and looking hypocritically towards
heaven. I caulked Thomas Muced and Chuemy to set
him on the stool, and with much ado at length he told
that Satan had been with him in the night, and
told him that he was damned, and, wakening, he prayed
Mr. Johnfohn and me to see the bill whereunto he sub-
scribed, and when he saw it, he tore his name, to wit,
out of the book of the living. Methinks by him he
will needs burn a fagott, neither is there any other
he that such young woman, I have inquired of the
two persons who see to have a license to eat flesh.

And the woman of Christ-church is indeed very much
diseased, and hath been long diseased, and the and
her husband look catholics. Of the other yet I can learn
nothing.

Thus Jesus evermore preferre your good
lordship, and my mistres, your lordship's sister, with
all your grace. This present Saturday.

Your lordship's most bounden servanta

NICHOLAS HARPSFIELD.

Letter of ROBERT JOHNSON, Regifter, to THOMAS WHITtLE, written to BON-
ner, Bishop of London.

My bounden duty premised, pleasthe your lordship
to understand, that this last Friday in the after-
on, Mr. Archdeacon of London did diligently travel
with Sir Thomas Whittle, priest. I being present, and
perceiving his conformity, as outwardly appeared, de-
clared this submission, and he being content therewith,
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with the church of Rome, and not with the catholic
church of Christ.

The bishop after this, according to his accustomed
formal proceedings, tried him yet again with words,
rather than by direct evidence against him or his
religion. Who then refusing so to do, said, As
for your religion, I cannot be persuaded that it is ac-
cording to God’s word.

The bishop then asked, what fault he found in the
administration of the sacrament of the altar?
Whistle answered and said, it is not us’d according to
Christ’s institution, in that it is privately and not
openly done. And also becau se it is administered but
in one kind to the lay-people, which is against Christ’s
finance. Further, Christ commanded it not to be
elevated nor adored: for the adoration and elevation
cannot be proved by scripture.

Well, said Bonner, my lords here and other learned
men have heaved great learning for the conversion,
wherefore if thou wilt return to the faith and religion
of the catholic church, I will receive thee therewith,
and not commit thee to the secular power, &c. To
make short, Whistle, strengthened with the grace of
the Lord, stood firm and immovable in what he had
affirmed. Therefore the sentence being read, the next
day the bishop commanded him to appear before him
and so in a few days after brought to the fire with the
other five above-named, sealing up the testimony of
his doctrine with his blood, which he willingly and
cheerfully gave for witnesses of the truth.

L E T T E R  I.

From THOMAS WHITLLE to Mr. JOHN CARE-
LESS, Prisoner in the King’s-Bench.

The peace of God in Christ be with you continually,
dearly beloved brother in Christ, with the assurance
of God’s love and Holy Spirit, to the working
and performing of those things which may comfort
and edify his church. For you dayly doth God’s
name, and the increase of your joy and felicity of
feast in this life, and also your reward in heaven with
Christ our captain, whole faithful fiddler you are, in
the life to come, Amen.

I have greatly rejoiced in my heart with thanks to
God for you, since I have heard of your faith and love
which you bear towards God and his saints, with so
mell godly earnest zeal to the virtue of Christ’s doctrine
and religion, which I have heard by the report of many, but
especially by the declaration of that valiant captain in
Christ’s cause, Mr. John Careless, who was called Whistle
and with that spectacle to the world, I mean our good brother
Philpot, who now lieth under the altar, and sweetly
enjoyeth the promised reward. And especially I send my
condemned fellows give thanks to God for your living
and comfortable letter in the deeps of our troubled
after the fleas] sent unto us to the consolation of us all,
but especially to me, most finnisch wright on my own behalf,
but happy, I hope through God’s loving-kindnes in
Christ friend unto me; who suffered me to faint and
fall through human infirmity, by the working of the
arch-enemy, and however I am still in faith and hope and
that a man (if it were not prejudice to God’s word) might well affirm them to be devils incarnate,
as by experience do speak. Wherefore, whatsoever
shall for conscience-matter come into their hands, had
need of the wills of the serpents to serve their head,
though it be with the wounding of his body, and to
take diligent heed how he conteneth to their wicked
writings, or letteth his hand to their conveyances.

So doth this poor soul and not to their wicked ways,
or at least to a denial of my faith and true
opinions, thought it were but by colour and diffimination.

And (as I) something they did prevail. Not that I did
any thing at all like their opinions and falsely papistical
religion of the church of Christ. God lay it not to my
charge at that day, and so I heartily decree you to pray.
However, uncertain I am whether more proof shall attend
thereby: profit to me, in that God suffered Christ
and me by his apostles minister of mischief, drawing
me out of prison to the place, to therin I am not
for repining in myself, but only in the Lord. Who, when he led me
to hell in my conscience, through the revenge of his fearful
judgments against me for my fearful mischief and
and crafty cloaking in such spiritual and weightye
matters, yet brought me home from the place to the
misdeedying of his name, superseding of flesh and
and confutation of mine own soul, or else that I may
be for difprofit in opposing the congregation of God’s
work, that peradventure will rather adjudge my fail to come
of doublefaults in my doctrine and religion, than of human
imbecility.

Well, of the heavy burden of a troubled conscience
for denying or diffambling the known verity, I by ex-
perience could say very much more, which perhaps I
may declare by writing, to the warming of other, if
God grant time: for now am I my fellows must
reach hence even for Christ’s cause; God’s name
prophesied who hath hereto called us. Pray, I beg you,
that we may end our course with joy, and at your ap-
pointed day you shall come. But as the Lord hath
kept you, so will he preserve your life full, to the
intent you should labour (as you do) to appear
and convince those ungodly contentions and controversies,
which now do too much reign, braving about seems
no edification. God is dishonoured, the church dis-
quited, and your occasion to speak evil of the godly
is ministered to our adversaries. But such is the lot
of Satan, that whom he cannot win with gross, idolak
open religion, them he feeceth to corrupt and decide in
opinions, in a private profession. But here I will
abruptly leave, and with the utmost love and reverence
I should be tedious unto you, defying you, (my long
brother) if it shall not seem grievous unto you, to write
unto me and my fellows yet once again, if you be
left, and we time to the fame.

Provide me, Mr. Whistle’s nine examinations for
friend of mine, and I shall this way therefor, by the
leave of Almighty God our heavenly Father, who con-
rreteth all his children in this world, and trieth the
faith of his faints through many tribulations, that being
found constant to the end, he may crown his own
in them, and in heaven highly reward them; whereas
trufst to go before, looking for you to follow (my faith-
ful friend) that we may sing perpetual praise to our
loving Lord God for victory over Satan and fin, for
us by Jesus Christ God and man, our only and ef-
sufficient Saviour and Redeemer.

Farewell, and pray in faith.
Your’s, THOMAS WHITLLE, minifter, and
now condemned to die for the godly
fakes, Jan. 21, 1556.
All my fellows salute you. Salute all our faithful
brethren with you.

L E T T E R  II.

From Mr. WHITLLE to his dear Friend and Brother
J O H N WENT, and other his Fellow-Prisoners:
Lollards’-tower.

He that preferred Joseph, prifoner in Egypt, to
Daniel in the lion’s den, and delivered him,
Peter, and the apostles out of prison, would not of
his goodnes to keep, feed, and deliver you, my good bro-
ther Went, with the other our fellow-fiddlers your pri-
fellow-fellows, as may be moft to his glory, to your con-
solation, and the edification of his church.

So doth this poor soul, not to his hurt, when he hear
of your confidence in the faith, and joy in the crost
of Christ, which you now bear and suffer together, with
many other good members of Christ, which is a token
that by Christ you are counted worthy of the kingdom
of God, as St. Paul faith. And though I cannot
contemn the yeer and crost of Christ as a most preci-
ous and hurtful thing, yet we which have suffered
friends
LETTERS written by Mr. THOMAS WHITTLE. 443.

neither the devil, natural love, nor any other enemy could be able to bereave them thereof. Whereby also God was to be magnified, who hath tried his people by many tribulations, and also by the midst of their troubles, to deliver them by life or death as he saith best: like as he afflicted Lot and delivered his soul out of the hands of his enemies, and out of the power of his brethren, and of the king of Sodom; and with his enemies in the wilderness of Zin, and the spoils of Sodom and the Urim and Thummim.

Thee with many more he delivered to life; and also he delivered Abel, Elazar, Stephen, and John Baptist, with many others by death, and hath also by the trial of their faith and sufferings made them good preceeds and examples to us as all the fore time. Also the faith of the holy prophet, St. James, and his brethren (faith he) the prophets for an example of suffering for the truth and of patience, which falleth upon you in the name of the Lord: behold, we count them happy whom endure.

Ye have heard the patience of Job, and have known whether the Lord made him strong, for the Lord is very pitiful and merciful. Also the Lord trieth us, to let us see our own hearts and thoughts, that no hypocrisy or ambition deceive us, and that the strong in Christ may pray that he fall not but endure to the end; and that those that fall through fearful infirmity may surely repent and rise again with Peter; and also that they who are weak may have their weak, and cry with David, Phal. vi. Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak: O Lord, heal me, for all my bones are vexed.

Of this opening of the heart by persecution falleth partly Simeon to Mary, Christ's mother, when he said, The sword, that is, the cross of persecution shall pierce thy soul, that the thoughts of many hearts may be opened. 'For like as a king that goeth to battle, is compelled to look in his coffers what treasure he hath, and also what number and multitude of men and weapons he hath; so if he be hirself unready and unarm'd to fight with his enemies, he shall be confounded.' And we shall be confounded, until we know the whole truce for a time: even so we by persecutions have our hearts opened, that we may look therein to see what faith in Christ we have, and what strength to withstand the enemies, and to bear the cross, that if we be rich in thea treasures, we might rejoice, and valiantly go to battle; or if we want these things, we might with all speed call and cry upon him who giveth all good gifts to those that ask them. Item, The cross trieth the good people from the bad, the faithful from the hypocrites, and also cleanseth and fitteth the faithful hearts from all corruption and filthiness, both of the flesh and the spirit, except it be often scourged, will soon wax ruffly; so except our sinful flesh and flesh be often scourged with the whiptone of the cross, they will soon corrupt and overgrow with the rust of filthiness and fin.

And therefore it is meet and good for us (as the wise man saith) that as gold and silver is tried in the fire, so should the hearts of acceptable men be tried in the furnace of adversity. Abide the trial (dear friends), that ye may obtain the crown of life. Fight manfully in this the Lord's cause, that ye may obtain a glorious victory here, and receive greater reward in heaven hereafter.

As ye are called christians, and would be angry to be called jews or Turks, do declare your christianity by following the steps of Christ, whose name ye bear; suffer with him and for his gospel's sake, rather than deny him or defile your faith and confidence with false worshipping of things that are no gods.

Take up your crosses (my hearts) now when it is offered you, and go up with Christ to Jerusalem amongst the bishops, priests, and rulers, and God call you thereto, and they will anon fend you to Calvary: whereon dying in the cause of the gospel, wherein our good preachers and brethren have given you, ye and all their souls (I warrant you) through Christ Jesu shall ascend to God that gave them, and that body shall come after at the last day, and so shall ye dwell with the Lord for ever in unspakeable joy and bliss. O blessed are they that
that suffer perfection or righteousnefs; fake, as Chriff's people in this Jesus Engliff now doth; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven here upon earth. For, if thou fet thy minds on this kingdom, where Chriff our head and king is; confidering that as the brute beast looketh downwards with the face towards the earth; so man is made to live with his face looking upwards towards the heavens; this must be of converse: it should be in heaven and heavenly things. Or, as for the earth and earthly things, as St. Paul faith, Coloff. iii. 2. Set your minds on things that are above, where Chriff is. And again he faith, Phil. iii. Our conversation is in heaven. For as long as we look for our Saviour, who will change our vile body, and make us like them to his glorious body. O the glorious estate it is which we are called unto! The Lord preferre us harniffc unto his eternal kingdom through Jesu Chriff our Lord, Amen. 

I found thing that I note in the aforesaid words of Peter, that he callef perfection no fringe thing. And truth it is; for which of the prophets were not perfecled, with Chriff and his apostles, and some of them in the end cruelly killed for the truth's fake? Cain killed Abel, Jfaac was perfecled of Ishmael, Jcaub of his benefactors, Joseph was instrumented and perfecled in the flocks of the Lamb. Jesus was cut in two with a faw, Jeremiah was blomed, Micaiah was buffeted and fed with bread and water, Elias was fore perfecled, Eleazar, and the woman with her seven sons, were cruelly killed. What Chriff and the apostles suffered is well known. But by many tribulations we are perfecled to the kingdom of heaven. All the holy prophets, Chriff and his apostles, suffered for such afflifufions not for evil doing, but for preaching God's word, for rebuking the world of sin, and for their faith in Jesu Chriff 

This doctrine of God (my friends), this is the high way to heaven, by corporall and eternal life, as Chriff faith, John v. He that hath loved God, is perfecled, and believeth in him that sent me, hath eternal life, and shall not come into judgement, but is escaped from death into life. Let us never fear death, which is killing by Chriff, but believe in him, and live for ever, as St. Paul faith, Rom. viii. 38. There is no mitigation to them that are in Chriff Jesus, which walk not after but after the fpirit. And again, Paul faith, 1 Cor. xv. 33. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? That is said to God, which hath given us the victory through Jesu Christ. 

Besides this, ye have been, and daily doth, the blood of your good preachers and brethren, which hath been shed in the gospel's cause in this sinful Sodom, this bloody Jerusalem, this unhappie city of London. Let not the last be forgotte, nor the blood of your good bishop Ridley, who, like a good sheperd, to your comfort and example, hath given his life for the fpirit of Good St. Paul faith, 11 Cor. xii. 33. Remember them that have spoken to you the word of God, and look upon the end of their conversation, and follow their faith. 

The devil ever flireth up falle teachers, as he hath done now over all England, as Peter, Paul, and Jude prophesied it should be, to poison and kill our fous with the falf doctrine. And where he faileth of his purpose that way, then moveth he his members to perfecle the filly carcasses of the faints, because they will not deny nor disown their pure faith in our living Chriff, and confefs a dead body Chriff, and honour the fame as Chriff God and man, contrary to God's commandment, Exod. xx. 

This is the working of Satan, who knoweth his own judg-ment, would have all mankind to be partakers with him of this, and such a mortal hatred beareth he against God and his people. And when the comforter when this wicked tempter could not kill Chriff, with fire, becommeth per- fition to fall down and worship him, then he flireth up his servants the bishops and pharifues to kill his body, wherefore notwithstanding the devil folt his title and interest which is the head man's soul, and man by his precious passion and death was taken from the devil, death and hell, to immortality and life having fallen: and so when Satan thought to have won all in 

killing of Chriff, he left all: and so shall he do in us, if we abide confirmantrand throng in the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesu Chriff unto the end. God is a very fake in Chriff. Bleffed are all them that put their trust in him. Amen. 

Wherefore (my hearty beloved brethren and fathers) be of good comfort through Jesu Chriff, for he that believeth in us is stronger than he that is in the world. And hence be ye near to God, and he will draw near to you. Reffire by devil, and he will (as St. James faith) flire you. Beware of the lest it be the pharifues. Toth notch left ye he defiled them in his body, but ye are defiled, for it is against the law; I mean, defiled your- selves either inwardly or outwardly with this wicked religion of Antichrift: for it is nothing else but this, ye have defiled the mouth of God. Beware of the beast's mark, left ye drink of the cup of God's wrath. If God have given you knowledge and faith, different it not with. Deny not the known verity before me, but let Chriff deny you before his Father. Come away from Babylon, as St. John biddeth you, Rev. xviii. and touch me not, and be no more partakers of your forkefoms, company of the ungodly, and be not polluted with them. Whatsoever you have done amiss hereafter, now repe- ye and amend: for with the Lord there is mercy and plenifue redemption. 

There is a thing and note which I gather out of the aforesaid words of Peter, that he faith, Rejoice, because ye are partakers of God's election. Our fuf- fering (my well beloved) are Chriff's fathers, and that injury that is done to us for his fake, he recordeth it to be done to himself, as he said to St. Paul, Sul, Saul, thou art well perfecuted thou me? Therefore we ought to rejoice in our suf- fering, as St. Paul writeth, which we suffer with Chriff, and more than sea: Peter, and so also we: Peter said, and to fullith that which is behind of the sufferings of Chriff in our fleth; which Chriff hath, he is in passion, fully redeemed and faved us in his own person, because we must suffer with him and for him unto the world's end. He shall be glorified in him, and they thereby correffed and clothed from a world to another, and he made more meet temples for the Holy Ghost, and also obtain a great reward in heaven for their suf- fering for righteousnefs' fake, according to his promife. And therefore I say (my brethren) rejoice the Lord always, and again, let Rejoice. Let re- joice in the crofs of our Lord Jesu Chriff, whereby the world is crucified to us, and we to the world. 

And why should we so greatly rejoice in the crofd Chriff, which we now suffer? Because (faith St. Peter, whereof approare, we may be merry and glad. And this is the fourth verse that he gathereth out of the two above written. Wherein is fett every man's suf- fering, not to be had in this world; but at his coming to judgment when we shall be raifed again; and then the faith that have fown in tears reap in joy, as Chriff faith, Bleffed are they that weep here, for they shall laugh. Bleffed are ye when men hate you, and shall put out of your company, rading on you, and abhorring your name as an evil thing for the Son of man's sake: rejoice ye in that day and be glad, for your reward is in heaven. Moreover 

Wherefore (my dearly beloved) through the hope of this heavenly joy and reward, which he that be com hath promifed (which joy is fo great that no ear hath heard, no eye hath seen, nor the heart can think, when we shall dwell for ever in the heavenly city, the cele- tial Jerusalem, in the presence of God the Father, and Jesu Chriff our Lord, as Paul faith, and in the company of innumerable host of saints and spirits, and faints and foulds of all faithful and juft men), rejoice and be glad: and feeing ye call be called to fo great glory, for he that make thy election and vocation sure by good word, and especially by suffering adversity for the gospel's fake: Rejoice, for the glory of God, faith Paul, not only to believe in Chriff, but to suffer for his fake. Continue in prayer, and pray for me, that I may end my course with joy. Have brotherly love amongst yourselves, which is a token that ye be Chriff's disciples. Edify and comfort one another in the time of tribulation.
of the Lord, and the God of peace and love be with you always, Amen. For your liberality and kindness shewed upon the prisoners and the company of God, the Lord will reward you in this time of persecution: the Lord will reward you when he shall come to reward every man according to his deeds, and will not leave a cup of cold water bestowed upon his faithful people unrewarded. God make you rich in all grace, that ye always having sufficient, may be rich unto all manner of good work. God's grace and the love of Christ Jesus be with you, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all always, Amen.

Your brother now in bonds for the gospel, 
Thomas Whittle.

LETTI  IV.

From Mr. WHIT TLE to his loving and faithful Brother, JOHN CARELESS, Prisoner in the King's-Bench.

The same faith for which Abraham was accounted just, and Mary blessed, whereby also all just men live, the Lord God our loving Father increaseth and establisheth you and me, to the obtaining of eternal life, life alone and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, Amen.

I cannot worthily and sufficiently praise God (my heartily beloved brother) for the consolation and joy that I have received by reason of your loving letters, repenting me much thereon: I trust I shall see you, and not do you, as you did of old, in your fellowship, and joy of faithful men and children of God being also now, in double bondage, the body within clay walls, and the soul within these frail earthly bodies, be great and comfortable; how unpeakable will these joys be, when we shall be delivered from all corruption and filthiness, in the glorious liberty of the children of God; and be together perfect and continual in our glorified bodies, behold the face of our heavenly Father (whom we see but in the glass of faith) with his dear Son Christ our Redeemer and brother, and the blessed company of angels, and all faithful faved souls.

Of incomparable good things, and heavenly treasures, God grants to国有er; for the obtaining whereof, we ought to set light by all temporal good and trystinio-afflictions, so much the more, in that our good God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength, and that namely in the end of our life, when the tree where it falleth lieth still, the preacher faith, Ecclel. xi. for else before the end he shall suffer his sometimes to fall, but not finally to be Rift: as Peter finked upon the sea, but yet was not drowned; and finned grievously upon the land through infamy denying his master, but yet found mercy: for the righteous falleth often times. And Christ's holy apostles are taught to fly, Forgive us our trespasicos, you though you be called away, for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand.

O the bottomless mercy of God towards us miserable sinners! May be vouchsafe to plant in my heart true repentance and faith, to the obtaining of the remission of all my sins in the mercies of God, and merits of Christ his Son: therefore I pray you, say, Amen.

My dearly beloved,的朋友, I write to feel the spoile and havock that Saul maketh with the congregation of Christ: but what remedy? This is God's will and ordinance, that his people shall here both be punisht in the flesh, and tried in their faith: as it is written, "May the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all", for by a strict path and narrow door must we enter. Wherein? Into the joyful kingdom of heaven: therefore blessed are ye and others thatuffer persecution for Christ's sake, for the profession of the fame.

Pray for me and my fellows, good brother, that we may fight a good fight, that we may keep the faith, and end our course with joyful gladness, for not the time of our deliverance is at hand. The Lord guide, defend, and preserve you, and all his people in our journey, that we may safely through a short death pass to that long lasting life.

Farewell, my dear and loving brother and fellow-follower in Christ; farewell, I say, in him: who receive our souls in peace when they shall depart from these tabernacles, and meet us as a joyful meeting at the last day, and continual dwelling together in his eternal heavenly kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

Your's with my poor prayer; other pleasure can I do you none.

Thomas Whittle, Minister.

LETTI  V.

From Mr. WHIT TLE to his dear Brethren, Melf. Fillies and Cutbert.

My dear and well beloved brethren in Christ, Melf. Fillies and Cutbert, I wish you all welfare of soul and body. Welfare to the soul is repentance of sin, faithful acquaintance in Christ Jesus, and a godly life. Welfare to the body is the health of the lame, with all necessary things for this life. The soul of man is immortal, and therefore ought to be well kept, lest immortality of soul should turn to immortality of forsooth. As for the body, be it ever so well kept and made much of, yet shortly by nature will it perish and decay: but those that are ingrafted and incorporated into Christ by true faith, feeling the motion of God's holy Spirit as a pledge of their election and inheritance, exciting and firing them not only to heavenly visions, but also to heavenly advice, and embrace virtue, will not only do these things, but also if need require, will gladly take up their crosiers and follow their captain, their king and their Saviour Jesus Christ (as his poor afflicted church of England now doth), against that false and antichristian doctrine and religion now used, and especially that blasphemous mafs, wherein only the imperial and examples, but also to be used. And as for facrice, there is none to be made now for sin: "For Christ with one facrice hath perfected for ever those things that be sacrified."

Beware of false religion, and man's vain traditions, and serve God with reverence and godly fear, according to the doctrine of his gospel, whereunto ye cleave ye that ye may be blessed, though of wicked men ye are hated and accursed. Rather drink of the cup of Christ with his church, than of the cup of that rofe-coloured whore of Babylon, which is full of abominations. Rather strive ye to go to heaven by the path which is strait to flesh and blood, with the little flock, then to go in the wide way, following the intimacies of the world and the fleish, which leadeth to damnation.

Like as Christ suffered in the flesh, faith St. Peter, so arm ye yourself with the same mind: for Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example to follow his footsteps. Blessed are they that suffer for his sake, great is their reward in heaven. He that overcometh (faith St. John, Rev. ii. 10) shall have crown of life, and shall not be hurt of the second death: he shall be clothed with white array, and not be put out of the book of life: yes, I will confess his name, faith Christ, before my Father and before his angels, and he shall be a pillar in the house of God, and fitted with me on my seat. And I bid you farewell, mine own brethren and dear fellows in Christ, whose grace and peace be always with you, Amen.

This world I do forsake, To Christ I me take, Amen.

And
And for his gospel's fake, Patiency death I take.
My body to the dust,
Now to return it must:
My soul I know full well,
With my God it shall dwell.

THOMAS WHITTLE.

LETTER VI.

From Mr. THOMAS WHITTLE to a godly Woman.

O, my dear and loving sister in Christ, be not dis- mayed in this form of persecution: for Paul calleth the gospel the word of the cross, because it is never truly taught, but the cross and cruel persecution imme- diately and necessarily both follow the fame, and there- fore it is a manifest token of God's truth, and hath been here and is still abroad, and that is the cause of the rage and cruelty of Satan against Christ and his members, which must be corrected for their sins in this world: their faith must be tried, and after trial and patient suf- fering the faithful may receive the crown of glory. Fear not therefore, my well-beloved, but proceed in the knowledge and fear of God, and he will keep you from all evil. Call upon his holy name, and he will strengthen you and afflicted you in all your ways; and if I please him to lay his cross upon you for his gospel's sake, refuse it not, neither flake it off by unlawful means, lest you should (as God forbid) find a more grievous cross and torment of conscience, if you should discern and deny the known verity, than is any persecution or death of body. O now happy are they that suffer persecution for right- oufnefle's sake? their reward is great in heaven. The momentary afflictions of this life are not worthy of comparison with the glory that shall be shewed upon us. Remember the godly women of the Old and New Testament, who lived in God's service and fear, and therefore are now in bliss and reward, for they followed the Lord of hosts, Esther, Abigail, the mother of the seven sons, Mary, Elizabeth, Sufiana, Lydia, Phebe, and others. Set their examples before your eyes, and fear nothing, for Satan is conquered by our Saviour Christ; sin is put to flight, and the gale of immortality and eternal life is yet wide open: God grace may enter therein through the door Jesus Christ, Amen.

THOMAS WHITTLE.

The History of Mr. BARTLET GREEN.

After the martyrdom of Mr. Whittle, next fol- loweth in order to speak of Bartlet Green, who the next day after the aforesaid Whittle, was likewise con- demned. Mr. Green was of a good house, and had such parents, as both favoured learning, and were also willing to bring up this their child in the same. After some entrance in other inferior schools, he was sent to the university of Oxford, where through exercise and diligent fluity he so profited, that within short time he attained, as well to the knowledge of fundy profane sciences, as also now in his last years unto the godly un- derstanding of divinity. Whereunto through ignorance (in which he was trained up from his youth) he was at the first an utter enemy, until such time as God of his mercy had opened his eyes, by his often repairing unto the common lectures of Peter Martyr, reader of the divinity-lecture in the same university, so that thereby (as by God's instrument) he saw the true light of Christ's gospel.

When he had once tasted of this, it became unto him as the fountain of living water, that our Saviour Christ, spake of to the woman of Samaria, so as he never thrilled any more, but had a well springing unto ever- lasting life. Infomuch as when he was called by his friends from the university, he was placed in the Temple at London, there to attain to the knowledge of the common laws of the realm, he yet continued full in his former fluity and earnest profecion of the gospel, wherein also he greatly profited. Howbeit (less is the frailty of our corrupt nature, without the special inter- strance of God's Holy Spirit) through the continu- ing of companying, and fellowhip of such worlds (I will not say such wise and well disposed), as are commonly in that and the like houses, he became by little and little a companion of that fond follies and youth- ful vanities, as well in his apparel as also in language, and other superfluous excellences: which he afterwards (being again called by God's most approved) did forelament and bewail, as appeared by his own testi- mony, notified and left in a book belonging to Mr. Bartram Calculhop, one of his friends, written in his own hand, a little before his death, in manner as followeth:

"Two things have very much troubled me which was in the Temple, pride and gluttony: which under the colour of glory and good fellowship, drew me mofl from God. Against both there is one remedy, by earnest prayer, and without ceasing. And forasmuch as vain-glory is so futile an adversary, that almost a wondrously deadly, ever a man can perceive himself to be finneth, therefore we ought so much the rather to continual prayer to labour for humbleness of mind. Truly, gluttony beginneth under a charitable pretence, but endeth in charity. So that by a single instance I may show the deceptions of charity. When we seek to refresh our souls, that they may be the more apt to serve God, and perform our duties towards our neighbours, then it fleeth in as a privy thief, and murdereth both body and soul, so that now it is not apt to pray, for God serve, apt in fluity or labour for our neighbour. Let us therefore watch and be sober: for our adversary the devilsfall about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. And remember what Solomon faith, A patient man is better than a strong warrior, and he that cometh in with none is better than he that conquers towns and cities.

"Agreement of minds joining in unity of faith, and growing up in charity, is true and beneficant aim. Farewell (my Bartram), and remember me, that we can meet like together. Farewell, at Newgate, Jan. 26, 1656.

Set lover love against hatefully wrath, Bartlet Green.

Thus we see the fatherly kindness of our most con- cious and merciful God, who never suffereth his children so to fall, that they lie still in security of sin, but oftentimes quickeneth them up by some such mean, as perhaps they think least of, as he did here his trayed heap. And now therefore to return to our history: For the better maintenance of himself in his studies, and other his affairs, he had a large exhi- bition of his grandfather, Mr. Doctor Bartlet, who during the time of Green's imprisonment made unto him large offers of great livings, if he would return, and forlaking the truth and the gospel of Christ, come again to the church and synagogue of Rome. But their perfusions (the Lord be praised) took small effect in his faithful heart, as the fequel did declare. He was a man beloved of all men (except the papists, who love none that love the truth), and so he well defended; for he was of a meek, humble, different, and most good behaviour to all. Injurious he was to none, beneficial to many, especially to those who were of the household of faith, as appeareth, amongst others, by his friendly dealing with Mr. Christopher Goodman, at that time past in the FEDE BARTLET GREEN (as well for his toward learning, as also for his lover and godly behaviour) had often society in Oxford, in the days of good king Edward: who now, notwithstanding his friend's misery and banishment, he not lightly forget; and that turned, as it happened (not without the providence of Almighty God) to the great grief of both, the one of heart, for the loss of his friend.
A LETTER from Mr. Bartlet Green to Mr. John Philpot.

To Mr. John Philpot, containing, besides other particular matters he twist him and Mr. Philpot, a brief Rehearsal of his Conferences with Bishop Bonner and others, in his first coming before them.

That which was wanting in talk (through my default) at that time being here, I have supplied by writing in your absence, now at length getting some opportunity and leisure. The 17th day of November, being brought hither by two of the clock in the afternoon, I was presented before my lord of London, and other two bishops, Mr. Deane, Mr. Roper, Mr. Welch, Dr. Harpfield, archdeacon of London, and two or three others, all sitting at one table. There were present Dr. Dale, Mr. George Mordaunt, Mr. Dec. Then after the bishop of London had read unto himself the letter that came from the council, he spake with more words, but (as I remember) to this effect; that the cause of their assembly was, to hear my examination, whereupon he had authorized the council, and had provided Mr. Welch and another, whose name I know not, (but well I remember, though he obtained it not, yet declared he my lord, that I might hear the council's letters) to be there if any matters of the common law arose, to discourse them, he intreated my lord to determine all controversies of scriptures; and for the civil law, he and Dr. Dale should take on them.

Wherefore he demanded of me the cause of my imprisonment; I said, that the occasion of my apprehension was a letter I wrote to one Christopher Goodman, wherein (certifying him of such news as happened here) among the rest, I wrote that there were some printed papers of question, as the Rack had delivered. Whereupon, being suspected to be privy to the devising or publishing of the same, I was committed to the Fleet: but, after the commissiouns had received my submiss, I heard nothing thereof. The sum whereof was, that as I was sure there neither could be true witness, nor probable conjecture against me in that behalf, to refuse my punishment, if they of their controversies would judge me privy to the devising, printing, or publishing of those questions. But my lord affirming that there was another cause of my imprisonment, demanded if I had not after, since I was committed to the Fleet, spoken or written sonewhat against the natural preface of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

Then I declared his lordship to be good unto me, trilling that he would not put to answer to new matters, except I were first discharged of the old. And when I flood long in that, Mr. Welch answered, that it was procured that I should do so, right well. For albeit I was imprisoned for treason, and during the time of my confinement I had not spoken hereafter, nor was I of sufficient allegation against the ordinary; whether I were before him acquitted or condemned, should it take away the former fault. Then my lord affirming that I was not brought before him but for hereafter, and the other gentlemen saying, that doubtings I was discharged of my former matters, my opinion was, I might be discharged according to the order of the law, to hear my accusers.

Then Dr. Chedley was sent for, who reported, that in the presence of Mr. Mosley and the lieutenant of the Tower, I spake against the real presence and the sacrifice of the mass, that I affirmed our church was the church of Antichrist.

Is not this true? said my lord. I said, Yea. Will you continue therein? said he. Yea, said I. Wilt thou then maintain it by learning? said he. Therein, quoth I, I should have myself to little wit, knowing mine
mine own youth and ignorance, if I would take on me to maintain any controversy against so many grave and learned men. But my confidence was satisfied in the truth, and my sufficiency to my own self.

Confidence! said Mr. Roper, so shall every Jew and Turk be saved.

We had hereafter much talk to no purpose, and especially on my part, who felt in myself, through cold and unprofitable reflections of what I have written. The length I was asked what confidence was: and I said, the certifying of the truth.

With that Mr. Welch rove off, defining leave to talk with me alone. So he taking me aside into another chamber, where I sat for a while in the dark, with this old and foolish, and would gladly see me at liberty: he marvelled that I being a young man, would stand against all the learned men of the realm, yea and contrary to the whole determination of the catholic church from Christ's time, in a matter wherein I could have no great learning; I must not think mine own wit better than all men's; but I should believe them that were learned. I promise you (quoth he) I have read all Peter Martyr's book, and Cranmer's, and all the rest of them, and have conferred with them the contrary, as the bishop of Winchelsey, &c. and many more; but that I receive not one conclusive truth, which from the beginning had been maintained; and those which at any time fewered from this unity, were answered and answered again. This was the sum of his tale, which lacked both wit and eloquence.

Mr. Green. Forasmuch as it pleaseth your majesty to use me so familiarly (for so he behaved himself towards me, as though I had been his equal) I shall open my mind freely unto you, defining you to take it in good part. I consider your youth, lack of wit and learning, which would to God it were but a little under the opinion that some men have of me. But God is not bound to time, wit, or knowledge, but rather chaseth the weak of the world that they may confess the strong: neither can men appoint bounds to God's mercy: For, I will have compassion, faith he, whom I shall see, and I will show mercy. There is no respect of persons with God, whether he be old or young, rich or poor, wise or foolish, fitter or blacksmith-maker. God giveth knowledge of his truth, through his free grace, to whom he list, James i. Neither do I think myself only to have the truth, but feddally believe that Christ hath his spouse, the catholic and universal church, dispersed in many realms where it pleaseth him, the Spirit blowing where he listeth: no more is he additied to any one place, than to the person and quality of any one man. If I think that Mr. Roper hath mistaken me, I do not doubt my self to be a member, truistful to be saved by the faith that is taught in the same. But how this church is known, is in a manner the end of all controversy. And the true marks of Christ's church are the true preaching of his word, and administering of his sacraments. These marks were feared by the apostles, and confirmed by the ancient fathers, till at length they were, through the wickedness of men and the devil, almost utterly taken away. But God be praised that he hath renewed the print, that his truth may be known in many places. For myself, I call God to witness, I have no hope in mine own wit and learning, which is very small; but I was persuaded thereeto by him, as by an instrument, that is excellent in all good learning and living. And God is my record, that chiefly I sought of him by continual prayer with tears.

Furthermore, what I have done herein, is not needful for me to speak: but one thing, I say, I wish of God with all my heart, that all men which are of contrary judgment, would seek the truth in like manner. Nor I am bound before many great bishops and learned men, to be made a fool and a laughingstock, but I value it not a tush: for God knoweth that my whole study is to please him; beside that, I care not for man's pleasure or displeasure.

Mr. Green. I think not so uncharitably of any man, but judge rather that men labour for your soul's health, as for their own. But, alas, how will you condemn all our forefathers? Or, how can you think yourself to be of the catholic church, without any continuance, and contrary to the judgment of all learners?

Green. Sir, I have no authority to judge any men; nevertheless, I doubt not but that I am of the true catholic church, howsoever our learned men here judge me.

Welch. Why, then, do you suppose your own wit and learning better than all theirs? If you do not give credit only to them, other learned men shall return unto you, that shall persuade you by the scriptures and doctors.

Green. I know not that God knoweth that I refuse not to learn of any child, but I would embrace the truth from the mouth of a natural fool, in any thing wherein I am ignorant, and that in all things, having my faith: but concerning the truth, wherein I am altogether precluded, I cannot submit myself to learn, unless it be, as your majesty saith, that I perused books on both sides. For so I might make myself an indifferent judge; otherwise I may be seduced.

And here we had a long discours of the church, wherein his learning and wit was much above mine; for he told me that I was persuaded, and that he did but lose his labour.

Welch. Why then, what shall I report to my lord?

Green. Even as it pleaseth you; or else you may say that I would be glad to learn, if I had books in both sides.

So he going in, the bishops (being rife and ready to depart) asked how he liked me? He answered, in faith, my lord, he will be glad to learn. Which words when they were spoken, left they should make his meaning and mine, I say, my lord, so that I have books on both sides, that I may read, as Calvin, and my lord of Canterbury's books, and such others. Well, said my lord, I will satisfy thy mind therein also: and they were all in great hopes, that shortly I should become a good catholic, as they call it.

Then was I brought into my lord's inner chamber (where you were) and there was put in a chamber with Mr. Dec, who treated me very friendly. That night I supped at my lord's table, and lay with Mr. Dec in the chamber you did fee. On the morrow I was served a dinner from my lord's table, and at night did eat in the hall with his gentleman; where I have been placed ever since, and fared wonderful well. Yea, to say the truth, I had my liberty within the bounds of his lordship's house: for my lodgings and fare, scarce have I been at any time abroad in better cafe so long together, and I have been much taken up with my music, and as often with the chaplains, and other servants, that I should easily have forgotten that I was in prison, were it not that this good cheer was often watered with unfavourable faces of examinations, exhortations, poothing, and difformities.

For shortly after supper, the 29th Monday at night, I was had into my lord's bed-chamber, and there he would know of me how I came first into these here; and I said, I was persuaded thereto by the scriptures, and authorities of the doctors, alladdged by Peter Martyr in his letters upon the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Corinthians, while I was speaking on that place of the Lord's supper for a month together. But then my lord inforced me of the plaintiff of Christ's words, and his almighty power, demanding of me, what reason should move me from the literal sense of the word: but I having no luft to these matters, would have alledged that there were books sufficient of that matter, as Peter Martyr, Cranmer, and Occelamphius: nevertheless, when this shift would not serve, but I was constrained to say somewhat, I said I was moved from the literal sense of the word, by thy impressing me with the circumstance, and by conference of other places of the scriptures. It is evident that Christ took bread, and that he thewed them (they seeing it) bread, which he affirm to be his body.

Mr. Green. It is confirmed that bread was his body.

But that affirmation taken literally, can by no means be true. Therefore...
Therefore, the words, if they be taken according to the letter, cannot be true.

For this predicament, Pains of corpus Christi, or, Corpus Christi of pains, is neither identical nor accidental, nor essential predicate. Wherefore of necessity I must say it was spoken in the same sense, as Christ was a door, a vine, and a way. And therefore cannot we say to-day, that it was not spoken that he affirmed to be his body, and that

for so many causes.

For whatsoever he did, that was bread, for nought else was seen.

But that which he affirmed to be his body.

The second reason is, For that it was not changed before, seeing Bonsist, is Gratiss egli, or else Christ affirmed no true proposition, and you are without authority.

In the end of this letter there were noted these sentences following, collected for confirmation of his former assertions, viz.

&c. &c. it is phage and is spoken upon the cup.

&c. It is called bread in the same place afterwards.

&c. Imitation of species, is quia tu pauper, that is, By the same reason as it may be denied to be bread, it may be denied to be the body.

&c. in cælo, that is, His body ascended into heaven.

&c. He is body as we think, in two things after his resurrection (fin excepted). Seeing then our body cannot be the true place at once; therefore neither.

&c. &c. His disciples took it as no miracle nor wonder.

The left Examination and Condemnation of Mr. GREEN.

Thus, as it feemeth, for this time they left off.

But not long after the bishop perceiving Green's learning and constancy to be such, as neither he, nor any of his doctors and chaplains could by the scriptures render, began then to object and put in practice his chief and strongest argument against him; which was the rigour of the law, and cruelty of execution: an argument, I assure you, which without the special grace of our God to faith is inpoxurable. And therefore using law as a cloak of his tyranny, the 28th day of November, the said bishop examined with him upon certain points of Christian religion. Whereunto when he had answered, the bishop appointed the registrar (as their most common manner is) there to draw out an order of confinment: which being afterwards read unto Green, was also sub-

frared by him, as a confirmation of his former assertions:

the tenor whereof here ensue.

The Confession of BARTLETT GREEN.

BARTLETT GREEN, born in the city of London, in the parish of Islington-hall, of the diocese of London, and of the age of 22 years old, being examined in the bishop's palace the 27th day of November, Anno 1555, upon certain articles, answered as followeth, viz.

That neither in the time of king Edward, after the mafs by him was put down, neither in the time of queen Mary after the mafs was restored again, he hath heard any mafs at all; but he faith that in the reign of the said queen's majesty, he had the said Bartlett, two times, to wit, at two Easter-tides or days, in the chamber of John Pullin, one of the preachers in king Edward's time, within the parish of St. Michael Cornhill, of the diocese of London, did receive the communion with him, and Christopher Goodman, sometime reader of the divinity lecture in Oxford, now gone beyond the seas, and the second time with the said Pullin, and with one R convincing, Master of Arms, of Magdalen college, in Oxford: and this examine also faith, that at both the said communications, he and the other before named, No. 38.

did take and receive bread and wine, which bread and wine he called sacramental bread and sacramental wine, which he faith were used there by them, Pullin and only reading the words of the institution, exprested in the book of communion.

In which receiving and using, this examine faith, that the other that he afore said did receive the sacrament of the Lord's-fupper, and that they did use bread and material wine, no substance thereof changed, and so no real presence of the body and blood of Christ there being, but only grace added thereto. And further, this examine faith, that he had heretofore, during the reign of the queen's majesty afforded, refused, and so now doth refuse to come and hear mafs, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, as they are now used and administered in this church of England, because he faith, that concerning the mafs, he cannot be perfused in his conscience, that the sacrefice pretended to be in the same, is agreeable to God's word or main.

And furthermore this examine faith, that during the said reign he hath not been consoled to the priest, nor received absolution at his hands, because he is not bound by God's word to make auricular confession.

BARTLETT GREEN.

Many other confessions and examinations they brought him unto. But in the end (feeling his headiness of faith to be such, against which neither their threatenings, nor yearly accosting prices of £200 (preceded) the 15th day of January the bishop caused him with his true hebet to be before mentioned, to be brought into the confinment of St. Paul's, where being feit in his judgment seat, accompanied by Mr. Feekman, then dean of the same church, and other his chaplains, after he had condemnned the other fix, he then calling for Bartlett Green, began with thebe, or the like words:

Honourable audience, I think it beft to open unto you the conversation of this man, called Bartlett Green. And because you shall not charge me, that I go about to seek any man's blood, here you shall hear the count

of his letters, which they sent with him unto me. To the effect whereas is; that whereas he had been a long time confined in the tower of London for hereby, they have now fent him unto me to be ordered, according to the laws there provided. And now to thee, Bartlett Green, I propose thee nine articles: Then he recited the articles before mentioned, which were generally objected to all these seven prisoners, to wit, Thomas Whittet, John Tudon, John Went, Thomas Brown, Hibel Foster, Joan Lathlord, Bartlett Green.

But when Mr. Green would have answered them particularly, he said, you have another article that they should have time to answer sufficiently, and therefore the bishop proceeding, said, that when Green came first to his house, he defire to have the books of the ancient doctors of the church to read, which he said he granted.

Whereunto Green answered, and said, that if the doctors were with indifferent judgment weighed, they made more a great deal with him, than they did with them.

Upon which words, Dr. Feekman, dean of St. Paul's, stood up, and marvelling that he said so, asked him if he would be content to stand to the judgment of the doctors.

Green then said, that he was content to stand to the doctors' judgment.

I will then proceed unto you (said Feekman) the doctors, and interpret them yourself. So he alleged a
Place of Chryfolem, Ad papal. Antwerp, which was the first and only place in the world, wherein the seven ascendent carnens fiant affirmati, & eandem pop. fe religii. " Elias going up, left his cloak behind him; but Christ ascending up took his fitch, and also left it behind him." And he demanded of Green how he understood the place. Then Green informed him that he would confer the doctors' sayings together, and therefore he alleged the same doctor again, writing upon Cor. x. "Is not the bread which we break the communication of the Lord's body?" Whereby he proved that this doctor called this sacrament but a sign of the Lord's body. Many other words of probation and trial were between them.

At last Fecknam demanded of him, how long he had been of this opinion. For, Mr. Green, said he, you confesst once to me, that when you were at Oxford at school, you were called the monkish papist in that house, and being compelled to go to the lecture of Peter Martyr, you were converted from your old doctrine. And Green confessed the same. Then Fecknam said, that Green told him the said Peter Martyr was a papist in Oxford, and he therefore went to Oxford to see him. Whereupon there was an exclamation, and prayed the people to consider how vain his doctrine was that he professed, which was grounded upon one man, and that upon so inconform a man as Peter Martyr, who perceived the wicked intent of the council, was content to please them, and led them into the Catholic religion.

Green said, that he grounded not his faith upon Peter Martyr nor any other, nor did believe so because Peter Martyr believed the same; but because he had heard the seriptures, and the doctors of the church, truly and wholomely expounded by him, neither had he any regard of the man, but of the word which he spake. And further he said, that he heard the said Peter Martyr say often, that he had not, while he was a papist, read Chryfolem upon the tenth to the Corinthians, nor many other places of the doctors: but when he had read them, and was a Catholic, he was content to yield to the doctors, having first humbled himself in prayer, desiring God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true understanding of the scripture. Which thing (said Green) if you, my lord, would do, I do not doubt but God would open your eyes, and shew you his truth, no more than I do doubt his words to be true that faith. "And it shall be given to you; knock, and it shall be opened unto you," Sc.

Then Fecknam asked him what he thought of this article, The holy catholic church. And Green answered, that he did not believe one holy and universal church throughout all the world. Then Fecknam said, that he would have a sure mark and token, whereby he might know this church: and therefore he prayed Green to define unto him this church.

Green answered, that this church did agree in verity with the true doctrine of Chrift, and was known by the true administration of its sacraments. Whereupon Fecknam said, that he would prove the church whereof he was to be never agreeing in doctrine, but always obeying his own opinion. For, said he, Luther and Zuingius could never agree in their writing or sayings, nor Oecolampadius with Carololadius, nor Carololadius with either Zuingius or Luther, Sc. for Luther, writing upon the sacrament of the altar, said, that in this bread, or under this bread we receive the body of the Lord. Zuingius controving him, said, Under the sign of the bread we receive the body of the Lord. And the other controving him in like case.

Then Mr. Green proved their opinions of the sacrament to be one in effect, being rightly weighed; and though their words did not all one, yet they meant one thing; and their opinions were all one, as he proved by divers other examples. Then Fecknam defir'd him that he would not so wholly confesse that he was to be rather conformable to reason, and that my lord bishop there present would be good unto him, and would grant him refpite (if he would demand it), for a night or three weeks, and that he should chuse any learned man whom he would, and should go with him himself, his husband: and that he whom he would chose would willingly the pains to read and confesse on the doctors with him, and open the doctors' minds and meanings unto him.

Then bishop Bonner said, that he was a proud and obstinate boy; and therefore he defir'd Fecknam to hold his peace, and to call him no more Mr. Green; for (said he) you ought not to call an honest man after his name. After this Dr. Pendleton allred him to this tew out of the xxii of Luke, "I will eat no more of this, until it be fulfilled in my Father's kingdom." Here, said he, you must confesse your opinion to be false, else you must say that Christ was a liar: for Christ said, "I will eat no more of this, until it be fulfilled in my Father's kingdom." If Christ did eat no more the bread when he spake these words, then must you say that he was a liar: for he did eat bread after with his disciples, before he ascended. But if you say, it will not agree with the scripture, nor with good reason.

Then Green answered, and said, that this was spoke by an anticipation, as one of their own bishops (who is now dead) doth say.

Then Mr. Pendleton said, that that was no sufficient discharge, nor so sufficient answer for him in this case, for, said he, it is well known that that bishop was of a contrary opinion to you, and that he died a good chris- tian man.

To which words Green said, I do not call him witnesses in this case, as though he were a sufficient man to prove my sayings to be true in this matter: but I do alledge him against you, as Paul did the scripture, which he found graven in the altar of the Athenians, against themselves. To the unknown God. Therefore if the truth be between them, which I pass over, because it were too long to spend upon recital of every thing. Last of all the bishop asked him if he would recant. He said nay, he would not. But, my lord, said he, in old time there were no men put to death for their conscience, until such time as bishops found the men to make it death to believe contrary to them; but excommunication, my lord, was the greatest penalty which men had for their conscience; yea, inso much that St. Augufline wrote, and commanded that no man should be put to death for his opinion.

Then Bonner said, that when Augufline saw what inconveniences followed that commandment, he wrote again to the temporal rulers, commanding them to punish their bodies.

But, said Green, he ordered not to put them to death. He said, punish them, quoth Bonner. Yea, said Green, but not put them to death. That they should be punished, quoth Bonner, again. This talk ended, he asked Green if he would acquaint, and he would acquaint. Whic when he denied, the bishop pronounced the sentence definitive against him, and so committed him to the sheriffs of London, who caused him to be carried to Newgate.

And as he was going thither, there met with him two gentlemen, being both his special friends, being alike to comfort this their perfected brother: but at their meeting, their loving and friendly hearts (not able any longer to hide themselves) were manifested by the abundance of their pitiful tears. By what Green gave them, he said in these or like words, Ah, my dear friends, is this the comfort you are come to give me, in this my occasion of heaviness? Must I, who needed to have comfort ministered to me, become now a comforter of you? And thus declining with quiet parting words and courtesy, he cheerfully spake to them and others, until he came to the prison door.
door, into which he joyfully entered, and there remained always either in gayery (whereunto he much gave himself) or else in some other godly meditations and exercises, until the 28th day of January, when he with his other before-mentioned brethren, went most cheerfully to the place of their torments, often repeating both by the way and at the stake, these Latin verses:

Corde Deus, fine te fecit nobis nulla salutaris: 
Te dace vera Iesucus, te dace falsa nego.

In English thus,

O Christ, my God, sure hope of health,
Befile thee I have none:
The truth I love, and falsehood hate,
By thee my guide alone.

During the time of his imprisonment in Newgate, divers of his friends had access unto him, to whom he gave candid godly exhortations, wherewith they were not only well contented, but also for a better remembrance of his instructions, as well as of his good and pleasant person, they desired him to write somewhat in their books, which he readily complied with.

Amongst other divers and singular good virtues of this godly man, especially in him was to be noted such a model nature, to humbly thinking of himself, as in the case of men is to be found, ever desiring himself under that which was before him, and ever learning to be less than he was, so that nothing less could be abased, than to hear of his praise or commendation; which his letter written to Mr. Philpot declareth, wherein he dothearnestly expostulate with him, for flandering him with praise of his written learning, and other manifold virtues of great excellence. But also by his own speech and answers in his examination, wherein he calleth from him all knowledge of learning and cunning, when notwith-standing he had more in him, than to any man's eyes did appear.

To great and admirable was this gift of modesty graft ed in the nature of him so far abhorring all pride and arrogancy, that as he could not abide any thing that was spoken to his advancement or praise; so neither did there appear any show or boastling in those things wherein he might justly glory, which were his punishments and sufferings for the cause and quarrel of Christ. For when he was beaten and flogged with rods by bishop Bonner (which fear no man would believe, nor I neither, but that I heard it of him, who heard it out of his own mouth), and he greatly rejoice in the time, yet his modesty was such, that he would never mention it, lest he should seem to glory too much in himself, except only to one Mr. Cotton, an intimate friend, a little before his death.

To this admirable modesty may be added his excellent and universal compassion to mankind; which, how soever flown be, yet there is nothing in nature that doth more truly resemble the image of the most high Majesty of Almighty God. As, in respect of humanity, man only excelleth beast, so this man by his merciful tenderness did not only seem to be, but was also, superior to most of his own species. It was his delight to visit the poor prisoners (those that were with him in prison both with bodily relief and spiritual comfort) and hearing many of them (I mean such as were there for theft and lesser wicked crimes) very penitent and sorry for their wicked lives, in hope of their amend ments, did not only by word of mouth, but also by his letters require, yea, as it were of duty in love, charged his friends to do to their utmost endeavours to obtain their liberty. Such was the pious and charitable disposition of this true member of Christ's church, whose imitation of divine benignity appeareth in the following letter.

A LETTER

Of Mr. GREEN in behalf of poor Prisoners.

To my very loving Friends and Matters, Mr. Goring, Mr. Fernham, Mr. Fleetwood, Mr. Ruffwel, Mr. Hulfrey, Mr. Calthorpe, Mr. Bowyer, and other my Matters of the Temple, Bartlet Green withthe Health of Body and Soul.

VERY friends are they who are knit together with the knot of charity; charity doth not decay, but increaseth in them that die faithfully; whereas it followeth, that though we be abistent in body, yet are we present in the Spirit, coupled together with the unity of faith in the bond of peace, which is love. How is he worthy the name of a friend, that meeketh his friendship with the distance of a place, or parting of persons? If thy friend be out of fight, is thy friendship endeth? if he be gone into the country, wilt thou ceale to love him? if he have pased the seas, wilt thou forsake him? if he be carried into heaven, is charity hindered thereby?

On the one side we have the use of the fathers from the primitive church, who gave thanks for their friends that died in that faith, to prove that charity died not with death. On the other side, faith Horace, They change their country, not their minds, who fail beyond sea.

Why speake I of Horace? Saith not St. Paul the same thing? For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his blood, yea, we are members one of another. Is the hand or arm, foot or leg, a member, when it is dismembered from the body? How can we be members, except in that same body? What is the line that couleth us, but love? When all things shall fail, love never faileth. Hope hath it's end, but when we have got that which we hoped for. Faith is finisht in heaven; love endureth for ever; love, I say, that proceedeth of charity; for carnal love, when that which he loveth is lost, doth perish with the flesh. Neither was that ever but fleshly love, which by distance of place, or feveng of bodies, is parted amunder. If love be the end or form of the law; if heaven and earth shall perish, yet one jot of God's word shall not decay, why should we think that love faileth not for ever?

I need not write much to you, my friends, neither have I leasure now the keepers are ritten: but this I may, If we keep our friends company in loving each other, as he loved us, then should our love be ever lasting. This friendship St. Paul felt when it moved him to say, That neither length nor breadth (meaning no distance of place), neither heighth nor depth, should sever him from the love of Christ. Weigh this place well, and mete it with St. Paul's measure, so shall we find that if our love be unchangeable it can never be ended. Now may you say, Why writest thou this? certainly to the end that if our friendship be stable, you may accomplish this the last request of your friend, and perform after my death the friendship we began in our life, that amity may increase until God make it perfect at our next meeting together.

Mr. Fleetwood, I befeech you remember Witrance and Cook, two singular men amongst common prisoners. Mr. Fernham and Mr. Bell, with Mr. Hulfrey, as I hope, will dispathe Palmer and Richardson with his companions. I pray you, Mr. Palmer, think on John Grove, an able person, and a very true man, who the testimonies my friend Thomas Wotton (a servient in Lombard-street) hath promised to further their discovery; at least he can instruct you which way to work. I doubt not but that Mr. Bowyer will labour for the good wife Cooper (for she is worthy to be helped), and Bernard, the Frenchman. There be also other well-disposed men, whose assistance ye will not labour for, yet I humbly beseech you to further their relief; as ye shall see caufe: namely, of Henry Apprice, Lancelet, Hobbes, Lother, Homes, Carre, and Bockingham a youn...
young man of goodly gifts in wit and learning, and (saying that he is somehow weakly) likely to do well hereafter. There be also two women, Conningham and Alice Alexander, that may prove honest. For these and all other poor prisoners here I make my humble suit and pray to you all my sisters, and especially good friends, before God and all mercies of all kinds of the precious blood of Jesus Christ, in the bowls of mercy, to tender the caues of miserable captives; help to clothe Christ, visit the afflicted, comfort the forrowful, and relieve the needy. The very God of peace guide your hearts to have more faith in the poor, and love faithfully together. Amen. This present Monday, when I look to die, and live for ever.

Your's as ever, BARTLETT GREEN.

A LETTER

Of Mr. Green to Mrs. ELIZABETH CLARK.

WOULD God, if it were his pleasure, that with this letter I might send you my heart and mind, and whatsoever there is in me else, that pertaineth to God; so should I think it the best meffage, and happielietter that ever I could write. But though I obtain not my desire, yet I shall not cease with continuall prayer, and prayer, laboured you, defining Almighty God to increase that which he hath long since begun in you, of sover and earneft zeal towards his religion. In faith (as faith St. Paul) the that is a true widow and friends, putteh her trust in God, continuing day and night in supplication and prayer; but that the liveth in pleasantly is dead while the liveth. And verily a true widow is the that hath married Christ, forsaking the vanities of the world, and lust of the flesh. For as the married woman careth how to love, please, and serve her husband, so ought the widow to give all her heart and soul, thought and words, fudices and journ, faithfully to love God, virtuously to bring up her children and household, and diligently to provide for the poor and oppressed.

Therefore St. Paul first instructed a widow how to behave herself, that is, Not to live in pleasure, then to watch unto prayer, as the only means to obtain all our desires, Pledlylaying up all our trust in God, as David right well faith, First eichew evil, then do good. Of Anna, the praise was written, that the never went out of the temple, but served God with fasting and prayer night and day; so well did the eipouched Christ. Judith was the one that was continuing in falling, and had good report of all men. The next care that becometh to a widow, is, that she bring up her children and household godly, in the nurture and instruction of the Lord. Whereof St. Paul faith, if any have children or nephews, let them learn first to rule their own house godly, and to recompense their elders. The incontinency and coveutiously of Phineas and Hophni, corrected by Eli their father, provoked God's vengeance upon him and all his kindred. The over tender love of Abaphim expelled David from his kingdom. The unbridled sins of Amnon encouraged Abaph in to lay his brother; most manifest examples against the parents, for the offences of their children.

Contrariwise, how greatly might Hannah rejoice over Samuel her son, whom she had brought up in the house of the Lord? What thanks might Tobian's wife give for her son Toby? How happy was Solomon to be taught by the prophet Nathan? But above all widows, thrice blest was the happy mother of the seven sons, that had so instructed them by the fear of God, that by their mercents they would shrink from the love of his truth?

Of the last part, St. Paul fieweth that a widow should be chosen, if she hath nourished her children, if she hath been liberal to strangers, if she hath wathed the fants' feet, and if she hath wathed to the poor without. Herein it is evident how earnestly St. Paul would have widows bent towards the poor; for that (as though they only

had been therefore meet) he appointed only widows to minister to the fants, and to gather for the poor. Which use also continued almost throughout the primitive church, that widows had the charge and guidi

gence for the poor and strangers.

Therefore, Mr. Green, I pray you in remembrance, seeing you daily feed them with good hospita

lity, by which means also many foreigner are entertained relieved: but of the poor alms-rooms, and miserable

prisoners here in London, many lacking their liberty without caufe, some under colour of religion, some only living in robbbery, and so defpised. Alas! that Christ so hungereth, and no man will feed him; is sore oppreft with thirst, and no man will give him drink; destitute of all lodging, and not relieved; naked, and not clothed; sick, and not visited; it is not seen, it is not felt.

In times past men could bestow large sums of monies, on copes, veiments, and ornaments of the church. Why rather follow we not the example of St. Ambrose, who sold the fame for the relief of the poor: or the commandment of Chrysostom, who willied first to deck and garnish the living temple of God? But, alas! such is the wickednes of these our last days, that nothing moveth us; neither the pure doctrine, the godliness of life, nor good examples of ancient fathers. If in any thing they cried, if they have written any thing the ferveth for feds and diffusion, that with their charitable children embrace, publish, and maintain veiled, faggar, and fire: but all in vain; they strive against the storm. For though in defiance of the truth, by force of the cares of crafty perfuasion, they may bring themselves into the haven of hell; yet they cause make all men believe that the banks move while the ship faileth, nor ever shall be able to turn the direct course of the stream of God's truth. Our Lord Jesus Christ strengtheneth you in all pure doctrine and upright living, and give you grace virtuously to bring up your children and children, and carefully to provide for the poor and oppressed, Amen. At Newgate, the 2nd of January, Anno 1556.

Your affured, BARTLETT GREEN.

Another certain Writing of Mr. BARTLETT GREEN.

BETTER is the day of death, faith Solomon, than

the day of birth. Man that is born of a woman liveth but a short time, and is replenished with many noisinesses: but happy are the dead that die in the Lord. A man is born unto sorrow, and into trouble, and into many heavy servants shall come to him. Wherein doth Christ droth die in joy, and live in felicitie. He is born to die, and dieth to live. Straight as he cometh into the world, with cries he uttereth his incoerent efface; straight as he departeth, with song he praiseth God for ever. Searce yet in his dead enemies assault him; after death no adversey can annoy him. Whilf he is here, he delighteth God; when he is dead, he fulfillth his will. In this life here he dieth through fin; in the life to come he dieth in righteousness. Through many tributions Christ is still purifieth, with joy unspeakable in hearts is he made pure for ever. Here he dieth every hour, there he liveth continually. Here is fin: there is righteousness. Here is time; there is eternity. Here is hatred; there is love. Here is pain; there is pleasure. Here is misery; there is felicity. Here is corruption; there is immortality. Here is fear; there is charity; there shall behold the Majesty of God with triumphate and unspeakable joy in glory everlasting. Seek therefore the things that are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father; unto whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

Your's in Christ, BARTLETT GREEN.

There were divers other letters and matters wrote by this servant of God, as namely certain notes and extracts in Latin, out of the doctors and other authors, as
After this being spoken, Bonner (as he had done to others before) read in writing the sentence against him. The copy and form of which sentence wherewith the papists were wont to condemn the other innocents, is before expressed. And this being done, he was committed to the thieves to be had away, and burned the 27th day of the said month of January, contantly abiding with others the cruel torments, for the true confession of his christian faith.

IV. The History of John Tudson, Martyr.

On the same day that the aforesaid Thomas Brown with his fellows were condemned (as is above related), being the 15th day of January, John Tudson was also brought forth with the rest of the said company unto the like condemnation. This John Tudson was born in Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, after that apprenticeship in London, dwelling with one George Goodyear, of the parish of St. Mary Borolph, within the diocese of London, who being complained of to Sir Richard Cholmley and Dr. Story, was by them sent unto Bonner, bishop of London, and was divers times before him in examination.

The charges and interrogatories minutiously unto him as unto the rest, are before specified, with his answers also to the same annexed, &c. After this he was brought into the open consistory, where the said John Tudson appearing before the said bishop and his accomplices, was urged with unduly pressions (as their manner was) to go from his opinion (which they named hereof), and to return to the unity of the church and call they were of; but he, confantly persevering in that in which he had received by the preachers in king Edward's time, refused so to do, saying, there was no here- in his answers. For (I said he) defy all here- The bishop yet still used his old accustomed persuasions to move him, promising for David and his companions (as he called them) to be forgiven him, if he would return, &c. Then said Tudson, Tell me wherein I have offended, and I will return. Then said the bishop, In your answers. No, said Tudson again, I have not therein offended; and you, my lord, pretend charity, but nothing thereof appears in your words. Thus after a few words, the bishop did likewise pronounce against him sentence of condemnation; which being read, the godly martyr was committed to the secular power, and so with much patience finished this life with the others before named, the 27th day of January.

V. The History of John Went, Martyr.

John Went, born in Langham, in Essex, within the diocese of London, of the age of twenty-six years, and a sheerman by occupation, was first examined (as is partly mentioned before) by Dr. Story upon the sacrament of the altar; and because the poor man did not accord with him thoroughly in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, the said Dr. Story sent him up to the bishop of London. Who likewise, after divers examinations upon the articles aforesaid in the consistory, attempted the like manner of persuasions with him as he did to the others, to recant and return. To whom, in very few words, the said Went answered again, he would not; but that by the leave of God, he would stand firm and constant in what he had said. And when the bishop yet not withstanding did call upon him with words and fair glosses, to give over himself to his own opinion, he could have no other answer of him but this, No, I say as I have said, &c. Whereupon being condemned by the bishop's sentence, he was committed unto the thieves, (whom that shamefaced travelling at that time abode for the whole butchery, not content to meet to his martyrdom, which he with no less constancy suffered to the end, with the rest of that blest society of martyrs above named.)
VI. The History of Isabel Foster, Martyr.  

WITH these five persons above recited and condemned, were also two women in the said company condemned, one of which was burned for the same cause; the one a wife, called Isabel Foster, the other a maid, named Joan Warne, or otherwise Lathford.

This aforesaid Isabel was born in Graefebrook, in the diocese of Carlifie, and was afterwards married to one John Foster, curter of the parish of St. Bride’s, in Fleet-street, being of the age of fifty-five years. She likewise, for not coming to their church, was sent to bishop Bonner, who put her in prision, and examined her many times, but she would never be overcome, nor removed from the confess of Christ’s gospel.

At length, coming unto her final examination before the bishop in the consistory the 15th day of the said month of January, she was moved again, whether she would yet go from her former answers. Whereunto she gave a resolute answer in a few words; I will not, faith the, go from them, by God’s grace; and thereunto did adhere, neither being cast down by the menacing threats of the bishop, nor yet yielding through his alluring enticements, as if she would be delivered from the bonds of liberty, if she would be delivered from the unities of the catholic church, whereunto she said again in this word, That the truth she was never out of the catholic church, &c. and so perilling in the same, continued confinat till the sentence definitive was pronounced, and then she was committed by command of the bishop to the secular power, and so brought a few days after to the stake, the 27th day of the aforesaid month; where she, like a faithful witness of the Lord’s truth (with the other five aforesaid), endured her troubles here, to find a better rest in the kingdom of Christ our Saviour.

VII. The History of Joan Lashford, alias Joan Warne, Martyr.

In this volume mention hath been made of one Elizabeth Warne, who with her husband John Warne (as is aforesaid), in the beginning of queen Mary’s reign, was apprehended in Bow-church-yard for being there at a communion; and both fled for the same; first, the man in the month of May, the woman in July after; and now the daughter in the month of January followed her parents in the same martyrdom. Furthermore, in the same place following mention was made also of Dr. Story, who there (we said) was somewhat near unto the said parties, either in kindred or alliance; however, as I have heard since, there was no kindred between them, but only that she was his servant. Yet notwithstanding, the said Dr. Story (as it is above specified) before he was commissioner, made intercession for the parties to Dr. Martin, then commissioner; but afterwards being placed in commiision himself, he so far forgot himself, and his old servant, that he became no small procurer of their deaths. I will not here expatiate with the hard heart of that man, nor with his inconstancy: who yet, notwithstanding, after he had brought them to death, was arrested himself for three-four pounds, charged with debt in their behalf; which if it be true, it may thereby appear that he was in some manner allied unto them. But leaving that pervers to the good pleasure of God, let us return to what we have in hand.

This Joan Lashford, born in the parish of Little St. Alhambros, in Thomas-street, was the daughter of one Robert Lashford, curter, and of the aforesaid Elizabeth, who afterwards was married to John Warne, upholsterer, who (as we said) was also committed to the stake for God to the burning fire, and after him his wife; and after her this Joan Lathford her daughter; who, about the age of twenty years, ministration to his father and mother in prison, suspected and known to be of the same doctrine and religion, was sent to Bonner, bishop of London, by Dr. Story (as is above in the answers to the articles declared) and so committed to the Poultry Comper, where she remained about five weeks, and from thence conveyed to Newgate, where she continued some months.

After that, remaining prisoner in the custody of Bonner, and being examined, her confession was, that for above a twelvemonth before, the same not to the popish mas service in the church, neither would, either to receive the sacrament of the altar, or to be confected, because her conscience would not suffer her so to do, confessing and protesting, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the real presence of Christ’s body and blood; nor that auricular confession or absolution after the popish fashion was necessary, that it must be good according to the scripture, but said, that both the said sacraments, confession and absolution, and the nod, with all their other superfluous sacraments, ceremonies, and divine service, as then used in this realm of England, were mere vices, and contrary to Christ’s word and institution, so that they were neither at the beginning, nor shall be at the latter end. This godly damsel, foble and tender of age, yet strong by grace in this her confession and faith, found so firm, that neither the lamenting promised, nor the violent threats of the bishops could turn her; but being moved and exhorted by the bishop, to return to the catholic unity of the church, boldly failed to him again. If you will leave off your abomination, I will return, and otherwise I will not.

Whereupon the bishop yet again promised her pris of all her errors (as he called them) if the would be confirmed. To this she answered again, saying to the bishop, Do as it pleaseth you, and I pray God that you may do that which may please God.

And thus the constantly perverting in the Lord’s holy truth, as by the sentence definitive was committed to the sheriffs, by whom, the aforesaid 14th day of January, she with the rest being brought unto the stake, there washed her clothes in the blood of the Lamb, dying most courageously for his word and truth, to whom lovingly she expostulated herself.

And thus much concerning the life, story, and condemnation of these seven martyrs.

The History of five Martyrs who were burnt at Canterbury, at two Stakes in one Fire.

These five martyrs suffered for the truth of the gospel at Canterbury on the 21st day of January, being one man and four women, whose names and examination are hereafter follow: John Lomas, a young man; Anne Allwright; Joan Catmer; Agnes Snot; widow; Joan Sole, wife.

JOHN LOMAS, Martyr.

John Lomas, of the parish of Tenterden, detected and preferred of that religion which the papists call hereby, and cited upon the same to appear at Canterbury, examined there of the first article, whether he believed the catholic church or no, answered no, that he believed so much as is contained in God’s book, and no more.

Then being signified to appear again under the pain of the law the next Wednesday seven-nights after, which was the 17th day of January, John Lomas was examined, whether he would be confected by a priest or no, answered and said, that he found it not written that he should be confected to any priest in God’s book, neither would he be confected, unless he were accused by some man of sin. Again, examined whether he believed the body of Christ to be under the forms of bread and wine after the consecration, or no? He answered, that he believed no reality of Christ’s body to be in the sacrament; neither found he written, that he is there under form or trelit, but
he believed so much as is written. Being then demanded whether he believed that there was a catholic church or no, and whether he would put content to be a member of the same, he answered thereto, that he believed so much as was written in God’s book, and other answer than this he refused to give, &c. Whereupon the sentence was given and read against him the 18th day of January, and so committed to the secular power, he constantly suffered for the conscience of a true faith, with the four warrant here following.

II. AGNES SNOTH.

AGNES SNOTH, widow, of the parish of Smeaton, likewise cited and accused for the true profession of Christ’s religion, was divers times examined before the pluralized fathers; and being there compelled to answer to such articles and interrogatories as should be administered unto her, first demised to be confessed to a priest; notwithstanding the denied not to confess her offences one to another, but not auricularly to any priest. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, she protested that if she or any other did receive the sacrament so as Christ and his apostles after him did deliver it, then she and they did receive it to their conscience: but as it is used in the church, she said that man could otherwise receive it than to his damnation, as the thought. Afterwards being examined again concerning penance, whether it were a sacrament or no, she plainly denied the same, and that the popish manner of the abolution was not consonant to the word, nor necessary to other faith, and that agreeing with the answers and confession of John Lomus before mentioned. Whereupon the sentence being likewise read, she was committed to the sheriffs of Canterbury, and to suffering martyrdom with the rest, declared her faith a period and confirm witness of Christ and his truth, the 17th day of January.

III. ANNE ALBRIGHT, alias CHAMPNES.

ANNE ALBRIGHT, likewise appearing before the judge and his colleagues, it was next objected concerning the same matter of conceit. Whereunto she answered in these words, saying, That she would not be confessed by a priest; and added moreover, speaking unto the priests, You priests (said she) are the cause of all perturbation, and can do no good by your confession. And likewise speaking unto the judge and his assistants, she told them that they were subverters of Christ’s truth.

And concerning the sacrament of the altar, she said it was a wicked and abominable idol, and utterly denied the same sacrament. Thus persevering and perceiving in her former sayings and answers, she was committed the 18th day of January, with the others before-mentioned; and in whom also she suffered quietly, and with great content, for the truth of Christ’s religion.

IV. JOAN SOLE.

IN like manner Joan Sole, of the parish of Horton, was condemned by the same plurally and priests for refusing auricular confession, and for denying the real presence and substance of Christ to be in the sacrament. Where, after their pluralized sentence being pronounced, was brought by the priests to the place with the other four, and sustained the like martyrdom with them, through the silence of God’s un搬迁ed holy grace and spirit mightily working in her, to the glory of his name, and confirmation of his truth.

V. JOAN CATMER.

TH E fifth and last of this heavenly company of martyrs, was Joan Catmer, of the parish of Hith, wife of George Catmer, burned before. Who being asked what he said to confession made to a priest, denied to be confessed to any such priest. And moreover, the judge speaking of the sacrament of the altar, the said and affirmed, That the believed not in that sacrament, as it was then offered, for that it was made; said that it was a very idol. In this her confession the remaining and persisting, was by the like sentence cruelly by them condemned, and so fulfilled with the aforesaid John Lomus, and the other three martyrs, ratifying and confessing with their blood the true knowledge and doctrine of the glorious name of Jesus Christ.

There five persons were burnt at two places in one fire, together at Canterbury, as is before said, who, when the fire was flaming about their ears, did ringing psalms. Whereat the good knight, Sir John Norton, being there present, wet bitterly at the sight.

The judge, old and other witnesses which were upon her and the other four before mentioned, were Richard Faucet, John Warren, John Mills, Robert Collins, and John Baker, the notary.

The History of the Reverend Father and Prelate, THOMAS CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr, buried at Oxford, for the Confession of Christ’s true Doctrine, under Queen Mary, March 21, 1556.

Concerning the life and efficacy of that most reverend father in God, and worthy prelate of godly memory, Thomas Cranmer, late Arch-bishop of Can- terbury, and of the original cause and occasion of his preferment unto his archiepiscopal dignity, who by many hath been thought to have procured the fame by friendship only, and by some others esteemed unworthy of so high a vocation; it is further to be noted and considered, that the same Thomas Cranmer, is sprung of an ancient parentage, from the conquest to be deduced, and continuing since in the name and family of a gentleman, was born in a village called Arflcheton, in Northam- tonshire, of whose said name and family there remaineth at this day the manor and manor-hoole in Lincoln- shire, called Cranmer-hall, &c. sometime the heritage of the said foad and family. He being from his infancy kept at school, and carefully brought up, from school he was sent unto the university of Cambridge, and there prospering in good knowledge among the better sort of students, was chosen fellow of Jesus-college in Cambridge. And so being master of arts, and fellow of the same college, he married a gentleman’s daughter, by which he loft and gave over his fellowship, and became a reader in Buckingham-college; and because he would with more diligence apply himself to his office of reading, a common said word with that inn, called the Dolphin, in Cambridge, the woman of the chiefest of the chamber, being a relation of his. By reason whereof, and his often going to see his wife in that inn, he was much noticed by some popish merchants: on this arose the flanderous noise and report against him, after he was preferred to the archiepiscopate of Canterbury, raised up by the malicious disdain of certain malignant adversaries to Christ and his truth, reporting abroad everywhere, that he was but an offer, and therefore deficient in all good learning. Of whose malicious reports, one of their practices in Christ’s law shall hereafter be declared, as place and time shall serve.

But in the mean time to return to the matter precedent: while Mr. Cranmer continued as a reader in Buckingham-college, his wife died in child-bed. After whose death the masters and fellows of Jesus-college, deuors again of the same puppy, for his eminent learning, chose him again fellow of the said college. Where he remaining at his study, became in a few years after the reader of the divinity lecture in the same college, and in such universal estimation and reputation with the whole university, that when doctor of divinity, he was commonly appointed one of the heads (which are two or three of the most learned men) to examine such as yearly proceed in commendemment, either bachelors or doctors of divinity, by whose approbation the same university licensed them to proceed unto their degree, and again by whole non-approbation the university
university also rejected them for a time to proceed, until they were better furnished with evidence.

Now, Dr. Cranmer, ever favouring the knowledge of the Scripture, would never permit any to proceed in divinity, unless they were substantially versed in the text of the Bible; by means whereof certain friars and other capuchins, who were principally brought up in the study of scholastic philosophy, with a respect had to the authority of the Scriptures, were commonly rejected by him; so that he was greatly, for that he never examined, by the religious of much hated, not despised, in an indignation; and yet it came to pass in the end, that divers of them who fell to study the Scriptures, became afterwards very well learned and well affected; insomuch that when they became doctors of divinity, they could not too much extol and commend Dr. Cranmer's good sense towards them, who for a time had put them so much to work as to initiate themselves in better knowledge and perfection. Among whom Dr. Barret, a white friar, who afterwards dwelt at Norwich, was handled after that manner, giving him no less commendation for his happy rejecting of him for a better amendment. Thus, Dr. Cranmer, so to speak, that our apostles and popish fort of ignorant priests may well understand, that this his exercise, kind of life, and vocation, was not altogether oyster-like.

Well, to proceed; as he was neither in fame unknown nor in knowledge obscure, he was very much solicited to be a layman to one of the fellows in the foundation of cardinal Wolsey, of which there was a great outcry in Oxford, which he utterly refused, not without danger of indignation. Notwithstanding, he forewore that which after happened, to the utter confusion of many well-affected learned men that were without consideration (because man's glory was there more found than God's), he stood the danger of the said indignation, which turned out more propitiously unto him within a few years after than he expected. While he thus continued in Cambridge, the great and wealthy duke of King Henry the Eighth, divided his kingdom to Katharine Dowager of Spain, came into question; which divided many ways for the space of two or three years among the common citizens, and other learned men, diversly disputed and debated, it came to pass that the said Dr. Cranmer, on account of the disgrace being in Cambridge, referred to Waltham-Abbe, to the Mr. Creffy's house there, whose wife was a relation of the said Dr. Cranmer. He had two sons of the said Mr. Creffy with him at Cambridge, and the house of the said Mr. Creffy, with the said two children, during the summer-time while the plague reigned.

During this summer cardinal Campeius and cardinal Wolsey, being in communion from the pope, to hear and determine that great cause in controversy between the said pope and queen, his pretended wife, dallied and delayed all the summer-time until the month of August in hearing the said cause in controversy; when August was come, the said cardinals little minding it, proceeded to give sentence, took occasion to finish their commissio, and to determine no further therein, pretending that it was not permitted by the laws to keep courts of ecclesiastical matters in time of pestilence; which, if sudden stoppage and giving up of the said cause sufficiently both of the cardinals, unknown to the king, so much enraged him, that he taking it as a mock at the cardinals' hands, commanded the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to dispatch immediately home to Rome cardinal Campeius; and in haste removed himself to his house at Greenwich for a night or two, while his household removed to Greenwich: by this means it happened that the harbingers Dr. Stephen Gardiner, secretary, and Dr. Foxe, almoner, (who were with the said cardinals, being in London, in the east windy) to lodge in the house of the said Mr. Creffy, when Dr. Cranmer also lodged and retired. When supper-time came, the three doctors met together: Dr. Stephen Gardiner and Dr. Cranmer were much surprised at Dr. Cranmer's being there. He declared the cause, namely, because the plague was in Cambridge: as they were old acquaintances, the secretary and the almoner very well entertaining Dr. Cranmer, intending to understand his mind concerning the great butinesse they had in hand. And this cause being conference, while they were at supper, they conferred with Dr. Cranmer concerning the said cause, requesting him to give his judgment and opinion of what he thought therein.

Whereof Dr. Cranmer answered, That he could for the present, as he had not studied nor looked for it. Notwithstanding he did entertain his opinion they might more ado in inspecting the ecclesiastical law than needed. It were better, as I think, said Dr. Cranmer, than the question, Whether a man may marry his brother's wife, or no? were diffusely by the divines, and that authority of the word of God, whereby the controversy of the prince might be more quieted and gained than thus from year to year to year by the same delay to prolong the time, leaving the very truth of the same unfelt by the word of God. There is but true in, which the Scripture will often declare, make open and manifest, being left to men well handled, and that may be as well done in England as in the universities here, as at Rome, or elsewhere in any foreign nation, the authority wherein will soon compel any to come to a definitive sentence: and therefore, as I think, it must be left to men who have made an end of this matter long since. When Dr. Cranmer had thus ended his tale, the other two liked well his advice, and would they had proceeded fo before, and therefore proposed some matter of council to instruct the king with, who was thinking to send to Rome again for a new commission.

Now the next day, when the king removed to Greenwich, recollecting in himself how he had been by the cardinals, in thus deferring his cause, his mind was very uneasy, and defectus to fear an end of this long and tedious cause; he called unto him the two principal managers of his affairs, Dr. Gardiner, and Dr. Foxe. What now, my masters, said the king, who is the infinite cause of mine? I see there must be a new commission procured from Rome, and when we shall last an end, God knowth, and not I.

The king had declared somewhat of his mind therein, Dr. Foxe, then, said to the king, we trust that there shall be better ways devised for our majesty, than to send any more to Rome in your highness's cause, which by chance was put into our hands last night at Waltham. The king being very desirous to understand the matter, said, Who hath taken in hand to instruct you by a better course of proceeding in our said cause? Then did Dr. Foxe, We happened to lodge last night at one Mr. Creffy's house in Waltham, your highness being there, while we were with an old acquaintance of ours, Dr. Cranmer. The king hearing that having conference concerning your highness's cause, he thought the said Creffy was so much allayed, first to instruct and quiet your majesty's confidence by trying your majesty's question by the word of God, and thereupon to proceed to a final sentence. With this report the secretary was displeased with the almoner, because they did not take the edge of his invention to themselves. And when the secretary endeavoured by colourable words to make it appear to the king, that it was a project of their own devising, the king was much enraged out, Where is this Dr. Cranmer, is he ill at Waltham? They answered, that he was ill there. Then, said the king, I will speak with him, and therefore let him be sent for immediately. I perceive (said the king) that that man hath found out the true mode of proceeding. And if I had known this device a year or two years ago, it had been a great saving of money to me, and extricated me out of much difficulty.

Whereupon Dr. Cranmer was sent for, but having removed from Waltham to Cambridge, was going to be lodged at Cambridge, when the pope overtook him. But not being come to London, he being a prisoner with two acquaintance of his, and his means was thus troubled, and brought thither to be encumbered in a matter which he had not studied, but
was entirely unacquainted with; and therefore intreated they would instantly go and make his excuse in such a manner that he might be dispatched home again, and not be required to come into the king's presence. They promised, and took the matter upon themselves to do it, if by any means it could be contrived. In the evening, the king, with great exactitude, desired Dr. Cranmer to tell the king that the once learned Doctor, being in mortal danger, had been from the company of his secretary and his almoner. To which Dr. Cranmer replied, that the king would find, had you not conference with them concerning our matter of divorce now in question after this fort? repeating the manner and the art of the courtiers, that he should have bought these hughnels, quoth Dr. Cranmer. Well, (said the king,) I well perceive that you have the right fenec of this matter. You must understand that I have been long troubled in conscience, and now I perceive that by this means I might have been long ago relieved one way or other. This will you do for you bid this was proceeded.

And therefore, Mr. Doctor, I pray you, and nevertheless because you are a subject, I charge and command you (all your other business and affairs fit apart) to take some pains to see this my cause furthered according to your device, as much as it may lie in you, so that I may behold this day, that I may myself be. I protest before God and the world, that I seek not to be divorced from the queen, if by any means I might justly be persuaded that this our marriage was inviolable, and not against the laws of God: for otherwise there was no other cause to move me to seek any such proceeding. And I pray God and the world and wheresoever I shall be, to make the king's queen, and to save the king's family, I would be right well contented still to remain with her, if to be it would find with the will and pleasure of Almighty God. And thus highly commending her many and amiable qualities, the king further said, I therefore pray you with an indifferent eye, and with much dexterity as in you is proper, to proceed in this matter for the discharging of both our concerns.

Dr. Cranmer unwilling by himself to meddle in so weighty an affair, besought the king's highness to commit the trial and examining of this matter by the word of God, unto the best learned men of both his universities. But the king and I am content therewith. Ye shall think well, said the king, and I am content therewith. The king then said, I will, I will have you particularly to write your mind thereon. And to calling the earl of Wiltshire to him, said, I pray you, my lord, let Dr. Cranmer have entertainment in your house at Durham Place for a time, to the intent he may be there quiet to accomplish my request, and let him want neither books, nor any thing requisite for his study. And thus after the king's departure, Dr. Cranmer went with my lord of Wiltshire into his house, wherein he incontinent wrote his name on the margin of the king's question; adding to the same, besides the answer of the bishops, the high officers of general councils, and of ancient writers, but also his own opinion, which was this, That the bishop of Rome had no such authority, whereby he might dispense with the word of God and the scripture. When Dr. Cranmer had written this book, and committed it unto the king, the king said unto him, That if you have here written before the bishop of Rome? That I will do, by God's grace, quoth Dr. Cranmer, your majesty will send me thither. Indeed, said the king, I will send you unto him in a large ambassage. And thus by means of Dr. Cranmer's handling of this matter with the king, not only certain learned men were sent abroad to the most part of the universities in Christendom, to dispute the question, but also the fame being by commission disputed by the divines in both the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, it was there concluded, That no such matrimony was by the word of God lawful.

Whereupon a solemn ambassage was then prepared and sent to the bishop of Rome, then being at Bonony, wherein was added the earl of Wiltshire, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Stokelsey, Dr. Carle, Dr. Bennet, and divers other learned men and gentlemen.

And when the time came that they should come before the bishop of Rome to declare the cause of their ambassage, the bishop sitting on high in his cloister, and surrounded with all the fandals on his feet, offering, as it were, his hand to be kissed by the ambassadors; the earl of Wiltshire dilating thereon, flood still, and theed no countenance thereunto, so that all the rest kept themselves from this wicked idolatry. That this may be thought to be a prevenient touch of the bishop of Rome, which then happened through a spaniel which belonged to the earl of Wiltshire. For he having there a great spaniel which he brought with him out of England, it made between the earl and the bishop of Rome. And when the said bishop, after the feast, spake to the servants of God (as he in great humility himselfe did so,) of the spaniel, and how his foot to be kissed, and while they flood still, and declared it, the said spaniel seeing the foot shining with gold and jewels, caught hold of it, taking it to be some kind of repast, and bit it. The pope dilating the alloment, in which case, that he, having touched the dog with the other, while the Englishmen fainted in their fessicles at the oven. The pontifical bishopp, knifing his brows, demanded the cause of their embassye. Which being declared, the earl of Wiltshire delivered Cranmer's book in the pope's hand, telling him withal, That there were learned men of Rome and England, to whom they were ready to defend what was contained in that book, by the holy scriptures, the councils, and the writings of the orthodox fathers, against all who should contradict it.

The pope often promised the ambassadors to appoint a day for the disputacion: but it was a promise which he never performed; by affected delays spinning out the time, as his cardinals had before done in England. So giving the ambassadors most honourable and court-like entertainment, and having made Cranmer (whom he ever knew to be the author of that book concerning the king's marriage with the queen,) to the penitentary in England, Ireland, and Wales; being mighty timorous, and equally afraid of the emperor, the French king, and our's, he durst not come to any resolution in a matter of such moment, but diffusely stilled all further determining, or even proposing any thing about it.

From hence, while the rest returned home, Cranmer by the king's private order, made the emperor and the princes of Germany his way. At that time the emperor was engaged in an expedition against the Turks, who were engaged in the siege of Vienna, the capital of Austria. When Cranmer arrived, and attended, and added him in the king's name, which of his domestics or others that he knew would contradict him? Cornelia Agrippa was mentioned; a man better versed in the secrets of philosophy than divinity. But he being easily brought over to Cranmer's side of the question, readily join'd in persuading the other learned men of the emperor's retinue, not to oppose Cranmer; who, he said, had brought the truth along with him. Therefore meeting with no opposition, he took his leave of the emperor. From hence taking a tour throughout Germany, he brought home to the king the judgment of the most learned men there, as well in the universities, as in the courts of princes, all agreeing with his own.

This matter thus prospering on Dr. Cranmer's behalf, as well concerning the king's question, as concerning the invalidity of the pope's authority, Warham, then archbishop of Canterbury, departed this triennial life, whereby that dignity then being in the king's gift, was immediately given to Dr. Cranmer, as worthy...
worthy, for his good services, of such a promotion. Thus much concerning the preferment of Dr. Cranmer, and by what means he arrived at this dignity: not by flattery, nor by bribes, but by his lawful and due means, which thing I were at large dis coursed, to flop the railing mouths of such, who being them- selves obscure and unknown, are not ashamed most discouriously to attack so learned a man with the nick- name of officer, whom, for his godly zeal to divine religion, they sought with humility to have had in regard and reputation.

Now as concerning his behaviour and method of living towards God and the world, being now entered into his said dignity, and forasmuch as the apostle St. Paul forewarned the Corinthians, that no man, or woman, should partake of the table of God, except that which of the truest, fittest, and best were set about us a perfect description of a true bishop, with all the other properties and conditions belonging to the same, unto which pattern it is rare in these strange days to find the image of any bishop correspondent; yet, for example's sake, let us take this archbishop of Canterbury, and try him by the rule thereof, to see either how near he cometh to the description of St. Paul, or else how far off he svveth from the common course of others in his time, of his calling. The rule of St. Paul is found, 1 Tim. iii. 2, epistle to Titus, chap. i. in these words:

"A bishop must be faultless, as becometh the minister of God, not aibourn, nor angry, nor drunkard, nor fight- er, nor covetous, but a lover of hospitality, one that loveth goodness, sober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true word and doctrine, that he may be able to exhort," &c.

Unto this rule and touchstone, to lay now the conversation and conversation of this archbishop, we will first begin with that which is thus written.

A bishop must be faultless, as becometh the minister of God.

As no man is without sin, and as every man carrieth about him his peculiar vice or failings; yet nevertheless the apostle meaneth, that the bishop and minister must be faultless in comparison of the common conversation of men in the world, who seem to live more licentiously at their own liberties and pleasures, than a bishop or minister ought to do, having small regard to the giving of good example, which a bishop and minister most carefully ought to consider, left by his diabolic life the word of God be slandered and evil spoken of; to avoid which, and being better to accomplish this precept of the apostle, this worthy man gave himself to continual study, sturdily observing the order that he in the university commonly used, that is, to be by five o'clock in the morning at his book, and so continuing in prayer and study all day, and after dinner and after praying (if the prince's affairs did not call him away) until dinner-time to hear faiiures, and to dispatch such matters as appertained to his special cure and charge, committing his temporal affairs, both of his household and other foreign businesses, to his officers; so that such things were never impeded either to his study, or to his pastoral charge, which principally consisted in reformation of corrupt religion, and in setting forth of true and sincere doctrine. For the most part always being in communion, he acquainted himself with learned men for fitting or explaining something or other for the advantage and profit of the church of England. By means whereof, and what for his private study, he was never idle; besides that, he accounted it no idle point to bestow an hour or two of the day in reading over such works and books as daily came from beyond the seas.

After dinner, if any faiiures were attendant, he would very diligently hear them, and dispatch them in such an obbliging manner, that every one admired and com- mended his lenity and gentleness, although the cafe required a stiffer and more severe correction, which were performed by him to prifon. And having no faiiures after dinner, for an hour, or thereabouts, he would play at chefs, or behold such as were at play. That done, then again to his ordinary study, where he commonly fad (ti- dom fort down) till five of the clock, which he observed in hearing the Common Prayer, and walking or other spiritual exercises, which he termed the fupper-time. At supper, if he had no appetite (as many times he would not fup), yet he would sit down at table, having his ordi- nary provision of his meat furnished with experience company, he wearing his gloves on his hands, because he would not set them bare from the exercise of eating, or yet entertain the company with such edifying discourse as did much delight the hearers, so that by this means hospitality was well furnished, and the alms-chest well maintained for relief of the poor.

After further, he would spend, at least, one hour in walk- ing, or examining other harmsful passions, or would again till nine of the clock at his study: so that no hour of the day was spent in vain, but the same was so bestowed, as tended to the glory of God, the service of the prince, or the advantage of the church. By all which he gained a good report among men, so that his conversation, in comparison with other men, seemed to be faultless, as the minister of God.

Total a bishop ought not to be faiiiborn.

Secondly, it is required, "That a bishop ought not to be faiiiborn." With which kind of vice, without great wrong, this archbishop in no wise ought to be charged; whose nature was such, as none more genial, or gentler, or more honest and upright, with especial such things, wherein by his word, writing, counsel, or deed, he might gratify either gentleman or nobleman, or do good to any mean person, or else relieve the needy and poor. Only in caues pertaining to God or his prince, no man more freely, or more hard to be won; as in that part his earnest defence in the parliament-house above three days together, in dis- puting against the fix articles of Gardiner's device, can testify. And though the king would needs have him upon that occasion to confirm and go forward, yet so handled himself, as well in the parliament-house as afterwards by writing, so obediently, and with such humble behaviour towards his prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but Almighty God's, who was the author of all truth, that the king did not only like his defence willing him to depart out of the parlia- ment-house into the council whilst the act should pass, but gave, for safeguard of his conscience, which he with humble protestation refused, hoping that his maj- esty, in process of time, would revoke them again; but this again the king, in order to be ingenuous, not receiv- ing the zealous affection that the archbishop bore towards the defence of his caufe, which many ways, by scriptures and manifold authorities and reasons, he had substantially confirmed and defended, sent the said Cromwell, then viscount, to the two bishops of Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the lords of the parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth; where it was declared by the viscount, and the two dukkes, that it was the king's pleasure, that they all should, in his highness's behalf, cherish, comfort, and animate him, as being in his trouble in that parliament, had shewed himself both greatly learned, and also discreet and wise, and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged for anything that was paffed contrary to his allegations. He most humbly thanked the king's majesty for his great good- nes towards him, and them, for all their pains, saying, I hope in God, that hereafter my allegations and autho- rities shall take place to the glory of God and the ad- vantage of the realm; in the meantime I will satisfy myself, with the honourable content of your honours and the good of the church.

Here it is to be noted, that this man's stout and godly defence of the truth herein so bound the prince's con- science, that he would not permit the truth in that matter to be clean overthrown with authority and power, and therefore redoubled his care, and his very soul and conscience, a plain token was declared hereby, that all things were not so sincerely handled in the confirmation of the said fix articles as they ought to have been, for else the prince might
apply rather to the archbishop for his deliverance, than to the lord Cromwell, before whom he was accused: well knowing the difference of their temperers, the one genial and full of affability, the other severe and rigid, especially against a papist: so that Cherfey took upon him first to try my lord of Canterbury's benignity, insomuch as his cousin's offence was only against him, and none other. Whereupon the said Cherfey, the said archbishop's gentleman (whose father bought all his spices and fruits of the faid Cherfey, and so thereby of familiar acquaintance with the gentleman), and acquainted him with the trouble his kinman was in, deeming him to be a means to my lord his master, to hear his fair in the behalf of his kinman, which changed not.

The matter was moved. The archbishop, like a good-natured man, would never flew himself strange to the meanest petitioner: he immediately lent for the said Cherfey, who appearing before him, declared, that there was a kinman of his in the Fleet, a priest of the north country, and as I may tell your grace the truth (quoth Cherfey) a man of small civility and of least learning; and yet he hath a parsonage there, which now (by reason that my lord Cromwell hath laid him in London) being for that time empty, he continued inUnstance above two months, and is called to no answer, and knows not when he shall come to any end; so that this imprisonment confineth his substance, and will utterly undo him, unless your grace be his good lord.

I know not the man, said the archbishop, nor what he hath done why he should be thus in trouble.

Said Cherfey again, He only hath offended against your grace, and against no man else, as may well be perceived by the articles objected against him, the copy whereof the faid Cherfey then exacted from the archbishop of Canterbury; who well perusing the said articles, said, This is the common talk of all the ignorant popish priests in England against me. Surely, said he, I was never made privy to this accusation, and of his confinement I never heard before this time. Notwithstanding, if there be nothing else to charge him withal against the prince or any of the council, I will, at your request, take order with him, and send him again to his cure to do his duty; and so thereupon sent his ring to the warden of the Fleet, directing him to send the prisoner unto him, with his keeper, in the afternoon.

When the keeper had brought the prisoner at the hour appointed, and Cherfey had well instructed his cousin in any wise to submit to the archbishop, confessing his fault, whereof the said Cherfey then exhibited to the said archbishop of Canterbury; who well perusing the said articles, said, This is the common talk of all the ignorant popish priests in England against me. Surely, said he, I was never made privy to this accusation, and of his confinement I never heard before this time. Notwithstanding, if there be nothing else to charge him withal against the prince or any of the council, I will, at your request, take order with him, and send him again to his cure to do his duty; and so thereupon sent his ring to the warden of the Fleet, directing him to send the prisoner unto him, with his keeper, in the afternoon.

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his ways, the priest fell on his knees, and said, I beseech your grace to forgive me this offense, afflicting your grace that I spake those words being drunk and not well ad-
vised.

"I say, my lord, this is somewhat, and yet it is no good excuse: for drunkenness always uttereth that which lieth hid in the heart of man when he is sober, alleging a text or two out of the scriptures concerning the vice of drunkenness, which cometh not now to remembrance.

Now therefore (said the archbishop) that you ac-
knowledge somewhat your fault, I am content to com-
mune with you, hoping that you are at this present of an indifferent sobriety. Tell me then, quoth he, did you ever see me, or were you ever acquainted with me before this day as far as you can relating what you have said and failed, that he never knew his grace in his life. Why then, said the archbishop, what occasion had you to call me an offender, and that I had not so much learning as the gollins which then went upon the green before your face? If I have no learn-
ing, I may pray you, I be no further forced, and be out of doubt thereof therefore, I pray you, examine me, either in grammar, or in other liberal sciences, for I have at one time or other taunted partly of them. Or else if you are a divine, say somewhat that way.

The priest being amazed at my lord's familiar talk, and respectful remonstrance and to beseech your grace to pardon me, I am altogether unlearned, and understand not the La-
tin tongue, but very thinly. My only study hath been to say my service and missals, fair and deliberate, which I can do as well as any priest in the country where I dwell, I plainly say.

"Well, said my lord, if you will not examine me, I will make bold to try you, and yet as easily as I can de-
vise, and that only in the story of the Bible now in En-

is, in which I suppose you are daily exercised. 'Tell me therefore who was king David's father, said my lord. 'I am thinking, said the archbishop, and am more than doubtful, my faith, my lord, I have forgotten his name. Then laid my lord again to him, If you cannot tell that, I pray you tell me then, who was Solomon's father? The fool-
ith priest, without all consideration of what was demand-
ed of him before, made answer, Good my lord, bear with me. Now the word of the Bible, that is daily read in our service in the church.

Then the archbishop said, This my question may be found well answered in your service. But I now well perceive, howsoever you have judged heretofore of my learning, sure I am that you have none at all. But this is the whole difficulty of your doctrine, before be ing

and superstitious priests, to slander, back-bite, and hate all such as are learned and well affected towards God's word and sincere religion. Common reason might have taught you what an unlikely thing it was, and contrary to all manner of reason, that a prince hav ing two universities within his realm of well learned men, and delirious to be resolved of as doubtful a question as in these many years the like was not moved within Christendom, should be driven to that necessity for the defence of his cause to send out of his realm an offer, being very full and better written than a goad in an embassy to answer all learned men, both in the court of Rome, and the emperor's court, in so difficult a question as touching the king's marriage, and the divorce thereof. I say, if you were men of any reason able consideration, you might think it both uncomely and absurd, and you to be prince for it. But look, when malec reigned in man, there reason can take no place: and therfore I see by it, that you all are at a point, that no reason or authority can persuade you to favour my name, who never meant evil to you, but both your ad-
vantages. I beseech you, I beseech you, I forgive you, and send you better minds.

With these words the priest seemed to weep, and de-
ferred his grace to pardon his fault and frailty, so that by this means he might return to his cure again, and he would certainly recant those foolish words before his penitentiaries, as soon as he came home, and would be-
come a new man. Well, said the archbishop, so you need: and giving him a godly admonition to fore;

bear haunting the aloof. and to before his time better in the continual reading the scriptures, he ad-
milled him from the Fleet.

Of which, I received within a fortnight after that his prisoner was sent home without any open punishment, came to Lambeth to the archbishop, and,
in a great heat, said to him, My lord, I understand that you have dispached the northern priest home again, that I of late sent to the Fleet for railing against you, and railing against her.

Indeed I have done so, said the archbishop, for in his abnise the people of his cure wanted their de-
vine service. It is very devout divine service that he faith, quoth the lord Cromwell; it were more meet for him to be an offender than a covert, who spoke not to call you an offender. But I thought the Directory, what you would do; and therefore I would not tell you of his coming when I sent him to prison.

Howbeit, heuereby, his highness cut your throat before that I say anything more to them on your behalf. Why, what would you have done with him? quoth the archbishop. He was nothing laid to his charge, other than words spoken against me, and now the man hath repented, and is well reconciled, and hath been at great charges in prison: it is time therefore that he were rid out of his trouble. We, said lord Cromwell, I meant that he should but be made an offender for a Privy Seal; he had not gone home. That had been well done, quoth the ar-
bishop, for then you would have all the world to war-
der at me as well as at him. Well, well, said lord Cromwell, we shall bear so long with these papists, for the length that will bring us indeed to be wondered at of all the world.

This example among others serveth to declare, that there remained small desire of revenge in the said ar-
bishop. But what should I say more? His piety and mortification this way was such, that it is reputed by many to be an example of a prince, before he had gone out of the world. He, said lord Cromwell, I meant that he should but be made an offender for a Privy Seal; he had not gone home. That had been well done, quoth the ar-
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From which kind of vice, the nature of this ar-
bishop was so far off, as was his doctrine which he pre-
fessed, and death which he suffered, far from the de-
cition and example of blind poverty. After the pro-
bibition of these forefined vices, succeeded the mother all good virtues necessarily required of all chrilian,
but chiefly of a spiritual prelate; which is,

No Striker, no Fighter.

The contrary whereof was so odious unto St. Pe-
that he esteemed the fame no less than a kind of sin-
try, in that it maketh men forget their duty to God.

The contrary whereof was so odious unto St. Pe-
that he esteemed the fame no less than a kind of sin-

going to dinner, had wafred, sir Thomas Seymour holding the bacon, the king said to him, Go directly to Lambeth unto my lord of Canterbury, and desire him to be with me at two o'clock this afternoon, and fee that he be punctual. Sir Thomas went to Lambeth, and as he came to the gate, the porter being in the lodge, came out and conveyed him into the hall, which was richly furnished, and full of household servants and strangers, with four head mellees of officers, as daily was done. When sir Thomas Seymour saw the large flatter hall to which he was invited, he was thitherwith abashed, and sensible of the untruth told to the king before, he turned back, and would needs have gone to the archbishop by the chapel, and not through the hall. Richard Nevil, gentleman, then warder of the house of the archbishop, bid him to retire, came to him, and desired to know whether he would have to wait on my lord: sir Thomas answered, that he must needs do so, for he came from the king's highness, saying, I am going this way to my lord's grace. Sir, said the warder, you cannot go that way, for the door is fast shut at dinner time; so very courteously conducted him through the hall into the chamber where my lord was at dinner, with whom he dined after he had delivered his message, whose common fare might almost well become a right honourable personage. Dinner was feared earlier, when sir Thomas took his leave of my lord, and went again to court.

As soon as the king saw him, he said unto him, Have you been with my lord of Canterbury? Sir Thomas answered, I have, and please your majesty, he will be with your highness immediately. Did you not dine with him, sir? Yes, my liege, said he, I have. And when he had said twicetogether, your majesty inquired of him whether he dined by the king's countenance, or by his word: any thing tending to displease, but profusely without delay he knelt down upon his knee, and said, I beseech your majesty to pardon me for the great untruth I lately told you concerning my lord of Canterbury's house-keeping; but from henceforth I intend to believe that perfon which did put that false tale into my head; for I allure your highness that I never saw so honourable a hall fet in this realm, except your majesty's, in all my life, with better order, and so well furnished in each degree. If I had not seen it myself, I could never have believed it, and his own table so honourably served.

What, said the king, have you now despised the truth? I thought you would have told me another tale when you had been there. He was a wicked perfon, continued the king, their heads are all good men (ah! good man) all that he hath in house-keeping. But now I perceive which way the wind bloweth. There is a fet of you to whom I have liberally given of the poffessions and revenues of the suppreffed monafteries, which as you have lightly gotten, so have you more unscrupulously spent, some in dress, others in gaudy apparel, and other ways I see fear; and now that all is gone you would fain have me make another dispoal of the bishops lands, to accomplish your greedy appetites. But let no other bishops better their revenues worse than my lord of Canterbury doth, then shall you have no cause to complain of their house-keeping.

And thus the conversation being ended by the king himself, neither sir Thomas Seymour, nor any other on his behalf ever after durft renew or revive that fuit, or any other against the archbishop in king Henry's days; so that it may be evident to all impartial men, the liberality of the archbishop in house-keeping with others, which being defended and commended by the prince himself, may rather give a good example to his posterity to follow, than was then to be deprived of any private subjed, such as knew him not.

Moreover this is not to be forgotten of the good archbishop, though he were a poor, inconstant, sick, and such as then came from the wars at Bulen, and other parts beyond the seas, lame, wounded, and deftitute: for whom he provided, besides his manor- hose at BeckIlorn, in Kent, the parsonage barn well fur-

ified
nished with certain lodgings for the sick and wounded soldiers who alighted at the alehouse, a physician, and a surgeon to attend upon them, and to dress and cure such as were not able to go home to their own countries, having daily from the bishop's kitchen hot broth and meat; for otherwise the common alms of the housetops were not sufficient for the sick here to. And when any of the impotent did recover and were able to travel, they had convenient money to bear their charges, according to the number of miles from that place distant. And this good example of mercy and liberal benignity, I thought here fit not in this, to be followed, whereby others may be moved, according to their vocation, to walk in the steps of no less liberality, than in him in this behalf appeared.

One that loveth Goodness, fetha-minded, righteous, holy, and temperate.

As concerning these qualities, the bounties of his life before joined with his benign and gentle disposition, did testify that he could not be void of those virtues reigning in him, which was so abundantly abounded with the other, as we have before declared.

To cleave fast unto the true Word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to reprove them that say against it.

Then concludes St. Paul with the most excellent virtues of one, who would be wifed in a prelate of the church. For if this constancy he beheld in him to the end, that is, "To cleave fast unto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to reprove them that say against it;" if he be void, I say, of these gifts and graces, he is worthy of no commendation, but shall seem an idol, and a deceiver of the world. Neither shall he de
e the name of a bishop, if either for dread or reward, affection or favour, he do at any time, or in any point swerve from the truth. As in this behalf the worthy constancy of this said archbishop never, for the most part, shirked from any manner of form; but was so many ways tried, that neither the fear nor favour of his prince, nor any other respect could alienate or change his purpose, grounded upon that infallible doctrine of the gospel. Notwithstanding, his constant defence of God's truth was ever joined with such meekness toward the king, that he never took occasion of offence against him. At the time of setting forth the six articles, this archbishop was the man, and the only man that opposed them, and disputed with the whole parliament three days together against them. Informeth that the king, who could not mislike his reasons, and yet would needs have the articles pass, required him to abstain himself for a time out of the chamber while the act should pass, and so be done; and soon after the king sent all the lords to Lambeth to comfort and cheer up his heart, that he might not be discouraged.

And thus was done during the time of the lord Cromwel's authority; but that the archbishop's constancy did not continue as it did of the lord Cromwel, will appear by what followeth. After the apprehension of the lord Cromwel, the adversaries of the gospel thought all things were safe and sure on their own side, it was so appointed amongst them, that ten or twelve bishops, and other learned men, join
d together in consilium, then came to the archbishop of Canterbury for the establishing of certain articles of our religion, which the papists then thought to win to their purpose against the said archbishop. For having now the lord Cromwel's fall, sure, they thought all had been safe and sure for ever; as indeed was, made of the king's unwatchfulness hereunto. Informeth that all of these consiliums there was not one left to fly on the archbishop's side, but he alone

against them all stood in defence of the truth; and that they were not moved. And so, bishop Hewes and bishop Skip, left him in the place, who then turned against him, that they took upon them to per

Scribed to them to their purpose; and having him drawn from the rest of the consilium to his gardens at Lambeth, being there met with three or four days interdicted him to leave off his overmuch consistence, and return one unto the king's intent, who was fully determined to have it otherwise than he then had penned, or meant to have it, before abroad. When those two, his fathers, with one or two of his close friends of all their eloquence and policy, he little regarding their constancy and reminiscence in God's cause and quarrel, very notably failed unto them.

You make much ado (said the archbishop) to have me unto your purpose, alleging, that it is the king's pleasure to have the articles, in the way you have devised them, to proceed; and now that you do perceive his highness, by finner information, to be bent that way, you think it a convenient thing to apply unto his high

ness's mind. You are both my friends, especially one of you I did recommend to his majesty as a man of trust. Beware, I say, what you do there: is but one of our articles to be concluded upon, which if you do, from his highness by confuting unto a contrary doctrine, and by too many proofs of time, when the truth can be hidden from him, his highness will presently know that you have dealt treacherously with him, I know his majesty's nature so well (said the archbishop) that he will never after trust nor credit you, nor put any good conf.
cision upon you. And as you are both my friends, there

fore I wish you to desire to God to give you the discern

ing your confinances in maintenance of the truth. But all this would not serve, for they fill favored; and in discharging his confidence, and declaring them unto the king. God so wrought with the king, that his highness joined with him against all the rest, for the book of articles passing on his side, he won the prize from them all; contrary to all their expectations, when many wagers were laid in London, that he would have been laid up with Cromwel at that time in the tower, for his bold standing up to his principles. After that day there could neither chancellor, bishop, nor papist, bring him out of the king's favour.

Notwithstanding, not long after that, certain of the council, whose names need not be mentioned, by the enticement and provocation of his old enemy the bishop of Winchester, and others of the same fam, attempted the king against him, declaring plainly, that the realm was so infected with heresies and heresics, that it was dangerous for his highness further to permit it unreformed, lest he should be by some of the former of the kingdom ar

ised, and ensue in the realm among his subjects, that there might spring horrible commotions and uprisings, as it was the case in some parts of Germany not long ago. The enormity whereof they could not impute to his own preaching, and his chaplains, filled the realm with divers and pernicious heresies. The king would needs know his accusers. They answered, forasmuch as he was a counselor no man durst take upon him to accuse him; but if it would please his highness to see for a time the accusers and proofs enough against him: for otherwise, just testimony and witness against him would not appear, and therefore your highness (said they) must needs give us the council, liberty and leave to commit him to our own parliaments.

The king perceiving the importunity sute against the archbishop, (but yet meaning not to have him wronged and utterly given over in their hands) granted unto them that they should the next day come to the tower, where he did expect the king sent for Anthony Deny about midnight to Lambeth to the archbishop, willing him forthwith to return unto him at the court. The messenger done, the archbishop speedily addressed himself at the court, and went into the gallery where the king was sitting, and was so attired for him, his highness said, Ah, my lord of Canterbury, I can
man of perfusion or intrety could force, he delivered the king's ring, revoking his cause into the king's hands. At this the whole council were much amazed, and it is an easy matter to imagine how foolish they looked upon another one. The earl of Bedford, with a great noise, was wrapp'd out a great oath, said, when you first began the thing, my lords, I told you what would come of it. Do you think that the king will suffer this man's finger to ake much more, I warrant you, will he defend his life against brabbling varlets? You do but incumberst yourselues to hear tale and fables as are become your age. And immediately, upon receipt of the king's token, they all agreed, and carried the king his ring, surrendering the matter, as the order and counsel was, into his own hands.

When they were all come into the king's presence, his highness, upon further countenance, said unto them, Ah, my lords, I thought I had wider room of my counsel than I now find you. What disposition and device will you, thus to make the primate of all the realm, and one of you in office, to sit at the council-chamber door amongst footmen? You might have considered that he was much of his age, and that you had no such communion of me for it, or willing that you should try him as a counsellor, and not as a mean subject. But now I well perceive that things be done against him maliciously, and if some of you have might your minds, you would have tried him to the uttermost. And I would not have you all to know, and I do protest, that if a prince may be beloved to his subject, (folleying laying his hand upon his breast) by the faith I owe to God, I take this man here, my lord of Canterbury, to be of all others a most faithful subject; his name is, and one to whom we are much beholden, giving many great commands otherwise. And with that one or two of the chief of the council, making their excuse, declared, that in defining his confinement, it was rather meant for his trial, that he might have an opportunity of clearing himself of the flandering reports of the world, than for any malevolent conceived against him. Well, it was the king, take him and use him well, as he is worthy to be, and make no more ado. And with that every man caught him by the hand, and made fair weather altogether, which might eaily be done with him.

And it was as much as we marvelled, that they would go so far with him, thus to foul his ruin, when they well knew that the king most intirely loved him, and would always stand in his defence, whosoever spake against him; as many other times the king's patience was cried by finer informations against him; inform that that was commonly wont to be aye unto him. My lord of Canterbury, you are a happy of all men; for you may do and speak what you list; and say what all men can against you, the king will never believe one word to your detriment or hindrance. I am sure I take more pains than all the council, and spend more time in the king's affairs, as well beyond the fess as on this side, yet I affirme you, even very spies in other foreign realms, at Rome and elsewhere, cost me a thousand mark a year; and do what I can to bring matters to knowledge, for the advantage of the king and the realm, I am every day chidden, and thus you are very well known to be against me; and therefore you are most happy. In no point can you be discredited with the king. To this the archbishop answer'd, if the king's majesty were not good to me that way, I was not able to stand and endure one whole week; but your wisdom and policy is such, that you are able to shif well enough for yourself.

Now when the king's highness had thus benigne and mercifully dispatched the paid archbishop from this fore accusation by the council laid against him, all wise men would have thought that it had been mere folly after- wards to have attempted any more against him; but yet look where malice reigneth, there neither rain nor honey can take place. Such therefore as had conceived deep rancour and displeasure against him, ceased not to pervert him by all possible means. Then brought
brought against him a new kind of accusation, and caufd Sir John Goffwikc, knight, a man of a contrary reli¬gion, to be committcd to the bridg, wind¬house, laying to his charge his fermons preached at Sandwich, and his lectures read at Canterbury, wherein should be contained matter heretofore against the sacrament of the altar &c. Which accusation came to the king’s ear. Why (quoth the king) where dwelt you at that time, Sir John? I tale as I live a hollander, or Be¬fshire or Buckinghamshire, and hath he open an ear that he can hear my lord of Canterbury preaching out of Kent? This is very likely, said the king. If he had been a Kentish man, there had been something worthy of the state, not only for his good manners but for his good education, and what good religion he is of. Go to him and tell him, said the king to one of his privy cham¬ber, if he goes not to my lord of Canterbury, and so reconcile himself to him, that he may become his good lord, I will pull the goffer’s teef so, that hereafter he shall have little left to flander the metropolitan, or any other learned man. When Sir John Goffwikc heard these words, there was no need to bid him haffen to Lambeth unto the metropolitan, making to him as many friends as possibly he might. When he came to the archbishop, he told him this, whereat it was procured to do that which he did; requesting his clemency to be his good lord, or else he took himself to be utterly undone, being in the king’s indignation, as he understood he was by that before declared, which petition was soon granted by that good¬natured, benevolent, and courteous man, Sir John, its in¬gratitude, but also went to the king, and proc¬ured him his majesty’s favour again. And thus the king made a short end of this accusation.

Well, here you may perceive that malicious invention went not the whole way to work, to procure a longer dwelling after off, to accuse the archbishop of his doctrine preached in his diocese: and therefore hath blind malice forfeited some more wifdom now to accuse their archbishop in such a manner as he still never be able to avoid it. And therefore it was procured by his ancient enemies, that not only the prebendaries of his cathedral church in Can¬terbury, but also the most famous judicious of the peace in the thire should accuse him and article against him; which in very deed was most substantially brought to pay, and the articles both well written and subscribed, were delivered to the king’s highness as a thing of such effect the 8th of October, and Sir John, out of the king’s in¬gratitude, but also went to the king, and proc¬ured him his majesty’s favour again. And thus the king made a short end of this accusation.

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other never from his table, as men in whom he had much delight and comfort, when time of care and pen- plications opened. But that which they did was al- altogether counterfeit, and the devil was turned into the angel of light, for they were both of this confedera- ncy.

When my lord had gotten these their letters into his hands, one day, when the suffragan happened to come to him at his house at Bekfitburn, called him into his study along with Dr. Barbar, saying, Come your ways with me, for I must have your advice in a matter. When they were both with him in his study, he said to them, You two, and me in whom you have had no con- consanguinity and trust, you must now give me some good counsel, for I am shamefully abused by one or two, to whom I have trusted all my secrets from time to time, and did trust them as myself. The matter is so now fallen out, that they not only have discolored my secrets, but they have wholly taken them to accuse me of hereby, and become witnissies against me. I require you, therefore, with your good advice to instruct me how I shall behave myself towards them. You are both my friends, and such as I have always used when I needed counsel. What say you to the matter? said the arch- bishop.

Marry, quoth Dr. Barbar, such villains and knaves (faving your honour) are not worthy to live, but ought to be hanged out of hand without any other law. Hanging were too good, quoth the suffragan; and if there lacked one to do execution, I would be hanged myself.

At these words, the archbishop, being astonished, call up his hands to heaven, and said, O Lord most merciful God, whom may a man trust now—a days! It is most true which is said, "Curfed is he who puteth off his burdens, and in his own flesh." There was never man used as I am: but, O Lord, thou haft ever- more defended me, and lent me one great and mighty (meaning the king) without whole protection I was not able to stand upright one day being overthrown, I praiseth thy holy name therefore: and with that he pulled out his two letters, and said, Know ye these letters, my masters? Then they fell upon their knees, and desired forgiveness, declare, how they a year before were tempted to do the fame; and so, very lamentably weeping and bewailing their doings, besought his grace to pardon and forgive them. It is a bishof, God make you both good men; I never desired to take their hands, but ask God forgive his, against whom you have highly offended. If such men as you are not to be trued, what should I do alive? I perceive now, that there is no fidelity or trust amongst men. I am brought to this necessity: I fear my left hand will accuse my right hand. I need none marvel much here- at, for our Saviour Christ truly prophesied of such a world to come in the latter days. I befeech of him his great mercy to finish that time shortly: and so departing, divulged them both with gentle and comfor- table words, in such sort that never after appeared in his countenance or words any remembrance thereof.

Now, when all these letters and accusations were found, they were put into a chef, the king's majesty naming to have perued some of them, and to have punished the principals of them. The chef and writ- ings were brought to Lambeth; and when the time began the parliament. Lord, what ado there was to procure the king a subsidy, to the intent that thereupon might suffice a pardon, which indeed followed, and so nothing was done, other than their fallhood known. This was the last night that was attempted against the archbishop during king Henry VIII. Eight days, from hence after durst any man allege any matter against him lived.

And thus have you both the plotting and discharging of this profhit conspiracy against this worthy archbishop and master of this church, Thomas Cranmer. In which conspiracy, forasmuch as complaint was also made to the king against his chaplains and good preachers in

Kent, it shall not be forgotten to mention something concerning them, especially of Richard Turner, then preacher in the church of Canterbury's. He was curate to Mr. Morrice, the archbishop's secretary, in the town of Chatham, by whose diligent preaching a great part of this heart-burning of the Papists take its first kindling against the archbishop. Touching the description of which fellow of this plot, it shall be laid by me, neither more nor less than is the true truth, that in the certainty thereof, truly compiled in a letter sent the same time to Dr. Buts, and Sir Anthony Deny, to be shewed unto the king, and fo it was written by the abovement Mr. Morrice, then secretary to the archbishop, former of the Chancery of Chatham, and patron to Mr. Turner, there remainier and preacher aforesaid.

A LETTER

Of Apology written by Mr. MORRICE to Sir WILL- LIAM BUTS, and Sir ANTHONY DENY, de- fining the Cause of Mr. RICHARD TURNER, Preacher, against the Papists.

THE letter first beginning in these words: "I am certain (right worshipful) that it is not unknown to your director wilson," &c. And after a few lines, coming to the matter, thus the letter proceedeth.

"As your worship's well know, it was my fortune to be brought up under my lord of Canterbury, my mas- ter, in working of the ecclesiastical affairs of this realm, as well concerning the course of enemy, or by any one, that is con- cerning the advancement of that pure and sincere religion received by the doctrine of the gospel; which I take to be fo substantially built and handled upon the doctrine of the prophets and the apostles, that hell-gates shall never prevail against it. The consideration where- of compiled me, being a free and public person of Chatham, in Kent, to retain with me one named Richard Turner, a man not only learned in the scriptures of God, but also in conversation of life towards the world irreprehensible, whom for discharging of my conscience I placed at Chatham, aforesaid, to be cura- there. This man, because he was a stranger in the country there, was therefore void of grudge, displeasure, or any old rancour to any individual, and through that and other good qualities gained him credit in his doctrine; but where malice once took fire against truthful, no just reason is able to quench it. Well, this man, as he knew I was appent to his office, he was spared not weekly, both Sundays and holidays, to open the gospel and edify unto his audience after such a fort, when occasion served, that as well by his vehement in- veighing against the bishop of Rome's usurped power and authority, as in the earnest setters forth and advan- cing of the king's majesty's supremacy, innumerable of the people of the country reforming unto his sermons, changed their opinions, and favoured effectually the re- ligion received. The confluence of the people so daily increased, that the church being a fair, ample, and large church, was not now and then able to receive the number. The fame of this new instruction of the people was so blazed abroad, that the popish priets were wonderfully amazed and displeased, to see their pope so defaced, and their prince so highly advanced.

Now, though they, it is high time for us to work, or else all here, will else fury the justice. The main is preaching: some of them went with capons, fome with hens, some with chickens, some with one thing, some with an- other, unto the justices, such as then favoured their cause and faction, and such as were no small fools, as Sir John Baker, Sir Christopber Hales, Sir Thomas Moile, knights, the prelates of Chrift-church, in Canterbury, were made privy hint, giving their fuccour and aid thereunto. So that, in conclusion, poor Turner, and other preachers, were grie- vously complained of unto the king's majesty. Where- upon my lord of Canterbury, and certain other com- mi.ons, were appointed at Lambeth to sit upon the
the examination of these fidgetious preachers. However, before Turner went up to his examination, I observed to him, that he in that week was content to hear Turner preach a rehearsal sermon in his parish church at Welford, of all the doctrine of his sermons preached at his cure in Chatham: which he most gently granting, heard Turner both before noon and afternoon in English and Latin, as it seemed, took all things in good part, remitting Turner home to his fayre cure with gentle and favourable words. I suppose by this means to have played Mr. Turner at home from further examination, hoping that this week's pardon would be enough for him, and so Lambeth before the commissioners. Notwithstanding, after Mr. Moyle’s coming to London, such information was laid in against Turner, that he was sent for to make answer himself before the said commissioners; and there appearing before them, he made such an honest, perfect, and learned answer unto the articles objected, that he was, with a good exhortation, discharged home again, without any manner of recantation or other injunction.

Now when the pope-catholic clergy of Kent understood of his coming home without controulment, so that he preached as freely as he did before, against their blind and dumb ceremonies, straightforward, by the help of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, they found a new means to pull him down. They discovered that he came home from examination in such glorious pomp by the highways side in the woods adjoining, that five hundred persons met him then with banquetting dines to welcome him home, flinging the people rather to an uproar and commotion, than to keep their due obedience: when in very deed, contrary to this surmise, (as would) on this side Rochester, a mile or two, for avoiding all such light and glorious talk with any of his familiaris or acquaintance, he of purpose left the highway, and came through the woods all alone above eighteen miles together on foot, so waded and fatigued for want of sufficiency, that when he came into my house at Chatham, he was not well able to stand or speak for faintness and thirst. This malicious tale being reported to the king’s highness, his majesty was so foregrieved therewith, that he sent for the archbishop of Canterbury, willing him to cause Turner to be whipped out of the country. By means whereof the archbishop of Canterbury sent again for Turner: I hearing thereof immediately made report to Mr. Gardiner, and among the rest, that it were malicious, that the archbishop underhandings the truth, pacified again the king’s wrath. Home cometh Turner once again to his cure without blot; which so wrung the papists, in that they could not prevail, that they thought it all in vain any further to attempt against him. And then, reading the Hypercritic, the archbishop of Canterbury being his ordinary. Well, yet would they not thus leave him undiffered. Then was there one new matter devised, how that he had preached erroneous doctrine in other counties before he came into Kent, laying to his charge that he had both translated the Mass into English, and said, or ministered the same, and that he had preached against purgatory, pilgrimages, and praying for the dead, &c. By means whereof he was now convened before the whole council by the request of Gardiner. Whereupon, after a week’s fast, gentleman, for him, who brought him up to London bound, (as I heard say) and being examined before the said bishop of Winchelsea and others, he was committed to ward for a fever.

In the same time, the archbishop of Canterbury being in Kent about the trial of a conspiracy purposed against himself by the jutices of the shire and the prebendaries of Christ’s church, Turner is now sent down to the archbishop to the intent he should recount that which he observed there, what he had observed in Kent, had preached, to the utter subversion and defacing of all that he had most godly and earnestly here in Kent taught, both to the glory of God, and the furtherance and forting forth of the king’s highness’s proceeding. If his majesty will thus permit learned honest men thus daily to be infidled and trodden under foot for the sake of tyrannous or rather traitorous papists (who cannot and will not bear the sound of truth and prophecy advanced, nor the sincerest word of God preached), it were far better for men to dwell amongst the infidels and Московиты than in England.

That reason is this, that Turner should recant here in Kent what he has observed in other counties he has taught, to the wounding and overthrowing men, especially of five hundred men’s confidences and above fifty (as he now can at this time tell) and that his profession will not be received? All good subjects may well lament the king’s highness’s inattenst in this behalf, that no man dare to be bold to advance his highness’s title, but that every ignorant and malicious papist shall spurn against him, looking his utter subversion, and that a thousand papistical justices fall in authority. I beseech your worships to pardon me of my rude and homely terms. They here, in deference, worfe, it worfe may be devis’d. For what honest man can bear with this, that so noble a prince’s ears shall be thus impiously abused with malicious lies and fables, as this one is of Turner’s coming in, how in such a triumph as they craftily and falsely had devis’d? It is easily to be eclipsed what they mean and go about, that, the prince being alive, dare take in hand to uncover his eyes with misfits, whilst he liveth and reigneth amongst us in most prosperity? As for my lord of Canterbury, he dare do nothing for the poor man’s deliverance, yet, has done so much for him already. And his grace hath told him plainly, that it is nothing to his head, that he is the maintainer and supporter of all the heretics within the realm; nor will he permit me or my neighbours to refer unto the council for his protection while he was at Chatham, having only I have obtained this at his hand, that I may become a father in writing to my friends and good masters in the court for his deliverance.

And therefore it is (right worshipful) that I have now taken pen in hand, thus to discours and open our minds to your worshipful council, to shew concisely, that this poor honest man, Mr. Turner, that if it may possibly be brought to pass by your godly wisdom, the poor man may be released and discharged of his recantation; you cannot do to God and your prince a more acceptable favor in my poor opinion. For otherwise, he shall be dictated to as a traitor, and (as I fore he will sooner die) both the cause of the God and the king will suffer no small detriment amongst his poor loving subjects here. For if there be no better way for the maintenance of these godly preachers, the king’s authority concerning his supremacy shall lie entirely hidden in the act of parliament, and not in the hearts of his subjects.

If they can bring to pass that Turner may recant to the defacing of his good doctrine preached here, then have they that for which they have thus suffered. And yet in effect shall not Turner do that, for Mr. John Henry the Eighth in Turner’s person shall most evidently recant, to the wounding of all men’s confidences here. If the king’s majesty do not effect his authority given to his highness by God’s word and his parliament to do that the preachers have no good warning to talk no more to the people thereof, rather than thus to be toiled and troubled for doing their duties by the members of Antichrift.

And now, to the intent that they might effectually for their brethren’s and Master’s sake, that is here, they have incited him for opposing against the six articles this last seance, by the witnesses of two papists of the parish of Chatham, his utter enemies, Saunders and Brown by name, for a sermon preached at Chatham on Pentecost-Sunday, which chanced on St. Gregory’s day, they both
both being absent that day at Wye fair, as it is well proved, partly, for that he preached against the mafs: saying that our Saviour Christ was the only folk, and of which fang mafs on the altar of the crofts, there sacrificing for the sins of the world once for ever, and that all other mafs were but rememberances and thank-offerings for that. Hence, to conclude, (right worshipful) knowing your godly zeal, as well towards the preterment of thee religious religion, as your no less affection towards the king's majesty's perfon and his godly proceedings, I must humbly beseech and beseech the body of the court and of the church, if it be not the weighty consideration of the persons, as by your travails unto the king's majesty, or in the honourable council, we here in Kent that have now of late our hearts bent towards the observation of the law of God and the prince, through Turner's godly perfusions, to have at your diocese, or else certainly many an honest and simple man, lately embracing the truth, may perhaps fall away desperately from the fame, without danger of their souls. In accomplishing wherein your worship shall not only do unto Almighty God and his kingdom a service of great credit, but also of your own advantage and profit, I most humbly beseech and beseech the said Mr. Turner, with all others to whom this cause doth appertain, both daily to pray for your properties, and also to be at your commandments during their lives. From Canterbury, the second day of November.

Your worship's evermore at command, R. M.

And thus much containeth the letter sent (as is said) by Mr. Morrice to Dr. Butts and Sir Anthony Deny. Now, as for this letter which the earl hereafter shall declare. For Dr. Butts, the king's physician was so absent, after the receipt of the letters, considering the weighty contents of the fame, as he was ever a forward friend in the gospel's cause, so he determined to act in this matter to the uttermost of his diligence, according to the royal majesty, whereupon the king was in trimming and in waiting (as his manner was at certain times to call for his barber), Dr. Butts, (whose manner was at such times ever to be present, and with some pleasant conceits to refresh and solace the king's mind) brought with him, in his hand, this letter. The king opened the letter presently, and so forth, to desire him immediately to go to the king's command, and to deliver the letter to the earl; which, when the king had heard, and paused a little thereon, commanded the letter to be read again. The king upon consideration whereinof so altered the king's mind, that whereas before he commanded the said Turner to be whipped out of the country, he now commanded him to be retained as a faithful subject. And here is an end of that matter. Let us now return to the archbishop again.

Although he was encompassed about (as is said) with mighty enemies, and by many crafty trains impugned, yet through God's more mighty providence, in the king's heart so to favour him, he lived out all King Henry's time, without blatem or foil, by means of the king's protection; who not only defended the said archbishop against all confined adversaries, but also extended such special favours to him in such manner, that he being not ignorant of his wife, whom he had married before at Noremberge, (being in wife to the niece of the earl of Oxenbord) keeping her also their files articles time con- tary to the law, notwithstanding he both permitted the fame, and kept his cousin.

Then after the death of King Henry, immediately succeeded his son King Edward, under whose government and protection the flate of this archbishop, being his godfather, was not impaired, but rather more advanced.

During all this time of King Henry's absence until the entering in of King Edward, it formed Cranmer was fearely yet thoroughly perished in that full regarry of the sacrest, or at least was not so fully regarry in the fame; wherein shortly after he being more grounded and confirmed by conference with bishop Ridley, in procod of time did to profit in more ripe knowledge, that at last he took upon him the defence of that whole doctrine, that is, to refuse and throw down first the corporal presence; secondly, the fantasitical transubstantiation; thirdly, the idolatrous adoration, which is the error of the papists, that wicked men do eat the natural body of Christ. And lastly, the blathemious sacrifice of the mafs. Whereupon in conclusion he wrote five books for the public instruc- tion of the church of England, which instruction to the day flamed, and is received in the church of England.

Against these five books of the archbishop, Stephen Gardiner, the arch-enemy to Christ and his gospel, being then in the Tower, drew up a certain answer such as it was, which he in open court exhibited at Lambeth, being there examined by the archbishop aforesaid, and other the king's commissioners in King Edward's days, which book was intituled, "An explanation and discovery of the true catholic faith, touching the blest sacrament of the altar, with a confutation of a book written against the fame."

Now to the second, or rather cavilling sophistick- ation of Stephen Gardiner, doctor of law, the arch- bishop of Canterbury learnedly and copiously replied again, which alsoe published abroad to the eyes and judgments of all men.

The unquiet spirit of Stephen Gardiner being not yet contented, after all this he thrust out another book in Latin of the like composition, and under another title, named Marcus Antonius Consulissimus. Whereunto first the archbishop again intending a full confutation, had already abovved three parts of his answer lying in prison. Of which parts too perished in Oxford; the other is by many hands, worthy to be seen and set forth, as the Lord shall give good entertainment to. Also bishop Ridley, lying likewise the fame time in prison, having there the said book of Marcus Antonius, for lack of pen and paper, with the lead of a window, in the margin of the book wrote annotations, as freighthmes of time would serve him, in an exposition of the fame book. And finally, because these worthy martyrs had neither leisure nor leasure to go through with that travel, that which lacked in them, for accomplishment of that behalf, was supplied shortly by Peter Martyr, who abundantly and sub- stantially hath overthrown that book in his learned defence of the truth, against the falfe sophistick of Marcus Antonius aforesaid.

Besides these books above cited of this archbishop, divers other things there were also of his doing, as the book of the reformation, the catechism, with the book of homilies, whereof part was by him contriv'd, part by his procuration approved and published. Whereunto also may be added the several writings of the archbishop against eighty-eight articles by the convocation devised and propounded, but yet not ratified nor received in the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

And thus much concerning the actions of this arch- bishop of Canterbury, during the lives of king Henry the Eighth, and of king Edward his son. Also bishop Ridley, which's civil and lives this archbishop lacked no day of maintenance against all his enemies.

Afterward, this king Edward, a prince of most worthy qualifications, falling sick, when he perceived that his death was at hand, and the force of his painful disease would not suffer him to live longer, and knowing that his fitter Mary was wholly wedded to the popish religion, beseech'd the succession of this realm to the lady Jane (a lady of great birth, but of greater learning, being niece to king Henry the Eighth by his fitter) by consent of the council and diet of the realm. To this testa- ment of the king's, when all the nobles of the realm, es- tates, and judges had subscribed, they sent for the arch- bishop, and required him that he also should subscribe. But he excused himself in this manner, said, That it was otherwise in the testament of king Henry his father, and that he had sworn to the faith of Rom. 5, as then the next heir; by which oath he was bound, that without manifest perjury he could not go from it. The
The council answered, that they were not ignorant of that, and that they had confidence as well as he; and moreover, that they were sworn to that testament, and therefore he should not think there was any danger therein, or that he should be in more peril of perjury than the rest.

To this the archbishop answered, that he was judge of no man's confidence but his own: and therefore as he would not be prejudicial to others, so he would not communicate unto others what he had accepted of himself, feasting that every man should give account of his own confidence, and not of other men's. And as concerning the subcription, before he had spoken with the king himself, he utterly refused to do it.

The king therefore being demanded of the archbishop concerning this matter, said, that the nobles and lawyers of this realm counselled him unto it, and persuaded him that the bond of the first testament could nothing hinder, but that this lady Jane might acquit him as heir, and the people without danger acknowledge her as their queen. Who then demanding leave of the king that he might first talk with certain lawyers that were in the court; when they all agreed that by law of the realm it might be so, returning to the king, with much more advice he was disposed.

Well, not long after this king Edward died, being almost sixteen years old, to the great sorrow, but greater calamity of the whole realm. After whole decease, immediately it was commanded that the lady Jane (who was at that season of the year) should be apparelled like a queen. Which thing the common people much disliked, not that they did so much favour the lady Mary, before whom they saw the lady Jane preferred, as for the hatred conceived against some whom they could not favour.

Besides this, there happened also other causes of discord between the nobles and commons the same time: for what injuries of commons and inclosures wrongfully held, with other inordinate pollings and uncharitable dealings between the baronels and tenants, I cannot tell. But in fine, thus the matter fell out, that the lady Mary hearing of the death of her brother, and shifting for herself, was so afflicted by the commons, that she soon prevailed. Who being established in the possession of the realm, not long after came to London: and after the lady Mary had first caunted the two fathers, the duke of Northumberland, and the duke of Suffolk, to be beheaded (as has been already related), the likewise caunted the lady Jane, being both in age tender, and innocent from this crime, after the could by no means be turned from the court with the key of her faith, together with her husband, to be beheaded.

The rest of the nobles, paying fines, were forgiven; the archbishop of Canterbury only excepted: who though he delired pardon (by means of his friends) could obtain none: insomuch that the queen would not once vouchsafe to see him. For as yet the old grudge against the archbishop for the divorcement of her mother, remained hid in the bottom of her heart. Besides this divorce, the recovered the state of religion changed; all which was imputed to the archbishop as the cause thereof.

While these things were doing, a rumour was in all men's mouths, that the archbishop, to gain favour with the queen, had promised to pay a dirigc mafs after the old custom, for the funeral of king Edward, her brother. Neither was there any doubt of it; nor reported that he had already paid mafs at Canterbury; which mafs indeed was paid by Dr. Thornton. This rumour Cranmer thinking speedily to stop, gave forth a writing of his purgation: the tenor whereof being before expressed, I need not trouble your memory with the same.

This bill being thus written, and lying openly in a window in his chamber, cometh in by chance Mr. Story, then bishop of Rochester, who after he had read and perused the same, required the archbishop to have a copy of it, and shew it to Mr. Story, who desirous of it, and by Mr. Story's lending it to another friend, there were divers copies taken, and the thing published abroad among the common people, insomuch that almost evry scrivener's shop was occupied in copying out the same: and so at length some of these copies coming into the bishop's hands, and brought to the council, and they lending it to the commissioners, the matter was known, and lo he commanded to appear.

Whereupon Dr. Cranmer appeared at the day prefixed, before the said commissioners, bringing a true and very full account of all his goods. That done, a bishop of the queen's court, named being one of the said commissioners, after the invention was received, made mention of the bill; My lord said he, there is a bill put forth in your name, whereof you seem to be aggrieved with setting up the same against we doubt not but you are forry that it is gone abroad.

To whom the archbishop answered, As I do not deny myself to be the author of that bill or letter, so I confesse here unto you, concerning the same bill, that I am forry that the said bill went from me in such form as it did. For when I had written it, Mr. Story got the copy from me, and it is now come abroad, and as I understand, the city is full of it. For which I am sure that it fo pulled my hands: for I intended otherwise to have burned it in a more lawful and simple manner, not minded to have set it on St. Paul's church door, nor over the doors of all the churches in London, with some seal joined thereto.

At which words, when they saw the conflation of my mind, I acknowledged him, affirming they had no such present to him unto him, unless he had the fool's mind to hear farther. The said bishop declared afterwards as one of Dr. Cranmer's friends, that notwithstanding his attinder of treason, the queen's determination at that time was, that Cranmer should only have been deprived of his diocese, and of his episcopacy, and that he being afflicted him, upon his exhibiting of a true inmmm, with commandment to keep his house without meddling in matters of religion. But how true that was I have not to say. This is certain, that not long after this, he was sent to the Tower, and soon after condemned to die. Notwithstanding the queen, when she could not absolutely deny him his pardon, seeing all the rest were discharged, and especially, seeing he left (of all others) fabrichi to king Edward's request, and that against his own will, released him to his action of treason, and acquiesced his only of his death, which the archbishop liked so well, came to pass as he wished, because the cause was not his own, but Chrift's; not the queen's, but the church.

Thus flood the caufe of Cranmer, till at length it was determined by the queen and the council, that he should be brought to Oxford, where he was to be tryed, and whether he was to be brought to Oxford, there to dispute with the doctors and divines. And privily word was sent before to them of Oxford to prepare themselves, and make them ready to dispute.

And although the queen and the bishops had consulted before what should become of him, yet I pretend then that the matter should be debated with arguments, the under some honest flw of disputation the murder of the man might be covered. Neither could their hasty lapd of revenge abide any long delay; and therefore in all haste he was carried to Oxford.

What this disputation was, and how it was handled what were the questions and reasons on both sides, and also touching his condemnation by the university of the prosecutor, because it hath been sufficiently declared, which we intend now therefore to proceed to his final judgment and order of condemnation, which was the 4th day of September, 1555, and seven days before the condemnation of bishop Ridley and Mr. Latimer, as is before mentioned. The story whereof I followeth, carefully corrected by the report and narrations of some by them pres attendent, as both pret's therat, and also a devout favourer of the fee and bishop of Rome, can lack no credit (I think) with such a seek what they can to diffedite whatsoever may have with their fancied religion of Rome.
ye heard then how sentence condamnatory, immediately upon the facts, was administered against them by Dr. Martin and others of the university; whereby they were judged to be heretics, and so committed to the mayor and sheriffs of Oxford. But forasmuch as the sentence given against them was void in law, (for at that time the pope's authority had terminated), therefore a new commission was sent from Rome, and a new process framed for the conviction of these reneged and godly learned men aforesaid. In which commission, first was Dr. James Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, the pope's first legate, with Dr. Martin and three commissioners in the king and queen's behalf for the execution of the same. Of which three commissioners above-named, as touching Dr. Martin, this by the way is to be understood, that although he was used for an instrument of the pope's fide to serve a church of St. Mary, and in the end of the said church, at the high altar, was erected a solemn scaffold for bishop Brooks aforesaid, representing the pope's person, ten feet high. The fact was made that he might fit under the facrament of the altar. And on the right hand of the pope's delegate, beneath him sat Dr. Gayner, Dr. G. and queen's commissioners, who were both doctors of the civil law, and underthemeth the doctors, scribes and pharisies also, with the pope's collector, and a number of such others.

And thus these bishops being placed in their pontificals, the archbishop of Canterbury was sent for to come before them. He having intelligence of them that were there, thus ordered himself. He came forth of the prison to the church of St. Mary, fort with some 5000 and so feared for fear he shou'd away, being clothed in a fair hood on both shoulders, such as doctors of divinity wear in the university. Who, after he came into the church, and did see then him in his pontificals, he did not put off his cap to any of them, but stood still till he was called.

And anon one of the procors for the pope, also his doctor, called, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, appear here and make answer to what shall be laid to thy charge; that is to say, for blasphemy, incontinence, and heresy; and make answer here to the bishop of Gloucester, representing the pope's person.

Upon this he being being barefaced unto the scaffold, where the aforesaid bishop sat, he first well viewed the place of judgment, and espying where the king and queen's majesties' procors were, putting off his cap, he fell humbly kneeing his knee to the ground, made reverence to the one and other to the other.

That done, beholding the bishop in the face, he put on his bonner again, making no manner of token of obedience towards him at all. Whereat the bishop being offended, said unto him, that it might befit him right well, weighing the authority he did represent, to do his duty unto his master.

Whereunto Dr. Cranmer answered and said, That he had once taken a solemn oath, never to consent to the assenting of the bishop of Rome's authority into this realm of England again; and that he had done it advisedly, and meant by God's grace to keep it; and therefore would commit nothing either by sign or token, which might argue his consent to the receiving of the same; and so he declared the false bishop to judge of him, and that he did it not for any contempt to his person, which he could willingly have honoured as well as any of the others, if his commissions had come from as good an authority as their's. This he anwered both modestly, wisely, and patiently, with his cap on his head, not once bowing, nor making any other sign that represented the pope's person, which was wonderfully marked by the people that were there present and saw it, and marked it as nigh as could be possible.

Whereafter many means used, they perceived that the archbishop was not satisfied with his bonner, the bishop proceeded in these words following.

The Oration of Dr. BROOKS, Bishop of Gloucester, unto Dr. CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the Church of St. Mary, at Oxford, March 13, 1556.

My lord, at this present we are come to you as commissioners, and for you, not intruding ourselves by our own authority, but sent by commission, partly from the pope's holiness partly from the king and queen's most excellent majesties, not to your comfort, but to your comfort if you will yourself. We come, not to judge you, but to put you in remembrance of what you have been, and may be. Neither come we to dispute with you, but to examine you in certain matters; which being done, to make relation thereof to him that hath committed you. If you be well taken, shall make the second to be well taken. For if you, of your part, be moved to come to a conformity, then shall not only we of our side take joy of your examination, but also they that have sent us.

And first remember, if your conscience us, I would think good somewhat to exhort you, and that by the second chapter of St. John in the Revelations, "Remember from whence thou art fallen, and do the first works, or if not,"—and you know what followeth. Remember, though your gift be from whence you have fallen. You have fallen from the universal and catholic church of Christ, from the very true and received faith of all Christendom, and that by open hereby. You have fallen from your promise to God, from your fidelity and allegiance, and that by open preaching, marriage, and adultery. You have fallen from your sovereign prince and queen by open trefason, whereby you have been brought to pity if you are fallen. Your fall is great, the danger cannot be seen. Wherefore, when I say, Remember from whence you are fallen, I put you in mind, not only of your fall, but also of the state you were in before your fall. You were some of you poor men, in a mean estate; God I take to witness, I take my oath or abasement of you, but to put you in memory, how God hath called you from a low to a high degree, from one degree to another, from better to better, and never gave you over, till he had appointed you an ambassado, metropolitian over all England, and palmar of his own flock: such great trust did he put you in, in his church; what could he do more? for even as he ordained Moses to be a ruler over his church of Israel, and gave him full authority of the same; so did he make you an overseer of his church of England. And when did he this for you? or when you gave yourselves to the cause of mischief either to him or to his magistrates. For although it be conjectured, that in all you time you were not upright in the honour and faith of Christ, but rather set up on purposc as a fit instrument, whereby the church might be spoiled and the thought into ruin: yet may it appear by many of your doings otherwise, for if, for my part, as it behoveth each one of us, shall think the beft. For who was thought as then more devout? who was more religious in the face of the world? who was thought to have more confidence of a vow-making, and obseroving the order of the church, more earnest in the defence of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the facrament of the altar than you were? and then all things propered with you; your prince favoured you; yea, God himself favoured you; your candlestick was set up in the highest place of the church, and
and the light of your candle was over all the church; I would God it had so continued till the end.

But I saw thy fire to fall to schism, and would not acknowledge the pope’s holiness as supreme head, but would stoutly uphold the unlawful requests of king Henry the Eighth, and would bear with what should not be borne withal, then began you to fancy unlawful liberty, and by your sedition ye had enlisted great shipwreck in the sea, which was out of the true and catholic church into the sea of desperation: for, as he faith, without the church there is no salvation. When you had forsaken God, God forsook you, and got you over to your own will, and will, and fell from schism to apostacy, from apostacy to heresy, and from hereby to perjury, from perjury to treason, and so in confusion, into the full indignation of our sovereign prince, which you may think a just punishment of God for your other abominable opinions.

After that, ye fell lower and lower, and now to the lowest degree of all, to the end of honour and life. For if the light of your candle be as it hath been, hither to dulks, your candlelick is like to be removed, and have a great fall, fo low, and so far out of knowledge, that it be quite out of God’s favour, and past all hope of recovery: for in hell there is no redemption. The danger whereof being so great, very pious causeth me to say, “Remember from whence thou hast fallen;” I add also, and of the naughty.

But here peradventure you will say to me, What, sir, my fall is not so great as you make it: I have not yet fallen from the catholic church. For that is not the catholic church that the pope is in heaven. That is an other church. But as touching that I answer. You are sure of that as the Donatists were, for they said they had the true church, and that the name of true christians remained only in Africa, where only their seditions were preached. And as you think, so thought Novatian, that they did acknowledge their supreme head at the sea of Rome, were out of the church of Christ. But here St. Cyprian, defending Cornelius against Novatian, Book ii. Epist. 6. faith on this wise, The church is one, which church, whereas it is one, it can not be here and there. So that if Novatian was in the church, then was not Cornelius, who indeed by lawful succession succeeded pope Fabian. Here St. Cyprian intengeth by the whole process to prove, and conclude thereupon, that the true church was only at Rome. Gather therewith, that by faith will follow. But you will say peradventure, that you fell not by hereby, and so said the Arians, alleging for themselves that they had scripture, and went about to prove their schism by scripture; for indeed they had more places by two and forty, than the true testimony of scripture, and had indeed the form to depend upon scripture, than the catholics had.

So did the Marcions endeavour to prove their hereby by scripture. But those are not scriptures; for they are not truly alleged, nor truly interpreted, but untruly wrested and wrong, according to their own fantasies. And therefore were they all justly condemned for their wrong taking of the scriptures, and the church repulsed against them, faying, What make you herein my heritage? from whence came you? the scripture is mine inheritance. I have bought it with my blood, and their blood; I hold it by true succession of the apostles; for as the apostles required me to hold, so do I hold it. The apostles have received me, and put me in my right, and have rejected you as buffards, having no title thereunto.

Also you deny that you have been fallen by apostacy, by breaking your vow; and so Vigiliantus faid, in much that he would admit none to his ministrity, but those who had their wives beggared with children. What now? Do you say that, but Vigiliantus did not fall therefore?

Did not Donatian and Novatian faid so, and brought scripture for their defence? Then let us believe as we list, pretending well, and say fo: for except the church which condemneth them for their faying, do apostles use to do so, then will the condemnation of them be your own destruction. Therefore I tell you, Remember from whence you are fallen, and how long you shall fall if you hold on as you
St. Austin, being nine years out of the church; they thought it no shame after their return, because they had repented. Shall it then be shame for you to convert and conform with the church of Christ? No, no.

What is it then that doth hinder you? Glory of the world? Nay, as for the vanity of the world, I for my part Judge not your life, being a man of learning and using your estate.

And as for the loss of your estimation, it is ten to one that where you were archbishop of Canterbury, and metropolitan of all England, it is ten to one (I say) that you shall be as well filled, yes, and rather better.

And as for the winning of good men, there is no doubt but all that are here present, and the whole congregation of Christ's church also, will more rejoice at your return, than they were for your fall. And as for the other, you need not to doubt, but they will all come after; and to say the truth, if you should lose them for ever it were no force, you should have no less thereby at all. I do not here intimate them which should confirm your estimation. For as St. Paul, after his conversion, was received into the church, the parable with wonderful joy to the whole congregation, even so shall you be. The fame of your return shall be spread abroad throughout all Christendom, where your face was never known.

If you should say perhaps, your confidence will not fuller you. My lord, there is a good confidence, and there is a bad confidence. The good confidence have not they, as St. Paul declareth to Timothy, concerning Hymenaeus and Alexander. The evil and bad confidence have others. St. Thomas, well to be known by his fault. What mark? This confidence is marked with the print of hereby. This confidence is a wicked, filthy, and a branded confidence, which I trust you have not. You have conceived a better hope of you than do, or else I would never go about to persuade or exhort you. But what shall I say to you, to return to the catholic faith and universal church of Christ? What confidence doth separate you to that devilish and sacerdotal church? To a liberty which never had ground in the holy scriptures? If you judge your liberty to be good, then judge you all Christendom to do evil besides you.

O what a presumptuous persuasion is this, upon this utterly to forsake the church of Christ? Under what colour or pretence do you this? For the abuses? As though in your church were no abuses: yes, that there were not. And if you forbid not the universal church for the abuses, why do you not the universal church for the abuses of your church, and fo be fitting from one to another? That is not the next way, to slip from the church for the abuses; for if you have seen abuses, you should rather have endeavoured for a reformation than for a defection. He is a good surgeon, who for a little pain in the toe will cut off the whole leg. He helpeth well and the tooth, which cutteth away the head by the shoulders. It is mere folly to amend abuses by abuses. You are like Diogenes for Diogenes on a time enquiring the cleanliness of Plato, fast, his wife, Behold, I run upon the pride of Plato. Plato answered, But I with another fort of pride. So that Diogenes seemed more faulty of the two.

But when we have said all that we can, peradventure you will fly, I will not return. And to that I say, I will not answer. Nevertheless, bear what Christ faith to such obstinate and stiff-necked people in the parable of the fopper. When he had sent his men to call them in that were appointed, and they would not come, he sent his servants go into the highways and streets, to compel them to come in. If then the church will not lose any member that may be compelled to come in, you must think it good to take the compulsion, left you lose your part of the fopper which the Lord hath prepared for you, and this compulsion flangeth with charity.

But it may be perhaps, that some that animated you to flock to your tackle, and not to give over, bearing you in hand, that your opinion is good, and that you shall die in good repute, and God shall accept your oblation. But hear what Christ faith hath somewhat to say against thee, leave there thy gift, and go and be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer up thy gift, or else thy brother shall have the wrong.
Spain had the title of Catholic, for the expulsion of the Arians; and, to say the truth, the king and queen's majesties do nothing degenerate from their ancestors, taking upon them to restore again the title to be Defender of the Faith, to the right heir hereof, the pope's holiness.

For since these two princes, perceiving this noble realm, how it hath been brought from the unity of the true and catholic church, which you and your confederates do and have renounced; perceiving also that you do pervert in your detectable errors, and will by no means be revoked from the same, have made their humble request and petition to the pope's holiness. Paul the Fourth, as supreme head of the church of Christ, declaring to him, that whereas you were archbishop of Canterbury, and metropolitan of England, and at your consecration took two solemn oaths for your due obedience as to be given to the see of Rome, to become a true preacher or pastor of his flock, yet contrary to your oath and allegiance, for unity have sowed discord; for schismacy, marriage, and adultery; for obedience, contention; and for faith, you have been the author of all mischief. The pope's holiness, considering their request and petition, hath granted them, that according to the censure of this realm processes should be made against you.

And whereas in this late time you both excluded charity and justice, yet hath his holiness decreed, that you shall pay all that charity and justice they had unto you. He will that you shall have the laws in most ample manner to answer in your behalf, and that you shall hear come before my lord of Gloucester, as high commissioner from his holiness, to the examination of such articles as shall be proposed against you, and that we should require the examination of you in the king and queen's majesty's behalf. The king and queen as touching themselves, because by the law they cannot appear personally, [nunquam illigitim, per se] have appointed as their attorneys, Dr. Story, and me. Wherefore here I offer, and the good lordship our proxy, sealed with the broad seal of England, and offer myself to be proctor in the king's majesty's behalf. I exhibit here also certain articles, containing the manifest adultery and perjury: also books of hereby made partly by him, and partly fet forth by his authority. And here I produce him as party principal to answer to your good lordship.

Thus when Dr. Martin had ended his oration, the archbishop began as follows.

Cromer. Shall I then make my answer?

Martin. As you think good, no man shall hinder you.

And here the archbishop kneeling down on both knees towards the west, said the Lord's prayer. Then rising up, he recited the articles of the creed. Which done, he entered his protestation in form as follows.

The Faith and Profession of Dr. Cranmer, Archbishops of Canterbury, before the Commissioners.

This I do protest as touching my faith, and make my protestation, which I believe you to none, I will never confess that the bishop of Rome shall have any jurisdiction within this realm.

Story. Take a note thereof.

Martin. Mark, Mr. Cranmer, how you answer for yourselves, safely and deny him, by whom laws you do remain in life, being otherwise estranged at high-treason, and but a dead man by the laws of the realm.

Cromer. I protest before God I was no traitor, but indeed I confess more at my arraignment than was true.

Martin. That is not to be reasoned at this present. You know you were condemned for a traitor, and a cause determined is taken for a truth. But proceed to your matter.

Cromer. I will never confess to the bishop of Rome, for then I should give myself to the devil; for I have made an oath to the king, and I must obey the king by God's laws. By the scripture the king is chief, and no foreign person in his own realm above him. There is no subject but to a king. I am a subject, I owe my allegiance to the crown. The pope is contrary to the crown. I cannot obey both; I owe allegiance to the crown. For the pope's laws and the judge's laws are contrary.

A priest indebted, by the laws of the realm shall be sued before a temporal judge; by the pope's laws contrary.

The pope doth the king injure in that he hath his power from the pope. The pope is head of his own realm; but the pope claimeth all bishops, priests, curates, &c. So the pope in every realm hath a realm. Again, by the laws of Rome the benefice must be given by the bishop, by the laws of the realm the patron shall have the benefice. Hence the laws be as contrary as fire and water.

No man can by the laws of Rome proceed in a munire, but fo is the law of the realm, and the king fandeth accrued in maintaining his own lands. Therefore in consideration that the king and the queen take their authority from God, God should give it to them, there is no true subject, unless he be abate, seeing the crown is held of him being out of the realm.

The bishop of Rome is contrary to God, and injurious to his laws; for God commanded all men to be diligent in the knowledge of his laws, and therefore hath appointed one holy day in the week called the sabbath for the people to come to the church and hear the word of God expounded unto them, and that they might the better understand it, to hear it in their mother tongue which they know. The pope doth contrary; for he will the service to be had in the Latin tongue, which they do not understand. God would have it to be perceived; the pope will not. When the priest giveth thanks, God would that the people should do too, and God will have them to confess altogether; the pope will not.

Now as concerning the sacrament, I have taught no false doctrine of the sacrament of the altar: for it can be proved by any doctor, above a thousand years after Christ, that Christ's body is there really, I will give over. My book was made seven years ago, and no man hath been accused by authors against it. I believe his words, and drink and eat. Christ is within them, whole Christ, his nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension; but not that corporally that literally in heaven.

Now Christ commanded all to drink of the cup: the pope taketh it away from the faithful; and yet one thing that if Christ had died for the devil, that he should drink thereof. Christ biddeth us to obey the king, but the bishop of Rome biddeth us to obey him; therefore unless he be Antichrist, I cannot say what to make of him. Wherefore if I should obey him, I cannot obey Christ.

He is like the devil in his doings; for the devil fadeth to Christ, if thou wilt fall down and worship me, I will give thee all the kingdoms of the world. Thus he took upon him to give that which was not his own. Even so the bishop of Rome giveth princes their crowns, being none of his own; for where princes are by election, or by succession, or by inheritance obtain their crown, he faith that they should have it of him.

Christ faith, that Antichrist shall be. And who shall he be? Forsooth, he that advanceth himself above all other great and mighty men. Now if these be none already that hath advanced himself since our last debate, then in the mean time let him be Antichrist.

Story. Pleaeth it you to make an end?

Cromer. For he will be the vice of Christ, he will dispence
The Life of Dr. CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Pleaeth it your good lordship, because it hath pleased the king and queen, majesties to appoint my companion and me to the making and delegation of this man before your good lordship, to give me somewhat to talk in that behalf. Although I know that in talk with heretics there cometh hurt to all men; for it weareth the flesh, troublenth the doubtfull, and taketh in faire the weak and simple; yet because he hath, it is not bound to answer your lordship fitting for the pope's holiness, because of a preemine, and the word of God as he termeth it; I think good somewhat to say, that all may see how he runneth out of his race of rea-son into the head of men, and how he saith of himself, I have done much good. And as the king and queen's majesties will be glad to hear of your most charitable dealing with him; so will they be weary to hear the blundering of this stubborn heretic. And where he al-ledgeith divinity, mingling right, and wrong together, he should not have been heard. For, shall it be sufficient for him to alledge, the judge is not competent? Do we not see that in the common law it is not lawful for a man in Weltminder-half to refuse his judge? and shall we defend against one that denies principalis? Al-though there be a great condemning, that know it unmeet to do, ye have, I hear, a plain canon, wherein he declareth himself convicted, ipsa fide. The canon [as we have translated it into English] .

Let it be to their own definition whatsoever acts contrary to the apostolic decrees, let them have no place among the prelates, but be put out from the holy ministrj, neither be capable of holding any cure, feeing they are condemned by the holy apostolic church for their disobedience and prevarication; let them then be called out by your minister for communication, to whom the discipline of the holy church being committed, not only ought to obey themselves, but also teach others to doe, yet will resist her divine and pontifical services, and so disoblige the apostolical precepts.

He hath alledged many matters against the supremacy, but maliciously. You say the king in his realm is supreme head of the church. Well, sir, you will grant me that there was a perfect catholick church before any king was christened. Then if it were a perfect church, it must needs have a head, which must needs be before any king was christened therefor; for you must confound-est the emperor was the first christened king that ever was. And although you are (as St. Paul fait) to obey your rulers, and kings have the rule of the people, yet doth it not follow that they have the cure of souls; for if you argue that a more powerful, the head may that which the minister cannot; do not, you may con-ferrate, and the king cannot; therefore the king is not head.

It was licenced by Christ to every man to bring into the sheepfold, and to augment the flock, but not to rule, for that was only given to Peter.

And where the apostles call upon men to obey their princes, to pay tribute to whom tribute is due, cultum to whom cultum; they perceiving that men were bent to a kind of liberty and disobedience, were enforced to exhibit them to payment of their tribute, which exhor- tion extendeth only to temporal matters.

And again, where you say the bishop of Rome maketh laws contrary to the laws of the realm; that is not true: for this is a maxim in the law, That which is true in a part, cannot be falser in the whole.

Now as touching that monstrous talk of your con-fidence, that is no confidence that you profess; it is but private judgment, choice, and opinion. And as yet for all your glorious babble, you have not proved by God's laws that you ought not to answer to the pope's holiness.

The canons which be received of all Chrifledom compel you to answer, therefore you are bound so to do.

And although this realm of late time, through 5 Y such
fuch chisematics as you were, hath exiled and banished the canons, yet that cannot make for you; for you know yourself, that equal things produce equal things, nor can a part oblige the whole. Wherefore this island, being indeed but a member of the whole, could not determine against the whole. That notwithstanding the fame laws, being put away by parliament, are now received again by a parliament, and as full authority now granted, and they will now that you dare to the pope's holiness; therefore by the laws of this realm you are bound to answer him. Wherefore, my lord, all that this Thomas Cranmer (I cannot otherwise term him, considering his disobedience) hath brought for his defence, shall nothing prevail with you, nor take any effect. Require him therefore to answer directly to your good lordship; command him to set aside his trifles, and to be obedient to the laws and ordinances of this realm. Take witness here of his stubborn contempt against the king and queen's majesties, and compel him to answer directly to such articles as we shall here lay against him, and on refusal your lordship is to excommunicate him.

As soon as Dr. Story had thus ended his tale, Dr. Martin began his speech to the archbishop, which discourse began thus: 'I do think, my lord, that the report of the fame be such, as the author thereof feemeth very partial in his writings; for as he expresseth the speech of Dr. Martin in full, and to the uttermost of his diligence, leaving out nothing in that part that either was a good thing, or again on the other part, how raw and weak he lefteth the matter, it is easy to perceive, who neither comprehendeth all that Dr. Cranmer answereth for his defence, nor yet in those short speeches which he expresseth, feemeth to discharge the part of a fincer and faithful reporter. Notwithstanding, such is it thought good to let the reader understand, who in perusing the fame may use therein his own judgment and consideration.

Conversation between Dr. Martin and Archbishop Cranmer.

MARTIN. Mr. Cranmer, you have told here a long and glorious tale, pretending some matter of conscience in appearance, but in verity you have no conscience at all. You say that you have sworn once to king Henry the Eighth, against the pope's jurisdiction, and therefore you may never forsake the fame; and so you make a great matter of conscience in the breach of the said oath. Here will I ask you a question or two. What if you made an oath to an harlot, to live with her in continuance for the time to keep it? Cranmer. I think not.

Martin. What if you did swear never to lend a poor man one penny, ought you to keep it? Cranmer. I think not.

Martin. What if he were whatsoever his harlot asked of him, would he give her, and he gave her John Bapstiff's head; did he well in keeping his oath? Cranmer. I think not.

Martin. Jephtha, one of the judges of Israel, did swear unto God, that if he would give him the victory over his enemies, he would make sacrifice of the first children that came forth of his house; it happened that his own daughter came first, and he flew her to have his oath. Did he well? Cranmer. I think not.

Martin. So did St. Ambrose, De officiis. "It is a miserable necедity which is paid with paricide." Then Mr. Cranmer, you can no less confessthe prefixes, but that you ought not to have conscience of every oath, but if it be just, lawful, and advisedly taken.

Cranmer. So was that oath.

Martin. That is not so, for first it was unjust, for it tended to the taking away of another man's right. It was not lawful, for the laws of God and the church were against it. Besides, it was not voluntary; for every man and woman were compelled to take it.

Cranmer. It pleaseth you to say so.
that ever were, pretended that they had God's word for
them; yet, and so the devil being the father of heresies,
allleged God's word for him, saying, it is written: so
said he to Christ, Caft thyself downward, which you
implied most fatally against the pope. But if you mark
the devil's language well, it agreed with your proceed-
ings more truly.

For, cast thyself downward, said he, and
look to catch all things downward. Down
and down the sacrament, down with the masts, down
with the sails, down with the arms of Christ, and up
with a lion and a dog; down with the abbots, down
with the superiors, down with bishops and prelates, down
with feasting and prayer, yea, down with all that good
and godly is. All your proceedings and preachings
were not to do, but to fulfill the devil's request, cast
tyself downward. And therefore tell us not that you
have God's word.

For God hath given us by his word a mark
to know that your teaching proceeded not of
God, but of the devil, and that your doctrine came not
of Christ, but of Antichrist. For Christ foretold,
there should come against his church, ravening wolves,
and false apostles. But how should we know them?
Christ teacheth us, saying, By their fruits ye shall know
them. Why, what are their fruits? St. Paul declareth,
After the flesh they walk in concupiscence and uncleans-
ees, they convert powers. Again, in the latter days
there shall be perilous times. Then shall there be men
which shall depart from the faith, given to false
teachers, worshipping the creature more than the
Creator. Whether these be the fruits of your gospel, I refer me to this woeful
apology; whether the fruit of gospel began not with perjury,
proceeded with adultery, was maintained with hereby,
and was contrary.

Now, first, two points more I marked in your raging
discourse that you made here: the one against the holy
sacrament; the other against the pope's jurisdiction, and
the authority of the fee apostolic.

Touching the first, you have you God's word with
you, yea, and all the doctors. I would here ask you one
question, whether God's word be contrary to itself, and
whether the doctors teach doctrine contrary to them-
selfs, or no? For you, Mr. Cranmer, have taught in
this high sacrament of the altar three contrary doc-
trines, and yet you pretended in every one the word of
the Lord.

Mr. Cranmer. Nay, I taught but two contrary doctrines
in the same.

Mr. What doctrine taught you when you con-
demned Lamberts, the sacramentary, in the king's
presence in Whitchall.

Mr. Cranmer. I maintained then the papists
doctrine.

Mr. That is to say, the catholic and universal
docline of Christ's church. And how, when king
Henry died? Did you not translate Julius Jonas's
book?

Mr. Cranmer. I did so.

Mr. Then there you defended another doctrine
touching the sacrament, by the same token, that you
sent to Lynn, your printer, that whereas in your first
print there was an affirmative, that is to say, Christ's body
really in the sacrament, you sent then to your printer
to put in a [not], whereby it came miraculously to
pas, that Christ's body was clean conveyed out of the
sacrament.

Mr. Cranmer. I remember there were two printers of
my said book, but where the same [not] was put in, I
cannot tell.

Mr. Then from a Lutheran you became a
Zwinglian, which is the vilest heresy of all in the
high mystery of the sacrament, and for the same
heresy you will help to burn Lambert the sacramen-
tary, which you now call the catholic faith, and God's
word.

Mr. Cranmer. I grant that then I believed another
than I do now, and so I did until my lord of Lon-
don, Dr. Ridley, did confer with me, and by fundry
persuasions and authorities of doctors drew me quite
from my opinion.

Mr. Now, first, as touching the last part of your
oration, you denied that the pope's holiness was suprême
head of the church of Christ.

Mr. Cranmer. I did so.

Mr. What say you then is suprême head?

Mr. Cranmer. Christ.

Mr. Wherein hast Christ left here on earth his
vicar and head of his church?

Mr. Cranmer. Nobody.

Mr. Ah, why told you not king Henry this
when you made him suprême head? and now nobody
is. This is treason against his own person, as you then
made him.

Mr. Cranmer. I meant not but every king in his own realm
and dominion is suprême head, and so was he suprême
head of the church of Christ in England.

Mr. Cranmer. Is this always true? and was it ever so in
Christ's church?

Mr. Cranmer. It was so.

Mr. Then what say you by Nero? He was the
mightiest prince of the earth after Christ was ascended:
Was he head of Christ's church?

Mr. Cranmer. Nero was Peter's head.

Mr. I ask whether Nero was head of the church
or no? If he were not, it is false that you said before,
that all princes are, and ever were heads of the
church within their realms.

Mr. Cranmer. Nay, it is true, for Nero was head of the
church; this I worldily respect of the temporal bo-
dies of men, of whom the church confineth a, for he
beheaded Peter and the apostles. And the Turk too is
head of the church in Turkey.

Mr. Cranmer. Then he that beheaded the heads of the
church, and crucified the apostles, was head of Christ's
church; and he that was never member of the church,
head of the church, by your new found underlining
of God's word.

It is not to be supposed to the contrary, but much
other matter past in this communication between
them, the one from the other, the other from
the one, and the one from the bishop's behalf. Whole
answer I do not think to be so flender, not alto-
gether in the same form of words framed, if
the truth as it was, might be known: but so it pleased
the notary thereof, being too much partially ad-
dicid to his mother fee of Rome in favour of his
faction, to diminish and drive down the other side, either in not flowing all, or in reporting the thing
otherwise than it was; as the common guise is of
most writers, to what side their affection most
weigheth, their oration commonly inclineth.

But I have proceed further in the story of this
matter.

It followed then (said this reporter) when the arch-
bishop thus had answered, and the flanders-by began
to murmur against him, the judges not content with his
answers, will refer the answer directly to the interroga-
tories; which interrogatories articulated against him
in form of law, were the following.

Interrogatories objected to the Archibishop, with his
Answers annexed to the same.

1. Interrog. First was objected, That he the
aforeaid Thomas Cranmer, being yet free, and
before he entered into holy orders, married one Joan,
summarised Black, or Brown, dwelling at the sign of the
Dolphin in Cambridge.

Answer. Whereunto he answered, that whether she
was called Black, or Brown, he knew not, but that he
married there one Joan, that he granted.

2. Interrog. That after the death of the aforeaid
wife, he entered into holy orders, and after that was
made archbishop by the pope.

Answer. He received (he said) a certain bull of the
pope, which he delivered unto the king, and was made
archbishop by him.

3. Interrog. Item, That he being in holy orders,
made another woman as his second wife, named Anne,
and so was twice married.

Answer. To this he granted.

4. Interrog. Item, In the time of king Henry the
Eighth,
Eight; he kept the said wife secretly, and had children by her.

Answer. Hereunto he also granted, affirming that it was done without his own consent, and did not do like other priests, holding and keeping other men's wives.

5. Interrog. Item. In the time of king Edward, he brought out the said wife openly, affirming and professing publicly the same to be his wife.

Answer. He denied not but he so did, and lawfully might do so, forasmuch as the laws of this realm did so permit him.

6. Interrog. Item. That he shame not openly to glory himself to have had his wife in seceret many years.

Answer. And though he so did (he said), there was no cause why he should be ashamed thereof.

7. Interrog. Item. That the said Thomas Cranmer falling afterward into the deep bottom of errors, did fly and refuse the authority of the church, did hold and follow the heresy concerning the sacrament of the altar, and also did dilate, and caused to be set abroad divers books.

Answer. Whereunto when the names of the books were recited to him, he denied not such books which he was the author of. As touching the treatise of Peter Martyr concerning the sacrament, he denied that he ever saw it before it was abroad, yet he did approve and well like the same. As for the catechism, the book of articles, with the other book against Winchelber, he granted the same to be his doing.

8. Interrog. Item. That he complained many against their will to subscribe to the same articles.

Answer. He exhorret (he said) such as were willing to subscribe; but against their wills he compelled none.

9. Interrog. Item. Forasmuch as he ceased not to perpetrate enormous and inordinate crimes, he was therefore cast out of the Tower, and from thence was brought to Oxford, at what time it was commonly thought that the parliament would there be held.

10. Interrog. Item. That he was so denounced he denied not, but that he was an heretic, or his books heretical, that he denied.

11. Interrog. Item. That he was and is notoriously infamed with the note of schism, as one who not only receded himself from the catholic church and fee of Rome, but also moved the king and subjects of this realm to the same.

Answer. As touching the receding, that he well granted; but that receding or departing (he said) he was only from the fee of Rome, and had in it no manner of way within it, the public censure of the university pronounced an heretic, and his book heretical.

12. Interrog. Item. That he was so denounced he denied not, but that he was an heretic, or his books heretical, that he denied.

15. Interrog. Item. That when the whole realm had subscribed to the authority of the pope, he only persisted in his error.

Answer. That he did not admit the pope's authority, he confessed to be true. But that he erred in the time that he denied.

16. Interrog. Item. That all and singular the prelates be true.

Answer. That likewise he granted, excepting those things whereunto he had objected.

After he had thus answered to the objections aforesaid, and the public notary had entered the same, the judge and commissioners, as having now accomplished that for which they came, were about to arise and depart. But the bishop of Gloucester thinking it was not proper to dismiss the people, being somewhat filled with the words of the archbishop, began his oration in the hearing of the people, thus to declaim.

The Oratio of Bishop Brooks, in close of the Examinations against Dr. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Mr. Cranmer, (I cannot otherwise term you, considering your obliquity) I am not for lye, I am very heartily for to hear such words as the mouth so unadvisedly. I have conceived a right good hope of your amendment. I supposed this obliquity of yours came not of a vain-glory, but rather of a corrupt concience: I saw it was the mind that I hoped so well of your return. But now I perceive by your fish bubble that it is far otherwise. You are so pulled up with vain-glory, there is such a notorious mark of haughty creipt into your conscience, that I am clean void of hope, and my hope is turned into perdition. Who can see what will be? God would not have you be driven and you refuse it. Thy perdition is only upon the Lord, if Israel, only in me is thy salvation, faith the Lord by the prophet. You have uttered such erroneous talk, with such open malice against the pope holiness, with such open lying against the church of Rome, with such open blasphemy against the sacrament of the altar, that mouth could have expressed more maliciously, more lyingly, more blasphemously.

To reason with you, although I would of myself satisfy this audience, yet may I not by our common, neither can I find how I may do this with the scripture: for the apostle doth command, that such a one should not only not be talked with, but also flinched and avoided; saying: An heretical person after once or twice conferring, flin, knowing that he is perverse and damnable, that when you have judgmen7 condemned him, he shall have been condemned with not once nor twice, but ofentimes; you have been lovingly admonished, you have been often secretly disputerd with. And the last year in the open school, in open disputation, you have been openly convinced, you have been openly driven out of the school with hisses: your book which you brought you wrote seven years ago, and no man answered it, Marcus Antonius hath sufficiently detected and confuted, and yet you still persist in your wonted head.

Wherefore being so often admonished, conferred with, and withal driven out of the school which you deny, and of which you speak the apostle noteth, hear then what Origen Smith, who were above 1300 years ago, and interpret the saying of the apostle in this wise, in Apologia Pauclid: *All that ought to be esteemed heretics, who professing in Christ, judge otherwise of his truth, be左手 the ecclesiastical tradition*. Even now you have professed a kind of christianity and holiness unto us, for at your beginning you fell down upon your knees, and feele the Lord's prayer (God knoweth like an hypocrite), and at the standing upon your feet, you were not able to lift the small cross if what it was, but to what end I pray you, but to declare that inwardly rooted in you, that you might know the poor, simple, and unlearned people's eyes? For what will they say or think, if they do not the Good Lord, what mean these men to say that he is here?
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herself, they are deceived, this is a good christian, he believe as we believe.

But is this sufficient to escape the name of an heretic? To the simple and unlearned it is sufficient, but for you that have professed knowledge and higher doctrine, it is not enough to secure your belief. For unlearned (as I firmly believe) you affirm all things that the church hath decreed besides, you are no christian man. In which because you do hal, and will come to no conc,

Tetramorph, faith, "Our Saviour Christ commanding the tribute to be given for him and for Peter, meant thereby the fame to be given for all others, for he appointed him to be head of them. What can be more plain than this? But I will not tarry on this matter.

Now as touching the pope's laws, where you say they are contrary, because he service which should be as you say) is in Latrience, the pope would ever take the pains to peruse the fourteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, shall find, that his meaning is concerning preaching, and by the way only of praying.

Again, when you say, that the pope's holiness doth take away one part of the facrament from the lay-men, and Christ would have it under both, you can say no more but this, Drink ye all of this. And what fol

loweth, And all drank thereof. Now if a man would be so cordial with you, he might say that Christ gave it only to his disciples, in whole places consecrated priestly, and not lay-men.

And admit that Christ commanded it to be received under both kinds, yet the church hath authority to change that, as well as others. You read, that Christ calling his apostles to him, saith, Go ye to the east and west, north and south, and preach the gospel to every nation, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." But the apostles being defrous to publish Christ's name everywhere, did baptize only in Christ's name. And when he had sent his apostles, he bid them be kindly to the feet of our Lord, gos, and say, "If I have washed your feet, being your Lord and Master, also you ought to wash the feet of another. I have given you example." This was a precept, yet hath the church altered it, that the simple people should not think a re-baptism in it. So because faith the apostles have received of the Lord the fame which I have delivered unto you, that our Lord, the fame night in which he was betrayed," &c. Notwithstanding that this was a precept that the facrament should be administered after supper, the church hath altered it, and commanded it to be received after fasting. And where Christ did break the bread, we receive the whole. Christ administered sitting at the table, we standing at the altar.

It was also commanded in Acts xxvii. that christians should abstain from things strangled and blood. But the church perceiving it to be a precept but for a time, hath altered it. Christ commanded to keep holy the sabbath day, and the church hath altered it to Sunday. If then the church may change things that are so express in the scriptures, the may also change the form of receiving of lay-men under both kinds, for divers occasions.

First, that in carrying it to the sick, the blood may not be shed, loft, or mislaid.

And next, that no occasion might be given to he-

reto to think that there is not so much under one kind as under both.

But why would you have it under both kinds, I pray you else, but only to pervert and contradict the commandment of the church? For when you had it under both kinds, you believed in neither. And we hanging but one, believe both kinds. Now, sir, as concerning the facrament of the altar, where you say, you have a number of doctors on your side, and we none of our side, that is to say, to confirm the real presence of Christ in the facrament of the altar, indeed one to stop your mouth I think it not possible to find. Nevertheless where your request is to have one flowed unto you, and then you will repent, I will thaw you two.

St. Aupin, upon Psalm xxviii. He carried himself in his own hands: I find not how this is true in David (faith he did) but that he was born his own hands; but in Christ I find it literally, when he gave his body to his disciples at his left supper.

Again, St. Cyprian de Cena Domini, faith, The bread which our Lord gave to his disciples, was not a bare likenes, but the nature being changed, was made flesh by his almighty word. What can be more plain than this? yet to your exposition it is not plain enough.
But give me your figurative, significative, and other such like terms, and I will defend that Christ hath not yet ascended; no nor yet that he was incarnate, &c.

Wherefore I can do no other but put you in the number of those: I mean Chrysostom, &c. I have heard, says he, that M. Cranner, on a Christian matter, will thou do more than Christ could do? Christ confuted the pharisees, yet he could not put them to silence; and art thou stronger than Christ? Wilt thou go about to bring them to silence that will receive no answer? As much as to say, thou canst do it if thou hast a mind to do it: and do thus report the effect of the archbishop's words, answering to the first oration of bishop Brooks in manner as follows.

A more full Answer of Dr. CRANNER, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the first Oration of Bishop BROOKS.

My lord, you have very learnedly and eloquently, in your oration, put me in remembrance of many things touching myself, wherein I do not mean to find fault in answering of them. I acknowledge God's goodness to me in all his gifts, and thank him as heartily for this state wherein I find myself now, as I did for the time of my prosperity; and it is not the least of my promotions that grieves me. The greatest grief I have at this time is, and one of the greatest evils which befall me is, the king and queen's majesties, by their procuring, have made me an accuser, and that in their own realm and country, before a foreign power. If I have transgressed the laws of the land, their majesties have sufficient authority and power both from God, and by the ordinance of the realm, to punish me. Whereunto I do myself, and at all times shall be content to submit myself.

Alas! what hath the pope to do in England? such jurisdiction is so far different from the jurisdiction of this realm, that it is impossible to be true to one, and true to the other. The laws also are so diverse, that whatsoever swareth to the pope, he needeth not answer to the pope. Such as, as often as I remember, even for the love that I bear to her grace, I cannot use heartily to think upon it, how that she highness the day of her coronation, at the building, wherefore I do express all the laws and liberties of this realm. In the same time also took oath to the bishop of Rome, and promised to maintain that fee. The state of England being so repugnant as the supremacy of the pope, it was impossible but he must be forsworn in the one. Whereas if his grace had dealt faithfully and well toward himself, then surely they would never have done it.

The laws of this realm are, that the king of England is the supreme and sole governor of all his counties and dominions; and that he holdeth his crown and government from none other but the right hand of Christ. And the same supremacy is enjoyed by the king and queen's majesty, as well in the land and dominions of this realm, as in the New World.

The laws of England are all, that all bishops and priests offending in cases of felony or treason, so to be judged and tried by the laws and customs of the realm. The pope's laws are, that the feu illustrate, shall be judged in the spiritual power, and that they be not under their jurisdiction, as well as they be with the king of the one part of his people.

The laws also of England are, that whatsoever hindereth the execution or proceeding of the laws of England for any other foreign laws eclesiastically or temporally, shall be punished. The pope's laws are, that whatsoever hindereth the proceedings or executions of his laws, for any other laws, of any other king or country, both the prince himself, his council, all his officers, fiscars, clerks, and whatsoever ignorant, or one that hath no knowledge of such laws, stand accused. And an eye may (if such were any thing worth) that the king and queen cannot use their laws, but they and theirs must stand accused. But give me your figurative, significative, and other such like terms, and I will defend that Christ hath not yet ascended; no nor yet that he was incarnate, &c.
being created archbishop of Canterbury, he was sworn to the pope, and had his institution and induction from him, and then promised to maintain the authority of that fee, and therefore was perjured: wherefore he should rather have left his first oath, and return to his old fold again, than to continue obdurate in an oath forced in time of feithim.

To that he answered, faving his protestation, (which term he used before all his answers), That at such time archbishop Warham died, he was ambassadour in Germany for the king, and being there many years, and having intelligence by some of his friends (who were near about the king), how he intended to belowe the archbishopric upon him, and therefore counselled him in that cafe to make halfe home, he feeling in himself a great inability to such a promotion, and very forry to leave his study, and especially considering what means he must have it, which was clean against his conscience, which he could not utter without great peril and danger, deviėd an execuie to the king of matter of great importance, for which his longer abode there should be molt needeful; and further, in the full of his abilence, that the king would have belowe it upon some other, and so remained there by that device, one half year after the king had written for him to come home. But after that no such matter fell out, as he seemd to make fulfis of the, the king fet for him again. With this respect it was very desireable that he should be archbishop to be referred for him, made interell by divers of his best friends to shift it off, defiring rather some fme smaller living, that he might more quietly follow his book.

To be brief, when the king himself spake with him, declaring that his full intention, for his service fake, and for the good opinion he conceived of him, was to belowe that dignity upon him, after long disabiling of himself, perceiving he could by no perfusions alter the king's determination, he freely opened his conscience unto him, most humbly craving his grace's pardon, for what he had done; and so the king, when he had heard, declared, that if he accepted the office, then he must receive it at the pope's hand, which he neither would nor could do, for that his highness was only the supreme governor of this church of England, as well in caues ecclesiasticall as temporal, and had the full right and donation of all manner of bishopships and benefices, as well as of any other temporal dignities and promotions, appertain'd to his grace, and not to any other foreign authority, whatsoever it was, and therefore if he might in that vocation serve God, him, and his country, feeling himself well pleased with it, he would accept it, and receive it of his majesty, and of none other stranger, who had no authority within this realm, neither in any such gift, nor in any other thing. Whereat the king, said he, laying a while and pausing, asked me how I was able to prove it. At which time I alledged many texts out of the scriptures, and the fathers also, approving the supreme and highest authority of kings in their realms and dominions, disallowing withall the intolerable usurpation of the pope of Rome. Afterwards it pleased his highness (quoth the archbishop) many and fundry times to talk with me of it, and perceive I was well grounded, and so I alledged the authority of the bishop of Rome, the king himself called Dr. Oliver, and other civil lawyers, and deviéd with them how he might befolow it upo me, infor-ming me nothing against my conscience. Who thereupon informed me, that I would be forced to Rome, who might take the oath, and do every thing in my name. Which when I understood, I said, he should do it /uper animam suas: and I indeed, bona fide, made my protestation, that I did not acknowledge his authority any further than as it agreed with the express word of God, and that it might be lawful for me at all times to speak against him, and so to impugn his errors, when time and occasion should serve me. And this my protestation I did caufe to be enrolled, and there I think it remained.

They objected to him also that he was married, which he
he confessed. Whereunto Dr. Martin said, that his children were bondmen to the fee of Canterbury. At which saying the archbishop smiled, and asked him, if a priest at his benefice kept a concubine, and had by her bastardy, whether they were bondmen to the benefice or no, saying, I trust you will make my children's causes to write.

After this Dr. Martin demanded of him, who was supreme head of the church of England? Marry, quoth my lord of Canterbury, Christ is head of this member, as he is of the whole body of the universal church. Why, quoth Dr. Martin, you made Henry the Eighth supreme head of the church. Yea, said the archbishop, of all the people of England, as well ecclesiastical as temporal. And not of the church, said Dr. Martin? No, quoth he, it is the only head of his church, and of the faith and religion of the same. The king is head and governor of his people, which are the visible church. What, quoth Martin, you never durst tell the king so. Yes, that I durst, quoth he, and did in the publication of his statute, wherein he was named supreme head of the church, there was never other thing meant. A number of other trifling and foolish objections were made, with a repetition whereof I thought not to trouble the reader.

Thus after they had received his answers to all their objections, they cited him (as is aforesaid) to appear at Rome within fourscore days, to make there his personal answers: which he said, if the king and queen would send him, he would be content to do; and so thence was carried to prison again, where he continually remaining, notwithstanding that he was commanded to appear at Rome.

Wherein all men that have eyes to see, may easily perceive the crafty practice of these prelates, and the vizard face of their justice, as though the court of Rome would condemn no man before he answered for himself, as all law and equity required. But the very same infant of time, the holines of that unholy father, contrary to all reason and justice, sent his letter executive unto the king and queen to degrade and deprive him of his dignity: which thing he did not only before the fourscore days were ended, but before there were twenty days spent. Furthermore, whereas the said archbishop was first detained in strait confinement, so that he could not appear (as was notorious both in England, and also in the Roman court), and therefore had a lawful and most just excuse for his absence by all laws, both papist and others; yet in the end of the said fourscore days, was that worthy martyr decreed Contumax, that is, stubborn, frowardly, and willfully absent, and in pain of the name his absence condemned and put to death.

Dr. THIRLBY and Dr. BONNER come with a new commission to sit upon the Archishop, February 14.

THIS letter or sentence definitive of the pope was dated about the first day of January, and was delivered here in England about the middle of February. Upon the receipt of which letters, another feoff was at point, for the archbishop to appear the 14th day of February, before certain commissioners directed by the chief of the archbishop of Ely, Dr. Thirlby. Concerning which Dr. Thirlby by the way here is to be noted, that although he was not the said archbishop's household chaplain, yet he was so familiarly acquainted with him, so dearly beloved, so inwardly accepted and advanced of him (though he was a chaplain, but rather like a natural brother) that there was never any thing in the archbishop's house so dear, were it plate, jewels, horse, maps, books, or any thing else, but if Thirlby did ever so little commend it (a frible kind of things) the archbishop himself tenderly gave it to him, or else fent it after him to his house. So greatly was the archbishop enamoured with him, that whoever would obtain any thing of him, most commonly would make their way before Dr. Thirlby. Whereunto Dr. Thirlby, of the said letter, thought he was to recite, not so much to upbraided the man with the vice of unthankfulness, as chiefly and only for this, to add monith him of old benefits received, whereby he may the better remember his old benefactor, and so to have the saufe and quarter of him whom he was so ingulden bounden unto.

What Dr. Thirlby, bishop of Ely, was in the afoigned in the common commission Dr. Bonner, bishop of London; which two coming to Oxford, upon Saint Valentine's day, as the pope's delegates, with a new commission from Rome, by the virtue thereof commanded the archbishop aforesaid to come before them, in choir of Christ's church, before the high altar, where they sitting (according to their manner), in these words, first began, as the fathion is, to read their commission: wherein was contained, how that in the case of Rome they would examine, both articles laid to his charge, with the other articles examined, and witnesses examined on both parts, and curial heard as well on the king and queen's behalf, his curiers, as on the behalf of Thomas Cranmer, the papally, so that he wanted nothing appertaining to necessary defence, &c. which forenamed commission, as was in reading, O Lord, said the archbishop, what be thee, that I being continually in priso, and not could be suffered to have council or advocate at hand shoul produce witnesses and appoint my counsel at Rome. O Lord, what is the willingness of a free, desire, and everyone to know. They read on the commission which came from the poplitude potestatis, supplying all manner of defective law or proce, committed in dealing with the archbishop and giving them full authority to proceed to deprive and deprive him of the said altar, and to commit a commission to deliver him up to the secular power.

When the commission was read thus, they proceed thereupon to his degradation, first cloathed and digne him, putting on him a furpel, and then an altaral, and that the wellment of a fuldeamon, and every other niture, as a prietit ready to say mass.

When they had apperall'd him so far: What, said I think I shall say mass: Yea, said Cofins, one of theper's chaplains, my lord, I trust to fee you shall all this day. Do you so, quoth he? that shall you never nor will I ever do it.

Then they inveighed him in all manner of rebels of a shop and archbishop, as he was at his instalment, fay that as every thing then is most rich and costly, for this thing here was of canvas and old rags, with a mett a pall of the same fait put upon him in mockery, then the crosser-staff was put in his hand.

This done after the pope's pontifical form and manner, Bonner, who for the space of many years had been as it seemed, no great good-will towards him, and he being at this day where the archbishop was, and him, and take his pleasure at full, began to froich his eloquence, making his oation to the assembly, in this manner: This is the man that hath ever defpi'd the popes holines, and now is to be judged by him. This man that hath pulled down so many churches, and is come to be judged in a church. This is the man that is condemned the blessed sacrament of the altar, now is come to be condemned before that blessed form of turning over the altar. This is the man that plac'ed Lucifer in the place of Christ upon an altar to other, and now is come before an altar to judge himself.

Whereunto the archbishop interposing before him, fain in that he belied him, as he did in many other things for that which he would now seem to charge him was his own fault, if it was any, and none of his, the thing you mean was in Paul's church, said he, I came to fit in commis; and there was one prepared for me and others, by you and yours, or by any other under it; or I not perceive it, nor once suspected, wherefore not willingly evil to charge me with it.

But Bonner went on still in his rhetorical replying and railing against the archbishop, beginning with this, This is the man, length every man grew tired of his unmanfully him in that time and place; insomuch that the
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on me, to make answer to certain articles touching the peril of my state and life; and whereas I was kept in prison with mort that ward, so that I could in any way be suffered to go to Rome, nor come out of prison (and in so grievous causes concerning state and life, no man is bound to send a proctor); and though I would sooner to remain in prison, yet by reason of poverty and weakness I am not able (for all I have got here should bear my proctor’s costs and charges, is quite taken from me); nevertheless the most reverend cardinal aforeaided does threaten me, that whether I shall appear or not, he will nevertheless yet proceed in judgment against me; whereas in. I feel myself to be gravely, that nothing can be imagined more injurious or further from reason.

2. Secondly, The reverend father James Brooks, by the mercy of God, bishop of Gloucester, judge and under-deputy (as he affirmeth) of the most reverend cardinal, caused me to be called at Oxford, (where I was then kept in prison) to answer to certain articles, by reason of the danger of my state and life. And when I being unlearned and ignorant in the laws, desired counsel of the learned in the laws, that thing was most unrighteously refused me, contrary to the equity of all laws both of God and man. Wherein again I feel my self most wrongfully grievéd.

3. And when I refused the said bishop of Gloucester to be my judge, for all just causes, which I then declared, he no proctor was sent, and made proceed against me, contrary to the rule of the laws of appealing, which I show, And thereby that ever I have been less righteous than the only from worse to worse, and not with such reverence to me, I am most ready to amend it.

4. The bishop of Rome (whom they call pope) room of Christ in earth, and hath authority from God himself, and his authority he is not become either hath he received that power to de- edify the congregation. Therefore if he and any thing that is not right to be done, he do it peremptorily, and in good part, in cale he doth obey. And he must not be obeyed, if any thing against the precepts of God: he may lawfully be refilled, even as Paul Peter. And if he, being aided by help of deceit perchance by fallc suggestion, or with a cannot be refilled, but the remedies of him be taken away, there is nevertheless that thing again I feel myself most grievéd by the law of nature: forasmuch as it is science, which is meet for every body by the law of nature, of and man.

The laws do permit a man to appeal, not the griefs and injuries done, but also from the done elsewhere, that the inferior cannot make laws of not ap- a superior power; and since it is openly defied, that a holy general council, lawfully called in the Holy Ghost, and representing the church of Christ, above the pope, especially concerning faith, that he cannot receive de- men shall not appeal from him to a general therefore, I Thomas Cranmer, archbishop bary, or in time past ruler of the metropolitan church of England, doctor in divinity, do say and teach, and I think for certain causes and reasons of the mind and intent to challenge and appeal persons and griefs underneath written, and to myself in place and time convenient and meet, the articles that follow. And I openly confes, that lawfully have published them before this might have been, and might have come abroad license of a notary and witnessers. I am able to do, I know well is not required

I lay and publish, that James by the mercy of God, called Cardinal of the Fit, and of the lady in the church of France, and specially deputed of our most holy Lord the he affirmed) caused me to be cited to Rome, appear fourteen days after the citation served
of the apostles, began to be spread very far abroad, and to flourish, insomuch that their found went out into all the world; innumerable people, of every sort, were satisfied, God's glory everywhere where published did flourish, the only care and care of the ministers of the church was purely and sincerely to preach Christ; the people to embrace and follow Christ's doctrine.

Then the church of Rome, as it were a body of the whole church, being called the mother church, was accounted worthy the mother of other churches; forasmuch as then the first began to Christ, nourished with the food of pure doctrine, did help them with their riches, succoured the oppressed, and was a sanctuary for the miserable, the rejected to them the gates of mercy, and wept over that which they lost. Then by the examples of the bishops of Rome, riches were despised, worldly glory and pomp was trodden under foot, pleasures and riot nothing regarded. Then this frail and uncertain life, being full of miseries, was laughed to scorn, whilst th'o' the examples of Romish martyrs, men did every where prefix forward to the life to come. But afterward, when the ungraciousness of damnable ambition, never-satisfied avarice, and the horrible enormity of vices, had corrupted and taken the face of Rome, there followed everywhere where almost the death of the church, leaving out of kind the manners of the church their mother, leaving their former innocence and purity, and flipping into foul and heinous usages.

For the aforesaid and many other griefs and abuses, (which I am not able to prove, and to prof'er myself in time convenient to prove hereafter,) since reformation of the above-mentioned abuses is not to be looked for of the bishop of Rome, neither can I hope, by reason of his wicked abuses and usurped authority, to have him an equal judge in his own cause; therefore do challenge and appeal in these writings from the pope, having no good council, and from the above named preten
tions, committions, and judges, from their citations, proce
dles, and from all other things that have or shall follow thereupon, and from every one of them, and from all their fearnesses, confusions, pains, and punishments of cuttings, suspension, and interdictings, and from all others whatsoever their denunciations and declarations (as they pretend) of schism, of hereby, adultery, deprivation, de
grading by them, or by any of them, in any manner or way attempted, done, and let forward to be attempted, to be done and to be set forward hereafter (living always their honours and re
cences) as unequal and un
righteous, most tyrannical, and violent, and from every grievance to come, which shall happen to me, as well for myself as for all and every one that cleaveth to me, or will with me in my attempts, with my general counsel, that shall hereafter lawfully be, and in a fair place, where I, or a great orator by me, may freely and with safety come, and to him or them, to whom a man may by the law, privilege, custom, or otherwise, challenge and appeal.

And I declare the first, the second, and third time, in
tantly, more instantly, and most instantly, that I may have messengers, if there be any man that will and can give me them. And I make open promise of protecting this my monition, by the way of chaffing, malice, inequality, and unrighteousness, or on the wife as I shall be better able; choice and liberty referred to me, to put to, diminish, change, correct, and interpret my sayings, and to reform all things after a better fashion, leaving always to me every other benefit of the law, and to them that either be, or will be on my part.

And touching my doctrine of the sacrament, and other my doctrine, of what kindsoever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or under
tend any thing contrary to the most learned fathers, or else against the holy catholic church of Christ, but purely and timly to imitate and teach those things only which I had learned of the sacred scripture, and of the holy catholic church of Christ from the beginning, according to the exposition of the most learned fathers and martyrs of the church.

And if any thing hath adventured chanced otherwise than I thought, I may err; but hereunto I cannot forsooth much as I am ready in all things to follow charity, and to hold nothing for good that is against the same; and of the holy catholic church, deferring none other thing, than reason, and gently to be taught, if any where (which God forbid;) I have swerved from the truth.

And I protest and openly confess, that in all matters touching the sacrament, and of another doctrine whatsoever it be, now I am only a judge of those things as the catholic church and of the most holy fathers of old, with one accord, hath and judged, and but also I would gladly use the same words that they have used, in similar words, but in my hand to all and singular their speeches, paths, ways, and forms of speech, which they do use, and treatises upon the sacrament, and to keep still their interpretation. But in this thing I am only accorded to an heretic, because I allow not the doctrine brought in of the sacrament, as because I confest to words not accustomed in scripture, and the ancient fathers, but newly invented and brought by men, and belonging to the destruction of souls, and overthrowing of pure and old religion. Yes, even, etc.

This appeal being put up to the bishop of Ely, before to the archbishop, My lord, our commissaries are passed against you, some appenditions remain, and therefore we cannot admit it.

Why (quoth the archbishop) then you do re
dict the matter of my case is not as every private
case. The matter is immediately between you and me, and none otherwise; and I think as much ought to be a judge in his own cause.

Well, quoth Ely, if it may be admitted, I shall, and I shall receive it of him. And when he began suitably to persuade the archbishop to consider his first, and weigh it well, while there was time to do him good, promising to become a suitor to the king and quaff him; and to protect his great love and friendship had been between them, hourly weeping, to this time, that he would not go on with his tale. And whenward, he earnestly affirmed, that if it had not bene king and queen's commandment, whom he could not deny, else no worldly advantages should have made to have done it; concluding that to be one of the fullest things that ever happened to him. The archbishop gently seeming to comfort him, bid him very well content withal: and so they proceeded to his degradation: the perfect form whereof, with all rites and ceremonies thereunto appertaining, taken of his pontifical, he sent them over, then they came to take of his pall, (which is a folium vesture only belonging to an archbishop) then said he, Which of you hath a pall, to take off my pall? which imported as much as they being his inferiors, could not degrade him. Whereasunto they answered and confessing that they were but bishops they were inferior to him, and therefore not competent judges; but, as being the pope's delegates, they had authority to take his pall, which accordingly they did, and so proceeding, took every thing in order as it was put on, a barber clipping his hair and ablutions, and the archbishop spared the tops of his fingers where he had been anointed, wherein bishop Boner behaved himself as roughly and unmanly as the bishop was to him soft and gentle. Whilst they thus doing, All this, quoth the archbishop, may not; I had myself done with this gay langage. Let all of them stripp'd him out of his gown into a jacket, and put upon him a poor yeoman beard's gown, as bare and nearly worn, and as ill-shaped as one might possibly be, and a townsmen's cap on his head, and to this end, to the end of this.

After this pageant of degradation, and all was finn
ished, then spake lord Bonner, saying to him. Now, sir, you no lord any more: and so whenever he spake to the people, of him, (as he was continually doing against him) he ever used this term. This gentleman here, &c.

And in this, with great compassion and pity of enmity.
Moreover, they exorted him that he would look to his wealth, his estimation and quietness, saying, that he was not so old, but that many years yet remained in his foolish age, and if he would not do it in respect of the queen, yet he should do it in respect of his life, and not suffer that other men should find more profit for his health than he was himself; saying, that this was agreeable to his learning and notable virtues: which being addicted with his life would be profitable both to himself and to others; but being extinct by death, should be fruitless to no man; that he should take heed that he went not too far; yet was time enough to restore all things else, and nothing wanted, if he had not offended to himself.

Therefore they would have him lay hold upon the occasion of his health while it was offered, and if he would not relive it, he might henceforth seek it when he could not have it.

Finally, if the desire of life did nothing move him, yet he should remember that to die is grievous in all ages, and especially in the case of his years and flower of dignity it was more grievous: for to die in the fire and fury is most grievous of all. With these and like provocations these flatterers ceased not to solicit and urge him, using all possible means they could to draw him to their side; whose force in his condition did a great while retie. But at last when they made no end of calling and crying upon him, the archbishop being overcome, whether through their importunity, or of his own ineptitude, or of what mind I cannot tell, at length gave him his hand.

It might be supposed that it was done for the hope of life, and better days to come. But as we may since perceive by a letter of his sent to a lawyer, the greatest cause why he deferred his time to be delayed, was that he would make an end of Marcus Antonius, which he had already begun: but howsoever it was plain to against his conscience. The form of which resolution, made by the friars and doctors, whereof he subscribed, was this:

The COPY and WORDS of DR. CRANMER's RECANTATION.

THOMAS CRANMER, late archbishop of Canterber, do renounce, abhor, and detest, all manner of heresies and errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and all other teachings which are contrary to found and true doctrine. This do I do with my heart sincerely in my heart, and with my mouth I confess one holy and catholic church visible, without which there is no salvation, and then I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to be supreme head in earth, whom I acknowledge to be the highest bishop and pope, and Christ's vicar, unto whom all the Christian people ought to subject.

And as concerning the sacraments, I believe and worship in the sacrament of the altar the very body and blood of Christ, being contained most truly under the forms of bread and wine; the bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood.

And in the other five sacraments, also (like as in this) I believe and hold as the universal church holdeth, and the church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of purgatory, where souls are parted to be punished for a time, for whom the church doth rightly and wondrously pray, as it doth honour saints and make prayers to them.

Finally, in all things I profess, that I do not otherwise believe, than the catholic church and church of one holy and catholic church. I am for that ever I heard or thought otherwise.

And I beseech Almighty God, that of his mercy he will vouchsafe to forgive me, whatsoever I have offended against God or his church, and also I desire and beseech all christian people to pray for me.

And all such as have been deceived either by mine example or doctrine, I require them by the blood of Jesus
Jestus Christ, that they will return to the unity of the church, that we may be all of one mind, without schism or division.

And to conclude, as I submit myself to the Catholic church of Christ, and to the supreme head thereof, so I submit myself unto the most excellent majesties of Philip and Mary of Spain, and to the queen and consort of the same, wherein he had been sent, and to all other their laws and ordinances, being ready always as a faithful subject ever to obey them. And God is my witness, that I have not done this for favour or fear of any perfon, but willingly and of my own conscient, as to the instruction of others.

This recantation of the archbishop was not soon conceived, but the doctors and prelates without delay caused the same to be imprinted, and set abroad in all men's hands. Whereunto, for better credit, faw was added the name of Thomas Cranmer, with a folio subscription; then followed the witneffes of his recantation, Henry Svedal, and friar John de Villa Garcia. All this time Cranmer had no certain assurance of his life, although the fame was faithfully promised to him by the doctor; but after they had their purprize, the archbishops committed to all advenue, as became men of that religion to do. The queen, having now gotten a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly: but of her purpose to put him to death there was nothing at all.

Now was Dr. Cranmer in a miserable case, having neither inwardly any quietness in his own conscience, nor yet outwardly any help in his adversaries.

Besides this, on the one hand was praffe, on the other hand fome diftrefs, on both sides danger, so that he could neither die humbly, nor yet honestly live. And whereas his former monkish fervice he fell into double difprofit, that neither with good men he could avoid fecret fhame, nor yet with evil men the note of diflimination.

In the mean time while these things were doing (as I faid) there was great commotion among the divines, to find a fecret council how to dispatch Cranmer out of the way (as who yet knew not of her fecret hate, and not expecting death) appointed Dr. Cole, and secretly gave him in commandment, that against the 21st of March he should prepare a funeral ferman for Cranmer's burning, and to instructing him orderly and diligently of her will and pleafure in that behalf, sent him away.

Soon after the lord Williams, of Thame, and the lord Shandins, Sir Thomas Bridges, and Sir John Brown, were bent for, and had them wordly and worldly, committed in the queen's name to be at Oxford on the same day, with their fervants and retinue, let Cranmer's death should take place there any tumult.

Dr. Cole having this letter given him before, and charged by her commandment, returned to Oxford, ready to play his part; who as the day of execution drew near, even the day before, came into the prifon to Dr. Cranmer, to try whether he abode in the catholic faith wherein he had left him. To whom, when Cranmer had an fwered, that by God's grace he would be duly murdered, and in the council, in the chamber, in that place, that he would have no fecret to hide from the archbishop again, giving in no fignification as yet of his death that was prepared. And therefore in the morn­ing, which was the 21st day of March, appointed for Cranmer's execution, the said Dr. Cole coming to him, asked him if he had any money, to whom when he had anfwered that he had none, he delivered fifteen crowns to give to the poor to whom he would, and fo exhaufting him as much as he could to continue in faith, departed thence about his b minced, as to his former compatriots.

By this party, and other like arguments, the archbishop began more and more to formule what they were about. Whereas by the tale was not far from, and those lords and knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to him three with a ditillery, whom they, bringing a paper with articles, which Cranmer should openly profefs in his recantation before the people, causally defiring him that he would write the said in-
By this time, he took occasion by and by to turn his tale of Cramer, and with many hot words reproved him, charging him that his own conscience was against him, and that the wholeness and catholic doctrine fell into a corner of pernicious error; which he had not at all acquiesced in. Who, being first convicted by writings, and all his power, but also other men to do the like, with great liberality and grace, as it were appointing rewards for error; and yet he had adored them, by all means did church them.

There were too long to repeat all things, that in long were pronounced. The sum of his tripartite explanation was, that he said God's mercy was so tempered with his justice, that he did not allow of pardon, saving grace, and the merits of offenders, nor ever suffered the same to go altogether unjudged, yet, though they had repented. As in Paul, when he was bidden to chuse of three chief of punishment which he would, and he had chosen, had three days, the Lord forgave him half the time, but did not release all; and that the same came to pass in him also, to whom although pardon and reconciliation was due according to the canon, being repented of his errors, yet there were causes to the queen and the council at this time judged him death of which he left he should marvel too much, and the Lord heard some.

Fir'd, that being a traitor, he had divulged the law's maternity between the king and queen, her father and mother; besides the driving out of the pope's agents, while he was metropolitan.

In truth, that he had been an heretic, from whom no author and only fountain, all heretical doctrine and schismatical opinion, that so many years have raved in England, did first rise and spring; of which not a few were secretors only, but also a most unskillful and insidious to the end of his life, fowing him abroad by writings and arguments, privately and pearly, not without great ruin and decay of the catholic church.

And further, it seemed meet, according to the law, that as the death of the last duke of Normandy, so Thomas More, chancellor, that died for the church, that there should be one who should make even with Father, of Rochester: and because that Ridley, Hooper, and Farrar, were not able to make even with that man, it seemed that Cranmer should be joined to them to fill up their part of the breach.

Besides the, there were other just and weighty causes, which appeared to the queen and council, which was not meet at that time to open to the common people.

After this, turning his tale to the hearers, he bid all men beware of this man's example, that among men loving is so high that can profane itself safety on the death, and that God's vengeance is equally stretched against all men and freeth none: therefore they should beware and learn to fear their prince. And seeing the more majesty would not spare so notable a man as this, much less of the like cause would the spare other men, that no man should think to make there, any defences of his error, either in riches or any kind of authority.

They had now an occasion to teach them all, by whose very man might consider his own fortune: for when the dignity, none being more honourable than he in the white ministry, and next the king, was a thing set up, which was to make all other men that in greater wise, sometime one of the chief princes of the church, and an archbishop, the chief council, the second person in the royal empire, a man that thought in great assurance, having a king's hand, norwithstanding all authority and defence, to be debated from high estate to a low. A beggar to become a caitiff, and to be set in the wretched, that the poorest wretch would not change condition with him; briefly he hoped with mercy on all sides, that neither was left in him any hope of better fortune, nor place for worse.

The latter part of his sermon he converted to the archbishop, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of Scripture, as with the which and such like; bidding him not to mistrust; but he should incontinent receive what the thief did, to whom Christ said, "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise," and out of St. Paul he urged him struggling against the terror of fire by this, "The Lord is faithful, and he will not suffer you to be tempted above you strength;" bringing in the example of three children, to whom God made the flame to seem like a pleasant dew; adding also the rejoicing of St. Andrew's cross, the patience of St. Laurence in the fire, afflicting him that God, if he called on him, and to such die in his faith, either would abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength to endure the same.

He glorified God most in his conclusion, because it appeared to be only his work, declaring what travail and conference had been with him to convert him in all prevailed not, till that it pleased God of his mercy, to reclaim him, and call him home. In discouraging of which place he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, that all the time (said he) he flowed in riches and honour, he was unworthy of his life; and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But let he should carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labour (said he), and also did promise in the name of all the priests that were present, that immediately after his death there should be dirges, maafles, and funerals executed for him in all the churches of Oxford, for the succour of his soul.

At this time with what great grief of mind Cranmer found hearing his sermon, the outward shews of his body and countenance did better express, than any man can declare; while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, and then again for flame letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image and shape of perfect sorrow lie in him expressed. More than twenty several times the tears gushed out abundantly, dropping down marvellously from his fatherly face. They that were present do testify, that they never saw in any child more tears than came from him at that time, during the whole sermon; but especially when they received his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all men's hearts, that beheld so heavy a countenance, and such abundance of tears in an old man of so reverend dignity.

After Cole had ended his sermon, he called back the people to prayers that were ready to depart. But certain (said he) that a man should doubt of this man's carnal conversion and reconciliation, you shall hear him speak before you, and therefore I pray you, Mr. Cranmer, to perform that now which you promised me last night, namely, that you would openly express the true and unblurred profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand that you are a catholic and a pope. I will do it (said the archbishop), and that with a good will; who, by rising up, and putting off his cap, began to speak thus unto the people.

Good Christian people, my dearly beloved brethren and lifters in Christ, I beseech you do hastily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will bring me all my sins and offences, which be many without number, and great above measure. But yet one thing grieveth my conscience more than all the rest, whereof, God willing, I intend to speak to you hereafter. But how great and how many of my sins be, I beseech you to pray to God of his mercy to pardon and forget them all. And here kneeling down he said the following prayer.

The PRAYER of Dr. CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury.

O Father of heaven, O Son of God, Redeemer of the world, O Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me, most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner. I have offended both against heaven and
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK OF MARTYRS. [Q. Mar. A.D.

and earth, more than my tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither shall I flee? To heaven I may be admitted to lift up Mine eyes, and in earth I find no place of refuge or fœcedom. To thee therefore, O Lord, I do run, to thee do I hide myself, saying, O Lord my God, thy fins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not gratify thy Son (O flattering Father) unto death for small fins only, but for all the greatest fins of the world, so that the fitter return to thee with his whole heart, as I do at this present. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy, have mercy upon me for my great mercy. I crave now, not for mine own merits, but for thy name’s sake, that it may be held thereby, and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ’s sake. And now therefore, O Father of heaven, hallowed be thy name,” &c. And then he rised, and said:

Every man (good people) desirous at the time of his death to give some good exhortation, that others may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby: fo I beseech God grant me grace, that I may speak of anything as this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

First, It is a heavy cause to fee that so many folk to much do upon the love of this false world, and be so careful for it, that of the love of God, or the world, to come, they little did care very little of either. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation: That you not your minds overmuch upon this decent world, but upon God, and upon the world to come, and to learn what to this jeffon meaneth which St. John teacheth, “That the love of this world is hatred against God.”

The second exhortation is, That under God you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging; not for fear of them only, or much more for the fear of God, but knowing that they be God’s ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you: and therefore whoever seeketh them, seeketh the ordinance of God.

The third exhortation is, That you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For alms is it to see what contentment and hatred one christian man beareth to another, not taking each other as brother and sister, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and bear well away this one lefson, To do good unto all men, as much as in you lies. And to love him than you would hurt your own natural loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whatsoever hate any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, truly, and without all doubt, God is not with him, although he think himself ever so much in God’s favor.

The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this world, That they will well consider and weigh three sayings of the scripture: one is of our Saviour himself, who faith, Luke xvi. 24, “It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.” A fore saying, and yet spoken by him who knew the truth.

The second is of St. John, I John iii. whose saying is this, “He that hath the substance of this world, and cleeth his brother in necessitie, and putteth up his mercy from him, how can he be faith that he loveth God?”

The third is of St. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich man, after this manner, “Weep you and howl for the mischief that shall come upon you: your riches and your glory shall decay, and your silver and gold shall be consumed. Behold therefore, seeing their desolation, they shall find it at this present, the poor peoples being so man, and victuals so dear.

And now forasmuch as I come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my

life to come, either to live, with my master, Christ ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever in the sight of devils in hell, and I see before mine eyes pestilence, war, earthquakes, and other great and such plagues as are to befall us in the last time, if we truly and sincerely promise to keep their faith, they have it now at this present, the poor peoples being so man, and victuals so dear.

And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine. And as for the laceration, for in my book I have taught in my book against the bishop of Wincheste, and in my book teacheth to true a doctrine of the laceration, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary shal be anathema to their face.

Here the flanders-were by all assohnished, murdred, and amazed, and looked upon one another, what expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accite him of failings. Briefly, it was strange to see the doctors beguiled of so great an hope. I think there was not any more notably or better in time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted, but they looked for glorious victory, do you not take it so. Always since I had hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I deniled; and in saying this, all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes. And when he began speak with the mark of the laceration and of the papists, his face began to cry out, yelp, and baul, and effectually Cole cried out upon him, stop the heretic’s mouth, and take him away.

And then Cranmer being pulled down from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied with those friars, trombone, and threatening him most cruelly. War, madness (say they) hath brought thee again unto the error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable souls with thee into hell? To whom he answered nothing, but replied all his talk to the people, saying that to defend himself in the way of faith, and extolled him to get him home to his study, and apply to his not diligently; saying, if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more he should get knowledge.

But the other Spanish Barker, raging and foment...
The Most Rev. Dr. THO. CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury, pulled down from the Stage by Fryars & Papists, for the True Confession of the Faith, in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, and led immediately from thence to the STAKE.
be observed the statutes and customs made against the liberty of the church, except they cause the fame to be put out of their records and chapters within two months after they cause the same. And whereas there be statute-makers and writers of these statutes, and all the potestates, powers, confuls, governors, and counsellors of places, where such statutes or customs shall be made or kept; and also that shall presume to give judgment according to them, or shall notify in public form so qualified, to be adjudicated.

Now by these laws, if the bishop of Rome's authority which he claimeth by God, be lawful, all your grace's laws and customs of your realm, being contrary to the pope's laws, be naught, and as well your majesty, as your judges, and all other executors of the fame, stand accused amongst heretics, which God forbid. And yet this curse can never be avoided (if the pope hath power as he claimeth) until such times as the laws and customs of this realm (being contrary to his laws) be taken away and blotted out of the law-books. And although there be many laws of this realm contrary to the laws of Rome, yet I named but a few; as to convict a clerk before any temporal judge of this realm for debt, felony, murder, or for any other crime; which clerks by the pope's laws are so exempt from the king's laws, that they can be no where fixed, but before their ordinary.

Alfo the pope by his laws may give all bishoppries and benefices spiritual, which by the laws of this realm can be given but only by the king and other patrons of the fame, yet they fall into lapse. By the pope's laws, *legum patrimonial* shall be fixed only before the ecclesiastical judge; but by the laws of this realm it shall be fixed before the temporal judge.

And to be short, the laws of this realm do agree with the pope's, like fire and water. And yet the kings of this realm have provided for their laws by the prebendary, so that if any man have let the execution of the laws of this realm by any authority from the see of Rome, he falleth into the prebendary.

But to meet with this, the popes have provided for their laws by curting. For whatsoever hindereth the pope's laws to have full course within this realm, by the pope's power flandeth accused: so that the pope's power treadeth all the laws and customs of this realm under his feet, curting all that execute them, until such time as they be made place unto his laws.

But it may be said, that notwithstanding all the pope's decrees, yet we do still execute the laws and customs of this realm. Nay, not all quietly without interruption of the pope. And where we do execute them, yet we do it unjustly, if the pope's power be of force, and for the fame end and communicable, and shall do until we leave the execution of our own laws and customs. Thus we be well reconciled to Rome, allowing such authority, whereby the realm flandeth accused before God, if the pope have any such authority.

The pope's (I suppose) were not fully opened in the parliament-house when the pope's authority was received again within this realm; for if they had, I do not believe that either the king or queen's majesty, or the nobles of this realm, or the commons of the fame, would ever have consented to receive again such a foreign authority, so injurious, so injurious, and prejudicial, as well to the crown as to the laws and customs and statutary of this realm, as whereby they must needs acknowledge themselves to be accused. But none could open this matter well but the clergy, and such of them as had read the pope's laws, whereby the pope had made himself as it were a god. Thefe seek to maintain the pope's authority to whom they desired to have their chief head, to the intent they might have, as it were, a kingdom and laws within themselves, distinct from the laws of the crown, and whereas the crown may not meddle; and so being exempted from the laws of the realm, might live in this realm like lords and kings, without deeming a fear of any man, so that they please their high and supreme head at Rome. For this consideration (I think), some that knew the truth, held their peace in the parliament, whereas if they had done their duties to the crown and whole realm, they should have opened the mouths, declared the truth, and shewed the pretence and dangers that might ensue to the crown and realm. And I say, if I should agree to allow such authority as the pope claimeth, whereby I may be judged, confess that I must have graces highness, and allow your realm from ever continue accused, until ye shall out of the execution of your own laws and customs of your realm, I could not think myself true either to your highness, to my natural country, knowing that I do know how prejudicial and injurious the pope's authority which he challengeth every where, in a crown-laws and customs of this realm, and so I love and do most I cannot see in any wise ha he can bear his due allegiance, fidelity, and truth to the crown and state of this realm.

Another cause I alluded, why I could not allow the authority of the pope, which is this: That by his authority he subverted not only the laws of this realm, but also the laws of God: so that whoever be under the authority, he suffereth them not to be under this religion purely, as Christ did command.

And for one example I brought forth, that whereas God's laws all christian people be bounden diligently to observe, I say, that they may know how to holier live accordingly, for that purpose God enjoined holy days, when they ought, leaving apart all other duties, to give themselves wholly to know and fear God. Therefore God's will and commandment is, that the people be gathered together, ministers should preach such language as the people understand in and profit thereby, or else hold their peace. For if he go or lute, if it give no certain found that men might know what he said, who can do anything? For it is found in vain. So it is in vain, and prepare nought faith Almgins, and faith St. Paul, the friept speak to the people in a language which they do not; "For evil he may profit himself, but profit of the people," faith St. Paul. But herein I was affected thus; that St. Paul spake only of preaching, the preacher should preach in a tongue which the people did know, or else his preaching avail nothing: if the preaching avail nothing, being gaped a language which the people understand not, how does any other service avail them, being spoken in a foreign language? And yet that St. Paul meant not curtering, it appeareth plainly by his own work, in he spakeeth by name excepted being gaped a language of thanking of God, and of all other things which priefts spake in the churches, wherunto the people are Amen; which they use not in preaching, but in divine service; that whether the priefts rehearsed word and works of God, or gave them into mankind bound all other creatures, or gave them unto God, or make open profession of their fill, humble confection of their sins, with earnest requit mercy and forgivenes, or make fair or requit God again; then all the people underd what the priefts fay, might gape as the words and men with them, and say, Amen, that is to say, allow the priefts fay; that the reaerhesh of God's utter works and benefits, the giving of thanks, the prayer of faith, the confession of sins, and the requit of mercy; the offering of the incense is unto God, and unto mankind bound all other creatures, and is a heat favour, odour, and incense in his nose: and thus it used many hundred years after Christ's ascension.

But the aforesaid things can be done when the priefts spake to the people in a tongue which they understand, as fo they (or their clerk in their fay) say Amen, they cannot tell whereunto. Whereas St. Paul saith, "How can the people fay Amen to thy fay, when they understand not what thou finitst?" And so was St. Paul understood by all interpreters, that the Great and Latin, standing others that I have read, until above thirty years At which time one Ecker, with others of his kind began to devife a new expition, understanding St. Paul of preaching only.
kings and princes, directly contrary to God's commandment, who commandeth all subjects to obey their kings, or their rulers under them.

One John, patriarch of Constantinople, in the time of St. Gregory, gave an instance which is also told of all other bishops. To whom St. Gregory wrote, that therein he did injury to his three brethren, which were equal with him; that is to say, the bishop of Rome, the bishop of Alexandria, and of Antioch: which three were patriarchal sees, and the said brethren one to another. But (faith St. Gregory) if any one shall extol himself above all the rest, to be the universal bishop, the same pascheth in pride. But now the bishop of Rome extol eth himself not only above all kings and emperors, but also the whole world, but takes upon him to give and take advantage, and pull down as he shall think good. And as the devil, having no such authority, yet took upon him to give unto Christ all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worship him; in like manner the pope taketh upon him to give empires and kingdoms, being none of his, to such as will fall down and worship him, and kiss his feet.

And moreover, his lawyers and glossores flatter him, that they reign he may command emperors and kings to hold his fitness, if he lighteth from the world, and give to be his footmen: and that if any emperor or king give him anything, they give him nothing but what is his own, and that he may despise against God's word, against both the Old and New Testament, against St. Paul's epistles, and against which the popes understand, or clef (as St. Paul hath) what it avoucheth to it. So that the pope giving a contrary commandment, that the people coming to the church shall hear they know not what, and full answer they know not wherefore, take upon him to command, not only against reason, but also directly against God.

And again I said, whereas our Saviour Christ ordained the sacrament of his most precious body and blood to be received by all christian people under the forms of bread and wine, and said of the cup, "Drink ye all of this: the pope gave a clean contrary commandment, that no layman shall drink of the cup of their salvation; as though the cup of salvation by the blood of Christ pertained not to laymen. And whereas Théophilus Alexandrinus (whole works St. Jerome), bishop of Antioch, in a certain sermon, That if Christ had been crucified for the devils, his cup should not be denied them; yet the pope denieth the cup of Christ to christian people, for whom Christ was crucified. So that if I should obe the pope in these things, I must do more than sin against God.

But I was answered hereunto (as they commonly anfver), that under the form of bread is both Christ's flesh and blood: so that whosoever receive the bread, receive as well Christ's blood as his flesh. I let it be so, yeit the form of bread only, Christ's blood is not drank, but eaten; nor is it received in the cup in the form of wine, as Christ commanded, but eaten with the flesh under the form of bread. And moreover, the bread is not the sacrament of his blood, but of his flesh only; nor is the cup the sacrament of his flesh, but of his blood only. Moreover, I deny the pope the sacrament of their redemption by Christ's blood, which Christ commandeth to be given unto them.

And furthermore, Christ ordained the sacrament in two kinds, the one separated from the other, to be a representation of his death, where his blood was separ- ated from his flesh, which is not represented in one kind alone: so that the lay-people receive not the whole sacrament whereby Christ's death is represented as he commanded.

Moreover, as the pope taketh upon him to give the temporal sword, by royal and imperial power, to kings and princes; sodoth he like wife take upon him to depose them from their imperial states, if they be disobedient to him, and commandeth the subjects to disobey their princes, afflicting the subjects as well of their obedience, as of their lawful oaths made unto their
everlasting: and he that for the truth's sake will spend his life, will find everlasting life. And Christ promised to be with them before and after, which will stand fast with him here; which comfort is so great, that whatsoever hath his eyes fixed upon Christ, cannot greatly feel his heart on this life, knowing that he may be sure to have Christ stand by him in the presence of his Father in heaven.

And as touching the sacrament, I said; Forasmuch as the whole matter standeth in the understanding of these words of Christ, "This is my body, this is my blood," then surely Christ in these words made a true and veried test (as I said) that all that is in one, and spake figuratively, calling bread his body, and wine his blood, because he ordained them to be sacraments of his body and blood. And where the papists say in those two points contrary unto me, that Christ called not bread his body, but a substance uncertain, nor spake figuratively: herein I said, I would be judged by the old church, and which doctrine could be proved the elder, that I would stand unto. And forasmuch as I have adduced in my book many old authors, both Greek and Latin, which above a thousand years after Christ continually taught as I do: if they could bring forth one old author, that faith in these two points as they say, I offered it five or seven years ago, and do offer yet still, that I will give place unto them. But when I bring forth any author that faith in most plain terms as I do, yet faith the other part, that the authors meant not so; much as to say, that the authors spake one thing, and meant clean contrary. And upon the other part, when they cannot find any one author, that faith in words as they say, yet they, that the authors meant as they say. Now, whether I or they speak more to the purpose herein, I refer me to the judgment of all impartial hearers; yet, the old church of Rome, above a thousand years together, neither believed nor put faith in the sacrament, as the church of Rome hath done of late years.

For in the beginning, the church of Rome taught a pure and a found doctrine of the sacrament. But after that the church of Rome fell into the doctrine of transubstantiation; with the doctrine they changed the use of the sacrament contrary to that Christ commanded, and the old church of Rome used above a thousand years. And yet to deface the old, they say that the new is the old; wherein for my part I am content to stand to the doctrine of Christ, and to the doctrine of the church, and our church; and, that our doctrine is the church, and not that doctrine, of one body of Christ is made two bodies: one natural having a distance of members, with form and proportion of man's perfect body, and this body is in heaven: but the body of Christ in the sacrament, by their own doctrine, must needs be a corporal body, having neither distance of members, nor form, fashion, or proportion of a man's natural body. And such a body is in the sacrament (teach they), and goeth into the mouth in the form of bread, and entereth no further than the form of bread goeth, and taketh no natural heat, but their doctrine is this: that the natural heat in it doth not get into being. So that when the form of bread is digested, that body of Christ is gone. And forasmuch as evil men are as long as digesting as good men, the body of Christ (by their doctrine) entereth as far, and taketh as long in wicked men as in godly men. And what comfort can be herein to any christian man, to receive Christ's unshaken body, and it to enter no further than the form, and to depart by and by as soon as the bread is consumed?

It seemeth to me a more found and comfortable doctrine, that Christ hath but one body, and that hath form and fashion of a man's true body: which body spiritual-ly entereth into the whole man, body and soul: and those can be confirmed, whole Christ remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto eternal life, if he continue in godliness, and never departeth until the receiver forsaie him. And as for the wicked, they have not Christ within them at all, who cannot be with Christ here, as I judge, according to God's word, and to the best doctrine of a christian to believe in that matter. And as I have been shewed unto me that the pope's authority is not princi- pal to the things before mentioned, or that papists are in error, in which I think (as I said) not to be shewed, then I never was nor will be to prove to stand wilfully in mine own opinion, but that I will use all humility submit myself unto the pope, and only to kiss his feet, but another part else.

Another cause why I refused to give the papists the Gloucester for my judge, was the respect of his high perfon, being more than once perjured. First, that he being divers times sworn not to confess that the bishop of Rome should have any jurisdiction within this realm, but to take the king and his successors for governor heads of this realm, as by God's laws the same is, and to that lawful oath the said bishop then sat in judgments by authority from Rome, wherein he was perjured, and not worthy to sit as a judge. The second perjury was, that he took his bishopric both of the queen's majesty and of the pope, namely, each of them a folemn oath, which oaths are foundning that one must needs be perjured. And furthermore in swearing to the pope to maintain his laws, decretals, constitutions, ordinances, privileges, and privileges, he declareth himself an enemy to the imperial crown, and to the laws and state of this realm, whereby he declareth himself not worthy to sit as a judge within this realm. And by these considerations I refused to take him for my judge.

LE TTER II.
From the SAME to the SAME.

I learned by Dr. Martin, that on the day of your majesty's coronation, you took an oath of obedience to the pope of Rome, and the same time you took another oath to this realm, to maintain the laws, liberties, and customs of the same. And if your majesty did make an oath to the pope, I think it was secondary to the other oaths which he useth to administer to princes, which is, to be obedient to him, to defend his pontiflix, to maintain his authority, honour, laws, lands, and privileges; except that you do not (which I know by the report) then I befeech your majesty to look upon your oath made to the crown and realm; and to compare and weigh the two oaths together, to see how they do agree, and then do as your majesty's confidence shall direct you. And if your majesty be fully persuaded, that your oath to the pope will not offend, nor do against your conscience for any thing.

But I fear that there are contradictions in your oath, and that those which should have informed your grace thoroughly, did not their duties therein. And if your majesty ponder the two oaths diligently, I think you will perceive you were deceived; and then your highness may use the matter as God shall put it in your heart. Furthermore, I am kept here from the company of learned men, from books, from council, from my friends; and as this time to write unto your majesty, which were all necessary for a man in my case. Wherefore I befeech your majesty, that I may have such theore as may stand with your majesty's pleasure, and as for my appearance at Rome, if your majesty will give me leave, I will appear there. And I trust that God shall put in my mouth to defend his truth as well as here. But I refer it wholly to your majesty's pleasure.

LE TTER III.
From Archbishop Cranmer, to Dr. Martin, and Dr. Story.

I have here commended unto you. And as I promised, I have sent my letters unto the queen's majesty un- designed, praying you to sign them, and deliver them.
in place of judgment, but as pertaining nothing to judgment at all. Moreover, I answer, I, being your mine answer, I required to have a copy of the same, that I might either by adding thereunto, or by altering or taking from it, correct and amend it as I thought good: which, though both the bishop of Gloucester, and the king and queen, and lords proctors promised me, yet have they altogether broke their promise with me, and not permitted me to correct my said answers according to my request; and yet notwithstanding have (as I understand) registered the same as acts formally done in place of judgment, and the same as sufficient.

Finally, forasmuch as all this my trouble cometh upon me, for my departing from the bishop of Rome, and from the popish religion, for that now the quarrel is between the pope himself and me, and no man can be a lawful and indifferent judge in such a cause; therefore (methinks) good reason, that I should be suffered to appeal to some general council in this matter; especially seeing the law of nature (as they say) denieth no man the remedy of appeal in such cases.

Now, since it is very requisite that this matter should be kept as close as may be, it perhaps for lack of perfect skill herein you shall have need of further advice; then I beseech you even for the fidelity and love you bear to me in Christ, that you will open to no creature alive what the case is. And forasmuch as the time is now at hand, and that I have reason to fear great expectation, let me obtain thus much of you, I beseech you, that laying aside all other your studies and business for the time, you will apply to this my matter only, till you have brought it to pass. The chief cause in very deed (to tell you the truth) of this mine appeal is this, that I might gain time (if it shall so please God) I alone until I havefinish ed mine answer against Marcus Antonius Constantius, which I have now in hand. But if the adveraries of the truth will not admit mine appeal, as I fear they will not, God's will be done. I pass not upon it, to God may therein be glorified, be it by my life, or by my death. For it is much better for me to die in Christ's quarrel, and to reign with him, than here to be shut up and kept in the prison of this body, unless it were to continue yet a little while in this warfare, for the advantage and profit of my brethren, and to the further advancement of God's glory. To whom be all glory for evermore, Amen.

There is also another cause why I think good to appeal, that whosoever I am that desired Rome to answer thee for myself, I am now withholding from thee here faft in prison, that I cannot there appear at the time appointed: and moreover, forasmuch as the place I stand in, is a matter of life and death, so that I have great need of learned counsel for my defence in this behalf: yet even I cannot so much request for the fame, all manner of counsel, and help of proctors, advocates, and lawyers, was utterly denied me.

Your loving friend,

THOMAS CRANMER.

From Archbishop CRANMER, to Mrs. WILKINSON, exhorting her to fly in the Time of Persecution.
his Father's will. Where we find therefore God truly
honoured according to his will, there we can want nei-
ther friend nor kindred.
If you be loth to depart for the slander of God's word,
remember that Christ, when his hour was not yet come,
departed out of his country into Samaria, to avoid the
malice of the Pharisees and pharisees, and commanded
his apostles that if they were persecuted in one place
they should fly to another. And was not Paul let down
by a sacker out at a window, to avoid the persecution of
Aretas? And what wisdom and policy he used from
time to time to escape the malice of his enemies, the
Act 24:26. And after the same he did do declare. And after the same
fort did the other apostles, although, when it came to
such a point, that they could no longer escape danger
of the persecutor of God's true religion, then they fled
themselves, that their flying before came not of fear, but
of godly will to do more good; and that they would
not rashly, without urgent necessity, offer themselves
to death, which had been but a temptation of God.
Yea, when they were apprehended, and could no longer
avoid, then they flood boldly to the profession of Christ,
then they fled, though they little they dreaded death; how
much more God more than man; how much they loved
and preferred the eternal life to come above this
short and miserable life.
Wherefore I exhort you as well by Christ's command-
ment, as by the example of Sain and his apostles, to
withdraw yourself from the malice of your and God's
enemies, into some place where God is most purely
served, which is no flattering of the truth, but a pre-
serving of yourself to God, and the truth, and to the
sovereignty and comfort of Christ's little flock. And what
you will do, do it with speed, lest by your own folly
you fall into the persecutor's hands. And the Lord
desire his Holy Spirit to lead and guide you wherefore
you go, and all that be godly will say, Amen.

To my dear Fathers and brethren Dr. CRAMNER, Dr.
RIDLEY, and Mr. LATIMER, Priests in Oxford
for the Faithful Testimony of God's Holy Word.

RIGHT reverend fathers in the Lord, I write to you
enjoy continually God's grace and peace through
Jesus Christ; and God bless you for such your most excellent promotion, which you are called unto at
this present, that is, that you are counted worthy to
be allowed amongst the number of Christ's recorders and
witnesses. England hath had but a few learned bishops,
that would flock to Christ, ad igne, inclusively. Once
again I thank God heartily in Christ for your most happy
offert, most valiant proceeding, most constant labouring
of all such inferior, bilings, clippings, taunts, open
reuke, lots of living and liberty, for the defence of
God's cause, truth, and glory. I cannot utter with pen
how I rejoice in my heart for you three such captains in
the forward under Christ's cross, banner, or standard,
in such a place (as in Kirtom), where not one or two of
our dear Redeemer's strong hold are besieged, but all
his chief castles, ordained for our safeguard, are traiter-
ously assaulted. This your enterprize, in the fight of all
that be in heaven, and of all God's people in earth, is
most pleasant to God. This is the expected manner of a
blessing to be in the fore-front in worldly wars. For
God's sake pray for us, for we fail not daily to pray for
you. We are stronger and stronger in the Lord, his
name be praised, and we doubt not but you be so in
Christ's own sweet name. Heaven is all and wholly
of our fires; therefore, rejoice always in the Lord; and
again, rejoice and be glad.

Your affect in Christ,
ROWLAND TAYLOR.

The HISTORY of AGNES POTTEN, and JOHN
TRUNCHFIELD, Martyrs, preferred to death.

In the history of Robert Samuel mention was made
of two godly women of the same town of Ips-
wich, who shortly after him suffered and con-
tained the crown of martyrdom: the name of one
was Agnes, the wife of Robert Potten; and another,
wife of Michael Trunchfield, a schoolmaster, both de-
livering in same town: where, about the same time that
the archbishop aforesaid was burnt at Oxford, the
wife in the aforefaid town of Ipswich, either in the same
month of March, or (as some lay) in the end of
February before.
Their opinion or persuasion was this, that the
Baptism was the memorial only of Christ's death and
euflion: for (said they) Jesus Christ is ascended into
heaven, and is on the right hand of God the Father,
according to the epistles, and in the Lector,
as he was born in the virgin Mary.
For this they were burnt. In whose sufferings their
constancy was worthy to be wondered at, who were
timple women, so manifestly flood to the confirmed
testimony of God's word and verity: indeed, as
when they had prepared and endureth themselves to
enjoy the comfort of worldly women of their age,
certainly, the approach of God's word, according to
the ordinances and inhanced the Roman Antichrist, with all his hypocrisies and
conceit; and so continued in the name of
fire, to push them up their hands and called unto
God constantly so long as life did endure.
This Potten's wife, one night a little before her death,
being asleep in her bed, saw a bright burning light
rise up as a pole, and on the side of the fire she thought she
saw a shadow of queen Mary, and some of her friends
in danger.
Then being asleep, she esteemed to rise and
whether her fire should burn so bright or no, and
deed her suffering was not far unlike her dream.
This also I thought further to note, how the poor
being always together in prison, the one which
michael's wife, seemed to be nothing to ordain unto
as Potten's wife was, although (God he thanked, he
both softly flouted to the confession of the truth; as
when the said Michael's wife came to the stake, and
nothing but present death before her, he made
more of her in joy and comfort; although he
them did so joyfully suffer, that he was marveld at
those who knew them, and did behold thereto. And
these two martyrs ended their lives with great
uph: the Lord grant we may do the like, Amen.

The HISTORY of JOHN MAUNDER, WILLIAM
COBERLEY, and JOHN SPICER, Martyrs,
prefered in the Diocese of Salisbury.

JOHN MAUNDER was the son of Robert Ma-
nder of Rowd, in the county of Wilt; same
was from his childhood brought up in the church of England, and
when he came to man's estate, he dwelt in a village
called Bampoton, in the parish of Kew, in the afore
aforesaid, where he lived in good repute with his
friends and children. After the sufferings was
an Englishman by William Tindal, this John Maunder
being the same that heard thereof, of the fervent
enlighted of God's true religion, so that he delighted
in nothing, as he heard and spoke of God's word, even
with the New Testament about him, so that he
could not read himself. But when he came into
company that could read, his book was always rich
having a very good memory, so that he could recite
heart most places of the New Testament; his life
conversation being very honest and charitable, to his
neighbours could sufficiently.
So it was, that in the days of Henry the Eighth,
at which time Dr. Triggon and Dr. Lee died and
about
What, said the chancellor, a woman head of the church? Yes, said they, within her grace's dominions.

Alio, whether the souls in purgatory were delivered by the pope's pardon, and the suffrages of the church.

They said, they believed faithfully that the blood of Christ had purged their sins, and the sins of them that were, unto the end of the world, so that they desired nothing of the pope's purgatory, nor esteemed his pardons.

Alio, whether images were necessary to be in the churches, as laymen's books, and fants to be prayed unto and worshipped.

They answered negatively. John Maudrel adding, that wooden images were good to rail a shoulder of mutton, but evil in the church; whereby idolatry was committed.

Those articles thus answered (for their articles were one, and their answers in manner alike), the chancellor read their condemnation, and so delivered them to the scourge.

Then spake John Spicer, saying, O master sherfif, now must ye be their butcher, that you may be guilty also with them of innocents' blood before the Lord.

This was the 23rd day of March, 1556, and the 24th day of the same month, they were carried out of the common goal to a place between Salisbury and Wilton, where were two polls set for them to be burnt at.

Which men coming to the place, knocked down, and made their prayers secretly together, and then being unchained to their thirts, John Maudrel spake with a loud voice, Not for all Salisbury. Which words men judged to be an answer to the sheryff, who offered him the queen's pardon if he would recant. And after that in like manner spake John Spicer, saying, This is the joyfullest day that ever I saw. Thus were the three burnt at two flanes: where most confantly they gave their bodies to the fire, and their souls to the Lord, for the testimony of his truth.

As touching William Coberly, this moreover is to be noted, that his wife also, called Alice, being apprehended, was detained in the keeper's house at the same time that her husband was in prisun. Where the keeper's wife, named Agnes Penicote, had secretly heated a key fire-hot, and laid it in the grash in the back-yard. So speaking to Alice Coberly to fetch her the key in all haste, the said Alice went with all speed to bring it, and taking it up she did piteously burn her hand. Whereupon she crying out on the sudden burning of her hand, Ah thou darb, quoth the other, thou shalt not abide the burning or the key, how wilt thou be able to abide burning thy whole body? and so the afterward revoked.

But to return again to the story of Coberly, who being at the flake, was somewhat long a burning at the windfoul: after his body was seared with the fire, and his left arm drawn and taken from him by the violence of the fire, that the flesh being burnt to the white bone, at length he floated over the chain, and with the right hand, which was left injured, knocked upon his breast feoffly, the blood and matter issuing out of his mouth. Afterward when they all thought he had been done, he suddenly rose upright with his body again. And thus much concerning these three Salisbury martyrs.

—An ACCOUNT of the DEATH of Six other Mar­tyrs suffer­ing at London, whose Names follow.

ABOUT the 23rd day of April, 1556, were burned in Smithfield, at one fire, these six confant martyrs of Christ, fulfilling for the profession of the gospel, viz. Robert Drakes, minster. Richard Spurge, urchman. Thomas Spurge, fuller. John Caved, weaver. George Ambró, fuller.

They were all of Essex, and of the diocese of Lon­don,
GEORGE AMBROSE.

THE like answere made George Ambrose, aforesaid, moreover, that after he had read the 22d chapter of Winchester's book, De terris Obedierint, with the nearest prefacing thereof annexed, inveighing both against the authority of the bishop of Rome, he did not make to his doings than before.

JOHN CAVEL.

JOHN CAVEL agreeing in other matters with the aforesaid answere, that the cause why he did not cause the church, was, that the parson had prays with the others before-mentioned, and in a sermon made at the queen's first entry to the city, he had not so much to the people to believe the gospel; for it was not true, and if they did not believe it, they should be saved. But in a second sermon, he preached that the Tanes was falsie in forty places, which community in him was cause, amongst others, of his abstaining henceforth.

ROBERT DRAKES.

A DOUT the fourth day of March next after, Robert Drakes was also examined, who was a parishioner at Thundery, in Elyse, and had there remained some six years. He was first made deponent to Mr. Taylor of Haller, at the commandment of Dr.dam, late archbishop of Canterbury. And within the second year after (which was the third year after king Edward was, by the said archbishop and Dr. Rich, bishop of London, admitted minister of God; and so continued, not after the said king Edward, but after such order as was after established; and again presented to the said benefice of Thunlesey by the late Bishop Rich, at the suit of Mr. Caunt and Mr. Treuens, for now not withstanding was sent up by the said bishop, with the others before-mentioned; and at his came, the bishop of Winchester, was by him demanded whether he could conform himself like a subject to the law of this realm then in force. To whom he said, he would abide all laws that should be made with the laws of God; and thereupon he was committed to prison, where he was called above-named did remain ever since.

The History of William Tyms, Doctor of Divinity, at Elyse.

IN the days of queen Mary there were two sermes preached in the woods at Hockley, which were longed to one Mr. Tyrel; and one was called Plumbew: Wood, and the other Beches Wood. Some said that he was a herself man, and his wife, wherefore he was John Gye, and servant to Mr. Tyrel at the time called Plumbew. Shortly after he was known as a Tyrel; that his woods were polluited with fermons, and all he took very ill, and much matter did arise about the wood, and he was laid to an unlawful affambl, which was laid to John Tyrel; because he did not disclose that unlawful of his matter, being then in the commintion of the same appointed at that time to keep down the gold, which he did to the utmost, as it may appear by many other acts.

Soon after Mr. Tyrel came to Hockley to set this matter, and to know who was at these preachings; And there were found many fault: for it was supposed there were an hundred persons at the least. And so Mr. Tyrel to begin first with John Gye, and said that he was a naughty fellow who had ferred his gud one Tyms; for it is told me said, he that he were cause of these naughty fellows coming to the woods, for this I charge thee, Gye, to get to me this morning fellow Tyms; for thou knowest where he is. And I said Gye, I do not know. So in no case could I make him fetch him. Then stepped forth another of Mr. Tyrel's men to pleache his master, whereof aforesaid he was and said to him; Sir, I know where he is. Whereto
So then therefape one of the bishop's gentlemen, Mr. John, (said he in mockery) give him a chair, a toat, and drink, and he will be lusty. But the bishop ordered him away, and commanded him to come before him again the next day at one hour aparencing.

But Winchester, for lack of believe, or because of no fleshes growing upon him, or for what cause else I know not, either would not, or could not attend unto him, but returned him again to his ordinary bishop from whence he came. So William Tyms being put off again to bishop Bonner, was joined together and coupled with the other five martyrs above before, and with them brought together to public examination before the bishop the 21st day of March, first in the bishop's palace of London, where the said bishop, after his accustomed manner, proceeding against them, inquired of them their faith, which is the fundament of the altar. To whom they answered, that the bishop was not in the fundament of the altar, really and corporally, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest: of which opinion they had been a long time, some former, even as God of his mercy did call upon them unto the knowledge of his gospel.

Then the bishop's chaplain began to reason with them, but with no great authorities either of the scriptures or of the ancient fathers, as other their large conferences with the learned do already declare.

Another EXAMINATION of W. TYMS and R. DRAKES, &c. before the Bishop of London.

THE 23d day of the fame month of March, the bishop sent again for Tyms and Drakes, and ex officio did object unto them certain articles, the form and manner whereof were before objected to Whitle, Green, Tudson, &c. And the 26th day of the same month he sent for the other four, administering to them also the fame general articles unto which they all in effect answered in matters touching the truth, as did the said Bartlet Green and the rest. Other appearances thereabout, as the bishop's common manner of proceeding was more (as I have often saide) for order and form of law, than for any zeal of justice.

But in conclusion, the 28th day of the said month, William Tyms and Robert Drakes, with the other four above named, were brought to the open confiritory in St. Paul's before the said bishop of London, to be condemned for hereby.

The bishop first began in this manner: Tyms, said he, I will begin with thee first, for thou art and hast been among of these thy companions, thou hast taught them hereafter, and confirmed them in their erroueous opinions, and hath endeavoured to make them such as in the lieu, to make them like unto thyself. If the fault had not tended to the hurt of others, I would then have used thee more charitably, and not have brought thee to this open confiritory. I would, according to the rule of Christ, in the 18th of Matthew, have told thee thy fault before me and thee; if thou were not left not have heard me, I would not so have left thee, but I, with two or three others, would have exhorted thee; if that would not have served, then would I have told the church, &c. And for that thy fault is open and manifest to the world, and thou thyself hast fallen into in thine error, this charitable dealing is not to be extended towards thee: I have therefore thought good to proceed by another rule, whereof St. Paul spakest, 1 Tim. v. 22. Such as sin, rebuke them openly, that others may fear. For the thing which I say, and thou brought me before in the face of this people to receive judgment according to thy deferts. Let me see what the case doth, for why I should not proceed against thee as thine ordinary.

My lord, quoth Tyms, will you now give me leave to speak? Yes, quoth the bishop. Then said Tyms, My lord, I marvel not, will begin with a lie. You call me the ringleader and teacher of this company, but how untruly you have said shall shortly appear: for there is none of all these my brethren, which are brought heriter as prisoners, but when they were at liberty and out of prizon,
prison, they distem from you and your doings, as much as they do at this preent; and for that cause they are now prisoners.

So it is evident, that they learned not their religion in pursuance of the word of God; for, at that time, I knew them, until such time as by your commandment, was prisoner with them; how could I then be their ringleader and teacher? so that all the world may see how untruly you have spoken. And as for my fault which you make so grievous, whatsoever you judge of my fault, do well assuredly know, that the religion taught by Christ, the apostles witnessed, the primitive church received, and of late the apostolical and evangelical preachers of this realm have faithfully taught; for which you have cruelly burn them, and now you seek our blood after we so nearly, but by no means will I, oppose not, neither refuse you for mine ordinary.

Then, said the bishop, I perceive thou wilt not be counted their ringleader. How sayst thou, wilt thou submit thyself to the catholic church as an obedient child? in so doing thou shalt be received, and, otherwise, thou shalt have judgment as an heretic.

Then one of the preachers (whole name is not certainly known) said, My lord, you are no upright judge, for you judge after your own suit. But if you will judge us according to the word of truth, which is the word of truth, we will accord to your judgment; for unto that word we wholly submit ourselves. But as for your judgment without the truth, God shall condemn. This was very earnestly expressed, inferring that they should be judged by the word of God, which is offended, calling him bufy knave, and commanded him to hold his tongue, or else he should be had away to a place of smaller cafe.

Then Tyms answered and said, My lord, I doubt not but I am of the catholic church, whatsoever you judge of me. But as for your church, you have before this day denounced it, and by corporal oath promised never to confess to the fame. Contrary to which you have received into this realm the pope's authority, and therefore you are falsely perjured and forsown all the fort of you. Befides this, you have both spoken and written very earnestly against that upheld power, and now you bryn men that will not acknowledge the pope to be supreme head.

Have I, quoth the bishop? where have I written any thing against the church of Rome? My lord, quoth Tyms, the bishop of Wincheste wrote a very obnoxious book, intitled, De vera Obidencia, which containeth worthy matter against the Romish authority: unto which book you made a preface, inveighing against the bishop of Rome, reprouing his tyranny and foolishness, calling his power false and pretended. And this book, at least, you cannot deny it.

Then was the bishop somewhat ashamed, and looking upon those that were present, spake very gently, sayd, Lo, here is a good matter indeed. My lord of Wincheste being a very learned man, did write a book against the supremacy of the pope's holiness, and I do so did write a preface before the libell, rendering to the fame effect. And thus did we because of the perilous times that were. For then was it made treason by the laws of this realm, to maintain the pope's authority, and great danger was it to be suspected a fav' rourer of the faith of Rome; and therefore for com pelled us to comply with the time, for otherwise there had been no way but one. You know when any uttered his confidence in maintaining the pope's authority, he suffered death for it.

And then turning his tale upon Tyms, he said, But at that time, even since the coming in of the queen's majesty, when we might be bold to speak our conscience, we have acknowledged our faults, and my lord of Wincheste thaimed not to recant the same as Paul's Cross. And also thou thyself feelest that I stand not in it, but withall I have submitted myself. Do thou also as we have done.

My lord, quoth Tyms, that which you have written against the supremacy of the pope, may be well approved by the scriptures. But that which you now do, is unjust the word of God, as I can well prove.

Then another, I suppose it was Dr. Cooke, quoth, I do not see how you let me talk with thee a little, for I think we two are learned alike, this is spoke much of the scripture, and yet understoold it not. I will all thee to whom thou mayest be compared; thou art as one who intending to go a hunting, rife up early in the morning, taketh his hounds, and forth he goeth to the hills, and down into the valleys; he palleth out the fields, over hedge and ditch, he hunteth in the wood and thickets; thus laboureth he all the whole day, with out finding any game. At night home he cometh weary of his travel, not having caught any thing, and thus he goeth to bed. Thou labourest in reading the scriptures, thou taketh the hounds, but the morning thou knowest not, and thus thy reading is as unprofitable unto thee, as hunting was unto the man sit of ane now.

Sir, quoth Tyms, you have not well applied your simile; for if I praise God, I have not read the scriptures unprofitably; but God, I think, hath revealed me so much as I do not believe is sufficient for my salvation.

Then said the bishop, You brag much of knowledge, and yet you know nothing? you speak much of scripture, and yet you understand it not. I pray you to tell me, how knowest thou that thing to be the word of God, which thou callest scripture?

To this answered Robert Drakes, that he knew by the word of God, because it shewed unto the believer the way of life, and doth revoke and call all back from their wicked lives, unto a pure and useful conversation.

The bishop replied, that the heathen writers have taught precepts of good living, as well as the scripture, and yet their writings are not effectual to God's word.

Then said Tyms, The Old Testament teacheth so many of those things which are written in the New, for (quoth he) there is nothing taught in the New Testament but it was fore-shadowed in the law and the prophesies.

I will deny all, quoth the bishop, I will deny, what sayest thou then? Then Robert Drakes alleged a sentence in Latine out of the 59th chapter of Isaiah's prophecy; Spiritus munis qui est in te, &c. that is, th' Spirit which is in thee, and my words which I have in the scripture will not depart out of the mouth of my seed, nor out of the mouth of the seed of my seed, for ever and ever,' meaning thereby to prate that he who had the Spirit of God, could think discern and judge truly which was God's word, but before he could expound his mind, he was instructed by the bishop, who spake unto Dr. Parkinson, laying.

Mr. Doctor, I pray you say somewhat to the like that may do thee some good. Then Dr. Parkinson, leaning near the bishop, covered his face with his hand, to the end he might the more eaily what ye were to say; but another conversation was presently brought forward, so that for that time he said nothing.

And thus much William Allbur, witnesseth, being present thereat, so far as he heard, hath hitherto recorded and reported. What more was said, the rest had not yet made an end, because he departed part of the house, he doth not know, nor did hear.

Then the bishop, after this, and such like communication, proceeded at length in form of law, casting both the articles and his answers to the same to be heard and there openly read; the sum of which his answers contained, and left in his own hand-writing, is written as follows.

The ARTICLES for which WILLIAM TYMS, of Hockley, in Essex, was condemned in the Convocation of St. Paul's, the 28th of March, with his SWERS and CONFESSION upon the same.

FIRST, I did truly confess, and believe that I was baptized in the true catholic church of Christ, and that
QMARY, A.D. 1556.] The CONDEMNATION of W. TYMS, R. DRAKES, &c.

L E T T E R I.

From WILLIAM TYMS to his faithful Sister in the Lord, AGNES GLASCOCK, Parson's Inn, in the Town of Hockley.

THE grace, mercy, and peace of God our Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to your everlasting comfort, be with you. Your dear sister Glascoek, both now and evermore, Amen.

My most dear and entirely beloved sister, yea mother you might well call you for the motherly care which you have always had for me, I have most heartily commended myself unto you, giving God most hearty thanks for you, that he hath given you so loving a heart to Christ's poor gospel, and his poor afflicted flock for the sake: and as you have full gladly begun, I beseech God to give you power to go forward in the same, and never more to look back, bearing neither fire nor sword; and then I warrant you, you have far to run.

And now (my dear heart) remember well what I have taught you when I was present with you, and also written before, and also doubt we shall shortly meet again with a most joyful meeting. I go on Friday next to the bishop of London's coal-house, which is the 20th day of March, where I think it will be hard for any of my friends to speak with me. However I trust I shall not long tarry there, but shortly after be carried up after my dear brethren and fathers, which are gone before me into heaven in a fiery chariot; therefore now I take my leave of you till we meet in heaven, and hail you after.

I have carried a great while for you, and seeing you are so long making ready, I will tarry no longer for you. You shall find me merely tinged, I holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabath, at my journey's end. Therefore now (my dear heart) make good haste, and lest not by the way, lest late night take you, and so ye be shut out of the gate with the foolish virgins. And now (my sister) in witness that I have taught you nothing but the truth, here I write my name with my blood for a testimonial unto you, that I will feel the simple doctrine which I have taught you, with the right. And thus fare you well: and God defend you from Antichrist, and all his minions, the false priests, Amen.

These words following were written with his own blood, and to the King's Bench for the gospel of Christ.

L E T T E R II.

From WILLIAM TYMS, comforter of his Sister GLASCOCK, being in great Sorrows and Repentance for going to the Masts.

OD be merciful unto you, pardon and forgive all your sins, and fend you faith to believe the same, that you may be partaker of his heavenly kingdom, Amen.

My dear sister, I have of your earnest request sent you, and also of the mercy shewed unto you, in that he hath not left you to yourself, but since your denial he hath shewed his mercy upon you, by looking back on you as he did on Peter, and so caused you to repent as Peter did, and bitterly to weep for your sins, whereas if God had let you to yourself, you had run forward from one evil to another, till at length your heart would either have been hardened, or else you would have despised the mercy of God.
The grace of God the Father, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus, our Lord and Saviour, with the continual aid of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to our everlasting fort, be with you, my dear brethren, both now and evermore, Amen.

My dearly beloved, I beseech God to record the great goodness which you have showed unto me, even during your boisterous, and as you have always had a most pious and religious heart; even so, I beseech him to give you grace to love your own souls, and then I trust you will see from all those things that should displease you, and merciful God, and hate and abhor all the causes of those that would have you to worship God in another way than is contained in his holy word. I beseech God to give you grace to keep you in his truth, and befriend all your brethren, that you may always have affiliation in him, and evermore seek his honour and glory to your everlasting comfort in Christ, Amen. Thus fare you well. From the King's-bench, this 28th of August.

By me,

WILLIAM TYMS.

From WILLIAM TYMS to his PARISHIONERS, giving Thanks for their Charity bestowed to his Wife being brought to Bed of a Child in his Captivity.

The everlasting peace of our dear Lord and my Saviour Jesus Christ, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the increase of your faith to the performance of his will, and to your eternal consolation in the everlasting kingdom of heaven, with your dear brethren and fitters, both now and ever, Amen.

My most dear brethren and fitters in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I have most heartily commended unto you with hearty thanks for all the great literacy that you have showed unto me, and especially now in the time of my necessity, that while God hath for my poor wife a child in my captivity, which is the greatest care to me, so to provide, that I might keep both the child and my life from the antichristian church, and thing I thank my God, through his most gracious providence, I have yet done, though it be (as ye know) great charge, not to me, but to the congregation of God, and it grieveth me that I have been so chargeable. To do this, I have been and am, I do, in doing thereby, for the sake of my dear brethren, I am not in unworthy a member as I have been, and also of so small acquaintance: but such is the necessary goodness of God, so to move your hearts with charity towards me. And as he hath moved you to do, even so I beseech God to give you grace to forbear and reject all things which are displeasing in his sight, and to do all things which are required by him.
LETTER VI.

From WILLIAM TYMS to his Sitters COLFOX and AGNES GLASCOCK.

GRACE and peace from God the Father of all mercies, through the merits of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ, all perdition and felt in the hearts of you, my most beloved sitters in the Lord, by the mighty work of the Holy Ghost the Comforter, both now and eternally, Amen.

My most dear and entirely beloved sitters in the Lord, and my most hearty commendations, according to my usual custom, and true duty, I do as I am accustomed, not omit to do, that is, I give you warning of my comings, which are the privies, and take good care to be clean, for they fear a garlic smell; yes, and separate it, He keepeth not, but goeth about like a lion, seeking whom he may devour. For our dear friends, or worldly companions, when I see that you will not run into the idol's temple among them, it will seem a strange thing unto them, I am not run unto the same excess of riot, as St. Peter saith, and therefore they will speak evil of you, rail on you, and persecute you.

But, my dear sitters, let it not trouble you, for it is to thy joy, and let it not seem a strange thing unto thee. But when they do, remember wherefore it is, for whole fake, even because you will not forsake them as they do. For the hatred they bear you, is for the will of God, and then it is God's cause, and I tell him he will revenge it. And therefore if ye be called evil, or evil be said of you by them, bless them, that ye may be the children of light, and not of the darkness. For if ye follow with the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, then shall ye be sure to be partakers of the same; go that they are in. Yes, you have heard by the word of God, how cruelly the tyrants have always persecuted the true members of Christ, as he himself hath spoken, that they shall do unto the end of the world.

By the way I will bring to your remembrance the worthy St. Stephen, who for favouring, maintaining, and calling the same doctrine that we now follow, was called a blasphemer, and stoned to death at Jerusalem. And Christ's apostles were diversely afflicted over the world for the fame by this vigorous generation. Among the faithful witnesses of Christ was Thaddeus Pergrinus. John for receiving Paul and Silas, with his disciples and teachers of the gospel, was brought before the council at Thessalonica, and acquitted for a false accusation against Caesar. No marvel therefore, that at this day we are vexed on the same sort, maintaining the same cause, and favouring the teachers thereunto.

Is there any other reward following the true followers of God now, than hath hitherto been? No further for his Christ promised. And if they have persecuted them, they need not much persecute his members; they have called them the Mather of the house of Israel, and they will do his household: "Ye shall be hated of men, (faith Christ) for my name's sake."

It is a new thing, my dear hearts, to see the true members of Christ handled as in our days they are, as it was to them; so to you how they are cruelly treated, and blasphemed without any reasonable cause. For heretics must they be taken, who follow not their traditions. And then they may as well call Christ an heretic, for he never went about with a cope, cros, or candlestick. He never leaned image, nor sang Latin service. He never fast in confession. He never preached of purgatory nor of the pope's pardons. He never honoured faxes, nor prayed for the dead. He never said mass, masses, nor even long. He never commanded to fall Friday nor vigil, lent nor advent. He never hallowed church nor chalice, ashes nor palms, candles nor bells. He never made holy water nor holy bread, with such like. But such dumb ceremonies, not having the express commandment of God, he said they were the cave of the pharisees, and damnable hypocrisy; admonishing his disciples to beware of them. He cursed all those that add to his word such beggarly flounders, wiping their names clean out of the book of life. St. Paul faith, they have no portion with Christ, which entangle themselves again with such yokes of bondage.

Therefore, my dear hearts, feeling that our good God hath, by the light of his holy word, delivered us from all such dark, blind, dumb, beggarly traditions of men, (fand fall in the library where Christ hath made you free, bring not yourselves again into the yoke of bondage. But let us always be ready, looking for the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which, as St. Peter faith, "will come as a thief in the night." And our captain Christ faith, "If the good man of the house knew what hour the thief would come, he would surely watch." Therefore, my dear hearts, be of good comfort, although the world rage ever so fierce against you. And for your comfort, mark well, that by the mercy of God, who according to his promise for the weaknesses of our nature hath alleviated the heat of the fire, that our dear brethren that have gone before us, to the fight of all men, have found it rather to be joy than pain. And think you surely God will be merciful unto you, as he hath been unto them, and pay with St. Paul, the same. "Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or hunger, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? as it is written, For they fake are we killed all the day long." Scc.

Therefore, my dear sitters, if to fave your lives, any dissimulating gospellers would have you to go to the idol's temple with them, fay unto them, No; for my master Christ faith, Matth. x. "He that would have his life shall lose it." And in another place to comfort us, he faith, Math. viii. "If any one of you shall be called to the head, without it be your heavenly Father's will." And therefore say that you will not be of that fort, that be neither hot nor cold, left God should fip you out of his mouth. But make them this answer, saying, St. Paul faith, 2 Cor. vi. "To the one you will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, faith the Lord." Thus, mine own bowels in the Lord, as I began, so make I an end, bidding you beware of your enemies, and take up your cros, and follow your captain Christ in at the narrow gate here by perfection, and then you shall be sure to reign and rejoice with him in his everlastings kingdom, which he himself hath purchased with his own most precious blood: to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour both now and for ever, Amen.

By me, WILLIAM TYMS.
LETTER VII.
From WILLIAM TYMS, exhorting all GOD’s faithful Servants to enforce the SOCIETY of IDOLATORS, and GOD’s ENEMIES.

GRACE be with you, and peace from the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

I thank my God with all remembrance of you always in my prayers for you, and pray with gladness, because of the fellowship which ye have in the gospel, from the first day that I knew you, until this day, and I have fully certified of this, that he who hath begun a good work in you, shall go forth with it, until the day of Jesus Christ, as it becometh me to judge of you; whom I have in my heart, and as companions of grace with me, even in my bonds. And thus I pray, that your love may increase more and more in knowledge. Good brethren, I must heartily define God, that as you have a willing mind to comfort my vile earthly body in this time of my bondage, so that I might refresh myself with Holy Spirit, that my imprisonment do not discomfort, but rather strengthen and comfort you, so to the good-naefs of God flowed unto me, in that being a man without learning, and brought before three such bishops, and so purposely, and in my absence, to the end I might with more and more wisdom and wisdom; infomuch that the bishop of London went away in a great haste from me; and after that he sent his man with a Bible, turning to the gift chapter to the Hebrews, and the bishop of Bath looking on it, for God will show you the goodness of his truth; for he that maketh use of them, he shall find them. Then I looked on it, and said, My lord, let me see this; how he hath rehearsed that I was weak, and therefore he hath helped me; for he here hath condemned the factitious of your minis; for I did, as far as you offer truly and sincerely in your minds, both for the quick and the dead; and here St. Paul saith, "Without blood-flushing there is no forgiveness of sins," therefore that is here condemned. He answered, Yeas, he saith so. So fly all such hereticks, and so forth. We may everywhere see it like squadron, with such neighbours that heard them can declare, therefore I leave them. This have I written that you should not be afraid, but call upon God as he hath commanded us to call and we shall have faith and you shall find, knock and it shall be opened. Also he hath commanded us to call on him in the day of trouble, and he hath promised to hear us. Therefore if we have not faith and wisdom at his hand, the fault is in us, that either we will not repent of our wickedness, and amend our lives, or else we will not repent, but believe the promises of God; and so we ourselves are the cause that this wisdom is lacking in us. Therefore let us repent and amend our lives, and God is merciful. And in any case, as I have said, ye are faith unto me, since I first knew you, so far as you are not able, so I pray you by the power of God, and in the name of our good intercessors; if not, mark what hath followed upon them that have left God's commandments, and done their own good intents. Remember when the children of Israel had made them a golden calf, did not God say they had marred all, and would have destroyed them, had not Moses earnestly prayed for them? I have many other places alone that prove the wrath of God to come upon the people for idolatry: therefore as we will avoid the wrath of God, let us keep unblamed from it. You have example out of the Old Testament, how both the godly fathers were to be partners with the wicked: and yet to see how little we regarded it, it would make any christian man's heart to weep. God fend us more grace.

First look in the 11th and 12th of Genesis; Abrahan, because he would not be partner of their idolatry, fled from the people of Chaldea, being his native country. And in the 11th of Genesis, Loth at the commandment of the angels departed from Sodom, lest he tarrying with the Sodomites should have been confounded with them. In the 21st of Genesis, Sarah would not suffer Ishmael, who was given to mock, to keep company with her for fear he should also become a mocker. Look in the 16th of Numbers; Moses at God's appointment commanded the people to depart from the dwelling-places of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, lest they should be all wrapped in their sins, and so perish. And in the 1st, even as Mose commanded them that they should not keep company with the wicked people, lest the vengeance of God should light upon them, & do I (I say) give you warning that you should not keep company with the idolaters, in their idolatrous examples, lest the wrath of God come upon you to destroy you. Look what St. Paul faith in the second epistle, 2 Corinthians, 6th chapter to the Corinthians: "See ye not that we walk as children of God in the world? To be in the company of unrighteous persons is dangerous, for what fellowship hath light with darkness? what company hath he that believeth with an unbeliever? and what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for this shall come to be the temple of God, I say, in the Lord; and touch no unclean thing." Great is the power of God, in the company with the wicked. Synarch faith, he that is in the same pitch, shall be defiled with the same pitch; and he that eateth the bread of the Lord with a suppliant, eateth the bread of the Lord with a suppliant. Gorge not on the tabernacle of God with idolaters, lest you be defiled with idolaters, and be connected to him, and so shall they be drained from you. Wherefore be not out from among them, and separate yourselves, as the Lord, and touch no unclean thing." For God will shew you the goodness of his truth; for he that maketh use of them, he shall find them. Therefore let us repent and amend our lives, and God is merciful. And in any case, as I have said, ye are faith unto me, since I first knew you, so far as you are not able, so I pray you by the power of God, and in the name of our good intercessors; if not, mark what hath followed upon them that have left God's commandments, and done their own good intents. Remember when the children of Israel had made them a golden calf, did not God say they had marred all, and would have destroyed them, had not Moses earnestly prayed for them? I have many other places alone that prove the wrath of God to come upon the people for idolatry: therefore as we will avoid the wrath of God, let us keep unblamed from it. You have example out of the Old Testament, how both the godly fathers were to be partners with the wicked: and yet to see how little we regarded it, it would make any christian man's heart to weep. God fend us more grace.

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Therefore let us pray God to send us faithful shepherds, and also obedient sheeps, that will not hear a stranger's voice, or indeed open doors of iniquity. I would all men would mark well the saying of St. Paul, I say the eighth strife that was betwixt the Romans, where he thus saith, "Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, For thy sake are we killed all the day long." So it is appointed to be the will of God to suffer, to be the children of God, to be able to separate us from the love of God."<ref>See also the other place, "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution," 2 Tim. iv. ii. Thus I prove it to be our heavenly Father's rod: therefore let us thankfully receive it like obedient children, and then our Father will love us.<ref>

Yet hear what St. Peter faith in his first epistle, and the fourth chapter, "Dear beloved, (faith he) be not troubled in this heat which is now come among you to try you, as though some strainge thing were had happened unto you; but rejoice in such things as ye are partakers of Christ's patience." When his glow and his heat shall be over, ye shall be merry and glad. If ye be blamed for the name of Christ, happy are ye, for the Spirit of glory, and the Spirit of God resteth upon you. On their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified."<ref>Here we see Peter faithful and strong thin; and that I have partly proved before, because we have nothing else professed in this world.

Therefore let us call on God for grace. Be ye sure that they can do nothing to us, till God permit it. As for example, look in the first book of Samuel, chap. xix. you shall see how, by the power of God, Saul was like to have killed his own son; and he was saved, because Saul had desired to have him; but his labour was in vain.

Also in the fourteenth chapter of the book of Kings, Jezobel threatened and swore to slay Elias, but the Lord preserved him. Also in the second chapter of Job, you may see that Satan could do nothing to Job till God suffered him, neither exercise his cruelty any further than God had appointed him. The godly woman Sannah, through the false accusation of the wicked judges, was even at a point to die, yet God wonderfully delivered her. This have I written to put you in remembrance, that if any man will offend God, it is the will of God: therefore let us not deft his will, but refer all to him: and let us be doing that thing that God hath commanded us in his holy word.

Dear brethren, for the blood of the Chrisi, refuse not the crost of Chrisi, but remember the saying of the godly and apostle Paul, "He that saith not evil, he hath a part with the Lord." It is good for me that I have been in trouble, that I may learn thy statutes." In the same place he faith, "Before I was in trouble I went wrong, but now I have kept thy word." Even fo it is in trouble with us, for the word of God was never so sweet and comfortable as it is now that we are in trouble. Alfo St. Paul faith in the fifth chapter to the Romans, "We rejoice in tribulation: for we know that tribulation bringeth patience, patience bringeth experience, experience bringeth hope, and hope maketh not ashamed.""<ref>

Also I pray remember the saying of St. Paul in the first chapter of his second epistle to Timothy, where he faith, "Be not ashamed to testify the Lord; neither be ashamed of me." Even fo I say unto you, dear brethren, be not ashamed of my imprisonment, neither forry, but rejoice with me, that it hath pleased God of his good deeds to give them such a dignity, as this shall be unto me, if I may have his grace so to shew (as I regard as most vile) for his name's sake: for then I shall be sure to find it again with advantage. Therefore I desire you all that you will pray with me unto Almighty God, that he of his merciful goodnees will fend me in his grace and goodnes, that I may have mine unto the end; as I will pray for you, that God will preserve you from all the wicked ways of Antichrist, and strengthen and comfort you, if it be his good pleasure, that you shall...
suffer any thing for his name’s sake, as he hath faithfully promised to do.

And I certify you, that if all men knew the comfort they should receive by the hand of God, and thing is prior than they do. For surely we find such comfort at the hand of God since we have been in prison, that we had rather die than be abroad to see the idolatry that is committed among them that are abroad; because the seeking of another’s blood, with other wickedness too much; God sends me no more grace. But I trust, among you there be none such: and if there be, repent and amend, left it be verified in you, which that is spoken by the prophet Jeremy, the second chapter, where he faith, “My people hath committed too great evils; they have forsoaked me the fountain of living waters, and digged them pits; pits (I say) that are broken, and can hold no water.” Also in the seventh chapter he faith, “Hear not the words of the prophets that preach their own dreams.” Good brethren, beware of those false prophets that I have given you warning of.

Dearly beloved, here I make an end for this time, defining the same health both of body and soul unto you all that I would have myself, and I end with the same that St. Peter did in the last chapter of his epistle: “Submit yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you when the time is come. Cast all your care on him, for he careth for you. Be sober and watch, for your adversary the devil as a roaring lion walketh about seeking whom he may devour, when ye shall fall in faith in Christ Jesus, shall himself, after you have fallen into the afflication, make you perfect, shall sete, strengthen, and establish you. To him be glory and dominion for ever, and while the world endureth, Amen.

Greet one another with an holy kiss of love. Peace be with you all which are in Christ Jesus. I pray you all, pray for me, Amen.

There are in the same prison where I am, the bishop of St. David’s, Dr. Taylor, of Hadley, Mr. Philpot, and my singular good father Mr. Bradford, with five others, laymen of Suffolk.

I desire some good brother to write this over again, for I wrote it (as I do many times) with fear. For if the keepers had seen it, they would have taken it from me, and my pen and ink also.

Good brethren, I am kept alone, and yet I thank God he comforted me in the affections of any man: for I thanke him, I was never more perfect in Christ.

By me, prisoner in the King’s-bench, WILLIAM TYMS.

A BOUT this time certain communionists, assigned by the queen and council, came to Norfolk, (as they did to other counties) to inquire after matters of religion; unto which communionists there was a supplication then exhibited by some well disposed men relating about those parts. Which supplication, for the worthy matter contained in it, I thought proper here to insert.

The SUPPLICATION exhibited by certain Inhabitants of the County of Norfolk, proper to be read and observed by all Men.

In most humble and lowly wife, we beseech your honours, right honourable communionists, to tender and pity the humble fault of your poor men, and tree faithful, and obedient subjects, who as we have heretofore, so intend we, with God’s grace, to continue in christian obedience unto the end, and (according to the word of God) with all reverent fear of God, to do our bounden duty to all those superior powers, whom God hath appointed over us, doing as St. Paul faith, Rom. xiii. “Let every soul be subject to the superior powers. For there is no power but of God: but all powers that are, are ordained of God. Whosoever then resisteth the powers,反抗 the powers, the power resisteth him that resisteth God.”

First, That the authority of a king, queen, lord, or any other officer elected unto them, is not ignorant usurpation, but a just, holy, and religious office, and needeth an act for a man to be governed by, and that the king of God, the fountain and author of righteousnes.

Secondly, That to obey the same in all things is no other way to obey God; and to resist them is to resist God. Therefore, they that detest, condemn, and malign and magnificate, bringeth life; to resist God is to bringeth punishment and death. The same learning we learned of St. Peter, 1 Pet. ii. 17. saying, “Be subject to all human ordinances for the Lord’s sake whether it be to the king, as superior, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent from him, for the peace of the whole, and for the prosperity of the public.”

Wherefore considering with ourselves, both that great magistrates’ power is of God, and that for the Lord’s sake we are bound by christian obedience unto it, having now so clearly a commandment from God, that were from the queen’s majesty; with all human obedience due to the regal power and authority ordained God, (which we acknowledge to stand wholly and perfectly in her grace), and with due reverence unto grace commandment is a humble beseech you reverence and pity to receive this our answer unto the commandment, given unto us.

First, Right honourable communionists, we humbly discovered to be not only Englishmen, but christians, and therefore bound by the holy word and God the bishop, to prefer God’s commandments, and things, and that all obedience (not only of us men, but even of the very angels and heavenly hosts) is due unto God’s word; insomuch that no obedience can be true and perfect, either before God or not at fully and wholly agree with God’s word.

Then have we weighed the commandment concerning the restitution of the late abolished Latin ferre, and unto us to differ and dissent from God’s word, the command manifesto, and the overthrow of godly worship and good instruction of religion, and the regal power of this our native country and realm, England, with the bringing in of the Romish bishopric, with all errors, superstitions, and idolatry, and waffing of our goods and bodies, destroying of our true bringing in of God’s word — which we all, and so fully and wholly, do tenderly and greatly fear. Wherefore we hereby protest, that we cannot be persuaded, that the wicked commandment should be from the grace of majesty, but rather from some other, as the queen’s goodwives and favourites, and flouting us, and some mischiefs against the queen, the crown, and the realm, to please with it the Romish bishop, at the hands the fame thinketh hereafter to be advancing.

As the Agapite Haeman wrought mischief on the noble king Alcaeforus, and at the princes of those, as he wrought against the good king Darus; so think we the queen’s most gentle heart to be abused by some, seeking themselves and their own vain glory, provoking such commandments as are against the glorious prince of God. For we have not have so much as the first, aught of me, I pray; as it should subvert the most godly and holy religion (so accordingly to God’s word set forth by the noble, virtuous, and innocent king, our late also our lady the king Edward, her grace’s brother) except the wonderfully abased, who are sitting with right, in the communion of all others, than acknowledge their errors, and to be according to God’s word formed. For truly, the religion lately set forth by
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The blind and error we were all in; when not one man in all this realm, unheard of in the Latin, nor known in English the Lord’s prayer, or knew any one article of his belief, or rehearsed any one of the ten commandments. And that ignorance, the mother of mischief, was the very root and well-spring of all idolatry, Sodomy, monstrosity, and all the manner of unbridled lusts, of all whoredom, drunkenness, obscenity, swearing, and blasphemy, with all other wicked finful living.

Thee brought in the severe wrath and vengeance of God, plaguing them with famine and pestilence; and at last the terror of God avenged all their impurity and wicked living. As it is great sin to abuse the name of God or the same or more grievous plagues shall now again follow.

We cannot therefore consent nor agree that the word of God and prayers in our English tongue, which we understand, should be taken away from us, and for it a Latin service, for none of us understand it to be again brought amongst us. I am directly seeing that Christ hath said, “My sheep hear my voice, and follow me, and I give to them everlasting life.”

The service in the English teacheth us that we are the Lord’s people, and the sheep of his pasture, and commandeth that we harden not our hearts, as when they provoked the Lord’s wrath in the wilderness, left he swear unto us, as he did swear unto them, that they should not enter into his rest.

The service in Latin is a confused noise; which if it be good (as the mass is thought to be) yet I lack understanding, what goodnesse can it bring? See Paul, commandeth, that in the churches all things should be done to edifying, which we are sure is God’s commandment. But in the Latin service nothing is done to edifying, but contrary all to destroy those that are already edified, and to drive from God’s work our unwillingness to believe the same, and to bring us to believe lies and fables, that tempting and provoking God, we should be brought into that judgment that blessed Paul speaketh of, saying, “Antichrist shall come according to the working of the power of Satan, with all manner of power and signs, and lying wonders, in all drawing all the unrighteousness of those that perish; because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be fazed. And therefore God will send them strong delusion, that they should believe lies and be damned, as many as have not received the truth, but have approved unrighteousness.”

Thus, altogether drawn from God, we shall fall into his wrath through unbelief, till he swear unto us, as he did unto the unfaithful Jews, that such infidels shall not enter into his rest.

In the administration of the Lord’s supper, which we confess to be the holy communion, and partaking with Christ and his holy congregation, we have learned God’s holy commandments, and at the rehearsal of every one of them to ask God mercy for our most grievous transgressions against them, and the life grace of God, to keep them in time to come, that the same may not only outwardly found in our cars, but also inwardly by the Holy Ghost be written in our hearts.

We have learned also the holy prayer made for the queen’s majesty; wherein we learn that her power and authority is of God, that she rule not, that she, that she, and all magnifies under her, may rule according to God’s word, and we, her subjebts, obey according to the same.

Truly, most honourable communicions, we cannot think these things evil, but think them most worthy to be retained in our churches, and we should not think ourselves to have true subjects’ hearts, if we should go about to put away such godly prayers, as put us perpetually in memory of our bounden obedience and duty to God and our rulers. For, as we think, at this present the unquiet multitude cannot be able to have these things more often and earnestly beaten and driven into them, (especially given in many places to flit and trouble) than to take from that blessed doctrine, whereby only they may, to their salvation, be kept in quiet.

Furthermore, we cannot forake that blessed partaking of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ’s institution,
tueish, ministered with such godly prayers, exhortations, and admonitions, teaching us the knowledge of God, the exceeding love and care of our loving Redeemer, Christ, breaking his body upon the cross for our sins, and the shedding of his most precious blood for our redemption: which we, in eating of that blest bread, and drinking of the blest cup, assuredly believe that we receive, and are certainly united with Christ in his body, saving with Christ into one body, and into one unity and brotherly love, whereby every member faithfully embraceth each other. We must needs confess this institution of Christ to be most holy and holy, wherefore we have the only confession in confidence against sin and contamination, with the assurance of salvation, and whereof hath ensued reformation of many heinous sins, much lawing, striving, and contention being ended; drunkenness, whoredom, and other vices in some returned; good deeds and virtue increased and nourished.

In the Latin mass we never had any such edifying, but only saw a great many ceremonies and strange gestures, as turning of the priest, croulings, blessings, breathings, washing of hands, and spreading abroad of his arms, with like ceremonies that we understand not.

And concerning the Latin tongue, wherein the priest prayeth, we know not whether he beleth or curseth us. We are not partakers of the sacrament, as Christ's institution approveth we should be. The glorious institution of the sacrament, the priests after the institution of Christ, committing theft and sacrilege, robbing us of the cup of Christ's blood, contrary to Christ's commandment, saying, Drink ye all of this. They rob us also of God's word, speaking all things in Latin, to which nothing edifieth us either in faith or manners. Christ commandeth not that his supper should be administered in an unknown tongue: but forasmuch as faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh of God's word, how can we believe Christ's word and promise made unto us in the holy sacrament, saying, This is my body broken for you, and this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, for the remission of sins? If the same promises of Christ either be not at all recited, or else so recited in Latin, that the congregation understandeth not, or heareth not what is spoken? St. Paul faith thus, reciting the saying of Isaiah, 'As truly as I live, saith the Lord, all knees shall bow unto me, all tongues shall give praise unto God.' Also he faith, 'All Tongues must confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord.' And therefore the word of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, came upon the apostles in fiery tongues, so that they spake the tongues of all nations under heaven. St. Paul ministered to the Corinthians, and preached to them in their own mother-tongue, and rebuked the bringing in of other tongues into the congregations. We cannot think that to be right, which doth an apostle rebuke. And whatsoever virtue the Latin tongue hath to such as understand it, to us Englishmen not understanding it, it is altogether without virtue and edification, and therefore injures our churches.

The priests complain that we laymen love them not, nor have them in honour, but it is their own fault: for how should we love them that only seek to keep us in blindfolds and ignorance, to damn our souls, to destroy our bodies, to stab and gash our souls and God's name under a colour of pretended holiness? We know (right honourable commissioners) what honour is due to such wolves, and how by the authority of God's word such are to be avoided as perilous to the Lord's lambs, whom they miserably murder daily.

But we have rather chosen, by this our meek supplication, humbly to declare the queen's majesty, and you her honourable commissioners, to reform God's word again unto the churches, and to permit us freely to enjoy the faith. For we certainly know, that the whole religion lately set out by the holy saint of God, our late most dear king Edward, is Christ's true religion written in the holy furnerpe of God, and by Christ and his apostles taught unto his church. Wherefore we cannot allow with such confessions this refusal of it, and calling of it out of our churches; forasmuch as to refuse, call off, and to reject it, is to call off Christ himself, and to rob our part in his blest body broken for our sins, and in his holy blood shed for our redemption: Which thing when we do, the same without repentance we can look for no place for his sins, but must heartily wait for his judgment, and for that vehement fire that shall destroy all the damnable. For if we that delieth the law of Moses under two or three or six hundred, how much more grievous is this, the bed of that treadeth under foot the Son of God, and the blood of the Testament (whereby he was rendered a profane thing, and contumeliously ech the Spirit of grace)

Wherefore we must humble pray and beseech the queen's gracious majesty to have mercy and pity upon us her poor and faithful subjects, and not to comply to do the thing that is against our confessions, as to incurably wound us in heart, by bringing into our church the Latin mass and service of the popishe Mass, and by calling out Christ's holy communions in English service, to cauas us to fall against our adoration. For such as writing and willingly against our confessions shall do it, or they are in an invariable fate, until we shall turn them: which if he do, we certify it, that they shall confidently be damned: and in such case they deny Christ's holy word and commandment: whereby we have learned the cause and effects of the fame more lively in one sermon, than in all the prayers that ever we went in, or ever shall go in.

When we worshipped the Divine Trinity before, and in the Litany invoking the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the most holy communion of three persons, we could not say such petitions as the need of our frail and mortal life required, we were edified, both into unto whom all Christian prayers should be directed, also to know that of God's hand we receive all and every thing, and that we must not forget our own carnal and spiritual necessities. And we humbly beseech queen's majesty, that the same holy prayer be continued among us; that our ministers pray our mother tongue, and we understanding them and petitions, may answer, Amen. Ance, and subsequently, through the offices we understand our ministers pray we were taught and admonished by the pope then read; which in the Latin even-elong is all given there.

At the ministration of holy baptism, we learned a great deal and soulful blessings, vows and promises, and vows and assurances we have upon our part had made, namely, to believe in him, to forsake Satan and his works, and to walk in the way of God's holy word and commandments.

The Christian catechism continually taught us to remember the fame, whereas before no manner any thing at all. And many good men of many ages that had been godfathers to thirty children, knew more of the godfather's office, but to wash them in the church, or else to bathe them with bread and water.

O merciful God, have pity upon us. Shall we altogether cast off thy presence? We may yield out our miserable fate, to receive such a communion to reject and cast out of our churches all their godly prayers, instructions, admonitions, and declara-
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earth. For now a man can go to no place, but malicious busy bodies curiously search out his deeds, mark his words, and if he agree not with them in defiling God's word, then will they spitefully and baselessly rail against him and in all his prosperity, and, and the profilers thereof of heretics and schismatics, and all such odious and base names, as traitors and not the queen's friends, nor favourites of the queen's proceedings; as if to love God's word were hereby, and as though to talk of Christ were hereby to be pharisaical, as though none could be true to the queen that were not false to God; and though none were the queen's friends, but such as do spitefully rail on her grace's father and brother, and on God's word that they esteem; as though none were true to the queen's majesty, but such as hate all godly knowledge.

And in very deed these things that all this tumult is made for, are mere inventions of popes, brought into the church of their own imaginations, without commandment or example either of Christ or of his apostles; and there is not one word in the Bible, that being truly alleged, maintaineth them, nor any doctor of antiquity before St. Augustine's days, as it hath been divers times sufficiently proved before all the whole parliament and convocation of this realm. Yet these being mere traditions of bishops, let not out for God's word, and the queen's authority (given to her of God to maintain his word) must be abated to put down God's word. And you, right honourable justices, and keepers of laws and libertines, are also abused and made the bishops' apparatours, teachers, and fellow of this false, false, false, and unholy doctrine, and against the supreme authority of the regal state of this realm. And we poor subjects, for speaking of that which is truth, and our bounden allegiance, are daily punished, railed upon, and noted for tedious and tiresome subjects.
of God’s doctrine, and to bear the heavy burden that unfaithful hypocrites lay upon us. We have ears, and hear not the warning of God’s word calling us to true repentance, nor his threats against our impiety. Our most sweet table of Christ’s word and molty holy communion is taken away, and made a most pernicious snare, through the brawling dissensions of men. And as the idol of abomination betokened final subversion unto the Jewish nation, so we fear this setting aside of the gospel and holy communion of Christ, and the placing of a Romish religion, betokeneth the defoliation of the whole race of England to be at hand.

For the plagues of hunger, pestilence, and fowrd, cannot long tarry; but except we repent and turn again to the Lord, our backs shall be bow’d, that the like horrid plagues were never seen. And no marvel: for the like obedience was never conceived, as said, and cast off Christ and his word, and in plain English to say, We will not have him to reign over us. O Lord, how terrible is that which followeth in the gospel? ‘Thou makest enemies that will not have me to reign over them, bring them hither, and play them into my hands,’ Luke xix. ‘God be merciful to us, and move the heart of the king’s majesty, and the hearts of his honourable council, and your hearts (right worshipful commissioners), to weigh these dangers in due time, and to call God’s word into your council, and then you shall see how God will be with this unworthy nation; and to be as wary to avoid the contempt of the eternal God, and dangers of the same, as you are prudent and wise in matters of this world, lest, if the Almighty be concerned, he stretch forth his arm, which no man can turn, and kindle his wrath, which no man can quench.’

We have humbly opened to you our confidences, doubting fore wounded and grieved by this commandment; and we meekly pray and beseech the queen’s majesty, for the precious death and blood-bleeding of Jesus Christ our Saviour, to have pity and pity upon her most poor commons, faithful and true subjects, members of the same body politic, whereof her grace is supreme head. All our bodies, lands, goods, and lives, are ready to do her grace faithful obedience, and true service of all commandments that are not against God and his word: but in things that import a denial of Christ, and refusal of his word and holy communion, we cannot consent nor agree unto it. For we have bound ourselves in baptism to be Christ’s disciples, and to keep his holy word and ordinances. And if we deny him before men, he will deny us before his heavenly Father. And turned to a day of judgment and to wrath, which we trust her benign grace will not require of us. And we humbly beseech her majesty, that we be not enforced unto it; but as we serve her grace with body and goods, and due obedience, according to God’s commandment; so we may be permitted freely to serve God and Christ our Saviour, and keep unto him our souls, which he hath with his precious blood redeemed, that so (as Christ teacheth) we may render to Caesar that which is due to Caesar, and to God that which is due to God.

For I think it no true obedience unto the queen’s majesty, or to any other magistrate ordained of God under her to obey in things contrary to God’s word, although the same be ever so straitly charged in her grace’s name. The bishop of Winchelsea hath truly taught in this point, in his book of true obedience, that those who obey the Lord and not Christ are the apostles answered before the council at Jerusalem, commanding them no more to preach in the name of the Lord Jesus: ‘Judge you (said they) whether it be right in the sight of God, to hear you rather than God. And again they said, We must obey God rather than man.’ Wherefore we learn, that true obedience is to obey God, King of all kings, and Lord of all lords, and for him, in him, and not against him and his word, to obey princes and magistrates of this world, who are not truly obeyed when God is disobeyed, nor yet disobey’d when God is faithfully obeyed.

Tobias disobeyed not his king, although contrary to his commandment, and contrary to the usage of all others, when they went to Dan and Bethel, even unto Jerusalem, and worshipped in the temple of the Lord. The three young men in Babylon, although condemned to death, pleased God more in the whole multitude that obeyed. And Daniel prayed to the God of heaven, contrary to the decree of the king, and disobeyed the commandment, bare a more true and faithful heart of the king, than those wicked counsellors that then stood before him, for fear or flattery of it. Which two petitions (for fear or flattery) hence disroyed true obedience to God and man, the wicked men (that care not if the devil were so) they might get and obtain riches, promotion, power, and worldly glory) turn to and fro as every boisterous and weak and foolish creature continues. For the love of goods, punishment, or death, do outwardly in such a thing that which their hearts and consciences abhor, and so outwardly disobey God, and are inoffensive and dilemmable with man, which differentiation we would rise once more of all men, and must unceasely be continued to christian men.

Wherefore we humbly beseech the queen’s majesty, with pity and mercy to tender the lamentable case of her poor subjects, which be by this commandment hurt, and wounded in our confidences, and dismayed by this unallowable attempt of the men fuller great wrongs and injustices, slander, lies, goods, punishment, or death, in that which they do and do not, with the apostles, “God must be obeyed rather than man.” If perdition shall ensue, which sometime we fear, with us, we desire the heavenly Father, according to his promise, to look from heaven, to hear our cry, to judge between us and our adversaries, and to give faith, strength, and patience unto the end, and to shorten these evil days for thy child’s sake; and so we faithfully believe he will.

Notwithstanding, we trust the queen’s gracious and merciful heart will not suffer such tyranny to be done against her poor, innocent, faithful, and obedient subjects, that daily pray unto God for her, who have hereby in this world as well as hereafter, been most gracious and beneficent sovereign; whom we pray beseech, for the dear blood of Christ, to pity our miserable case and hurt of conscience, and to call but just condemnation and by the meanest attempts as are against God’s honour, the good king Darius, Ahasuerus, Trajan, Theodosius, and divers others have done, and permit the holy word of God and true religion (fet forth by our holy and innocent king Edward) to be restored again unto the churches, to be frequented amongst us. So that they grow and increase in the knowledge of God and Christ, in true repentance and amendment of life, shall we exhibit true obedience to our lawful magistrates and all superiors ordained of God: so shall he have charity of late through this commandment restored or again restored, the honour of God and of God, and true religion fet forth by our holy and innocent king Edward, to be restored again among us, and to be frequented among us. So that the love of virtuous life among her loving subjects increased and maintained.

And we most heartily pray you (right honourable commissioners) to be means unto the queen’s highness, and to her honour, that the meanest attempts as are against God’s honour, the good king Darius, Ahasuerus, Trajan, Theodosius, and divers others have done, and permit the holy word of God and true religion (fet forth by our holy and innocent king Edward) to be restored again unto the churches, to be frequented amongst us. So that they grow and increase in the knowledge of God and Christ, in true repentance and amendment of life, shall we exhibit true obedience to our lawful magistrates and all superiors ordained of God: so shall he have charity of late through this commandment restored or again restored, the honour of God and of God, and true religion fet forth by our holy and innocent king Edward, to be restored again among us, and to be frequented among us. So that the love of virtuous life among her loving subjects increased and maintained.

Your poor suppliant, the learned

Chrift’s true religion in Neth. and Suffolk.
TOUCHING the examination of Joan Beach, widow, and John Harpole, within the diocese of Rochester, by Maurice, bishop of the said diocese, men-
ning was made before in the history of Nicholas Hall, wherein were declared the four articles confessional of the bishop, objected and laid, as unto the said Nicho-
las Hall and his company, so also to this Joan Beach, widow: when performed was a fool's. Then was the was of the parish of Tunbridge, in the diocese of Rochester.

1. Item: That all persons who preach, teach, believe, or lay otherwise or contrary to that their mother holy church of Christ doth, are excommunicate and heretics.

2. Item: That the said Joan Beach hath, and yet both affirm, maintain, and believe contrary to the said mother church of Christ, namely, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under the form of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour in substance, but only a token and memorial thereof, that the very body and blood of Christ is in heaven, and not in the sacrament.

3. Item: That the hath been, and yet is amongst the parochioners of Tunbridge, openly noted and vehemently accused to be a heretic and heretics. To which aforesaid articles her answers were as fol-

1. That the was of the said parish of Tunbridge, in the diocese of Rochester.

2. That all persons who do preach and hold other with contrary to that which the holy catholic church of Christ doth, are to be reputed for excommunicate and heretics: ad lingua, that therefore he believeth not the holy catholic church to be her mother, but believeth only the Father of heaven to be her Father.

3. That the hath, and yet dash verily believe, hold, and sliris, in the sacrament of the altar, under the form of bread and wine, not to be the very body and blood of our Saviour in substance, but only a token and remembrance of his death to the faithful receiver, and that his body and substance is only in heaven, and not in the sacrament.

Lastly, As touching how the hath been or is noted and reputed amongst the parochioners of Tunbridge, she said she could not tell; however she believed she was not taken and reputed.

The like matter, and the like four articles were also the same present time and place meninferred to John Harpole, by the aforesaid bishop Maurice; who, after the like answers received of him, as of the other before, condemned them both together to death, by one form of sentence, according to the tenor and course of their several sentences, which may be read before in the history of Mr. Rogers.

ACCOUNT OF JOHN HULLIER, MINISTER and MARTYR.

JOHN HULLIER, minister, was first brought up in Eaton-School, from whence he went to King's College, in Cambridge. He suffered under Dr. Thiel, by bishop of Ely, and his chancellor, for the sincere preaching of the gospel. In what behalf it is much to be desired, that among so many fresh wits and flourishing pens of divinity, so little matter is left unto us concerning the was this his judgment, and order of his suffering, who so innocently gave his life for such a cause amongst the midst of them. By certain witnesses which he himself left behind, it appeared that he was not in love and carnal in that doctrine of truth, which every true Christian man ought to embrace. His martyrdom was on the second day of April, in the year 1556.

LETTER 1.

From JOHN HULLIER to the Christian Congregation, Colooring them faithfully to abide in the Doctrine of the Lord.

It flaneth now most in hand (O dear christians) all them that look to be accounted of Christ's shock at the great and terrible day, when he shall appear. So all them that shall be made of the seen that shall be received, from the other which shall be refuted, faithfully in this time of great afflictions to bear our master Christ's voice, the only true shepherd of the fools, who faith, "Whoever shall endure to the end, shall be saved." For even now is that great trouble in hand (as here in England) that may well say that our Saviour Christ spake of long before, which should follow the true and sincere preaching of his gospel. Therefore in this time we must needs either shew that we are of his faithful soldiers, and continue in his battle unto the end, putting on the armour of God, the buckler of faith, the breast-plate of love, the helmet of hope and salvation, and the sword of his holy word (which we have heard plentifully), with all influence of supplication and prayer; or else if we do not work and labour with them, we are apostles and false soldiers, for the most unthankfully from our great and sovereign lord and captain Christ, and leaning to Belial. For as he faith plainly, Luke xiv. "Whoever beareth not my yoke, and followeth me, he cannot be my disciple." And Luke vi. "Whosoever can bear two masters: either he must be defiled unto one, or else he shall be loath to the one, and despise the other." Which thing the faithfull prophet Elias signified, when he came to the people, and said, "Why hale ye because of your two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him, or if Baal be he, then follow him," 1 Kings xviii.

Now let us not think, but that the same was recorded in writing for our instruction, whom the ends of the world are come upon, as the apostle St. Paul faith, Rom. xv. "Whatsoever things are written aforehand, they are written for our learning." If Christ be that only good and true shepherd that gave his life that he might bear our mark, and have our confidences sprinkled with his blood, follow altogether, for our salvation, his heavenly voice and calling, according to our profession and promise. But if we shall not do, certainly, (lay what we can) we must be loath to the one, and despise the other. For he faith very manifestly, John x. "My sheep hear my voice, and follow me: a stranger they will not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not the voice of a stranger." Therefore let every man take heed in these perils days, (whereof we have had so much warning beforehand) that he be not beguiled by the godly outward show and appearance, as Eve was of our false subtle enemy, whose craft and wiles is to manifold and divers, and so full of clove windings, that if he cannot bring him directly and the plain right way to content to his suggestions, then he will allure him and wind him in by some other false ways, (as it were by a train) that he shall not perceive it, so deceive withal, and so from him that goodly victory of the name of God and eternal crown of glory, which no man else can have, but he that is righteous lawfully: as at this present day, if he cannot induce him truly, as others do, to favour his devilsish religion, and of good will and free heart to help to uphold the same, yet he will inveigle him to refer to his wicked and whorish counsel, and live the ungodly life, and to hold his peace and say nothing, whatsoever we think, so that he be not a diligent soldier and a good labourer on Christ's side, to further his kingdom; that such be flatterers him that he shall both have his life, and also his ransom, and live the quiet. But if we look well on Christ's holy will and command, we will perceive that he came not to make any such peace upon earth, nor yet that he gave any such peace to his disciples; "I leave peace with you (faith he), my peace I give
give you, not as the world giveth, give unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, nor fearful. These things have I spoken unto you, that in me ye should have peace. In the world ye shall have affliction: but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world. &c. Then when he had spoken these things he took his leave of them, and was carried up from them. &c. If ye love me, keep my commandments. &c. These things have I spoken unto you, that my peace may be in you: &c. They follow not me, they are not my sheep, &c. Behold my sheep which are in the world, &c. I am not come to cast out sin, but to save them. Be not fearful. &c. For ye shall not speak a word, nor do your will, &c. As the Father hath taught me, so have I taught you. &c. &c.

The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS. [Q. MARY, A.D. 606]

be of strong hearts, is utterly the rejecting of the Spirit of God, and plain unfaithfulness and disaffection to the express commands of our Saviour Christ, of faith in his holy gospel, Mark. x. "Fear not therefore the body." &c. But the faithfulness of his spirit doth express towards him, when he falleth into sin, and ye declare in our doings the very contrary, being exceedingly fearful, even as the unbelieving Israelites, when they had oftentimes given dishonour to him who prophesied Moises, to do the contrary? or if faithful, why concealed the whole number of that fede were destroyed in a moment of time in the wilderness, and enjoyed not the pleasant land of promise. That was a body figure shewing forth the agreement to be possible of the barren inheritance, which shall be given to none other, but only through the body, being wholly bare, nothing but any fear of man, to fulfill God's holy will and pleasure. But all that pertain to the lively faith to the winning of the soul, will faithfully stick to the commandment, trusting most firmly and faithfully that his name which gave the fame, will also give strength and power to perform it, even in the weakest vessels of all, we have heard and seen by divers examples, he that is thine is thine in the priesthood of priests.

St. Peter faith, I Pet. iii. "Fear not though ye seem terrible unto you, neither be troubled, but love the Lord God in your hearts." "Only (faith St. Pet. Phil. i.) let your conversation as it become the gospel of Christ. Continue in orderliness, reverence, and in all meekness labouring as we do, to maintain the word of truth, in which we are labouring and in nothing leaning your adversaries, whereunto they are a token of damnation, and to you of safety, and that of God for unto you it is given that ye should believe in Christ, but this I suffer for his name. Whereforever we be right well satisfied, that we are in a most strict account, if we transgress the said and wholesome precepts given us of our master Christ, all of his apostles, and now in this troublesome time wherein the gospel is perfected, shew ourselves fain soldiers; as it is manifestly declared in the writings of St. John, chap. xxi. wherein it is written, "Thou fearful shall have their part with the unbelieving and minable, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone without any end. What shall then these vain goods and temporary pleasures avail? Who shall then help, when we cry ineffably, Woe, woe, alas, and weal away, for unmeasurable pain, grief, and sorrow? O let us therefore take heed betime, and rather be content to take pains in this world for a time, that we may please God. Our Saviour Christ the true teacher faith, "Every branch that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will take away, John xv."

It is also not written in vain, Ecclus. xli. "The children of the ungodly are abominable children, and so are they that keep company with the ungodly." What doth he else, I pray you, that reforther to the admonition and service that is most repugnant and contrary to the holy testament, there keeping of silence, and nothing reproving the same, but in the face of the world, by his very deed itself, declare himself to be of a faire, fearful, dilating, reigned, and unholy heart, and to have laid away from him the armor of faith, and to have taken to himself the sword of the world, all the residue of Christ's holiness, and giving a manifest offence to the weak, and also confirming, encouraging, and rejoicing the hearts of the adversaries in all their evil doing. By which example doth he, himself neither to love God, when he feedeth and blabateth and Anachristian minyster, nor yet his neighbour before whom he should rebuke the evil, as it is expressly commanded in God's holy law, where it is said, "Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, that thou bear not sin for his sake," Lev. xix. Wherefore let such a one never fancy to deceive himself, that his name is registered in the book of life, to have the stipend of Christ's felder, except he do the duty, and perform the part of a faithful and right true felder, as others have done before. For such faithfulness cometh not from God, as teitifer St. Paul, 2 Tim. 1. saying, "God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and love. Be not ashamed, faith he, to testify our Lord, but fuller adversary also with the gospel, through their might, which hated us, and called us with an holy calling."

To be now fearful, when most need is that we should
I will pray for you as I am most bound. So I trust I will most earnestly beseech him for his promised fake made unto us of the blessed of his dearly beloved Son Christ our alone and only Light. Grace be with your spirit, most dear sir; grace be with your spirit, most dear lady, for ever.

By your christian brother,

JOHN HULLIER,

a prisoner of the Lord.

LETTER II.

unto Congregation of Christ's faithful followers.

John Hullier being a long time prisoner, and now openly judged to die for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, which is true, doth call upon the faithful congregation of Christ, to the strength of his Holy Spirit, to their everlasting health both of body and soul.

Now, most dear christians, having the sweet comfort of God's saving health, and being confirmed with the Spirit, (for only therefore be prais'd) am confirmed in my confidence, thinking it my very duty to call thee on, ye as ye tender the salvation of your souls. All manner of means to separate yourselves from the company of the pope's apostles, and confirm your faith in the true faith of St. John, by the angel of God, giving all men. The words are these: "If any man shall beget the beast and his image, and receive his mark upon his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured into the bosom of his belly, and he shall be numbered with the beasts, and shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out upon the beast, and upon the earth and the sea; and be smitten with the sword, and shall be numbered with the beasts, and shall be numbered with the sea; and shall be numbered with the sea; they who practice the abomination of the beast, and who worship his image, and serve his idolatry, shall be numbered with the beast. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and knowledge is the beginning of all understanding. Whosoever shall make war against him shall be destroyed by fire and brimstone, which is the second death. But the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and knowledge is the beginning of all understanding. Whosoever shall make war against him shall be destroyed by fire and brimstone, which is the second death. But the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and knowledge is the beginning of all understanding. Whosoever shall make war against him shall be destroyed by fire and brimstone, which is the second death.

I will now take in hand the business of the beast and his image, and shall bring it to a close. The first thing I would mast publickly announce is, that the beast is none other but the man of sin, Antichrist, the pope with a rabble of false prophets and ministers, as it is most manifest: which to maintain their high titles, worldly honors and dignities, do with much cruelty, daily and more fact forth and establish their reigns and dominions, contrary to God's holy ordinances, statutes, laws, and commandments, and wholly repugnant to his sincere and pure religion, and the worship.

Now what do they fear but worship this beast and his image? Now, after they had once already escaped from the clutches of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, are ye yet again intangled and overcome, using dilution unfaithfully and in fear of their dilution, doing one thing outwardly, and another thing inwardly, as they themselves are guilty. They do, therefore, come in disguise under a cloak and color, to appear right to much as to say, God speed; and receive malignes and begetting of the malignant congregation, which they pretend to be a den of thieves and murderers, and the house and house of most blasphemous fornicators; their voices being contrary to Christ's voice, if they were of his flock, they would not know, but would flee from them, as he himself, being the good shepherd of our souls, dast dast well in his holy gospel tellingly. I will now do what they do, I will pray you, but receive the same with a good will in transition, confessing what is in a dear face and countenance outwardly in supporting them as others do, being afflicted to see Christ and his holy gospel? But this afflicted and dilution Christ and his gospel will in no wise know. Of whom Israel? Luke xii. « Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinfull generation, of him shall also be ashamed, when he shall come in the glory of his Father, with the angels of his holy angels. » Therefore faith Almighty God by his prophet Malachi, Mal. i. "Cursed be the stubbornnesses. Ye will also bring the word of God, and of the power of the world to come. And our Saviour faith, Luke vi. " No man may beget this hand to the plough, and looketh back, but he is fit for the kingdom of God. » Therefore St. John the prophet uthis for this manifest token, that the back-laying of the true preachers of God's word declare evi- dently, that they be not of the number of them. For faith he, 1 John ii. " They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, no doubt they would have continued with us. » Yet they do not so, but they use dilution, and to play on both hands, we are not in the light. For whatsoever is manifest, the same is light, as the elect vessel of God's st Paul winnowed in the fourth chapter to the Ephesians.

Wherefore, good christians, for God's most dear love, deceive not yourselves through your own wilfulness, and through the wisdom of the world, which is foolishness before God; but certify and lay your own confidence with the sure truth and faithful word of God, and with the infallible testament of holy scripture. For although God's mercy is over all the world, yet it doth not extend but only to them that hold fast the confidence and rejoicing of hope unto the end, not being weary in well-doing, but rather waxing every day stronger and stronger in the inward man. Therefore in the Revelation of St. John, where it treats of the beast and his image, it is said, " Here is the fulness of the fain's, and here are they that keep the commandments, and the faith of Jesus Christ," Rev. xiii. Whereby Almighty God doth shew plainly, that he doth use those wicked men as instruments for a time, to keep the confidence and faith of his peculiar people, without the performance whereof we can have no part among the living; but as it is said in the fain's Revelation, " The fearful shall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death. " But peradventure ye might object to me, and say, How shall we do? shall we call ourselves headlong to death? I say not so. But this I say, that we are all bound (if ever we look to receive salvation at God's hand) in this case wholly to be obedient to his determinate counsel and foreknowledge, expressed by the gift of the Spirit in holy scripture; and then to call all our care upon him, who worketh all in all for the best unto them that love him: and thus he giveth commandment, saying, " Come away from her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues," Rev. xviii. Now, who hearing this terrible voice of God, which must needs be fulfilled, will not with all speed and diligence apply himself to do thereafter, except such as will precipitously tempe thim? and as touching such, the wise man faith, Ecclef. iii. 4, " He that loveth peril and danger, shall perish there in." But they that be of the faith of Abraham, even as he did, fo will they in all alys and trials be obedient to the heavenly voice, howsoever it feemeth contrary to their own natural will and carnal reason, according to their own mind and will and do, even in the Lord, and keep his way: hold thee still in the Lord, and abide patiently upon him. " Let not thy jealousy also move thee to do evil. Come out from among them, and join not yourselves to their unlawful affections: yea, do not once befriend yourselves with the less part of your body to favour their wicked doings, but glorify God (as most right) is as well in your whole body outwardly, as inwardly in your spirit, or else ye can do neither of both well; for your body doth belong to God as well as your spirit. At the dreadful day of judgment we shall see how the works of our bodies, according to that we have done, whether it be good or bad.

Therefore whatsoever we do, we may not bring the spirit in bondage to the body, but contrariwise must subdue the body and the will of the flesh to the spirit, that the spirit may freely accomplish the will of God in all things; for otherwise ye shall never be partakers of his promise, with the true children of Abraham. For, as St. Paul faith, " They which are the children of the flesh, are not the children of God. If we shall live according to the flesh, we shall also die naturally-minded is death; but to be spiritually minded, is life and peace; because that the fleshly mind is enmity to God: for it is not obedient to the law of God, neither can be. So then that ye are in the flesh cannot please God. " Now chafe you which way you will, either the marrow way that leadeth unto life, which

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Christ himself, and his faithful followers have gone through before; or else the broad path-way that leadeth to destruction, which the wicked worldlings take their pleasure in for a while. I, for my part, have now written this short admonition unto you of good will. (as God is my witness) to teach you that way, which is as long as you yourselves shall profess and find to be best, and yea and rejoice thereof. And I do not only write this, but I will also (with the assistance of God's grace) ratify and confirm, and seal the same with the effusion of my blood, when the full time shall be expired that I have appointed, which (so far forth as I may judge) must needs be within these few days. Therefore I now bid you all most heartily farewell in the Lord, whole grace be with your spirit, Amen. Watch and pray, watch and pray, pray, pray, so do. JOHN HULLIER.

The MARTYRDOM of SIX Eminent PROFESSORS of CHRIST, buried at CHELCHET, for the Testimony of the Gospel, the 23th Day of April.

NOT long after the death of Robert Drakes, William Tyms, and the other Emissary martyrs, who fulfilled our Lord's saying, as is before recorded, followed in the same order likewise of martyrs, at one fire in the town of Colchester, (where most of them inhabited) fix other martyrs, whose names be these:

Christopher Lyllter, of Dagenham, husbandman; John Mackter, Colchester, apothecary; Jean Spences, or Colchester, weaver; Simon Jone, lawyer; Richard Nicholls, of Colchester, weaver; John Hammond, of Colchester, tanner.

With their six was also joined another, whose name was Roger Drakboke, but he afterward submitted himself. Of these above named, the bishop, because he (as it seemed) by the short process recorded by his register waxed now weary, made a very quick dispatch. For soon after that they were delivered unto one John Kingborne, bachelor of the civil law, and then commissary unto the bishop, by the earl of Oxford, and other commissaries, (as appeareth by a bill indented, made between the commissaries and the said commissary, for the receipt of the said prisoners, dated March the 26th, in the second and third years of the reign of King Philip and queen Mary, which was in the year of our Lord 1556) and by him sent unto his lord and master, the bishop caused them to be brought unto his house at Fulham; where, in the open church, judicially were examined in the same manner, and that were pronounced unto Bartlet Green and others, mentioned before. To which they made their several answers, agreeable altogether in one truth, as by the sun and effect thereof here ensuing more plainly appeareth.

1. To the first article they all confessed and agreed, John Spence adding further thereto, that the church malignant, which is the church of Rome, is not part of Christ's catholic church; and that he neither hath nor doth believe the doctrine and religion taught and set forth in the former article of the said John Drakes.

2. To the second they answered, That they believed in the true catholic church of Christ there be but two sacraments: that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.

3. To the third article they all agreed, confessing that they were baptized in the faith and belief of the catholic church, and that their godfathers and godmothers had professed and promised for them, as is contained in the same article.

4. To the fourth they answered, That they always were, and yet did then continue in the faith and profession wherein they were baptized; Richard Nicholls adding also, that he had more plainly learned the truth of the said doctrine by the doctrine of Christ for forth in the edict of the sixth days, and thereupon he had built his faith, and would continue in the same to his life's end, God assisting him.

5. To the fifth they answered, That they neither swerved nor went away from the catholic faith of Christ. However, they confessed, that within the same space (and before) they had misliffe, and carnally spoken against the sacrament of the altar, affirming that the Lord's body and blood were not to be taken in the same manner as they had, and then did believe, it was for five, and used contrary to God's word and glory. Moreover, they did grant, that they had spoken to the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, against the true church of Christ and the Gospel, and therefore not to have any authority in England, For all which sayings they were no whit forry, but rather joyed and were glad.

6. To the sixth they answered, That they never fulfilled; or at least if they did then professedly do to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's catholic church, but they for, had, and then did, and so ever would utterly refuse to come to the church of Rome, and acknowledge the authority of the feast thereof, did utterly abhor the same, for putting down the book of God, the holy Bible, and setting up the byzonal mals, with all other of Antichrist's one chandize.

7. To the seventh article, the effect thereof they did grant. And Simon Jone, perceiving further, the cause of his quitting to be partaker of the same torment, was, because the commandments of God were broken, and Christ's ordinances changed and put away, and the bishop of Rome's ordinances instead thereof put in. He saith, as touching the sacrament of Christ's body, 'Christopher Lyllter affirming, that in the sacrament there is the substance of bread and wine, well after the words of consecration as before, and there is not in the sacrament the very body and blood of Christ, neither substantially nor truly, but only sacramentally and spiritually by faith in the field receivers; and that the mals is not propitiation for the quick or for the dead, but mere idolatry and abominations.

8. To the eighth they said, That they were seen at Colchester prison by the king and queen's commissary, because they would not come to their parish church, and by them sent unto the bishop of London to do thereof further examined.

9. To the ninth they all generally agreed, That the which they had said in the pretended was true, and that they were of the diocese of London.

These answers thus made, the bishop directed them for that present until the afternoon. At which time he made them to be examined in the same manner, and that were found as before, and pronounced unto Bartlet Green and others, mentioned before. When which they refused, the bishop finally pronounced sentence of condemnation against them, committing them unto the secular power. Who, upon the receipt of the king and queen's writ, sent them unto Colchester, where the same day of April, most cheerfully and joyfully they ended their lives, to the glory of God's holy name, and to great encouragement of others.

An Account of the MARTYRDOM of HUGH LYE ROCK, a Man, and JOHN APPRICE, a Man, buried at STRATFORD the Bow.

IN the discourse of this parcel or part of history, I know not whether more to marvel at the great and unfeigned mercies of God, (with whom their souls in refulgent degrees of persons, but he chose such as the poor, lame and blind, as the rich, mighty and healthful to set forth his glory) or else to note the unreasonable, or rather unnatural doings of the ungodly. However, I mean bishop Bonner and his said accomplices in whom was so little favour or mercy to all sorts of kinds of men, that they spared neither impious or.
sight, as may well appear by this present
other creatures, whose names and stories hereunder follow.

Hugh Latteck, of the parish of Barking, painter,
the age of fifty-eight, a cripple. John Apprice, a tailor.

These two poor and simple creatures were alike ac-
dated by some prominent neighbour of their's, unto the shop and other the king and queen's commission
baptist to their officer; and being brought and de-

The bishop then turned unto John Apprice, and
the old fellow, and made to the bishop a cake of bread.

To whom he answered, Your doctrine that you set
forth and teach, is so agreeable with the world, and
obscured of the same, that it cannot be agreeable to the precepts of God. And you are not of the catholic church; for you make laws to kill men, and make the

Whereunto Hugh Latteck first said, I will stand to
thee, and to that I have confessest; and I can

At which words the bishop belike somewhat tickled,
did very loth to delay their condemnation any
longer, (such was now his hot burning charity) com-
manded that they should be brought after him unto
Newgate, whether he went before dinner, and there in
the afternoo, after his solemn manner, in the open
church, he pronounced the definitive sentence of con-
temption against them, and so delivering them into a
hands of the temporal officer, thought to dispatch
them out of hands, but could not so dispatch his con-
sent before the judgment of God, from the guiltiness
of innocent blood.

The poor men being now in the temporal officer's
hands, might not be suffered long to remain there, and

The next day after the martyrdom of this lame
and blind man above specified, in the fast month of
May, there were brought to the fire three women, with whom
the said son was engaged, another, who being in the same con-

The martyrodom of CATH. HUT, ELIZ. THACKVEL, &c. 511
in Smithfield.

The next day after the martyrdom of this lame
and blind man above specified, in the fast month of
May, there were brought to the fire three women, with whom
the said son was engaged, another, who being in the same con-

Catherine Hut, of Bocking, widow. Joah Horas,
billerica, maid. Elizabeth Thackvel, of Great
buried, maid. Margaret Ellis, of Billerica, maid.

Thus have with divers others were perfected and

fent up, especially by sir John Mordaunt, and Edmund
Tyrel, esquire, judges of peace, the following letter will declare.

A LETTER
From Sir JOHN MORDAUNT, Knight, and ED-
MUND TYREL, Esqs. Justices of Peace for the
County of Essex, to BONNER, Bishop of LONDON.

OUR humble commendations to your lordship
thee shall be to advertise you, that we have sent
unto your good lordship, Joan Potter, the wife of Hugh
Potter, James Harris, servant of William Harris, of
Sheen in the parish of Margaret Ellis, for that they are not
conformable to the precepts of the church, nor to the real
presence of Christ's body and blood, in the sacrament of the altar, to use your lordship's pleasure with them, as you think good; not doubting, with the punishment of
and other's, before sent to your lordship, but
the parishes of Great Bursted and Billerica shall be
brought to good conformity. Thus, committing your
good lordship to the tuition of the Almighty God, we
sake our leave. From Great Bursted, this second day
of March, 1556.

Your lordship's to command,

JOHN MORDAUNT.
EDMUND TYREL.

After the receipt of these letters, bishop Bonner en-
tering into the examination of these four women above
named, laid and objected the like articles to them, as
after his usual form he was used to administer, and are
before expressed, whereby the said women likewise
agreeing in the fasting vanity of the spirit and doctrine,
accorded in their answers, much agreeing unto the
other before them.

As first, to the article in the first place objected,
confessed and granted, believing the said article to be true in every part thereof.

To the second, partly when they answered, they could not

Margaret Ellis, being examined separately, as the others were,
were shown, as a young maid unskilled, in her simple
ignorance (that she could not tell). However, she had
heard (the said) that there was one sacrament, but what
it was she could not tell, &c.

To the third, they granted, that they were
baptized by their godfathers and godmothers, which
they did not then know as much, as they do now: Ca-
terine Hut withal, and saying, that she was
baptized; but what her godfather and godmothers
were, she did then promise for her in her name, she
could not tell, &c.

To the fourth article, Margaret Ellis, and Elizabeth
Thackvel, did grant thereunto: Catherine Hut said
moreover, that the being of the age of fourteen, was
of the faith wherein she was christened; and yet ne-
nevertheless the said faith in that age (the said) was but a
dead faith; because she did not then understand what
the did believe. Joan Horas, and Margaret said, that
being eleven years of age, began to learn the faith of Christ
in king Edward the Sixth's days, in which faith and
religion (the said) she hath hitherto, and yet doth, and
shall for ever hereafter continue, God so affording
her.

To the fifth article, they confessed, ac-
cording all in this effect, that at touching the
masts, they knew no goodfellow in it; and so touching the sac-
rament of the altar, they believed that Christ's natural
body is in heaven, and not in the sacrament of the
altar, and as concerning the fee of Rome, they acknow-
ledged no such supremacy in that fee, neither have
they any thing to do thereon.
In answering the sixt article, they did all generally refuse to be reconciled or united to the church of Rome, or any other church, contrary to that wherein they now stood and did protest.

The forfeith article they answered likewise, that they had so done and said in all things, as it is in this article contained: Catherine Hut adding moreover the reason why; for that (said she) neither the service in Latin, mass, matins, and even-song, nor the sacraments, were used and ministered according to God's word: and furthermore, that the mass is an idol, neither is the true body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as they make men believe.

The answer to the eighth article declared, that they were satisfied with none fent up the same fent up before, by sir John Mordaunt, knight, and justice of peace in Effex, (the Lord of his mercy send us better justices, I beseech him) for that they could not affirm the presence of Christ's body and blood to be truly and really in the sacrament, and for that they came not to their papish parish church.

To the ninth article they answered, and confessed the premises thereof to be true, and denied not the same; save that Catherine Hut said, that she was from Efex, in the diocese of Effex, of the peculiar jurisdiction of Canterbury, and not of the diocese and jurisdiction of London.

After these their answers received, they were produced again about the thirteneenth of April to further examination, through to their further judgment; whereunto Catherine Hut, widow, standing before the bishop, boldly and contemnously, and to that which she had before, neither yielding to his fair promises, nor overthrown with his terror. Who being required to declare hereunto concerning the sacrament, and to reform herself unto the fellowship of the catholic faith, openly protesting, I deny it to be God, because it is a dumb god, and made with men's hands. Wherein the good and faithful martyr of Christ firmly periling, to receive any condemnation from the false bishop Bonner; which she with great confidence sustained by the grace and strength of the Lord, and did abide for the cause and love of Christ.

Joan Horns, maid, produced likewise to her judgment and condemnation, with like firmness and Christian fortitude declared herself a true martyr and follower of Christ's reformation, giving no place to the adversary; but being charged that she did not believe the sacrament of Christ's body and blood to be Christ himself, of which sacrament (according to the nature of a sacrament) the adversary said, she was to make an idol service; to this she protesting openly her mind, said as follows: If you can make your god to shed blood, or to shew any condition of a true lively body, then will I believe you: but it is but bread, (as touching the substance thereof) meaning the matter whereby the sacrament consisteth, and that which you call hereunto, I trust to serve my Lord God in.

And as concerning the Romish fee, the said, My Lord, (speaking to Bonner) I for sake all his abominations, and from them good Lord deliver me. From this her stable and contumaciable, when the bishop was too weak to remove her, and too ignorant to convince her, he knocked her down with the butterly axe of his sentence. And so the holy virgin and martyr was committed to the flames of the secular fawnd, and offered up with her other fellow a burnt sacrifice to the Lord, in the favour of a sweet and pleasant smell.

As touching Margaret Ellis, the likewise persevering in her aforesaid confession, and refiling the false catholic errors of the paplilis, was by the said Bonner judged and condemned; but before the time of her burning came, prevented by death in Newgate, where she departed and slept in the Lord.

No such freedom in the grace of the Lord appeared in the other maid Elizabeth Thackwel, whose heart and mind the Lord had so confirmed in his truth, so armed with patience, that as her adversaries could by no sufficient knowledge of Scripture disprove her affirmation, to by no forcible attempts could they remove her delfin. Whereupon the flinging to the ground, in like fort condemned, by the said bishop, and all the other as false and accursed, gave her life willingly and mildly for the faith, and sealing up of the fincere truth of God's word.

These three innocent and godly women, the said, and wrongly by men condemned for the godly, and cause of God's gospel, were brought before the same bishop, and there cruelly bound to the flames, and after that gave to the bodies to the tormentors, their spirits they commanded to God. For whose glory they were willing to suffer whatsoever the cruel hands of their judges should work against them, dying more joyfully to the flames than the former, some of the which learned them that peradventure in their beds. Such a Lord's grace glorious and wonderful in all his saints. The martyrdom of these saints of God was on the fastening of May, 1556.

An Account of the Martyrdom of Thomas Drowry, a blind Boy, and Thomas Creker, Bricklayer.

A little before, ye have heard of two men, the one blind and the other lame, which followed about the 15th of May. And here is not to be forgotten the third, as godly a couple, who suffered the like pain and martyrdom for the same cause of religious and Godly observation. The one was a blind boy, named Thomas Drowry, mentioned before in the history of lady Hooper, whom the said virtuous bishop condemned in the Lord, and in the doctrine of his word.

How long this blind boy was in prison, and was many years he suffered, I am not certain. Of this order intelligence I have received by the testimony of a then regifter of Gloucester, named John Taylor, a darker, that the said blind boy, at his last examination, and final condemnation, was brought (by the examiners, under whose custody he had remained) before Dr. William, then chancellor of Gloucester, sitting judge with the said regifter in the consistory, and near aforesaid fourth-door, in the meeting end of the church of Gloucester. Where the said chancellor then meditated on the boy fuch usual articles as are accustomed in such cases, and are sundry times mentioned in this his book. Amongst which, he chiefly urged the article of sublubination, laying in effect as follows.

Chancellor. Doth thou not believe, that after the words of confecration spoken by the priest, there must be a very real body of Christ in the laces of the altar?

To whom Thomas Drowry answered, No, I do not.

Chancellor. Then thou art an heretic, and faith burned. But who hath taught thee this heresy?

Drowry. You, master chancellor.

Chancellor. Where, I pray thee?

Drowry. Even in yonder place: pointing with hand, and turning towards the pulpit, standing up in the north side of the church.

Chancellor. When did I teach thee so?

Drowry. When you preached there (saying to day) a sermon to all men as well as to me, upon the sacrament. You said the sacrament was to be not spiritually by faith, and not carnally and really, and papilis have heretofore taught.

Chancellor. Then do I have done, and thus do live as I do, and escape burning. Drowry, Though you can so easily dispise the words of God, mock with God's world, and in your own conscience, yet will I not so do.

Chancellor. Then the Lord have mercy upon thee for I will read the condemnation according to the law.

Drewry. God's will be fulfilled.

The regifter being herewith followed, what more was said up and laid to the chancellor:
7. Item, That they affirmed no mortal man to have in himself free-will to do good or evil.

For this doctrine, and these articles they were all three condemned by Dr. Dunning and committed to the secular power, sir John Sillard being high sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk at the same time.

And the next day following they were all burnt together in the town of Bickles. Whereupon it is to be thought, that the said De Confluentis, was not yet come down, nor could be, the lord chancellor Heath being at London the same time. Which, if it be true, then it is plain that they both went beyond their commission, that were the executioners; and also the clergy which were the instigators thereof, cannot make good what they now pretend, faying, that they did nothing but by law. But this let the Almighty find out when he seeth his time.

In the mean time while these good men were at the stake, they prayed, and said their belief; and when they mentioned the catholic church, sir John Sillard said to them, 'What is there in your faith, quoth he, I am glad to hear you say you do believe the catholic church. That is the best word I have heard of you yet. To which his sayings Edmund Poole answered, That though they did believe the catholic church, yet do they not believe in their popish church, which is no part of Christ's catholic church, and therefore no part of their belief.

When they rofe from prayer, they all went joyfully to the stake, and being bound thereto, and the fire burning about them, they pravled God in such an audible voice, that it was wonderful to all those that flood by and heard them.

Then one Robert Bacon, dwelling in the said Bickles, a great enemy of God's truth, and a perverter of his people, being there present within hearing thereof, willèd the tormentors to throw one faggot to flie the death of the knaves, as he termed them; so hot was his burning charity. But these good men not regarding their malice, continued the truth, and yielded their lives to death for the testimony of the same, very gloriously and joyfully. Which confirmtion the Lord grant we may imitate, whether it be by death or by life, to glorify the name of Christ, whom we love.

And forasmuch as we have here entered into the perfection of Norfolk and Suffolk, it cometh therefore to mind, by occasion hereof, briefly to touch by the way, some part (for the whole cannot be so expressed as it was done) touching the troubles of the town of Winson and Mendlesam, in Suffolk, raised and stirred by the said sir John Tyrrell and other justices thereof, the like aforesaid. The sum and effect of which briefly is thus figured to me in writing.

The PERSECUTION in the TOWNS of WINSON and MENDLESAM, in SUFFOLK.

By the procurement of sir John Tyrrell, knight, and others of his colleagues, there were persecuted out of the town of Winson, in Suffolk, these persons hereafter following.

Mrs. Alice Twrlettes, gentilwoman, of the age of three hundred years and more, and two of her servants.
Humphrey Smith, and his wife.
William Catchpoole, and his wife.
John Maling, and his wife.
Nicholas Barningham, and his wife.
And one Rought, and his wife.
Such as were persecuted and driven out of the town of Mendlesam, in the county of Suffolk, now follow.
Synnon Harflone, and Catherine his wife, with his five children.
William Whitting, and Catherine his wife.
Thomas Dobson, and his wife.
Thomas Hubbard, and his wife.
John Doncon, and his wife and maid.
William Doncon.
Thomas Woodward, the elder.
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The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK OF MARTYRS.

One mother Semon's maid.

Besides those that were constrained to do against their conscience by the help of the parish priest.

These are the chief causes why those above-named were perfected.

Fifth, They held and believed the holy word of God to be sufficient unto their salvation.

Secondly, The perfidy of the sea, that hath usurped authority, and did hold that all church of Antichrist to be Christ's adversaries. And further, they refuted the absurd fabrics, defied the mafs and all popish service and ceremonies, saying, they robbed God of his honour, and Christ of his death and glory; and would not come to the church, without it were to the defacing of that they did there.

Thirdly, They did hold that the ministers of the church by God's word might lawfully marry.

Fourthly, They held the queen to be as chief head, and wicked rulers to be a great plague sent of God for sin, &c.

Fifthly, They denied man's free-will, and held that the pope's church did err, and many other in that point with them, rebuking their false confidence in works, and their false truth in man's righteousness. Also when any rebuced those perfected for go openly, and talking so freely, their answer was, They acknowledged, confounded, and believed, and therefore they must speak: and that their tribulation was God's good will and providence, and that the foresaid was right, to punish them with others for their sins; and that of very faithfulness and mercy God had caused them to be troubled, so that one hair of their heads should not perish before the time, but all things should work unto the beft to them that love God, and that Christ Jesus was their life and only righteousness, and that only by faith in him, and for his sake, all good things were freely given them, also forgiven of sins, and life everlasting.

Many of these perfected were of great substance and had possessions of their own.

Give God the praise.

Forasmuch as we are now in the month of May, before we overpass the same, and because the story is not long, and not unworthy peradventure of notice, it shall not grieve the good reader, a little to give the hearing of the same, to perceive and draw to himself the great works of the Lord. "They that go down (faith the psalmist) into the sea, labouring upon the water, have seen the works of the Lord" Psal. cvi. The truth whereof may well appear in this following story; as that was written by the very pen of him himself; one Thomas Morfe, who was the doer thereof, for I thought proper to inset the same for the following manner.

The HISTORY of one GREGORY CROW, who was miraculously preferred with his New Testament upon the Sea, May 26.

UPON Tuesday in Whitsun-week, May 26, 1556, (or else, as he rather thinketh, in the year immediately before) a certain poor man, named Gregory Crow, dwelling in Maulden, went to sea, intending to have gone into Kent for fuller's earth, but by the way being bad weather, was driven upon a sand, where presently the boat fank, and was full of water, so that the men were forced to hold by the masts of the boat, and all things that could swim, did swim out of her. Amongst which Crow faw his Testament in the water, and caught it, and put it into his bosom. Now it was ebbing water, so that within one hour the boat was dry, and by broken, that they could not hold her; but they went themselves upon the sand (being at least ten miles from the land) and there made their prayers together, that God would send some ship to their affifiance (being in all two men and one boy), for they could stay there but an hour longer before it would be flooded. In which time they found their chief, wherein were five pounds, fix

[Q. MARY A.D.]

flillings and eight-pence, belonging to the girl, which money the other man (whose name I forget) took up, and gave it to the owner, who, with the money, and the sea, saying, if the Lord will have us live, he will provide us a living: and so they got upon the sand, there hung by the arms and legs for the space of hours, in which time the poor boy was so fop by the sea, that he fell off and was drowned.

And when the water was gone down again, and the sea was dry, Crow fad to the other man, It was but eight days we took down our masts, and when the flood shall fit upon them, and so it may please God to give me a tide to bear them up. Which so strangely they did, and so at ten of the clock in the night, the same Tuesday, the flood did bear up the masts when they fat.

And upon the Wednesday in the night the tide was overcome with hunger and watching. So there was none left but Crow, who driving away down in the sea, called upon God as he before might not sleep for fear that the sea would dash him off.

So at length I myself (said Thomas Morfe) was laden to Antwerp with my cargo, going upon Friday, having within my veffel, of merchandize men, to the number of forty-fix persons, and coming to the Foreland, the wind was not very fresh, and seeing the sea was clearing up somewhat away; being in the afternoon, in the seare at the back where at the last we faw a thing afar off, appears unto us like a small buoy, that fisherme take with their hooks.

So when we faw it, fome faid, Let us have fome.

And I faid to him that was at the helm, keep our course away, for we flall but hinder the fhipmermen have no fhip neither: and fo I command he. But as length he at the helm standing higher than we all did, faid, Methinks, matter, it is a man. Yet then, being in doubt that it was but a fisherman's buoy, turned the ship from him again to keep our course.

Crow beholding the ship to turn from him, he then in utter defpair, and ready now to perit in watching, famine, and moreover miserably hung in the sea, at last took his mariner's cap from his head, and holding up the fame with his arm as high as he could, thought by fainting as well as he might, to make them fome toke of better fight.

This story upon the occurrence of the fantailly pereivng thing to move, advertised us again, declaring he did plainly fay a man's arm; and with that we held him well, and so came to him and took him. And as soon as we had him in our ship, he began to fay his name, and very freely, and himself, a name, one Thomas Morfe, who was the doer thereof, for I thought proper to inset the same for the following manner.
THIRTEEN PROTESTANT MARTYRS.
consisting of eleven Men & two Women, BURNT
 together in one Fire, at Stratford, in Essex.
Miraculous PRESERVATION of THREE MEN at SEA.

The HISTORY of FOUR MEN condemned at Lewes, June 6.

IN June next following, about the sixth day of the first month, four martyrs suffered together at Lewes, whose names were these:

Thomas Harland, of Woodmancote, carpenter.
John Ofwall, of Woodmancote, husbandman.
Thomas Avington, of Ardingly, turner.
Thomas Read.

To Thomas Harland, I find in the bishop of London's registers, to be objected to for his not coming to church. Whereunto he answered, That after the mass was restored, he never had will to hear the service, because (said he) it was Latin, which he did understand, therefore as good, quoth he, never a whit, as never the better.

John Ofwall denied to answer any thing, until his occasion should be brought face to face before him; and nevertheless said, That fire and faggots could not make him afraid: but as the good preachers which were in king Edward's time have suffered and gone before, so was he ready to suffer and come after, and would be justly thereof.

Thrice four, after long imprisonment in the King's Bench, were burned together at Lewes in Sussex, in one fire.

In the same town of Lewes, and in the same month, likewise, were burned Thomas Wood, minifter, and Thomas Milles, about the twelfth day of the same month, for reviling the erroneous and heretical doctrine of the pretended catholic church of Rome.

On the 24th of the same month likewise William Adherhall, minister, died in the prison of the King's Bench, and was buried in the back-yard: also John Clement, wheelwright, who dying in the said prison, was buried in like manner upon the dunghill in the back-yard, viz. the 25th day of June.

The next day following of the said month, we read of a certain young man, a merchant's servant, who for the like godliness suffered cruel persecution from the papists, and was burnt at Leicester the 26th day of June 1556.

An ACCOUNT of THIRTEEN MARTYRS, burned at Stratford the Bow.

NOT long after the death of the merchant's servant before-mentioned, there followed in this blest order of martyrs, buried in one fire at Stratford: the dwellings were in sandy places in Eelfox, and whole Bow by London, eleven men and two women, whose names hereafter follow.

George Searles. Elizabeth Pepper. Agnes George.
Edmund Hurst.

Unto whom, the sixth of June, 1556, Dr. Darbyshire, bishop Bonner's chancellor, in form of law ministered the fame articles that were pronounced unto Thomas Whittle and his companions, mentioned before, to which they made their several answers, in simplicity and in a good conscience. The sum and effect whereof enueth.

To the first, they all answered affirmatively; but Lyon Cauchy added further, that he believed that the true faith and religion of Christ is wherefoever the word of God is truly preached.
To the second article they all answered in effect, denying that there be seven sacraments; some affirming, that in the church of Chrift there are but two sacraments, that is to lay, baptism, and the Lord's supper: others referring themselves to believe as the Scripture teaches thereon, and others refus'd to make answer because of their simplicity.

To the third article they all answered affirmatively.

To the fourth article they all answered affirmatively, except John Routh, who faid he would make no anfwer to it, but Lyen Cowch added, that he believed the article to be true; but it was becaufe he had no better knowledge. And Agnes George added, that in the time of King Edward the Sixth, she went from her old faith and religion, and believing in the faith and religion that was then taught and fet forth.

To the fifth they all answered in effect affirmatively, except John Routh, whofe anſwer was, that the mafs is such a thing, which neither can nor will enter into his conscience. And Henry Adlington anſwered, that for nine or ten years before, he mifliked the mafs, and also the sacrament of the altar, becaufe they cannot be proved by the scriptures. And as touching the authority of the fce of Rome, he being but fourteen years of age, took an oath againft the fame, which oath, he faid, he never fent, but was by the grace of God, refus'd. To the fifth they all anſwered affirmatively, except John Routh and William Hallway who both refus'd to anſwer, becaufe they knew not what they meant by this article. But the two women added, that they refus'd to be reconciled to the faith and religion that was then ufed in the realm of England. And Laurence Pernam added, that he never refus'd to be reconciled and brought to the unity of the catholic church of Chrift.

To the seventh article they all anſwered affirmatively; but William Hallway denied that ever he called the mafs idolatory and abomination. And Henry Wye affirming the article to be true; yet he confed his inuinary, that he went to his parish-church and receiv'd, before he was put to prifon.

To the eighth article Edmund Hurft, Ralph Jackfon, and George Scarles, anſwered affirmatively: Henry Wye faid, he was brought before certainJudges of the peace in Efex, concerning one Higbed his late mator, and thereupon he was committed to Colchetler caflle, and from thence fent to London to the bifhop to be further examined. William Hally wy faid, that in like condition as Henry Wye did, only Higbed excepted. John Derifall faid he was called before the lord Rich and Mr. Mildmay, of Chelmiford, and was by them fent to Bonner, bifhop of London, to be further examined. George Scarles faid he was brought before Mr. Wifenman, of Felid, and by him was fent to Colchetler caflle, and from thence was carried to Bonner, bifhop of London, to be by him further examined.

Lyen Cowch faid, that he was fent for to come before the king and queen's commiffioners, and appearing before them three times was fent to Bonner, to be by him further examined. Henry Adlington faid, that he coming to Newgate to speake with one Gratwike there, being prifoner for the testimony of Jesus Chrift, was apprehended and brought before Dr. Story, and by him fent to Hertford, to be by him further examined. John Routh faid, that he was convented before the earl of Oxford, and by him was fent to the caflle of Colchetler, and from thence conveyed to bifhop Bonner, to be by him further examined. Laurence Pernam faid, that he was committed to Hertford prifon, becaufe he would not go to church, and from thence fent to bifhop Bonner, to be by him further examined. Agnes George faid, that she was committed to prifon in Colchetler, at the command of one Mr. Maynard, an alderman of the towne, becaufe they would not go to church, and from thence was fent to Bonner, to be by him further examined. Elizabeth Pefier faid, she was apprehended by two constables and an alderman, for that they would not come to church, and by them was fent to Bonner, bifhop of London, to be by him further examined.

To the ninth article, they believed the prifoner to be true as above by them confefled, and that they were of the diocefe and jurisdiction of London. Elizabeth Pefier added, that she was of the towne of Chriftchurch.

And Agnes George added, that the was of the towne of Barcôlford. And Lyen Cowch added, that he knew and that their a merchant there.

Henry Wye, brewer, was of the parifh of Sancome, and 33 years of age.

William Hallway was a finith of the pufe, Waltham Holy-Crofts, and of the age of 24 years, or thereabouts.

Ralph Jackson was a servingman of Chippington, and of the age of 35 years.

Edmund Hurst, labourer, of St. James's, in the towne of Chriftchurch, was of the age of 50 years.

Thomas Bowyer was a weaver of Much Down, and of the age of 36 years.

George Scarles was a tailor, between 20 and 30 years of age, of the parifh of White-Nichel, who was apprehended and kept by the grace of God, who knew nothing else but Colchetler caflle, with a communciation that he would have him in the world should speak with him. There he lay six weeks, and was sent up to London, where he was some time in the bishop's caflle, and some time in London's tower, and told all he knew. He was apprehended in Lebanon, about a fortnight after Easter, in the place aforesaid.

Lyon Cowch was a broker in Flanders, but he was apprehended he reeded in the city of London, and of the age of 38 years.

Henry Adlington was a furveyor, of Granta, in the county of Suffolk, of the age of 40 years.

John Routh was a labourer, and of the parish of Wicken, in Efex, of the age of 26 years.

Elizabeth Pefier was the wife of Thomas Pepew, of the parifh of St. James's, in the towne of Chriftchurch, of the age of 30 years, or thereabouts, when she was burnt at Stratford, was eleven weeks with child, as she then testified to one Balmate who then unloosed her handkerchief, saying much when she was asked why she did not tell them, she faid, that she was apprehended in the latt and bloody hearts of this cruel generation, that most of them flayed them from their milchivous murther of the innocent saints of the Lord, who truly for Christ crucified only and alone for the falsification of the faith of Christ.

Agnes George was the wife of Richard George, bandman, of West Barcôlford, in the county of Suffolk, and of the age of 26 years. This Richard had another wife before her, who was burnt at Stratford, at Colchetler, and his male child in the prison; Elizabeth came to the crown, and then released.

When thefe thirteen were condemned, and the appointed that they should suffer, which was the 12th of June, 1558, they were carried from Newgate London the same day, to Stratford-Bow, where they were appointed for their martyrdom, and there divided two parts, in two several chambers. Afterward a sheriff, who there attended upon them, came to one part, and told them that the other had made no lives therefor should be saved, which exhorting them to do the like, and not to cut off selves.

Unto whom they answered, that their faith was built upon man, but on Christ crucified. They the sheriff perceiving no good to be done with them, caused them to chop Bonner (like a fire) the like order as they who with whom he had been before, had recorded and should therefore not suffer death, cautioning to do the like, and not wilfully to kill themselves to play the wife men, &c.
Unwo they answered as their brethren had done before, that their faith was not built on man, but on Christ and his word, &c.

When he saw it needless to persuade (for there, God be praised, fully grounded on the Rock of Christ) he then led them to the place where they could see it all together, and being ready to mould them over the Lord, and then joyfully poured the flake and killed it, and embraced it very fastly.

The eleven men were tied to three flakes, and the women bade in the middle without anyflake, and they were all burned with fire, with such love to each other, and constancy in our Saviour Christ, that it made all the lookers on to marvel.
The Lord grant us all such grace in the like need, according to the good pleasure of his will, Amen.

In the company of these aforesaid thirteen, were more condemned to die, whose names are hereunder specified.

Thomas Freeman, William Stannard, and William How.

The three answered to the same articles that were grounded to the aforesaid thirteen, in effect as they did. And being thus in the hands of the secular power, final Poole sent his dispensation for their lives, that occasion I cannot say, but by means thereof they then escaped.

The Sunday after these aforeaid sixteen were exiled, Ezekiel, dean of St. Paul's, preached at his Crofs, where he declared, that they had as many as others in the land, for the plain people, at the place where they were drawn out their faith, and to their hands as hearers followeth, and directed the yet to their friends, and the faithful congregation, as followeth.

Ralph Jackson.
Henry Adlington.
Lyon Cawth.
William Heawell.
George Scarrs.
John Routh.
John Derriffall.
Henry Wye.

Edmund Hurst.
Laurence Parham.
Thomas Bowyer.
Elizabeth Pepper.
Agoe George.
Thomas Freeman.
William Stannard.
William Adams.

All in our dearly beloved FRIENDS, and the holy CONGREGATION of JESUS CHRIST, even as many as love GOD, grace be with you, and peace from the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. So be it.

It is manifest to all unto whom this our certificate shall be sent, that whereas, upon Saturday, being the thirteenth day of June, at Fulham before the bishop of London, fifteen of us (whose names are hereunder written) were condemned to die for the most base and baseless truth of Christ's verity; which most godly cause being from the beginning with the wicked ad

Church thereof continually defeated, and is by the hand and his impet, even at this present, likewise daily cleared upon this occasion, dearly beloved brethren, we are moved, ye constrained, in the ears of all men to declare our belief, and also briefly the articles whereunto we are condemned, for the avoiding of false reports slanderous tongues, which might happen by the unguarded and unhonourable manner lately preached at the Crofs, the fourteenth of the said month, being the third, by Mr. Pecock, now dean of the same church; and, in that most worthy audience, delivered us to be in sixteen sundry opinions, which were all things precluded to all christian verity; and for a retribution of this hereunder written shall answer our cause, therefore we pray you that are of God to judge.

We believe we were baptized in the faith of Christ's church, and incorporated unto him, and his members of his church, in which faith we confess, and also which we are in error for a certain time, the trust of faith was preserved in us by the Holy Ghost, which hath reduced us into a full certainty of truth, and which we do profess, and will by God's will to the end.

Not that, although the ministry of the church, notwithstanding, yet his wickedness hath hurst us, for he that baptized us in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which is the word and the element, and our several and particular remonstrances for us the devil hath hurst, and confounding the articles of the

Christian faith for us, and also witnesseth that we are baptized, not in the faith of the church of Rome, but in the faith of Christ's church.

Item, There are but two sacraments in Christ's church, that is, the sacrament of baptism, and the Lord's supper. For in these are contained the faith of Christ's church; that is, the two testaments, the law and the gospel. The effect of the law is repentance, and the effect of the gospel remission of sins.

Item, We believe that is a visible church, wherein the word of God is preached, and the holy sacrament of baptism, visible to the wicked world, although be not credibly, and by the death of saints confirmed, as it was in the time of Elias the prophet as well as now.

Item, The fee of Rome is the fee of Antichrist, the congregation of the wicked, &c. whereof the pope is head under the devil.

Item, The mass is not only a profanation of the Lord's supper, but also a blasphemy.

Item, God is neither spiritually nor corporally in the sacrament of the altar, and there remaineth no substance in the same, but only the substance of bread and wine.

For these articles of our belief, we being condemned to die, do willingly offer our corruptible bodies to be disdosed in the fire, all with one voice affesting and confesting thereunto, and in no point differing or dissenting from any of our former articles.

Apparent also let it be and known, that being examined on the former articles before the bishop, the said day and time, we affirmed to believe all that be or they would prove by the scriptures. But he said that he would not stand to prove it with heretics, but said they themselves were the holy church, and that we ought to believe them, or else be cut off like withered branches.

About the fourteenth of June, in the same year, John Collock, who was lately come from London, and now dwelling at Wellingtong, though he did not pretend to be the bishop, yet he suffered some trouble, being examined by the bishop, named Ralph Bane, for his religion, especially for two points, in holding against the reality of Christ in the sacrament, and against mortal confection to be made to the priest. For which cause being compelled to recant, he was enjoined in the church of St. Cede to bear a tegur before the crofs bareheaded, having in the one hand a taper, and in the other a pair of beads, &c.

Amongst divers others, which in the fame dice, and at the same time, were suspected and troubled for the like, was Thomas Frier, of Uttoxater, flanemaker; Nich. Ball, of Uttoxater; Thomas Pyot, of Cheddle. Item, Henry Crimes, for marrying with his wife on Palm Sunday, &c. Some others also there were which had the like sentence enjoined them, as Thomas Johnson, about the 26th day of this month on time, because he swear by the holy mass before the bishop sitting in judgment, who for the same was driven to go before the crofs with his taper and beads, &c.

In the same month of June one Thomas Parret died in the prison of the King's Bench in Southwark, and was buried in the back-yard the 27th day of the said month.

Also Martin Hunt (as is reported) was examined in the same prison the 29th day. At which time like wise-died in the same prison, as I find recod, one John Noice, and after the same suff, as the other was buried in the back-yard of the said prison.
The MARTYRDOM of ROGER BERNARD, ADAM FOSTER, and ROBERT LAWSON.

WHEN Roger Bernard came before the bishop, first he asked, whether he had been with the priest at Easter to be thriven, and whether he had received the bleffed sacrament of the altar, or no? Unto whom Roger Bernard answered, No: I have not been with the priest, nor confessed myself unto him, but I have confessed my sins to Almighty God, and I trust he hath forgiven me; whereof I shall not need to go to the priest for such matters, who cannot help himself.

Bisbop. Surely, Bernard, thou muft needs go, and confess thyself unto him. Bernard. That shall I not do (by God's grace) while I live.

Bisbop. What a brutif heretic is this! How impudently he answereth!

Bernard. My lord, it grieveth me no whit (I thank God) to be called heretic at your hands: for to your forefathers called the prophets and confediles of Christ long before this time. In these words the bishop rofe up in great heat, and bade Bernard follow him. Then the bishop went and knelted before what they call the sacrament of the altar, and as he was in his prayers kneeling, he looked back, and asked Bernard why he came not and did as he did. Unto which Bernard answered and told why he should do. Why, quoth the bishop, thou lewed fellow, whom feeth thou yonder? pointing to the pyx over the altar.


With that the bishop rofe up and said, and commanded the gole to take him away, and to lay irons enough on him. For, said he, I will tame him ere he go from me, I think so: and so he was carried away.

The next day Bernard was brought again before the bishop, who asked him, if he did not remember himself the day before that he was before him. Bernard. Yes, my lord, I have remempered myself very well, for the fame man I was yesterday, I am this day, and I hope shall be all the days of my life, concerning the matter you talked with me of. Unto which the guard standing by, said, My lord, I pray you, trouble not yourself any more with him, but let me have the examining of him, I shall handle him after another fort, I think, and make him a fair child ere he go, you shall fee.

So he was committed to him, and brought by him to an inn, where were a great many priefes assembled togethether, and there they all fell to flatter him, and perifhede him with far enticing words, what they could; but when they could not prevail therein, then they began to threaten him with whipping, flocking, burning, and fuch like. Unto whom Bernard said, Friends, I am not better than my master Chrifi, and the prophets which your fathers served after fuch fort; and I, for his name's fake, am content to fulfill the like at your hands, if God shall fo permit, rutting that he will forgive me in the fame according to his promife, in fpite of the devil and all his minions. So when they could not make him relent or yield, they faid, Behold a right fcholar of John Fortune, whom they had then in prifon, and they carried him to the bishop, who immediately condemned him as an heretic, and delivered him to the focular power.

This Roger Bernard was a fingle man, and by his vocation a laborer, dwelling in Tranfulm, in Suffolk, which was under the care of Mr. Tamage the man, becaufe he would not go to church to hear their unfavourable service, and in by them carried to prifon.

The HISTORY of ADAM FOSTER. ADAM FOSTER, of the age of five and twenty years, husbandman, being married, dwelling in Mendefiam, in the county of Suffolk, was brought into his house, a little before the sun's going down, by the confediles of the faid town, George Reniel, Thomas Moufe, at the commandement of Sir John Tyrr, and the firft of Giffon Hall, in Suffolk, because he would not go to church and hear masses, neither Easter, except he might have it after Chrifi's holy obfervation. When they came for him, they told him he must go with them unto the justice. Unto whom Adam Foster, for Chrifi's cause, did in fuch a way fave his conience, he was well contented; and for the which he was fet free to his old place. Sir John Tyrr, and he fent him to Eyemouth, in Suffolk, when he length was fet free to his old place, and then anfwered by bishop Hepton.

Now after his apprehension, Sir John Tyrr, and George Revert were stricken with a great face, and fickness, whereby Moufe pined and confounded even unto death, although he was a ladty young man. But George Revert, who was the faid Moufe's father, and a firft of the fender, or (as many as he of) a talkative goffer, was not to fupport the works of God, but let his son to him to the priets, and to be cleric of the fame town of Mendefiam, and he was a ladty boy, and fee no longer. For Chrifi's cause, as I hope to God, he was this young man.

A young man of the fame parish, newly married, called Robert Edging, bore of a ripe wit and good judgment, was clerk in the faid church before the faid Revert fet his fon in that room, and executed office a little; yea, alas, too long, against his fcuence; whereby at length the Lord fo took away wits, that many years after, his poor and worthif good woman, was fomelled to keep him chafed, and bound continually, left he should unawares do other for fome other man, and in many times (true pity) he was ready enough to do.

This (as I faid) would not admittance Revert, but in the muft perifh in his wicked purpofe. Notwithstanding, at length, as many men were offended with the parish, to honer women especially, being agutely grieved at his ungodly doing, came to him and named Neighbour Revert, are you not afraid to let your fons be taken by the naughty priets to fray mafs, and to fervice an amiable idol? And he faid, No.

Then faid they, We fear them not to go to church, fearing you, being a man that muft feed Christianity, will let your fons help the pray mafs, &c.

At which words Revert waxed and was immediately made his prayer in God before their fathers, or with far like words, faying, O Lord, if thou wilt let me my fon folo; then I thee fend some strange token, to let me unfland what thy good pleure is therein, &c. So send to his petition, within a short space after, his own bull came into his pature, and he having a very good gilding, which was his felicity above every thing he had, the bull running upon him, did fowore him, that immediately thereof his gilding and he thereby nothing amended.

For after he had as foworne, the Lord's lord, the King, for the fuffrance of his fon in that wicked pretention, yet would he not take him from it, but perfected him till to use and frequent the fame again, for the falute of his fown.

At last the Lord fent upon him a great fley of his legs, which did fo grievously vex and trouble him, becaufe it fwellled upward, that at length they brought him upon him a very strange fwing, which died most miferably, in fo short a time, and a man, the bull ran upon him in the night, and he lay thereon. The Lord then granted, for Chrifi's fake, that we may observe men better, to his glory and our comfort, for...
The HISTORY of ROBERT LAWSON.

Robert Lawson was a single man, of the age of thirty years, and by vocation a linen-weaver, who was apprehended in the night, by one Robert Selby, at the command of Sir John Tyrrel, of Gipshall, in Suffolk, knighted, and was immediately sent to eye-dungeons, in Suffolk, where he remained some time, and after was led to Bury. The case being taken, was for that he would not go to church to hear masses, and receive their popish rite.

Then these three aforesaid martyrs were carried to death, namely Roger Bernard, Adam Foster, Robert Lawson, of Bury, after they had made their oration, being at the stake, and the tormentors attending them, they most triumphantly ended their lives, in a happy and blessed condition, as did notably set their constancy and joyful end, to the great praise of God, and their commendation in him, and also to encouragement of others in the same quarter to do like. The Lord of strength fortify us to stand as true soldiers in that flaming fowler he shall think to place us, Amen.

In the examination of Roger Bernard, you heard a part of how he was compared by the priest then John Fortune, and called his scholar. This John Fortune, otherwise called Curter, of Hintonham in Suffolk, was by his occupation a blacksmith, whom he had before them in examination a little before, on 28th of April. In spirit he was zealous and active in the scriptures ready, in Christ's cause faultless, in his answers marvellous, and no less pained for his wrongful sufferings, than constant in his doctrine. Whether he was burnt or died in prison, I cannot find; but I rather suppose that he was put to death at his own request, and was made away as he never yielded. What his answers and examinations were before Dr. Parker and the bishop, you hear, although not with his own mouth spoken, with his own hand written what he did say, as follows.

FIRST EXAMINATION of JOHN FORTUNE before Dr. PARKER and Mr. FOSTER.

Dr. Parker asked me how I believed in the catholic faith.

I answered, that I believe as John which faith he meant, whether the faith that Stephen had, or the faith of them that put them to death.

Dr. Parker being moved, said, What an impudent liar art thou? Thou shalt soon see anon, he will deny the sacrament of the altar.

Then said Mr. Foster, I know you well enough. You are a busy merchant. How layeth thou by the faded mass?

And I flout still and make no answer.

Then said Foster, Why speakest thou not, and make no answer?

And I said, Silence is a good answer to a foolish question.

Then said Dr. Parker, I am sure he will deny the sacrament of the altar also.

And I answered, I know none such but only the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Then said Dr. Parker, You deny the order of the sacraments. And why dost thou not believe in sacrament of the altar?

And I answered, Because it is not written in God's word.

Then saith he, you will not believe unwritten rites.

And I answered, I will believe that these unwritten things that agree with the written verities be true: these unwritten verities that are of your own making, and inventions of your own brain, I do not believe.

Well, said Mr. Foster, you shall be whipped and led for this gear.

Then answered I, If you knew how these words do rejoice my heart, you would not have spoken them.

Then said Mr. Foster, Away, thou fool, doth thine rejoice in whipping?

Yes, answered I, for it is written in the scriptures, and Christ faith, Thou shalt be whipped for my name's sake: and in the time that the sword of tyranny came into your hands, I heard of none that were whipped. Happy were I, if I had the maiden-head of this perfection.

Away with him then, said he, for he is ten times wiser than Samuel: and so he was carried to prison again.

THE SECOND EXAMINATION of JOHN FORTUNE, before the BISHOP of NORWICH.

When I came before the bishop, he saided me if I did not believe in the catholic church.

I answered, I believe that church whereas Christ is the head.

Then said the bishop, Dost thou not believe that the pope is supreme head of the church?

And I answered, No, Christ is the head of the true church.

Bishop. So do I believe also: but the pope is God's vicar upon earth, and the head of the church, and I believe that he hath power to forgive sins also.

Fortune. The pope is but a man, and the prophet David faith, 'That no man can deliver his brother, nor make agreement unto God for him; for it cost more to redeem their souls, so that he must let that alone for ever.'

And the bishop again fetching about a great circumstance, said, Like as the bell-weather weareth the bell, and is the head of the flock of sheep: so is the pope of the head. And as the hives of bees have a master-bee that bringeth the bees to the hive and doth our head bring us home again to our true church.

Then I asked him, whether the pope were a spiritual man, and he said, Yea. And I said again, They are spittle men; for in 17 months there were three popes, and one poisoned another for that preposterous feat of Antichrist.

Bishop. It is maliciously spoken, for thou must obey the pope and not the man. And thus was the pope denied to be supreme head. Well, what sayest thou to the ceremonies of the church?

And I answered, 'All things that are not planted by my heavenly Father, shall be plucked up by the roots,' faith our Saviour: for they are not from the beginning, neither shall they continue to the end.

Bishop. They are good and godly, and necessary to be used.

Fortune. St. Paul called them weak and beggarly.

Bishop. No, that is a lie. I hearing that, said, that St. Paul writeth thus in the fourth chapter to the Galatians, 'You foolish Galatians, (faith he) who hath bewitched you, ye seek to be in bondage to the weak and beggarly ceremonies.' Now which of you doth lie, ye or St. Paul? And also it is said, That works is indicted, and enjoined without the commandment of God, pertain not to the worship of God, according to the text, Math. xxv. 'In vain do men worship me with men's traditions and commandments.' And St. Paul, 'Wherefore do ye carry us away from the grace of Christ to another kind of doctrine?' And Christ open repell the scribes, lawyers, Pharisees, doctors, priests, bishops, and hypocrites, for making God's commandments of none effect, to support their own tradition.

Bishop. Thou liest, there is not such a word in all the scriptures, thou tradest the heretic. Thou art worse than all other heretics, for Hoeper and Cradowe allow them to be good, and thou dost not. Away with him.

Here you may perceive how that the catholic church cannot err; but whatsoever they say must needs be true.
And so my Lord bishop cannot lie, as it may appear to all men plainly in the next.

The THIRD EXAMINATION of JOHN FORTUNE, before the BISHOP of NORWICH.

The next day I was brought before the said bishop again, where he preached a sermon upon the fifth chapter of St. John's gospel, from Christ's words, "I am the bread that came down from heaven," &c. And thereupon had a great gibblet babble to no purpose. So in the end I was called before him, and he said to me:

Bishop. How believest thou in the sacrament of the altar? Doth thou not believe, that after the consecration, there is the real substance of the body of Christ?

Fortune. That is the greatest plague that ever came into England.

Bishop. Why so?

Fortune. If I were a bishop, and you a poor man as I am, I would be ashamed to ask such a question: for a bishop should be apt to teach and not to learn.

Bishop. I am appointed by the law to teach, you are not.

Fortune. Your law breaketh out very well: for you have burned up the true bishops and preachers, and maintained liars in their stead.

Bishop. Now you may understand that he is a traitor: for he denieth the higher powers.

Fortune. I am no traitor: for St. Paul saith, "All souls must obey the higher powers," and I relit the higher powers concerning my body, but I must relit your evil doctrine wherewith you would infect my soul.

Then said a doctor, My lord, you do not well; let him answer shortly to his articles.

Bishop. How failest thou? make an answer quickly to these articles.

Fortune. St. Paul saith, Heb. x. "Christ did one facelice once for all, and set him down at the right hand of his Father," triumphing over hell and death, making intercession for sins.

Bishop. I ask thee no such question, but make answer to this article.

Fortune. It is pitty that the ground beareth thee, or that thou hast a tongue to speak.

Bishop. Lo, what a stiff heretic is this! He hath denied all together: how failest thou? Is it idolatry to worship the blessed sacrament or no?

Fortune. God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth.

Bishop. I ask thee no such question: answer me directly.

Fortune. I answer, that this is the God Mauzim, that rebuketh God of his honour.

Bishop. Take not for God after the consecration, it is no matter more: for God is without beginning and without ending.

Bishop. Lo, what a stiff heretic is this! He hath denied all together: how failest thou? Is it idolatry to worship the blessed sacrament or no?

Fortune. God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth.

Bishop. I ask thee no such question: answer me directly.

Fortune. I answer, that this is the God Mauzim, that rebuketh God of his honour.

The LAST EXAMINATION of J. FORTUNE.

When I came to mine examination again, the bishop asked me if I would stand unto mine answers that I made before: and I said, yes; for I had spoken nothing but the truth. And after that he made a great instance upon the sacrament.

Then I desired him to stand to the text, and he read the gospel on Corpus Christi day, which said, "I am the bread which came down from heaven;" believest thou not this? and I said, I, too truly.

And is not Christ why dost thou deny the sacrament? Because your doctrine is false, said I.

Then, said he, how can that be false which is spoken in the scripture?

And I answered, Christ said, "I am the bread;"
The EXAMINATION OF Mr. JOHN CARELESS.

Carless. No, not so, Mr. Doctor; it is an high mystery, and ought reverently to be spoken of. And if my words may not be written as I do utter them, I will not speak at all.

Martin. Go to, go to, write what he will. Here is more busines than needeth.

Carless. I believe that Almighty God, our most dear and loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodnes (through Jesus Christ), did elect and appoint in him, before the foundation of the earth was laid, a church or congregation, which hereafter continually guide and govern by his grace and Holy Spirit, so that not one of them shall ever finally perish.

When this was written, Mr. Doctor took it in his hand, and read it, saying,

Why, who will deny this?

Carless. If your mattership do allow this, and other learned men when they shall see it, I have my heart's desire.

Martin. And do you hold no otherwise than is here written?

Carless. No verily, nor never did.

Martin. Write what he faith, Otherwise he holdeth not. So that was written.

Martin. It is already told me also, that thou dost affirm that Christ did not die effectually for all men.

Carless. Whatsoever hath been told you, it is not very material unto me. Let the tellers of such tales come before my face, and I trust to make them answer. For indeed I do believe that Christ did effectually die for all those that do effectually repent and believe, and for no other. So that was written also.

Martin. Now, sir, what is Trew's faith of predestination? He believeth that all men are predestinate, and that none shall be damned, doth he not?

Carless. No lordship, that he doth not.

Martin. How then? Carless. Truly I think he doth believe as your mattership and the rest of the clergy do believe of predestination, that we are elected in respect of our good works, and so long elected as we do them, and no longer.

Martin. Write what he faith, That his fellow Trew believeth of predestination as the papists do believe.

Carless. Ah, matter Doctor, did I so term you? Seeing that this my confession shall come before the council, I pray you place my terms as reverently as I speak them.

Martin. Well, well, write that Trew is of the same faith as the catholics be.

Carless. I did not so call you neither; I wonder what you mean.

Martin. You said the clergy, did you not?

Carless. Yes far thereof did I. So then it was written of the clergy.

Martin. Now, sir, what say you more?

Carless. Forthof I have no further to say in this matter.

Martin. Well, Carless, I pray thee prove thyself a man, and do not slip away thy life wildly.

Carless. Now the Lord he knoweth good Mr. Doctor, I would full gladly live, so that I might do the same with a safe confidence. And your mattership shall right well perceive that I will be no wilful man, but in all things that I stand upon I will have sure ground.

Martin. Now the Lord knoweth, good Carless, that I would gladly make some means to prefer thee thy life. But thou speakest so much of the Lord, wilt thou be content to go with my lord Fitzwater into Ireland? Methinks thou art a humble fellow, and would do the queen a service there. What sayest thou?

Carless. Verily, Mr. Doctor, whether I be in Ireland, France, or Spain, or any other place, I am ready to do her grace the best service that I can, with body, goods, and life, so long as it doth last.

Martin. That is honestly said; I promise thee, every man will not say so. How say you, Mr. Marshal?
A faithful friend is a medicine of life, and ... fear the Lord shall find him, Eccles. vi.

The Father of mercy and God of all comfort ... self and loving friend, good Mr. Philip, as I am strongly affected by the mighty operation of ... fame; the everlasting God therefore be praised for ever.

Amen.

Ah, my dear hearts, and most loving brother, I should do nothing else day and night, if to your ... loving compassion extended unto me most vile, false wicked and unworthy wretch. O that the Lord ... and give me a tender, loving heart, that on the bottom of the fame might flow his eternal praise!

O that my sinful flesh (which is the cause of former) be cleanly separated from me, that I might find genuine thanksgiving unto the Lord's name for ever; shall good Samuel's mother, I might continuously receive the noble verite following, which by the good it have found most true, praised be my God therefore.

"The Lord (faith that good woman) killed a ... nature, and lively feeling of the fame. And the Lord God, whose mercy endureth for ever, hath not dealt with me according to my ... disasters in his displeasure, he shall gladly served it. Oh, what reward shall I give again to the Lord for all the great benefits that he hath done for my soul! I will gladly receive the cup of salvation with both hands, and will worship his name with prayer and praise.

Ah, my dear heart, yea most dear to me in the Lord, think not this sudden change in me be ... fickle phantasy of my foolish head, (as indeed others would surely suspect it be) for doubtless is the marvellous doing of the Lord, most mercifully preserved unmy unworthy creature.

God, for his great mercy, give me grace to be more thankful unto him than I heretofore have been, and keep me that I need from his favour again.

And now, my dear brother, and most beloved nephew Lord, who ... happy tidings to my soul, what shall I do unto you, in the least part to recompen the faith inspiration and godly care that you continually keep me? O that God would give me the spirits of my parents; I might yet that I might truly be in part of my duty toward you. Ah, my true heart friend, how soon did you lay aside all other burdens, make a sweet plaster for my wounded conscience and that out of a painful pair of stocks, which God must needs be unkind to write in; but God hath kept you in a favorite place, that you might let my soul liberty. Out of your pinching and painful feet, pour plentifully upon me your precious ointment the sweet flavor whereof hath greatly refreshed me for the Lord likewise relieves you both body and soul, by pouring the oil of his gracious Spirit into my sweet heart.

Ah, good Jeremy, hath Phoebus put thee in stocks? Why, now thou halft the reward of a prophet. Thy glory never began to appear until now. I pray, thou but lightly, instead of Ashlum, the son of Saburo, be he the Son of the living God will come and live forth of the hands of all thine enemies, and make good, against them and their antichristian enemy, all the words that thou hast spoken in his presence, and make thee this day a strong defense tower, an iron pillar, and a brazen wall against the whole rabble of Antichrist; and though they fight against thee ever so fiercely: yet shall God come thee, for the Lord himself shall deliver thee; and he will rid thee out of the tomb, and deliver thee out of the bones.
LETTERS written by Mr. JOHN CARELESS:

time take my leave, but not my last farewell. Blest be the time that I came into the King's bench, to be joined in love and fellowship with such dear children of the Lord. My good brother Bradford shall not be dead while you are alive: for verily the spirit of him doth rest on you in a most amicable manner. Your letters comfort me in each point do agree, as though the one were a copy of the other. I have planted in you, and in you do water, the Lord give thee to water. My dear brethren and fellow-prisoners here, have them humbly and heartily commended unto you and your company, mourning for your misery, but yet rejoicing for your plenteous consolation and comfort in Christ. We are all chosen to the same end, and do lack no necessaries, praised be God for his providence and great mercy towards us for evermore. Amen.

L E T T E R II.

From Mr. JOHN CARELESS to his WIFE.

A s by the great mercy of God, at the time of his good will and providence appointed, my dearly beloved wife, you and I were joined together in the holy and Christian state of godly matrimony, as well to our great joy and comfort in Christ, as much to the increase of his blessed church and faithful congregation by having lawful children by and in the same, with which God of his mercy hath blessed us, praised be his name therefore: even so now by his most merciful and divine ordinance, the time is come (as far as I can perceive) wherein he will, for his glory and our mutual comfort, dissolve the same, and separate us; and again for a time. Wherefore I thought it good and my bounden duty, by this simple letter to provoke, stir, and admonish you, to behave yourself in all your doings, sayings, and thoughts, most thankfully unto our good God and Father. And more especially to your dear wife, as you have heartily rejoiced in the Lord, and oftentimes given God thanks for his good receipts, in bringing us together in his holy ordinance: even so now I desire you, when this time of our separation shall come, to rejoice with me in the Lord, and to give him most hearty thanks, that he hath (to his glory and our ends' advantage) separated us again for a little time, and hath mercifully taken me unto himself, out of this miserable world into his celestial kingdom: believing and hoping also assuredly, that God of his goodnes, for his Son Christ's sake, will shortly bring you, and your dear children, into the inheritance of the most joyfully together. I pray you to rejoice with me in this joy, and to give God continual thanks for doing so most merciful will upon me.

I hear say, that you do oftentimes repeat this godly saying, 'The Lord's will be fulfilled.' Doubtless it rejoiceth my poor heart to hear that report of you; and for the Lord's wise use that godly prayer continually, teach your children and family to say the same day and night: not only say it with your tongues, but also with your heart and mind, and thus faithfully render your will to God's will in very deed, knowing and believing assuredly, that nothing shall come to you or any of your's, otherwise than it shall be his almightiness and fatherly good-will and pleasure, and for your eternal comfort and advantage. Which thing to be most true and certain, Christ taught his disciples, saying, 'Are not two little sparrows sold for a farthing, and one of them shall perish without the will of our heavenly Father?' And he concluded, saying, 'Fear not ye therefore, for ye are better than many sparrows.' As though he should have said, If God have such respect and care for a poor little sparrow, worth one farthing, that it shall not be taken in the line of heaven or hell, or pitfall, unless it be his good will and pleasure; you may be well assured, that not one of you (whom he so dearly loveth, that he hath given his only dear Son for you) shall perish, or depart out of this miserable life, without his almightiness good will and pleasure.

Therefore,
realm, O Lord, but leave us a feel, left England be made like to Sodom and Gomorrah, whereby there may be a beginning of repentance.

But why go I about to mingle your misdeeds with my mourning, and your just joy with my dear's? If I loved you indeed, as I have pretended, I should forego with you most heartily, and pining on the light of your pure doctrine, I should prate God day and night for your steady and excellent doctrine in and through his great mercy, and I should give you the most humble thanks for your vocation by hope, and your true knowledge in the same; I should leave you then for ever, and bid you farewell; if I, in your affection, whereof you are most certain by God's grace, should then most heartily and fondly pray unto him for your glibness, salvation,^

shall!; shortely enfe; I should rejoice and be glad that you, so dignified by the crown of martyrdom, and so appointed to that honour, to render his truth, and to feel it with your blood; I shall highly esteem the Lord, who hath given you a glorious victory over your enemies, visible and invisible, and hath given you the strength and strength to finish the tower that you have begun. Finally, if I loved you, I should mourn and rejoice and be glad to see you defeated, and the breach of sin, and vile prison of the flesh, and brought into heavenly tabernacle where you shall be freely kept and never offend him more.

The more I think of God now, as I am speaking to you, the more I meet with advantages; I have God's everlasting promises, give place to my present will and purpose, although were to the hindrance of his glory, and your comfort. God forgive me my harshness, inexact, and offences against him; and good brother, and forgive me my negligence and unthankfulness toward you, and henceforth I promise you, I will give will to God's will, and pray that the same may be fulfilled, as long as you are not taken away. When you are taken hence, I will most heartily pray for you, for so long as I have been in this world, Ah, my dear heart, now I must take my leave of you, and as I think, my last farewell in this life, but intend to come I am right well assured we shall meet again, and that shortly I trust. And in taking of this leave of you, my dear heart in the Lord, I shall do it faithfully to remember all the sweet messages in the Lord our good God and most dear loving Father sent you by me in your most unworthy servant, which then were the true, so flaut true, that was committed upon you eternally; and for the mental forusance and certificate thereof to your godly comfort, he hath commanded me to repeat the same unto you again, in his own name and word. Therefore I now give ear and faith, by faith Hearken, O ye heavens, and thou earth give ear, be hear me winces at the great day, that I do here truly and fully and truly the Lord's message unto his dear Son; for his singularly beloved and elect child, John Bradford, to the setting forth of God's glory, and to your eternal joy in Christ, Amen.

Ever since that good Mr. Philpot fethew me your last letter, my dear heart in the Lord, I have continued in great heavines and perplexity; not for any hurt or difcommodation that I can perceive coming towards you, unto whom doublets death is made life, and great feli-
city, but for the great loss that God's church here in England shall sustain by the taking away of so godly, worthy and necessary an instrument as the Lord hath made and kept thus long. O that my life were thousand more of such wretched lives might go for your's. O why doth God suffer me and such caterpillars to live, that can do nothing but confine the alms of the church, and take away you, so worthy a workman and labourer in the Lord's vineyard, and even to our own, and a great, great unthankfulness, which is the greatest caule of the taking away such worthy instruments of God, as should set forth his glory, and instruct his people. If we had been thankful unto God for the good necessities of his word, we had not been so soon deprived both of on and them. The Lord forgive our great ingratitude and sins, and give us true repentance and faith, and hold his hand of mercy over us, for his dear Son Christ's sake. Take not away all the thy true preachers out of this
and publish in thee the true and lively feeling of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Now with a merry heart and joyful spirit, having heard with lawful tears, I take my farewells of you, my dear brother in the Lord, who will send us thence shortly a meeting in his kingdom, that we may both sing and dance together unto him with his holy angels and holy spirits for evermore. Farewell, thou blessed Lord, farewells in Christ, depart unto thy rest in the Lord, and pray for me for God's sake.

As I had made an end of this simple letter, I heard my comfort from both God's servant and more, but, alas, I do fearfully believe them. Well, I hope in God and pray all night that God will some comfort to me; to make me happy, I shall receive four words more from you, for God's sake. The blessing of God with you now and for ever, Amen.

Your's for ever in the Lord Jesus,
J. CARELESS, living in hope against hope.

In reading this letter of John Careless to Mr. Bradford, it made me much more than a certain letter of his sent to me, and of the great comfort he received of the same, and I wish, peregrina (good loving reader) in the Lord Jesus Christ, to start also of the said letter of John Careless; wherefore to satisfy thy desire, and that I might not offend thee, I have hereunto annexed the same, that thou mayst not only understand the sense thereof, but also receive fruit thereof to thy comfort likewise. The purport of the letter here follow.

LETTER IV.

To Mr. BRADFORD.

A MIGHTY God, our dear Father, through and by the merits of his dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, sent his only son to us, pardon us our offenses, under the wings of his mercy protect us from all, hereunto and for ever, Amen.

Our dear brother Careless, I heartily pray you to pray to the Lord, for the pardon of mankind sins and most enormities, which no other demonstration can excuse, that I have been and am frequently in answering your godly triple letters, so are threearella against me. God lay not so much on my other to my charge to condemnation, but to my faith, not my will, but his be done. As your request for publication, my dear brother, shall I say, but even as true friends, and father of all comfort, through the mediation and mediation of his dear Son thy only Lord, hath clearly entrusted and pardoned all the sins I can, be, that ever hitherto thou hast committed against his majesty, and therefore thou dost to me as to his child, dear brother, John in thought that thy sins are pardoned; he (I pray) through a penitent and believing heart, that is with much delight to repeat and believe; for such a heart, he is accepting the will for the deed, and forgiving heart indeed, and good brother, more glad, and more, for the Lord hath taken away.

Go thy ways; the Lord hath put no sin upon thee, but pity the thee from thee. Look how the earth was made a wilderness of the earth, so far exceeding theirs towards thee his dear child, through Christ the beloved. Say there-fore, Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all the Holy name: for he hath for-given me all my sins. Because thou hast made me worthy to hear such meekness for myself. Mine own heart, I have never so much to thank God most heartily given you such repentance and grace, the name in you, and me a most heartily, whose heart is harder than an ada-

man, whose heart is more than the heart of a stone. I could not thus long have stayed from writing unto you. If I live and may, I purpose and promise to make amends. Pray for me, my most dear brother, I heartily beseech you, and forgive me my long silence. God our Father be with us for ever, Amen.

Your's in the Lord,
J. BRADFORD.

LETTER V.

From JOHN CARELESS to his most dear and faithful BRETHREN in NEWGAYLE, occasioned to die for the Testimony of God's everlasting Truth.

THE everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual joy, strength and comfort of his too pure, holy, and inexpressible Spirit, with the increases of both eternal grace, and I hope with all the rest of my dear hearts in the Lord, your faithful fellow-soldiers, and most constant companions in bonds, and of your kind and friendly spirit in the further testimony of God's everlasting truth, to the full manifesting of that good work, which shall be gloriously begun in you all, that the fame may be to the glory of the advantage of your profession, and to your everlasting comfort in him, Amen.

Ah, my most sweet and loving brethren, and dear hearts in the Lord, when shall I say, or how shall I write unto you, in the last part, but I am sure you do not want in the greatest joy that my poor heart hath continued in God, through the most godly example of your christian constancy and firmness of the God's very spirit. Truly my tongue cannot declare, nor my tongue express, the abundance of my spirit and gladness, that my mind and inward part hath felt, ever since I heard of your hearty boldness and modest bravery, you being like a bloody butcher, in the time of all your civil examinations, especially at your cruel condemnation, in your cursed confirmary place. Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and praised be his name, for that he hath so graciously performed upon you, his dear darlings, your most sweet and comfortable promises, in not only giving you the continual aid, strength, and comfort in God, Holy and Mighty Spirit, to the faithful continued of his Christ, for whose sake (O most happy man!) you are condemned to die, but also in giving you such a doth, and wilful, that your wicked enemies were not able to refer, but were faint to every Peace, peace, and not fuller you to speak. As truly as God liveth, my dear brethren, this is not only unto you a most evident promotion that God is on your side, and a sure certainty of your everlasting salvation in him, but also to your cruel adversities, or rather God's cursed enemies, a plain demonstration of their just eternal damnation, which shall be full and full to their faces, and shall fill with such peace, that the place of infamy, and figure prepared you for the beginning.

Therefore, I am so beloved, scarce so long as ye be in this life, to praise the Lord with a suitably tongue, for that of his mercy and infinite goodness he hath vouchsafed worthy of this great comfort, to suffer for his sake, not only the loss of goods, life, wife, and children, long imprisonment, cruel oppression, &c., but also the very deprivation of this mortal life, with the effusion of your blood in the fire, which is the greatest promotion that God can bring you or any other unto in this vale of misery; yet, for God's name in heaven is not permitted to have, and yet hath the Lord for his dear Son Christ's sake reputed you worthy of the name, yea and that before me and my dear others, who have both long looked and longed for the fame.

Ah, my most dear brother Tyms, whose time well thou altogether in the hands of the Lord, in a full happy time camelteth thou into this troublesome world, but in a much more blighted hour shalt thou depart out of the same; for that the sweet faying of Solomon, or rather of the Holy Ghost, shall be full well verified upon thee.
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

[Q. MARY, A.D. 1556]

yea, and all thy faithful fellows. "Better is the day of death (faith he) than the day of birth," Eccles. viii. 11. This saying cannot be verified to every man, but upon thee, my dear brother, and such as thou art, whole death is most precious before God, and full dear shall thy blood be in his sight. Blest be God for thee my dear brother Tyms, and blest be God again that I ever knew thee, for in a happy time I came first into thy company. Pray for me, my dear brother, pray for me, that God will once vouchsafe me worthy of that great dignity whereunto he hath brought thee. Ah, my loving brother Drakes, whose soul now draweth nigh unto God, of whom you have received the fame by, that God gave you life to leave for his sake: full well will he recompense it to you again in a thousand fold more glorious. Praise God, good brother, as you have a great cause, and pray for me, I beseech you, who am so unworthy (so great are my sins) of that great dignity whereunto the Lord hath called you and the rest of your godly brethren, whom I bequeath you to comfort in the Lord, as you can full well, praised be God for his gifts, which you have heartily applied to the setting forth of his glory, and the profit of his poor afflicted church. While all shall fly to your comfort, joy and contentment, as you shall most effectually feel before it is long, though the wicked of the world judge far otherwise.

Ah, mine own hearts, and most dearly beloved brethren, Cavel, Anbridge, and both the Spurgeons, blest be God on your behalf, and praised be his name, who hath given you such a glorious victory; full valiant have you fiewed yourselves in the Lord's sight, and as faithful in your painful service. Fainst nor, but go on forward as you have most godly begun, for great shall be your reward at the end of this your travail. Ah, my good faithful brethren all, what shall I say, or what shall I write unto you? But even the fame that good Elizabeth did fay to her godly kinwoman Mary, the blest mother of Christ, "Happy art thou (quoth that good woman) which hath believed: for all things which the Lord hath spoken to thee, shall be fulfilled," Luke i. So I say to you, my dear hearts in the Lord, happy are ye all, yea twice happy shall ye be for evermore, because ye have most faithfully confessed the most sweet promises which God the Father hath made unto you with your own mouth, in that he hath promised you (who are the faithful seed of the believing Abraham) that ye shall be blest for ever, world without end. The promises of God your most sweet Father as ye do believe, so do ye bear recorded that God is true. The testimony whereof ye have full worthily bore to the world, and shortly will full surely seal the name with your blood, yea even to-morrow, as I understand.

O constant christians! O valiant soldiers of the high captain Jesus Christ! who for your fake hath conquered the devil, death, sin and hell, and hath given you full victory over them for evermore. O worthy witnesses, and most glorious martyrs, whose invincible faith hath overcome that proud, furious, bragging prince of the world, and all his wicked army, over whom ye shall shortly triumph for evermore. Ah, my sweet hearts, the everlasting treasures are full surely laid up for you in heaven. The never fading and most glorious crown of victory is already made and prepared for you, to be shortly clapt upon all your happy heads. The holy angels and all the heavenly host are already appointed to conduct your sweet souls into Abraham's bosom. All the heavenly host rejoiceps already, for that they shall shortly receive you with joy and Jeliey into their blest fellowship. Selah.

Rejoice with double joy, and be glad, my dear brethren, for doubts ye have more cause than can be explained. I was left behind, but upon me, my dear brother, and such as thou art, may lie and lament with the holy prophet, saying, "Woe is me that the days of my joyful rest are prolong-
ed." Ah, cursed Satan, which hath cauised me to sore offend my most dear loving Father, whereby mine exile and banishment is so much prolonged. O God, my dear advocate, pacify thy Father's wrath which thou hast just deserved, that he may take home sufficient sweet mercy. O that I might now live with thee with thy blest brethren. Well, thy will be done, let me be effectually fulfilled, for it alone is good, and turneth all things to the best, for such as thou in thy mercy hast given.

And now farewell, my dear hearts, most happy in the Lord: I trust in my good God, it shall be to see you in the celestial city, wherefore doubtless the Lord hath already made you at five o'clock. Though you be yet with us for a little while, you very honour is in heaven. Therefore, remain with your sweet Lord and Redeemer Christ, whose calling have you heard with the sound of your hearts; and therefore shall ye never cease to judge, but pass from death to life. Your life shall never more be remembered, be they ever so much grievous, or so great: for your Saviour hath called all into the bottom of the sea; he hath removed you from you, as far as the East is from the West; and mercy hath much more prevailed over you, than the distance between earth and heaven; and happiness, for everlastling possession of the same, all his righteousness, and justification, yea and the Holy Ghost into your hearts, whereby ye are sealed unto a redemption, to certify you of your eternal deliverance; for ye are truly and truly adopted sons, whereby ye shall joyfully cry unto God, Abba, dear Father, for everything, that now no creature in heaven, earth nor hell, hath not able to accuse you before the throne of the living king. Satan is now cast out from you; he is judged; and hath no part in you; he will not bite you by the heel, and then he hath done, for some time you shall squeeze his head through your great Christ, and so have your final victory for evermore, a joyful triumph whereof ye shall sweety assemble in place and in peace, whither ye shall go when it is gone before you to take possession for you, who prepare your place under the holy altar, with Christ, Latimer, Ridley, Rogers, Hooper, Saunders, lan Taylor, Bradford, Philips, with many others, as will be full glad of your coming, to see your own appointed number, that their blood may not fail for the greater, the fountain be revenged upon them that dwell in the earth.

Thus I make an end, committing you all to God's most merciful defence, whole quailed ye have declared, who have professed, who have endured, who have stood forth, and whoe name ye have confidently confessed. Farewel for a while, my dear hearts in the Lord, I make as much haste after you as I can. All our brethren salute you. They pray for you, and pray God for you continually. "Blessed be the Lord, for they rest from their labours, when the Holy Ghost, and their works follow them." Yours own,

JOHN CARELES

Ye heard before the letter of Thomas Whit, written to John Careles, wherein he yielded thanks unto him for the singular joy and comfort received by his letters. A copy of which is inclosed.

LETTER VI.

From JOHN CARELES, to Mr. GREEN, WHITTLE, and certain other Prisoners in Newgate, condemned and ready to be burnt for the testimony of our LORD JESUS.

The everlasting peace in Jesus Christ, the constant comfort of his most pure and Holy Spirit, with you my dear and faithful brethren, and from Newgate, the Lord's appointed sheep unto the flock, to the good performance of the great and noble work of the Lord, which he hath so graciously begun in us.
LETTERS written by Mr. JOHN CARELESS.

you, and strengthen you to the end, as I doubt not but he will, for he never failed them that put their trust in him.

O my dear and faithful sister Joan Warne, what shall I say to thee? Thy trial hath been great, thy victory in Christ hath been notable. Thou hast overcome many a sharp flower and thorn. Shortly shalt thou arrive at the haven of quiet rest, and receive the reward due to a constant faith. Thou shalt go home to thy heavenly Father, and possess for ever the inheritance which Christ hath purchased for thee, where, thy parents be still looking for thee, who have triumphed over Antichrist most victoriously. O blest parents of happy children, who have shewn fuch an example as the like hath been shewn in them! I salute thee, dear sister of such constant mind, whose constant cheerfulness is worthy of continual memory. Praised be God for the me own sweet sisters, who hath made you play fitch with virgin's parts. He hath plentifully poured the oil of his Spirit into the lamp of your faith, so that the light thereof shall never more extinguish. You shall enter with your bridegroom into everlasting joy, whereunto you were chosen in him from the beginning.

O my dear brethren and sisters, you blest fairs of the Lord, how much, and how deeply am I bound to praise God for you both day and night. Pray, pray for me, my dear children, in the tender mercy of God, that I may be made worthy to follow you further on. O that I had run the race of my life as far as you have run yours, and were as nigh my journey's end as you are to your's. But alas, I lie like the lame man at the pool's side by Solomon's porch, and every man goeth into the place of health before me. But God will appoint me one, one day to put me in. I trust my Lord of London's coal-house is empty, and all his officers idle. Therefore they must shortly fetch more sheep to the flocks; for he is the common slayer-face of all England. But happy are you that are passed through the pikes, and delivered out of man's hands, and from all the angels of the darkness of this world, which long tempted you in the wilderness of the same; but now shall the angels of God come and minifier unto you: for they are your servants to hold you up in their hands, that you shall not hurt your feet, no nor one hair of your head shall perish. They shall carry you up to heaven in a fiery chariot, though you have your mantle behind you for a time, until God restore the same again in a more ample and glorious manner.

Thus in haste, as it doth appear, I am constrained to make an end, committing you all to God's most merciful defence, who ever have you in his blessed keeping, dextering you and leading you in your godly and faithful prayers, as I will not forget, and shall never cease to bless God's grace. The blessing of God be with you, all my dear brethren and sisters. All our brethren and fellow prisoners here have them most heartily commended unto you, and pray for you without ceasing. God find us a merciful meeting in his kingdom, Amen.

By your brother, unlearned lover, and prisoner, abiding his most merciful will and pleasure, Pray, pray, pray.

JOHN CARELESS.

LETTER VII.

From JOHN CARELESS to Mr. BEARFATHER, Wm. TYMS, Priester in Newgate.

The overfailing peace of God in Jesus Christ, with the continual joy, comfort, and strength of his sweet spirit, be blest, and daily more and more increased in your good heart (my most faithful and dear brother Tyms), to the full quieting of you, and bearing back all the fiery darts of the wicked, that you may shortly receive the glorious crown of victory, and in the same triumph over all your enemies, for evermore, Amen.

I cannot express the exceeding great joy and consolation of my poor heart, considering the marvellous works of God most graciously wrought upon you, not only in proving
Proving you and trying your faith by his great and huge cruelties both inwardly and outwardly, but also in giving you so great consolation and confinacy in the midst of the flame. Faithful is God, and true of his promisefor them that do fear him; that will be full of children to be tempted above their strength, but in the midst of their temptation will make an out-scape for them, by such means as may make to his glory and their everlasting consolation. My dear heart, great cause have you to be of good comfort; I see in you as lively a sign of the Lord God's everlastine grace and favour to Jefus Christ, as ever I perceived in any man. In respect whereof, I do even in my heart love, honour, and reverence you, befeething God for his glorious name's sake, in the bowels and blood of our Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, to be so faithful as that your very work in you, as I doubt not but he will do, according to his infallible promises; yea, I am well assured thereof, forasmuch as you have so effectually received his Holy Spirit into your heart as a pledge and a sure seal of your eternal redemption, and a testimony of your adoption in Christ Jesus. For which cause Satan so fore envieth you, that he hath now bent all his fierce ordinance against you, thinking thereby to destroy the invincible fort of your faith, founded most firmly upon the immovable rock of Christ Jesus, in which neither the devil, sin, nor hell-gates shall ever prevail. Therefore, mine own bowels in the Lord, be not disgraced for this your conflict, which doubtless shall greatly increase your crown of glory, triumph, and victory; but take a good heart unto you, and buckle boldly with Satan, both in his intents and his hidden members. It is the very divine ordinance of God, that all his regenerate people shall be tempted, proved, and tried, as we see by the example of our Saviour Christ; who, as soon as he was baptized, was straightway led by the Holy Ghost through the wilderness, there to be tempted of the devil. But there got he such a glorious victory over Satan, that he could never since finally prevail against any of his poor members, but in every affront that he maketh, either inwardly or outwardly getheth a foil, and taketh shame: for that now he rageith with you all the rage possible, especially because he knoweth his time is but short. St. James telleth us that he is but a very coward, that he will soon flee if he be faithfully retold. And as for their tempting tools, the Lord hath made them manifest unto us, to that he cannot deceive us though he clothe them as it please St. Paul: but his thoughts are not known to us; as it doth in you largely appear, proved be the Lord's name therefore. You see, dear brother, that now to molest you and such as are, be that even falling from this vale of misery, he hath so many ways or so many pieces of ordinance to throw at you, with which he cannot hurt you, because you have two bulwarks to defend you. The first of these terrible guns that Satan hath thee at, is the very fame that he continually shooteth at me, that is to say, fear and indecency, for the ugliness of death and horror of my sins, which be so many, grievous, and great. But this pellet is cutty put away with the sure shield of faith, in the most precious death and blood-fothdine of our dear Lord and Saviour Jefus Christ, whom the Father hath given unto us wholly to be our's for evermore, and with him shall we have all things. St. Paul freeth us so that though we be ever so great sinners, yet Christ is made unto us holiness, righteousness, and justification. He hath clothed us with all his merits, mercies, and most sweet full things, and hath taken unto him all our misery, wrapper, sin, and infirmity. So that if any shall now be confounded for the fame, it must needs be Jefus Christ, which hath taken them upon him. But indeed he hath made satisfaction for them to the utmost of all that he can, and therefore to his false they shall never be imprisoned, not at all; there were a thousand times as many as they are. This do you most effectually feel and know (dear brother) a great deal better than I can tell you, blessed be God therefore. And now Satan, seeing that he cannot prevail with his monstrous battery against this bulwark of faith, which dash to quench all his fiery darts, that they can do you no harm, but rather do you good service to cut them down, under the mighty hand of God, and raise you up by his holy grace and power, and aid you render him all the glory by Jefus Christ (which is of no small comfort to his side), therefore he hatcheth other piece most pestilential to disturb you from the fruits of your trust and confidence in yourself, and in your own holiness and righteousness, that you may not move the Lord of his glory, and Chrift of the life and dignity of his death. But blessed be the Lord God, you have also such a strong bulwark to bear back this pestilential plague, even the pure law of God, which proveth the Ishmaelites all damnable sinners in the fight of God, if he enter into judgment with us according to the sentence of the fame, and that even our utmost works are polluted and defiled in such a way as the prophets defend. With which manner of speaking first all gods are much offended; for it follieth all men's rights to the ground! (I had like to have said to the better hell), and expostulates only with themselves about Jesus, which is allowed before God, and is tended to all those that firmly believe, as blessed be God do. Ah, my good brother, is yours Satan hath no such strong hand when he beginneth to throw either to vain glory or misery's, for you have them in your innermost closet and folder, and have had good experience of those temptations, both by yourself and others, you know were well beloved of God. Be ever therefore, dear heart, be of good cheer, as Satan hath wrought all his malice, he hath visages that he can, and hath thrust off all his last pieces, what he had thought to have done most mischief, that is he cannot prevail (the strong tower of our being too invincible), he will pluck up all his tools to some other place to practice the fame, and then will the angels of God come and minister you the most sweet and heavenly consolation of Holy Ghost. To him therefore is able to exceed abundantly above all that we can conceive if I do most heartily commit you, with all the solitary godly fellow prisoners, who comfort, defend you with his grace and mighty operations. Holy Spirit, as he hath hither done, that you have most glorious victory over the subtle serpent, and all wicked feed, may also receive the crown of glory that is prepared for you before the foundations of the world were laid, and is so freely bestoweth for the hands of him whose promise is infallible, that blessed, sin, death, or hell, shall never be able to deprive the same. The blessing of God be with you forever, Amen. Pray for me also. Your brother in Christ, JOHN CARLE. LETTER VIII. From JOHN CARELESS to his dear and dearest Brother AUGUSTINE BERNHEIM. THE peace of God in Jefus Christ, the hope of all the faithful, and the salutation of his Eternal Spirit, and the grace and the consolation of God, and the peace of God be with all you, and with all the rest of my good brethren and sisters of the faith of Baxterley and Mancetter (which amount for the sake of God's people), to your everlasting consolation in him, Amen. Right glad I am to hear (my dear and faithful brother) that God of his great mercy and a finite goodness hath yet so graciously delivered and preserved you out of your enemies hands, both Almighty God also from the bottom of my heart for your continual defence unto the end, as also our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, both to God's glory, the advantage of his church, as to the increase of your own everlasting joy and exultation in him. Know you, dear brother, that I have received your letter, for which I heartily thank you. Indeed this
caufe I say, partly I have thought it good to admonish you, as I have done often, to be circumjacent to the counsel of Christ, which biddeth you beware of men. Other things I have not to write, for I know this bearer can certify you of all things at large, better than I can declare it by writing.

I befeech you, good Augufline, help me forwards with your hearty prayers, for I trust I have but a small time to tarry in this troublesome world. Dr. Story told our marial, that I should be the 30th of March, for he came from Oxford, whither he and other bloody butchers be gone to make laughter of Chrift's sleep that lie there appointed to be flain. God, for Christ's fake, put them and fuch like beside their cruel purpofe, if it be his good will and pleafure, Amen, good Lord. I pray you give some heartly confections to my dear father and faithful friend, good Mrs. Mrs. Mary Glover. I befeech God be her comfort, as I doubt not but he is. I am very glad to hear that the doth go joyfully and the patient bear this great crofs that God hath laid upon her. I pray God strengthen her, and all his other faunts to the end, Amen. Commit me unto my dear and faithful fister Elizabeth B. I thank her most heartily for my napkin, and do I do your dear brother for his fubmifition. Truly, that day that we were appointed to come to our anwer before the commiffioneers (who had defcended the fame morning, that they would come to the King's-Bench by eight of the clock, and the house and all things were trimmed and made ready for them), I got that thirt on my back, and that napkin in my hand, and methought the Lord did help to bark the fin from me against that bloody beaft of Babylonia. And truft me truly, if they had come, I would have struck three (frooke the more for your two fakes, as well as God would have enabled me to fet them on, as by God's grace I will not fail to do at the next firmtith that I come to. Wherefore I pray you pray for me, that I may be strong and hardy to lay on a good load. Oh that I might fo drick him down, that he should never be able to rife again. But that stroke belongeth only unto the Lord, to drick at his coming, which I truft will be shortly. O happen it, good Lord, and then behave forgiveful and finful days, for thy great mercies fake.

Farewell, my dear and faithful loving brother. The Lord defend, keep, and preferve you from the power of your enemies, vifible and invifible, and fend us a most joyfull and merry meeting here or elufewhere, as it shall please your goodneff to appoint us.

In the mean time I mall most carfefully defire you to pray for me, for I never had more need in my life, and doubtles ye shall never want my poor prayer, if it shall please God to accept the prayer of so finful a wretch as I am. The Lord accept not my poor prayers, for Jesus Christ's fake; unto whole most merciful defense I do moft heartily commit you. The blotting of God be with you now and for ever, Amen. I pray you give my moft hearty commendations unto Mr. John Glover. I do not forget him in my daily prayers, and I truft he doth remember me.

Your poor brother, always mindful of you in my prayer, JOHN CARELESS, prifoner, abiding God's pleasure.

LETTER IX.

From Mr. JOHN CARELESS to HENRY ADLINGTON, Prisoner in Lollard's Tower.

The everlafting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual aid, strength, joy, and comfort of his most pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, with the increafe of faith and lively assurance of his mercies be most effectively wrought in your heart, my dear and faithful loving brother Mr. Adlington, and in the hearts of all your other godly fellow-prisoners, to the full finning of that good work, which the Lord hath most graciously begun in you; that the same may be to the advancing and setting forth of his glory, the advantage of his poor afflicted church, and to your eternal joy and comfort in him, Amen.

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My most dear and faithful loving brother in the Lord, if, with all the rest of my love, I have been here with you, do most humbly and heartily recommend us unto you with all faithful remembrance of you in daily prayers, giving God earnest thanks on your most happy behalf, for that he hath given you such hearty boldness and Christlike confidence in the faith faithfulness and fidelity. Blessed be God for my dearly beloved brother, who hath vouchsafed the worthy of his great dignity, as to suffer for his sake, and setting forth of his glory. Oh, glad in heart mayst thou be, to whom it is given, not only to believe in thy Lord and Christ, but also to receive his favours as one of his filly flock appointed to the slaughter. Be of good comfort therefore, my good brother, for your calling unto the crost of Christ was a marvellous manner. Surely it was only the Lord's appointment, and therefore he will perform his part, and will work in you with his grace and eu upon you, to the great magnifying of his glory, and comfort of your brethren, whole hearts are mightily refreshed, to hear how heartily you have behaved your- self hitherto.

This present day I received a letter from you, at the reading whereof my brethren and I were not a little comforted, to see your conscience so quieted in Christ, and your continuance so sedate in him; which thing be the special gifts of God, not given unto every man, but to you his darling elect and chosen in Christ, and from you I am able to speak to my brethren, and upon you, to the great magnifying of his glory, and comfort of your brethren, whole hearts are mightily refreshed, to hear how heartily you have behaved your- self hitherto.

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And therefore I am commanded to follow their faithful and zealous example, to the comfort of the truth, and to the fire, if God shall see it good, and to this, as a poor christian, I have hitherto done, and henceforth with God's grace intend to do.

And if the same God shall suffer you to take upon my life a burden of more, I commend the same to my Lord and God for his sake, and pray that he will make his name known, and his name to stand for you, and that you may be a comforter for what you suffer, that will not be wilfully blind. But the good shepherds have given their lives for the defence of Christ's flock;
love towards me in all thine elect, that I may always be thankful for the fame, and love thee and them as much heartily and unfeignedly.

Ah, my dear heart, how secretly and how truly, see how godly and how comfortably have you rehearsed the sweet prevailing of Solomon concerning prosperity with true and godly friends? I will join with it the sentence that goeth a little before, for doubtless it may be well verified on you. “A sure friend (faith the wife man, in Exod. vili) will be unto thee even as thine own soul, and deal faithfully with thee, and shall be strong in thee, if thou suffer trouble and adversity, he is with thee, and hideth not his face from thee. A faithful friend is a strong defence: who findeth such an one, findeth a fortification. A faithful friend hath no peer: the weight of gold is not to be compared unto the profit of his acquaintance of his faith. A faithful friend is a medicine of life, and a joy of heart that fear the Lord shall find him.”

Lo, my dear heart in the Lord, here is a lively image or description of you; for verily such an one I have always found you unto me, not only for rowing for my great sorrow, but also oftentimes making me merry and joyful, with such joys as the world cannot feel. Now let the world brag of its feigned friendship; but I will boast of this true friendship in God, and esteem it a greater treasure than all worldly things. And as for my mourning, dear brother, God hath raised me up unto mirth; for God hath put you instead of them to be my comfort, whom he hath in his great mercy taken away. I trust therefore to leave the mourning for my great loss, and to praise God for gaining unto himself so great glory by his chosen children. God make me a true mourner of soul for mine own flesh and wickedness, and also to see his honour defaced, that I may be made meet and apt to bear the joyful and comfortable melfage that your beautiful feet shall bring me. God blest thee, my dear heart, and faithful loving brother, and increase his good gifts of grace in thee, as he hath most happily begun; that you may daily more effectually feel and lively perceive the comforts of God’s grace wherein you stand, and firmly testify the fame to the conversion or confusion of all gainers, and to the comfort and confirmation of all God’s dear children, Amen. Farewell, mine own sweet brother, farewell as mine own heart.

Your own in Christ,

JOHN CARELESS.

From JOHN CARELESS, returning Thanks to a faithful Friend of his, by whom he had received much Comfort in his inward Trouble.

BLESSED be God the Father of all mercy, for the great comfort and christian consolation which he hath so mercifully sent unto me, and so much afflicted me by your means, my most dear and faithful brother. Truly methinks your words, or rather God’s words by you uttered, have a wonderful power and efficacy working in my heart at the hearing and reading thereof therefore, my dear brother, and be most to God’s praise: for he both shall and will be highly magnified in you, and that divers and many ways, both to the strengthening of them that stand in this truth, and also to the raising of such as are fallen from the same. God make me thankful for you, and your behoof; for very great is the goodness of God towards me, in giving me acquaintance in faith in you, in the Godly amity with you; God’s name therefore be praised for ever, and he perform all his merciful promises unto us, I doubt not but he will, for his sake in whom you are.

I thank my God most hearty, and also you my good brother, for that you are careful for me in your faith-prayers, remembering my just deservings forgivers, though they were your own, and labouring so much to the same. Ah, my gracious God, what am I, who thou art, and also dear children should be spoiled! O sweet Lord, forgive me my great ingratitude and fin, and grant that I may never again be so great wretches. O let the love of thine elect, who love thy holy, be a sure sign and token, yea, a most firm seal to my sinful conscience of thine prevailing love and mercy towards me in Christ; as truly it would and ought to be, if mine infidelity did not hinder it. O circumcise therefore my heart, that I may with lively faith behold thy great
may be brought, that with his most precious blood he hath bought us. The blessing of God be with you now and for ever; Amen.

JOHN CARELES.

LETTER XII.

From JOHN CARELES, containing a brief Address to Mrs. AGNES GLASCOCK, friend in a Book of her's, when she came to the Parsonage to visit him.

There is nothing that the holy scripture through the doth much commend unto us but true faith and steadfast truth in the promises of God, and true mercies unto us in Jesu Christ. For from the true faith doth flow up the chief fountain, and well spring of the life, flow all kinds of virtues and godly fruits, to flow all kinds of true love towards God, in which we ought to be fervent in the whole of our life; and also charity towards our neighbours, as well to help them in all needs, as also to comfort them by my means. Therefore pray earnestly for the increase of faith and lively feeling of God's mercy; for all things possible unto him that can undoubtedly believe. It is that thing which affirrest us of God's mercy, all whereby we vanquish all the fiery darts of the devil; our victory that overcometh the world, the knife that killeth and maketh the flesh: and therefore let us setter us at peace with God, and quiet our encounters always before him, and makest us many joyful under the crosst, with many more things, and can makest us joyous, and can makest us joyful in faith, in faith. And for the Lord's false beware of power, and power of idolatry, the idol of the wicked man, and other thronous service. Make not your body, which is a member of Christ, a member of Ani rilt. Restore that we shall receive of God according to the role in the body, be it good or evil. Therefore glorify God in your body, which is clearly bought. Do not the truth, left: the Lord deny you. If God is God, follow him. You cannot serve two masters. I write not this as doubting you, but by the way of monition. God keep you from all evil.

My sister dear, God give you grace, With beloved faith in Christ his name, His gospel hall for to embrace, And live according to the same. To die therefore think it no shame, But hope in God with faithful trust; And he will give you peace with, And relieve you of your grief. For which most sweet and joyful day, To God with faith your prayer make: And think on me, I do you pray, Who now hath wrote this for your sake. And thus to God I your beak, What your call and to your rock; He keep you flowing and awake, Farewell, dear milfrees A. Glascocx.

LETTER XIII.

From JOHN CARELESS to Mrs. AGNES GLASCOCK, confounding her in her Repentance, since she had been at Mass, proper to be read by all that have fallen, and are willing to rise again.

The peace of God in Jesu Christ, the means comfort of his sweet Spirit be with you, and strengthen and comfort you, my dear and faithful father, Amen.

Although the perilia days be come, whereby Christ propoundeth the matter of his handwriting if it were possible the very elect shall be deceived; yet let the true faithful christians pray, and be glad, knowing that the Lord himself is our keeper, who will not suffer one hair of their head to perish without his almighty good will and pleasure, neither will he suffer them to be further tempted, that he will give them strength to bear; but will in the midst of their temptations make a way for them out: so good and gracious a God is he to all his
fitter, your's shall do, if you put your whole faith, hope, and trust only in his infinite and eternal sweet mercies.

O what a subtle, crafty, lying serpant is that Satan our old enemy? that when he feareth that he cannot make us to continue in our wickedness to do him service, would then bring us into a doubing and mistrusting of the mercy of God, which is usually the end and means of all other fins. Therefore (my sweet fitter) give no place to that cruel adversary of mankind, who hath been a liar and a murderer from the beginning, but steadfastly believe the Lord Jesus Christ, who hath sent you word by me his most unworthy servant, that all your sins be pardoned, forgiven, and clean relied for Jesus Christ's fake our only Lord and Saviour. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, praise, thanks, power, rule, and dominion for ever and ever, Amen.

Farewell, my dear fitter, be good chear. Believe in the Lord, and you shall live for ever. The Lord increase your faith, Amen, Amen.

Your poor brother,
and prisoner of the Lord.
JOHN CARELESS.

L E T T E R X I V.
From Mr. JOHN CARELESS to a REFINED MINISTER OF THE LORD, containing certain fruitful Precepts on MATRIMONY.

I beseech the same everlastings Lord (my dear and faithful brother,) that blessed young Tobias with his wife Sarah, and brought them together in due time with reverence and fear, preferve and blest you both, and your feed after you, that they may increase the number of God's people in the world, and make all fat and be fruitful, that all your sins be utterly forgiven you Christ's fake, be ye ever so many, so grievous, or great.

But now, dear heart, take heed, and beware that ye do not check that sin, and increase the same daily, by communing with the bad and wicked, doing devilish doings at their den of thieves. Do not, I say, dear fitter, be at any of their Antichristian fêtes, kept by little and little you utterly lose a good conscience, and at length efecm for no offence; as alas, the number of them, do the greater multitudes of their soul. The Lord be merciful to them, and give them time to repent in time, and turn to the Lord, and then shall ye be fore to find mercy at the Lord's hand, as undes you have done, praiseth therefore be his name.

Alas, my dear fitter, you may now see the words of Christ verified upon yourself, that a man's greatest foes are the very best of his own household; for your husband hath gotten you to do that, which all the tyrants in the world could never have made you to do. Doubtless he gave it you for his own lust. Give him grace to repent, or you, without doubt, will be laid to his charge, when he would not by his will hear it for all the gods in the world. Well, I think my brother Tyrns will write him a letter shortly that will touch his conscience, if he has any conscience at all.

But now again to you, dear fitter. The thing that is one can be undone is an evil deed that is already done, neither are you so good and so holy, as do at any time flit off the way. Therefore I could not have you to be so much discomforted as I hear you be, as though God were not as able to forgive for your offence, as he would have been, if he was to forgive his dear fates, who have offended him in time past. But I hope in the Lord, you are not as merciless now, as ever he was. Whereas very deed, there is with the Lord (as the prophet said,) mercy and plentiful redemption, and his mercy farrmouths all his works: and he never falleth that pitt their whole trust and confidence in him, will great an offender, or how Wicked a treacherous ever be: no, he maketh their falls and backslidings true to upturn to their greater profit and advantage, so as the feeling forth of his glory; as doublest, dear
That you have offered my simple counsel I am right glad; and if it please the Lord God, you shall find comfort in the same. And that you may in deed, I have been so bold to write thefe few words unto you, because I shall fee you no more in this corruptible life; therefore mark them well. First, and above all things, you must be diligent to keep thy peace, and be not tired ware that there never spring the root of bitterness between you. If at any time there happen to arise any cause of unkindness between you, as it is impossible always to be free from it, fee you that you walk up the same with all lenity, gentleness, and charity, and never suffer yourself nor your wife to sleep in displeasure.

If you have cause to speak sharply, and sometimes to reproove, beware that you do not the same in the presence of others, but keep your words until a more convenient time, (which is the point of a wise man, faith Solomon) and then utter them in the spirit of meekness, and the groaning spirit of perfect love; which you must also let sometimes to cover faults, and wink at them if they be not intolerable. Whatever lolls and mischances shall happen unto you, take it patiently, and bear it meekly; and though the same should come partly through your wife's negligence, yet let it rather be a loving warning to take heed in time to come, than a cause of sorrow for that which is past, and cannot be opened. I know by some own experience, that we are in this life subject to many inconveniences, and that of nature we are prone to displeasure, and ready to think unkindness for every little trifle, and especially with our belted friends, yet scoffed at with loving wives, who be most loft to displeasure.

But let us beware of this cankered corruption, and consider that we ought most of all in love to bear with them according to Christ's example towards his congregation, for whom he gave himself, to cleanse it, and I have long time have treated this matter at large, but even now I am intermitted, and otherwife hindered. I doubt not but you know your duty therein a great deal better than I can describe it unto you; and as you know it, so will it do: but I love to be bold with you. I intend to write to your wife very shortly; and to take my last farewell of you for ever in this world. And thus in great haste I am now constrained to make an end. The bleffing of God be always with you. Pray, pray, pray with faith.

Your own for ever,

JOHN CARELESS.

LETTER XV.

From MR. JOHN CARELESS to ELIZABETH,
Wife of the aforesaid Minister, containing certain godly PRECEPTS of MATRIMONY pertaining to her Duty.

The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual aid, strength, and comfort of his most holy and mighty Spirit, with increas of knowledge, faith, and perfect feeling of God's eternal mercy, be with you, my dear and faithful lovingfighter, and with your godly and loving husband and my dear and faithful brother, to the full performance of that good which he be beloved to begin in you all things in your love, you may be made rich and bleffed in him, and your seed after you, now and ever, Amen.

As I have been long deivous to write unto you, (my dear heart in the Lord) not only being thereunto bound of duty, but also often provoked by him to whom I owe myself and all that I am able to do (I mean even that bleffed of the Lord's own mouth, whom God hath joined with you in that holy and christian state of matrimony); even so at last I have obtained time and occasion in force to perform that which I have long purposed. And forasmuch as the Lord of his great mercy and fatherly care and providence over you his dear child, hath now graciously accomplished that good work amongst many others, which I as a friend of the bridegroom have full heartily wished, and often prayed for, I think it good, yes, and my bounden duty, to treat of such things as may be profitable to preserve mutual love and faithful amity between you, which know Solomon will chiefly labor to attain to, if he cannot altogether destroy the same, for by many foolish occasions you should be provoked continually to quarrel for God for his good gift, which that enemy hath so means fought to hinder you from.

We do esteem, therefore, that you are sufficiently instructed, and have also a most learned counselor, who is well able further to teach you if need be, but in this particular I know my experience is more than his. Therefore (my good father) first and before all, I wish you to know that it is just, that one good and good gift pertaining to soul and body, is given from above, and cometh down from the very Light of Lights; even so to whomever the Lord defendeth, for his benefit, of them doth chiefly require that a thankful heart for the same, for else he will take away his good gifts again, or turn the learned their great disadvantage, and in the end to the punishment of their damnation: to be acceptable in his sight is the fruit of ingratitude. But to such as be thankful for his gifts, he doth not only to the old even add new, but maketh the goodnews of his former gifts ever more and more to increase, until they are fully good gifts, and thoroughly certificated of his everlasting love a Christ Jesus, which is eternal life itself: so much the more so, as he is not moved by the grace of men, but by the grace of God, the faith of the Holy Ghost, which with the grace of God, faithful, and loving, quiet, patient, thry, diligent, and the husband, who will nourish, cherish, keep, and delight you, instruct you and teach you, yet care and provide for you and your children (which he will do by loving you) such things as be necessary for you. He hath dealt fo with every body; and yet he hath done it more much for you, my dearfitter, and will therefore create love and joy between you. For as he delights in the more godly agreement between you, so is it the, that he only that maketh them all in whole household to be only of one mind. Unto this gracious work he requireth your diligence, and as you be his instrument and mean, the more diligently and diligently to accomplish the same. And therefore I charge you to observe this my simple counsel, which have here written as a testimonial of my good will towards you, because I think in this life I shall see more fee you.

If you have chambered you how you should be thankful unto God for his good gifts, so I exhort you, and as much as in me lieth, charge you to be ever thankful unto your dear and loving husband, as hath given himself unto you, who is a more precious jewel in the church of God, than perchance you yet are aware of. Think yourself to be made rich by such an instrument of God, and also remember evermore the gifts of God in him, and feck with the obedience and love to serve him, in recompense of the great and painful heart towards you. Be not afraid to offend him, you may rather be careful to be diligent to please him, that his soul may blefe you. If at any time you shall chance to anger him, or do or speak any thing that shall grieve him, fee that you make mends while you have pacified him and made him merry again.

If at any time he shall chance to blame you without a cause.
The Burning of Mr. Julius Palmer, fellow of King's College, Oxford, Mr. John Gwav, and Mr. Tho. Askew at the Sandpits, near Newbury, in Berkshire.

The Tragical & barbarous Martyrdom of Mrs. Catherine Cawches, her two Daughters, Mrs. Guilhelmina Gilbert, Mrs. Prudence Massey, with the Infant Son of Mr. Massey at St. Peter's Fort in the Isle of Guernsey.
The HISTORY of Mr. JULIUS PALMER.

As all the works of God are wonderful in calling all sorts of men to confirm his truth, and to become instruments to his affered and infallible word, which the adversaries have deceived and corrupted with their false bodies, to establish the firmly kingdom of Antichrist, with all the influence and power of the world, these secret practices, and open violence,
A LETTER

From Mr. BULLINGHAM to his FRIEND.

MASTER BULLINGHAM, I wish you all your continual health in the Lord. I have here I must write any thing unto you concerning our Palmer, that conistant witness of Christ's trutth, for all his doings and sayings known unto me, were warnes of my remembrance; and to write an untrue, it were rather to deface and blemish, than to adorn the TRUTH. His after conversion to the most holy God, I never saw his face. Wherefore the less we have I acquaint you of. But so much as for, and to this a commot unto the purpose, here I commend myself to you, in wittnes that my sayings are true, I submitt my name, willing and beffoer to you publish the to the whole world, &c. At the time I Bullingham intended to go fake England, and fly into France, the wicked pope's fake, (which came to pass, for I was in Rome for a time) this Julius Palmer, Richard Duck brought me onwarde in my journey, we came to London: where on Sunday day, Julius Ed. and I walked to St. James's, the pope's palaces, as we learned at the great gate of that palace, to fake thus unto me:

Bullingham, you know in what mister and calamities we are, for the pope and his religion. We young men, abhorred of all nation, are presently like to be abhorred more and more. Let us therefore what hangeth over our heads. You are departing a strange country, both friends and moneys, if you fear you shall fall into greater troubles than hitherto have done. And as for me, I am in worse strait. The face of hell itself is amiable unto me, as a member of Magdalene-college, for there I am hated as a vicious rascal. Would God I were raked under the earth, and as touching our religion, even our confreres write unto us that we shall never find favor in the profession thereof, as we understand it. We bullingham, rascals of their religion: yet, to say the truth, we maintain we know not what, rather of will than of judg. But what then, rather than I will yield them, I will beg my bread. - So Palmer behave him self to the wide world, and I passed over insomalady. At my return into England, my chance to meet Palmer in St. Paul's, where a road waiting (This our meeting was in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, and our perilous departure not long before end of king Edward's days), I thus said Palmer: Bullingham, is this our God whom we have finasted? No, Palmer (quoth he) I an image of him. An image! (quoth he) I plainly, Bullingham, John Calvin, whose influence have perried since our departtere, held nothing in God's word, that it is an idol, and that an Antichrist, and his clergy the filthy sink-hole of, and now I believe it for I feel it fenibly. Outhere had revealed these matters unto me in times past, which would have bee permitted this Romish religion, or any irreligion, to the devil of both. Finally, when you believe them nor, Bullingham. I will rather have my knees pared off, than I will kneel to yonder block of wood (meaning the rood). God help me, I am hard trouble and adversity in this world. Well, Palmer, is the wind in that corner with you? I warrant it will blow you to little ease, at the end, I will have to do with you again. So I left Palmer with St. Paul's, where through the element of fire cases above clouds, where eternal rest is prepared for the curious to see. Thus much is true, and he therefore that I Bullingham affirm it. More than not to say. In thefe words and deeds it appeareth God had elected him.

From Bridgewater, April 26, 1662,

By me, JOHN BULLINGHAM.

When he was by the visitors reforted to his life, although he began something to favour p.
great torrent of confidence daily growing upon him, it
its conversion, and its effects, the new life and old way of living could not well quietly
stand together, he prepared himself to depart the house.
For he thought it not best to abide the danger of expul-

sion, as he did at first, feemng the heat of the times in-
creasingly strong. And being demanded at that time by a
particularly friend who would have this answer to
him to stay there longer) whether he would go, or how
he would live, he made this answer, Domini eft terra, & plenitudo ejus, that is, The earth is the Lord's, and
the fulness thereof. Let the Lord work, I will commit my
self to God, and live the whole time.
Here I think it expedient, before I write of the
painful forges that he suffered after he came abroad into
the perils gulls and deep sea of this wretched wide
world, first, to rehearse one or two examples of his out-
ward behaviour and conduct, which shew the power
of God in his heart, how he had lived in great quietness, if he could have
had peace, and both done and spoken against his con-
gress, as many stirring papists then did. And likewise
might we have escaped the names in queen Mary's time,
he would either have spoken, or kept hidden his word.
confess of God, as many weak godfellers did. But Pal-
mer could not in any wise scruple.
Now, within a short time, God fo wrought in his
heart, that he became very inquietive, to hear and un-

derstand how the many were appointed, who ar-
ded they did for, they were used, and after what
game they took their death. Infomuch that he spared
himself to his own charges, to lend over one of his scholars,
company with a bachelor of that house, to Gloucester,
and understand the whole order of bishop Rogers's
features, and in the godly company, of what he was
from the burning of bishop Richard Wallop.
At which time, in the hearing of
of his friends, he broke out into these or such
words, O raging cruelty! O tyrannical, and
atman barbarous!
From that day forward he studiuously endeavoured to
defend the truth, and therefore with all speed he read
Peter Martyr's commentaries on the first to
Concerning, of one of Magdalen's yet alive, and
book of other then. And fo through heartily
by the company of his friends, and at length he
believed and embraced the truth as great
and profited in the fame, that daily
more, he declared it both in word and deed:
that ever afterwards he loved the truth as
word, as he before, but it was upon
God to open
eyes, and to reveal unto him the light of
now again when he should come to church in the
of popery, there to be occupied among the reft,
being of refpectors, reading of legends, and such like
entertained in him, he had as much pleasure, he said, to
him, as a body to be baind and suffer therewith.
When he came, it was (as it appeared) more to
pleasure and danger, than for any good will,
read election.
He brought, through God's grace, he grew up to such
and rivalry in the truth, that he parted not
certain sparks thereof in his outward beha-

For when he should keep his bowing measures
Contempt (as the custom there was) in turning
and for, but sometimes outward, sometime inward,
and after, counterknob, to break at the time of
against these idolatrous, sometimes of

Bacchus, as it was called, at the joyful and
adores admiration.
To be sure, there was a far

that he was greatly suspected as also discrep-
by Mr. Cole, the president then being, and dis-
theor later before had been his friends; and finding
meny, that is, The oil of these men doth not supple, but breaketh my head.

Another time, which was also the last time of his being at Oxford, not long before his death, one Barwick, an old acquaintance of his, being sometime clerk of Magdalen's and then fellow of Trinity-college, called him to a talk to reproof and advice in his in-hands chamber aforesaid, and perceiving him to be zealous and earnest in the defence of the verity, he laid unto him, in the hearing of Mr. Thomas Parry, and others there present: Well, well, now thou art stout, and hast a hardy in thine opinion, but thou hast two once brought to the stake, I believe thou wouldst tell me another tale. I advise thee beware of the fire, it is a threshed matter to burn. Truly, said Palmer, I have been in danger of burning once or twice, and hitherto, I thank God, I have never failed but that first did get his glory] placed schoolmaster by patent in the grammar-school of Reading, where he was well accepted by all chaff that feared God, and favoured his word, as well for his good learning and knowledge, and also for his earnest zeal and profession of the truth. But when, the enemy of all godly persons, by stopping his good proceedings, and profitingSac's in the fame, would not suffer him long there to be quiet. Wherefore he (firing up against him certain double-faced hypocrites, who by diffimilation and crafty infinulation had crept in, to undermine and his sect under pretence of a zeal to the gospel. Which men he (f unsuspecting no deceit) right joyfully embraced, making them privy to all his doings. For as he himself was then fervently inflamed with the love of heavenly doctrine, so he had an incredible desire by all means to shine, and encourage others to the profession of the fame.

Thee faithful and truly brethren, so soon as they had found good opportunity, spared not in his abstinence to stile his study of certain godly books and writings; amongst which was his Replication to Morewine's vertes, touching the muzzle of the ape, both in Latin and English, written by him against the popish proceedings, and especially against their unnatural and brutish tyranny, executed towards the martyrs of God. When they had thus done, they were not afraid to threaten him that they would exhibit the same to the council, unless he would without delay depart out of their coasts, and give over the schooll to a friend of their's. The truth of this story appeareth in part, by a letter written with his own hand, out of prison, eight days before he was burnt; which, because it is of certain credit, and came to our hands therefore we are the bolder to avouch it for a truth.

Thus then was this silly young man, for the safeguard of his life, forced to depart on a sudden from Reading, leaving behind him in the hands of his enemies one quarter of his whole estate, and one quarter of his books, and to take his journey towards Enham, where his mother then dwelt, hoping to obtain at her hands certain legacies due to him by his father's will, which he should have received certain years before; and taking his journey he met one at a time of his friends to accompany him thither. His mother understanding his state and errand by Mr. Shipper and his brother (whom he had lent before to treat for him), as soon as he beheld him on his knees, asking his blegacy, as he had been accustomed to do: Thou shalt, said he, Christ's curse and mine wherefores Son, go pausing a little, as one amazed at so frequent a request at length said, O mother, your own curse you have me, which God knoweth I never desired, but God's curse, nor I give you, for God hath already blessed you. Nay, said thee, thou didst give God's blessing into the warm fur, when thou wast bathed in heretic out of that worthless houfe in Oxford for the like knavery, art driven out of Reading. Alas, mother, said he, you have been misguided. It was not expelled nor driven away, for I freely refuse of mine own accord. And heretic I am come, for I stand not stubbornly against any true doctrine, but I fent it to your power. And you may be sure, there is not to express, nor banith, but to burn heretics (as thy text saith). Well, quoth the same, I dare thou do not believe as thy father and I, and all our relations have done: but as we were taught by the new king Edward the Sixth's time, which is damnable heresy.

And I confess, said he, that I believe that this trine which was taught in king Edward's days, which is not hereby but truth, neither is it new, but it is old as Christ and his apostles. If thou art at the point, said thee, I require thee to depart from my hand, and from thy city, that I may not suffer thee to mother hereafter. As for money and goods, none of thine, thy father bequeathed thou herdst. Faggots I have to burn thee, more in the geftet not at my hands. Mother, saith he, when you have curst me, I am here to pray God to bless me and protect you all your life long; and yet the oft talk, sweet words, and abundance of tears trickling down his cheeks, he departed from her, when with he so mollifed her hard heart, that she held an old angel after him, and said, Take that to lay the enemy of all.

Thus poor Palmer, being destrivate of worldly friend, and cruelly repelled by her whom he took to have been his sure friend, knew not which way to turn face. Soon after, when he had beenhour his mind came to his mind to return secretly to Magdalen upon the aforfeud and alliance, that he had had a friend or two of that house. At which time, by one of Alane Cope, then fellow of the house, he beareth letters commendatory from Mr. Cole, pridmeth him for his preferment to a school in Gloucestershire. he was sent away, comforted by his friends, and by divine protection, of whom some accompanied him as far as Enham Ferry, and some to Burford.

Afterward as he went alone muting and pondering matters, it came in his head (as he watcheth night to night in company with his friends) to leave reading, and to return privately to Reading, trusting there by the number of friends to receive his quarter's stipend, and carry his goods to the custody of some truly body. In Reading he cometh, and taketh up his lodgings at Cardinal's Hat, defining his hostelry in his chamber, where he might be alone and reoff of company. He came not so closely, but this vipsor generation had knowledge Wherefore without delay they said their hearts regretted and confessed what way they might most fitly lead him to the court against what he said, and so sent him to the Lord's place. And soon it was concluded, that one Mr. Hampton (who then bare two faces under one head, and the colour of a brother played the part of a double-faced hypocrite) should refer to him under the pretended friendship, to feel and find out the mean of his escape. Hampton's face spend, and to it took his journey towards Enham, where his mother then dwelt, hoping to obtain at her hands certain legacies due to him by his father's will, which he should have received certain years before; and taking his journey he met one at a time of his friends to accompany him thither. His mother understanding his state and errand by Mr. Shipper and his brother (whom he had lent before to treat for him), as soon as he beheld him on his knees, asking his blegacy, as he

Palmer, as he was a simple man, and was in full of wrinkles of caged deceit, opened to him his whole intent. But Hampton earliness persuaded him to the contrary, declaring what danger might ensue to army his counsel. Against his counsel Palmer replied to him very much, and as they waxed hot in talk, he flung away in a fury, and said, As he had should he fowl for him. Palmer not yet fap or devised mischief. As by this crooked and
tices of that Satanical brood. But be you well assured, and God be praised for it, I have so purged myself, and detected their falsehood, that from henceforth I shall be no more molested therewith. And there, having pen and ink, he wrote somewhat whereby part of his story hereafter rehearsed, is well confirmed. But now to these bloody adventures.

After this, when they saw the matter frame so ill-favouredly, fearing that if he should escape secretly, their doing would tend no less to their shame and danger, than to the mayor’s dishonour, they devised a new policy to bring to pass their long hidden and sullied revenge against one whom they deemed by this extreme refuge. For whereas before they were past all hope to wrong him of hereby, seeing they had been counted earnest brethren themselves; and partly afraid, because they had broken up his study, and committed theft; yet now, with their iniquity should have been revealed to the world, they put up both fire and flame aside, and began to rip up the old forest; whereas the wickedness had been but superficially cured, as you have heard; and so to colour their former practices with the presence of his reformation in religion, they charged him with the writing that they had stolen out of his hands.

Thus Palmer was once again called out of the prison to appear before the mayor, and Bird the official, and two other justices, to render an account of his faith before them, and answer to such articles and informations as were laid against him. And when they had gathered of their own mouth sufficient matter to intrap him, they devised a certificate, or bill of instructions against him, to be directed to Dr. Jeffery, who had determined to hold his visitation the next Tuesday at Newbury, which was the 15th of July. And thus were the false witnesses and bloody accusers winked at, and the innocent delivered to the lion to be devoured. When it was therefore concluded that Palmer should be sent over to Newbury, that the last act of their accursed conspiracy might be put together with him; the contents whereof shall partly appear hereafter; in the mean time I think it good here to rehearse one example among others, both of charitable affection towards him, and of his meekly correspondent to the same.

Mr. Rider, of Reading, a faithful witness of God’s truth, hearing how cruelly Palmer had been dealt within in the prison, and pined away for the lack of necessaries, and how evidently he had proved himself innocent before the officers, of such crimes as were objected against him, he sent to him his servant secretly the night before his departure to Newbury, with a crooked great in token of his desire that he should be allowed to let him understand if he lacked necessaries, and he would provide for him. Palmer answered, The Lord reward your matter for his benevolence towards me a miserable object in this world, and tell him, that (God be praised) I lack nothing.

In the morning before they took their journey, Thomas Atkin, alias Roberts, being fellow-prisoner with him in Chirl’s cauld, sitting at breakfast, and beholding Palmer very sad, leaning to the window in a corner of the house, asked why he came not to breakfast. Because I lack money, said Palmer, to discharge the bill. Come on man, quoth he, God be praised for it, I have eaten enough for us both: Whereupon this London youth, hearing of, it cannot be expressed how much it grieved them that Palmer had received him with so meekly an answer.

Thus to Newbury they came on Monday night, and forthwith they were committed to the comforrable holite of the blind house, where they found John Cranham, the other patient. Which this London Mr. Rider, when he came before the consistory of Dr. Jeffery, and how Palmer was examined, it doth in part appear by this examination hereunto annexed, which, although it he not perfectly and orderly penned, as the report goeth it was spoken, nor perchance altogether in such form of words, yet as exactly as we are able to compact and dispose it, being gathered out of several notes of Richard Shipper,
The SECOND EXAMINATION of JULIUS PALMER, at NEWBURY, in the HEARING of more than three hundred PERSONS.

On the 16th of July; in the year 1556, four or five seats were prepared in the choir of the parish church of Newbury, for the visitors, whose names here ensue. Dr. Jeffrey, for the bishop of Sarum, Sir Richard Abridge, knight, and then high sheriff of the county, Sir William Ramsford, knights, John Winchcomb, esquire, and the parson of Inglefield. After the preliminary business was finished, the congregation read, and other things done in order accordingly, Dr. Jeffrey called to Palmer, and said, Art thou that jolly writer of three-half-penny books that we hear of?

Palmer. I know not what you mean.

Jeffrey. Have you taught Latin so long, that now you understand not English?

To this he answered nothing.

Then Dr. Jeffrey standing up, said, We have received certain writings and articles against you, from the right worshipful the mayor of Reading, and other justices, whereby we understand, that being convicted before them, you were convicted of certain heresies.

First, That you deny the supremacy of the pope's holiness.

Secondly, That there are but two sacraments.

Thirdly, That the priest leaveth up an idol at masts; and therefore you went to no masts, since your first coming to Reading.

Fourthly, That there is no purgatory.

Lastly, That you are a fower of sedition, and have fought to divide the unity of the queen's subjects.

Sheriff. You were best fee first what he will say to his own handy-work.

Jeffrey. You say truth. Tell me, Palmer, art thou he that wrote this fair volume? Look upon it.

Palmer. I wrote it indeed, and gathered it out of the scripture.

Jeffrey. Is this doggrly rhyme your's also? Look.

Palmer. I wrote this, I deny it not.

Jeffrey. And what say you to these Latin verses, entitled, Epistolas, &c. Are they your's?

Palmer. Yes, sir.

Jeffrey. Art thou not ashamed to affirm it? It came of no good spirit, that thou didst both rail at the dead, and slander a learned and catholic man yet alive.

Palmer. If it be a slander, he hath slandered himself: for I do but report his own writing, and open the folly therein declared. And I reckon it no railing to inveigh against Annas and Caapheas being dead.

Jeffrey. Sayest thou so? I will make thee recant it, and wring accusers out of thy lying lips, before I have done with thee.

Palmer. But I know, that although of myself I be able to say nothing, ye if you and all mine enemies, both bodily and spiritual, should do your worst, you shall not be able to bring that to pafs, neither shall you prevail against God's mighty Spirit, by whom we understand the truth, and speak it to boldness.

Jeffrey. Ah, art thou full of the Spirit? Are you inflamed with the Holy Ghost?

Palmer. Sir, no man can believe, but by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Therefore, if I were not a spiritual man, and inspired with God's Holy Spirit, I were not a true christian: quia Spiritus Christi sui habet, hic est ego: that is, He that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his.

Jeffrey. I perceive you lack no words.

Palmer. Christ hath promised not only to give us store of words necessary, but with them such force of matter, as the gates of hell shall not be able to confound or prevail against.
The History of Mr. JULIUS PALMER.

Pafon. See that fond fellow, whilst he taketh him-
self to be a doctor of the law, you shall fee me prove,
him a dark foolish quack. Do you not read likewise,
Whatever is written the name of the Lord shall be
frighted. Ergo, Do none but the godly call upon him?
Therefore you must mark how St. Paul answereth you.
He faith, That the wicked eat the true body to their
condemnation.

As Paul was bent to answer him at the full, the
parson interrupted him, crying still, What sayest thou
unto St. Paul?

Paul. I say that St. Paul hath said no such
words.

Pafon. See, the impudent fellow denieth the plain
test: He that eateth and drinketh the body of the
Lord unworthily, is guilty of judgment.

Paul. I befeeath you lend me your book.

Pafon. Not so.

The Sheriff. I pray you lend him your book.

So the book was given over to him.

Paul. Your own book hath, Quis manifestat huic
person, &c. He that eateth this bread.

Pafon. But St. Jerome's translation hath Corups,
Body.

Paul. Not so, Mr. Parson, and God be praieth
that I have in the mean season shut up your lips with
your own book.

Jeffry. It doth matter whether you write Bread or
Body, for we are able to prove that he meant the Body.
And whereas you say, they eat it spiritually, that is but
blind thift of defendant.

Paul. What should I say else?

Jeffry. As the holy church faith, really, carnally,
foolish, and unprofitably.

Paul. And with as good scripture, I may say
greedily or monstrously.

Jeffry. Thou speakest wickedly. But tell me, is
Christ present in the sacrament, or no?

Paul. He is present.

Jeffry. How is he present?

Paul. The doctors say, Modo ineptitae, In a
manner not to be expressed. Therefore why do you
ask me? Would to God you had a mind ready to be
believe it, or a tongue able to express it unto you.

Jeffry. What say you to the baptism of infants?

Paul. I say that it flaneth with God's word, and
therefore ought of necessity to be retained in the
church.

Jeffry. You have forgotten yourself, I believe,
for you write that children may be faved without it.

Paul. So I write, and so I say.

Jeffry. Then it is not necessary to be frequented
and continued in the church.

Paul. Your argument is not good, Mr. Doctor.

Jeffry. Will you flant to it?

Paul. Yes, Mr. Doctor, God willing.

Jeffry. Note it, register.

More of his examination in that time and place is
not come to our hands; wherefore we must leave it.
In the mean season we are credibly informed of this,
that Sir Richard Abridgeys, the same day after dinner,
went for him to his lodging, and there, in the presence
of divers persons yet alive in Newbury and elsewhere,
friendly urged him to revoke his opinion, to spare
him his young years, yet, and learning. If thou wilt be
comformable, and thine thyself corrigible and repent-
ant, in good faith, said he, I promise thee before this
Company, I will give thee meat and drink, and books,
and in ten pounds, partly, so long as thou wilt dwell
with me. And if thou wilt, for thou knowest no marriage, I
will procure thee a wife and a farm, and help to fur-
nish and fit thee farm for thee. How sayest thou?

Palmer thanked him very courteously, and made
him further answer concerning his religion somewhat
at large, but very spirited and reverendly; concluding in
the end, that as he had already in two places re-
monstrated his living for Christ's sake, so he would with
God's grace be ready to surrender and yield up his
life also for the same, when God should think pro-
per.

When Sir Richard perceived that he would by no
means relent, Well, Palmer, faith he, I perceive one
of us twain shall be damned. For we be of two
faiths, and certain I am there is but one faith that
leadeth to life and salvation.

Palmer. O faith, I hope that we both shall be faved.

Sir Richard. How may that be?

Palmer. Right well, sir. For as it hath pleased our
merciful Saviour, according to the gospel's para-
bable, to call me at the third hour of the day, even in
my flowers, even in the flower of fairest of four and
seven years, even so I trust he hath called, and will call
you at the eleventh hour of this your old age, and give
you everlasting life for your portion.

Sir Richard. Sayest thou so? Well, Palmer, well,
I would I might have thee but one month in my
house, I doubt not but I would convert thee, or thou
shouldst convert me.

Then said Mr. Winchcomb, Take pity on thy
golden years, and pleasant flowers of hilly youth, be-
fore it be too late.

Palmer. Sir, I long for those springing flowers,
that shall never fade away.

Winchcomb. If thou be at that point, I have done
with thee.

Then was Palmer commanded again to the Blind-
house, but the other two men were led again the same
afternoon to the confiictory, and there were condem-
ned, and delivered to the secular power of the sheriffs
there present, Sir Richard Abridgeys.

It is reported also, that Dr. Jeffrey offered Palmer
a good living, if he would outwardly hive himself
comformable, keeping his conscience secret to himself,
or at least to declare that he doubted which was the
true doctrine. But I cannot affirm it for a surety.

The next morning, the 16th of July, Palmer was
required to appear before the council, which they had
drawn out, touching the cause of his condemnation:
in the front whereof were heaped together many
heinous terms, as horrible, heretical, damnable, de-
cilious, and execrable doctrine. To these words Pal-
mer refused to subscribe, affirming that the doctrine
which he professed was not faith, but good and sound
dctrine.

Jeffry. You may see, good people, what shifts
these heretics seek, to escape burning, when they fee
justice administered unto them. But I tell thee, this
state is agreeable to the law, and therefore I cannot
alter it.

Palmer. Then I cannot subscribe to it.

Jeffry. Will thou then crave mercy, if thou liked
not justice, and revoke thy hereby?

Palmer. I forfake the pope and his popings, with
all popish hereby.

Jeffry. Then subscribe to the articles.

Palmer. Alter the epithets, and I will subscribe.

Jeffry. Subscribe, and qualify the matter with
thine own pen. So he subscribed. Whereupon Dr.
Jeffrey proceeded to read the popish sentence of his
cruel condemnation, and so was he delivered to the
charge of the secular power, and was burnt the same
day in the afternoon, about five o'clock.

Within one hour before they went to the place of
execution, Palmer, in the presence of many people,
comforted his companions with these words. Breth-
ren, said he, be of good cheer in the Lord, and
faint not. Remember the words of our Saviour Christ,
where he faith, "Happy are you when men revile you,
and say all manner of evil against you for righteousness'
fake. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in
heaven. Fear not them that kill the body, and be
not able to touch the soul. God is faithful, and will
not suffer us to be tempted further than we shall be
able to bear. And if this shall not spare, these shall
be our comfort, and make a change for a better life.
Yea, for coals, we shall receive pears. For God's Holy
Spirit certiseth our spirit, that he hath even now prepared
for
for us a sweet supper in heaven for his fake who suffered first for us.

With thee and such like words, he did not only comfort the hearts of his weak brethren that were with him appointed as sheep to be slain, but also wreted out plentiful tears from the eyes of many that heard him. And in the end of the day, when the herd came to Sir Richard Abridges, the thieftiff, and the bailiffs of the town, with a great company of armed men, to conduct them to the fire. When they were come to the place appointed for their suffering, they all three fell to the ground, and Palmer, with an audible voice pronounced the 31st psalm, but the other two made their prayers secretly to Almighty God.

And as Palmer began to arise, there came behind him two popish priests, extinguishing him yet to recant and their hands towards heaven, and quietly and cheerfully, as though they had felt no smart, they cried, Lord Jesus, strengthen us, Lord Jesus, assist us, Lord Jesus, receive our souls. And as they recited, without any struggling, holding up their hands, and knocking on their breasts, and calling upon Jesus until they had ended their mortal lives.

It was very remarkable that when their three heads by force of the devoure flames were fallen together in a lump, insomuch that the spectators thought they were all certainly dead, Palmer, as a man awaked out of sleep, moved his tongue and jaws, and was heard to pronounce this word Jesus. So being dissolved into ashes, he yielded to God as joyful a soul (confirmed with the sweet promis of Christ) as any one that ever was called before to suffer for his blessed name. God grant us all to be moved with the like Spirit, working in our hearts constantly to stand in defence and confession of Christ's holy gospel to the end. Amen.

On the Martyrdom of JULIUS PALMER.

WHilst for Christ's sake Palmer endures the flame,
Like the fawn that bears this hero's name,
Which higher thovers the more they it oppres,
The threanth'ning'flames his stronger faith confes.
Henceforthe amidst the heavenly hofts he'll bear
That palm of righteousnefs he dy'd for here.

The jiff shall flourish as the palm-tree.


ABOUT the month of July, in this present year, 1556, there was one Richard Argetine, alias Stretan, a doctor of phyfics with certain others dwell-
ing in the town of Ipswich, not many in number, but most lamentously upon the destruction of the gospel, and the favourers of the same. Among whom were Philip Ulmes, Edmund Leach, John Seward, and Martin Leverett. Being fmy playr on the organ, a perfect papift, and a diligent perfec-
tor of good men. This Butler being then confable in the town of Ipswich, as he was on the watch by night upon Comh, Dr. Argetine came to him in great

hafle, giving him intelligence of one Agnes Wardall, being a most holy woman, come home out of her house in Ipswich. Whereupon immediately such a way was contrived between them, that the said Agnes Wardall, for whose should be apprehended: but God, in whose power, discretion the direction of all things confirth, by his means came to pass, that man, so graciously provided for his servant, and for preserving their malignant devices, that they came to nought, now confounding all their zeal and diligence; as by the furtheration of the story you shall find.

This Agnes Wardall was a most holy woman, that lived in God's fear, and defied popish truth, dwelling rather with hard fare and bad lodging to be abroad, than to live at home in her house, and among the tents of the ungodly; her husband also being a man living in the fear of God, made his testimony of his wife more illustrious by her honest life, and her testimony of her profession being also hunted, by force of the law was constrained to avoid his house, and got into a crayer with an iden-
tiff man, serving as a tailor, an occupation which till now he had been a stranger to; and also what rendered him more incapable was, being a merchant, which prevented his ready climbing to top and yard; yet it pleased God to enable him with strength that he did good service, as they can well witness that day of his company.

The said Agnes Wardall happened one day to come home to her house to fee her poor children, who were under the management of a young maid, Mrs. Ellen Gقبل, the news was soon brought to Dr. Argetine, who immediately went to the confable, the apothecary aforesaid, and told him what a notable care was to be wrought by Wardall's being in the apse. sending of her. Which was more like to speed the misf, had not the good providence of God ordered it.

The watch was speedily charged, and each company sent to its place. Argentine and the confable took a good number with them, and forth they went to the house of the woman, to play hide and seek, which they bet on both sides, some lying in the open fields, and others were sent to the houfe of Wardall's mother, which was not far from her house. This said, one knocked at the street-door, where Argentine did Butler, was, with one of theirs weapons, and no answer was made; the second time somewhat harder, but he got no answer. In the mean time, they fearing that false conveyance was made, knocked harder than before.

There was not far from the door where they knock-
ed, a great lady's house. There was one lady might look in and speak: and at the third knocking, a woman, who at that time, was tenant to Robert Wardall's mother, and had but two nights before him in the house, speaking our hard by their ears, asked who was there?

Ah, sir, said Aggreg, are you for nigh and will not answer? How happened it that you spoke not z the first, being fo nigh?

How fortuned it, said the woman, marry I shall tell you: I am but a stranger here, and I have heard it, that there are spirits walking hereabout, which if a man do answer at the first call or second, he stands in great danger, and I was never so afraid in my life. At this her answer they laughed, and commanded her to open the door in the queen's name, for they were the queen's watch.

Agnes Wardall being at that time in bed in an inner chamber, having her maid with her, and her two children, she being at that time very heavy alous, heard not the knocking. Her maid hearing at the second knock, called and jogged her dame, and with much ado awakened her, and said, Why do you not answer? The door did not open, and speaking, Yes, truly, said the maid, and hath knocked twice. With that, she arose with speed, and put on her clothes very quickly, and took with her a buckle arm, which she afterward placed on her head, when she was sent to the chamber, and with the same went down into a parlour, where stood a cupboard with a fir predo, into which the maid did lock her.

Immediately the went up to a chamber which was hard by the street, where the might fee and speak to
the watch, and said, Who is there? Then they bade her open the door. And she said, We have no candle. And they said, Yes, but be of good cheer, or we will lay it on the floor. With that she came down and opened the door. Then asked they the maid, Who is within? And she said, None but a woman that dwelt with us, and two children. Then said they, Where is thy damsel? Truly, said she, she is my sister. She was betaken to the evening, said they. Yes, said the maid; but she went forth I know not whither. Notwithstanding they charged her that she knew where she was, which the denied. Then got they a candle lighted, and went toward the house, and came at one of the neighbors, whom she had answered them in the entry. And the woman which had answered them at the window, and said she was afraid of spirits. Argentine looking upon her, clapped her on the back, and said, Thou art not the woman whom we seek.

So they entered the house, and searched a parlour next the street where the woman lay which was her mother's tenant, and a young child that licked on her breast, and not only in the bed, but also under the bed, behind the painted clothes, and in the chimney, and up into the chimney; and finding the bed hot, said, Who lay here in the bed? And what is your life? quoth they. No, said the woman. When they could find nothing there for their purpose, from thence they went into an inner parlour, in which stood the cupboard wherein she was, and searched the parlour, which was but a little one. And one of the boys was barred in the cupboard, but this was a fair cupboard; she may be here for any thing that is done. That is true, faith another of them. Notwithstanding they looked no further, but went from that into the chamber above, wherein the said Agnes had lain with her maid and children; and all other rooms and chambers.

At length they came down into the yard, where they found a horse tied at a pale eating of florin grapes. Then asked they the maid, Whole horse is this? She answered, It is her horse indeed, and the came in before night, and went abroad again, but I know not whither. Then were they in good hope to find their prey, and betirred themselves with speed, and went into an out-chamber that was in the yard, in which was a boy in bed, of twelve or fourteen years old. And being in his dead sleep, they suddenly awaked him and examined him for his damsel. Who answered, I have not where she was; and unto that it did firmly, albeit their threats were vehement, not only to the poor silly boy, but also to the good simple maid. Then they caused him to arise and dress, and sent both maid and boy up to the cage, where they put the maid, but kept the boy, and only fed them, so that one of them should not speak with the other.

Now while some were on the corn hill, and others searching the neighbours' hovels and back-yards, the land of Wallad being in the press fast locked up, and almost murdered for want of breath, defined the woman, her mother's tenant, when she heard her in the parlour, to let her out. She asked her where were the keys, to whom she answered, they were in a hamper, which she found, and endeavoured to unlock the press, but could not, though she tried a long time. Then opened the door, and laid the said woman and child fall into their hands, than kill myself. Then fought for her husband's hammer and chisel, but could not find them, to break it open, and came again and told her, she could find nothing for the purpose.

Then she, the said Agnes, try once more, for I trust God will give power to open. Then left she, and came to the garden, where the oriel, the heartily prayed to God, who heard her prayer, and helped her: for at the first turn of the key opened it easily. When the came out, she looked as pale as if she had been dead and laid out, as she looked about, when she was really dead, as the woman reported. The said Agnes was also at her death long after, in queen Elizabeth's reign, and she was in a violent sweat, like drops of rain.

Then went out into the back-yard, where, towards the fields, were pales fixed for the defence of the garden, one or two of which being loofy, both she and her husband being gone out and came in that way: out the got into the fields, and came in the same field, and over a flite, she hid herself in a deep ditch full of nettles, and covered her head with the buckram apron before-mentioned, and so crept low, and lay in the ditch. And fervent search to no purpose in the town, some of the watch thought she was in the field's side: among whom was one George Manning, and John Bates, the crier of the same town, coming together. This Manning was an honest plain man, but Bate a very enemy, and one that in queen Mary's time would have been a thief, as it was reported, if he had not been married.

Manning eyfair where the lay, gave a Hem, and made a noise with his bell, he being before Bate; at which the lay fell, and they departed to the street side to the field's side. All this time the maid was in the cage, and the boys in the rest of the watch until perfect day-light. Then went they up and set out the maid, and sent her home, and the boy also; but they made the maid believe they had found her dame; who answered, If you have her, keep her fast.

On the morrow Manning sent her word to beware that she hid herself no more for the watch.

Thus by the might and power of God was his faithful fervent delivered from their cruelty, and they known to be his adveraries, not only at that time, but divers times before and after. Notwithstanding, the said Argentinian,setting out to Ipswich, came in a fervent man's coat. And then the said Henry Henry the Eighth, he would accustomed use the reading of lectures himself, in which he was well commended at that time. Afterwards he obtained the office of officer of the free grammar school, and the matter dying, got to be master himself. Being married to a very honest woman, she remained there the days of king Edward; and when God took him from us, for our just deserved plague, and queen Mary came to the crown, none more hot in all people and superstition than he, painting the poits of the town with Vetus Rege Maria, and in every corner.

Furthermore, after the death of his wife, (who was an honest woman) he was made a priest, taking upon him divers times to preach (but never with his white minerer-hood) such doctrine as was shameless to hear, to the poor man, and carrying about the Fyx in high procession, to lead the people. But Nicholas, with his minerer-hood about the fires, for apples and belly cheer. And who would not receive him he made them heretics, and such also as would not give his largess to the bonfire for Queen Mary's child. And thus the said Argentinian the most part of queen Mary's days, mouldling there good men, forsoothe for not going to the church, some for not being confessed, some for not receiving, &c. till at length, toward the end of queen Mary's reign, he came to London, and in queen Elizabeth's time began to thaw himself against a perfect protestant. And thus much of the famous Dr. Argentine.

An Account of the Trouble of PETER MOON and his Wife, and of other godly Protestants, at Bishop Hopton's Vitiation in Ipswich.

In the year 1556, a viation was held by Dr. Hopton, being Bishop of Norwich, and Miles Dunning his chancellor, Hopton, and afterwards, Pott, being by others godly protestants, through the accusation of evil men, were much troubled; among whom were Peter Moon, a taylor, and his wife: they were accused of disobediency to the law, in not coming to church, and refusing to partake of such Romish observances as at that time were used.

And first the said Peter Moon was commanded to come before the bishop, where he was examined three
Nay, quoth the bishop, I mean not as concerning the dishonour of thy body: but thou hadst done better to have given the wife of thy body unto twenty faithful maidens, thou shouldst not have thy sword thus hung as much as in the lieoth, to please thee and the queen's majesties out of their royal seats through thy disobedience, in flaying thyself an open enemy unto God's laws, and their proceedings.

And so, and for the present, the bishop and the maid Moan again with the aforesaid articles, and his wife also. And the hearing her husband relented, did also alter the fame, which turned to their great trouble of mind afterward; but yet neither were they like to thus to escape, but they went to the queen's chamber, and the bishop's chamber, came up in great haste, and brought Moan to the bishop, that there was such a number of heretics, of which some came from Boxford, some from Ipswich, and about from the cloth country, that it would make a monster out of his wife to hear them; and there are among them both heretics and abusers, he saith. And thus Dr. Dunning, with his blustering, words, interrupting Moon's examination, went down again as the devil had driven him, to keep his flir among them, and to take order what should be done with them. And that the queen's majesty, being the mother of the country, in that it was so infected with such numbers of heretics, and rehaerising partly their opinions in those that were at that time in the chamber, Moon's wife had a young child which the nurfed heretcl, so the queen commanded the bishop to under the bishop's chamber, cried, so that the heart be said, my lord, I trust you have done with me: my child crieth, I must go it, with such like words. And the bishop being (as it were) out of mind to talk with them any more, said, Go your way, I will talk with you in the morning, look you, be here again in the morning: with this they both departed.

And beneath in the stone-hall of the fame huch, the chancellor Dunning being very busy about his bloody busines, epified Moan and his wife coming, and must needs pass by the place where he stood. Nay, said Moan, Na
good lord, I must talk with you both; for ye are so as any that are here to-day. To whom Moon's wife answered, My lord hath had us in examination, and therefore you have ought to do with us. Nay, quoth he, ye shall not escape, I must talk with you. Unto whom Moon answered, In the presence of the greater, the less hath no power: my lord hath take order with us, and therefore we are as his lordship hath appointed, and must repair again before him to-morrow. At which he let them go, although he was not content, for he got himself so valued in his quality, which was nothing else but tyranny.

So Moon departed and his wife without hurt of body: but afterwards when they with Peter the apoth, beheld the face of Christ, they were fore wounded in their confessions, abused of their doings, and all the door of desperation. Infornuch that when he came home to his houset, and entering into a parlour about himself, considering his estate, and seeing where a sword of his did hang against a wall, he was easily allured by the enemy Satan to have taken it then and thereon to have slain himself: but God, which call not away the penitent fanner, repenting his fall unto sincere heart, defended his unworthy servant from that temptation, and hath (I trust) left him to the enjoyment of life by the affiance of his Holy Spirit, and make him one among the elect that shall be saved.

The morrow they both remained and kept fast with no small grief of confission, waiting and looking with fear when to be sent for to the bishop, rather than offering their diligence to keep the bishop's presence, although they would not have been good lord, he said to Moan, concerning his wife, I defy all the world in that respect. The bishop hearing that Moon and his wife were come to see them, and said to Moon, Is this your wife, Moon? Yes, my lord, said he. Nay, said the bishop, how a man may be deceived in a woman! I promise you a man would take her for as honest a woman, by all outward appearance, as can be. Why, my lord, said Moon's wife, I trust there is no maud, meeter, concerning my body, I defy all the world in that respect. Three several articles, viz. 1. Whether the pope were supreme head. 2. Whether King William and queen Mary were right heirs to the crown. 3. And whether in the things of the altar was not very body of Christ substantially and really there present. Unto which the said Peter Moon being timorous and weak, fearing more the face of man than the heavy wrath of God, affirmed, and in a manner granted unto them. And the warrant upon the warrant for hearing in hope, that although he had not come to church, nor received the sacrament of the altar, nor been ready to do his duty as the law had commanded, yet there hewing his mind, said, that he liked the man well: for such as have seen, said he, earneth of evil things, will also he earneth in that that is good and godly, if once they be won. Thus as this spiritual father was commanding his carnal child, and rather persuading him to hell-fire, than unto the sincere word and commandments of God, it happened amongst many others in the chamber, was one of the portmen of the same town, named Smart, an earnest member of the Romish law, doing of a very good conscience what he did, who after the death of queen Mary lived not many years, but rendered his life in good belie. The next morning, on hearing the message of the Go
ing to suffer him to live, he would never be the man he had been before, what laws ever should come again: so that before the time of his sickness he frequenting car

cellly the sermons in the same town, made by divers godly learned men, were so weep, and much had been a good, and being notwithstanding of courage as stout as any man in Ipswich. Such is the marvellous mercy of God in calling to his heavenly kingdom, whom, and when he pleased.

This portman aforesaid, perceiving the bishop thus, as it were, at an end with the said Moon, and so he like to be discharged, saith unto the bishop. My lord, I have a good opinion of the man, and that he will be comformable; but, my lord, he hath a perilous woman to his wife. For I will tell you, my lord, she never came to church yet since the queen's reign, except it were as even-song, or when she was chambered, and not till mass were done. Wherefore your good lordship might do a good deed to cause her to come before you, and to see if you could do any good. And therefore I beseech your good lordship to command him to pray her to come before your lordship.

At which words Moon was somewhat moved, in that he said, Command him to pray her to come before your lordship. And he said unto him, under my lord's correction, I speak, I am as able to command her to come before my lord, or to do anything indeed, than my lord do thereto. Ye, my lord, said the other, I cry your lordship mercy: I have informed your lordship with an untruth, if this be so. But if he be so able as he faith, he might have commanded her to have come to church in all this time, if he had pleased him. Well, said the bishop, look you come before me at afternoon, and bring your wife with you; I will talk with her.

As my lord's dinner at that time was serving up, Moon departed, and tarried not to take part thereof, having fuch do hard breakfay given him before to digest. At afternoon Moon delayed and waited his time, be

thinking when he might most conveniently come, especial by when his accurer and his wife should not have been there. And accordingly to the commandment came with his wife, and had so secretly done, but his accurer had knowledge thereof, and came with all expedition in such post-speed, that he was in a manner breathless when he entered the bishop's chamber.

The bishop hearing that Moon and his wife were come to see them, and said to Moon, Is this your wife, Moon? Yes, my lord, said he. Nay, said the bishop, how a man may be deceived in a woman! I promise you a man would take her for as honest a woman, by all outward appearance, as can be. Why, my lord, said Moon's wife, I trust there is no maud, meeter, concerning my body, I defy all the world in that respect.
A tragic and most lamentable History, or an Account of the cruel Murder of three Women and an Infant, viz. day, the Mother, her two Daughters and the Child, in the Isle of Guernsey, July 18, 1556.

Of all the singular and tragical histories in this book, nothing can be more barbarous, if any thing can come up to the inhumanity of this execution upon three women and an infant, whose names are as fol low: Catharine Cawches, the mother; Guilleminette Gilbert, the daughter, Perotine Maffey, the other daughter; and an infant, the son of Perotine.

Before I come to the story itself, it will be necessary, for the better explaining of it, to relate the circumstances, from whence this cruelty did originate for which it was subsequently. The 17th day of May, in the year 1556, in the Isle of Guernsey (which is a member of England), in a town there called St. Peter's Port, was a naughty woman named Vincent Golet, who, being evil disposed, went the day before (that is, the 16th day) to the house of one Nicholas Concorney, dwelling in the town of the said St. Peter's Port, about ten of the clock at night, and there taking the key of the house (lying under the door) entered into a chamber toward the street, where she ef fusing a silver cup within a cupboard, took it away, and so concealed it out of the house again. Whom immediately after this fact was done (whether by coun cil, or by what occasion else I know not) brought the cup to the above-mentioned Perotine Maffey, an honest woman, dwelling in the said town, desiring her to lend her suspicion upon the same.

Perotine, facing the cup and supposing (as the truth was to be, as she was answered, that the woman would not take it: yet nevertheless, having knowledge of the owner thereof, took it to rectify it again to whom it did belong; and to the end she should not carry it to another, gave her suspicion immediately. Whereupon it is to be noted, that Thomas Effart faith and his wife, having notice, came to Concorney,Appointing the corresponding of the cup; who soon, upon the misliking thereof, charged the said Vincent Golet of the treachery; who being apprehended and examined upon the same, immediately confess ed the fact, deposing to have one fenet with her (which she did), and, according to the occasion, to fetch the cup again, which he accordingly did.

The next day following, the king's officers being informed of the premises by one Nicholas Cary, of the said town, constable, assembled the justices there to inquire and examine farther, as well upon the fact of Venцииn Golet, as upon other griefs and things there amiss: so that after declaration made by the officers and constable before the justice, for that the said constable did report to have found a certain veoffal of pew ter in the house of the aforesaid Perotine Maffey (who was dwelling with her mother Catharine Cawches, and her sister Guilleminette Gilbert), which veoffal did bear no marks, and efpecially for the manner of being cut whereof the name was scraped out, their bodies upon the same were attached and put in prison, and their movable goods taken by inventory. Within a few days after these things thus done, these three poor women, after being kept in durance in the castle, made their supplication to the king's officers, and had justice ministered unto them, viz. If they had offended the state, to let them have law: if not, befriending to grant them the benefit of subjests, &c. which supplication put up, they were appointed to come to their answer the fifth day of June in the year aforesaid: on which day, after strict examination of the matter, and the honest answering of the cause by the said good women, at last No. 46.

...they submitted themselves to the report of their neighbours, that they were no thieves, nor evil-disposed persons, but lived truly and honestly, as became christian people; and they did, notwithstanding the false report of their accusers.

So the cause being thus debated, after the inquiry made by the king's officers, they were found by the said neighbours not guilty of what they were charged with; but had always lived as honest women amongst them, having only that to the commandments of the holy church they had not been obedient to. Upon this trial and verdict of their neighbours, it was adjudged, first, that the said Vincent Golet, being attainted of felony, and condemned for the same, should be whipped, and after her ear being nailed to the pillory, bannished out of the isle without further punishment of the company of three of the said women, the mother with her two daughters, for their fault coming to church, they were returned prisoners again into the castle the first of July. Thus far concerning the true discourse of this matter, with all the circumstances and appurtenances of the same, in every point, as the case stood, according to the faithful tenor and testimony of the Guernsey men, written with their own hands both in the French and English tongue. Wherein you see what false assermed matter was pretended against these women, and nothing proved, and how by the attestation of their neighbours they were fully cleared of the said, and should by the temporal court have been dismissed, had not the spiritual clergyman picked matter of religion against them, exercised such extremity in persecuting these miserable prisoners, that in no case they should escape their bloody hands, till at length they had brought them (as you shall hear) to their end: for after the time of this declaration aforesaid, and only made by the neighbours, whereby they were purged of all other things, and being then known of their not coming to church, the bailiff's lieutenant and the justices thinking the matter not to pertain to them, but to the clergy, forthwith wrote their letters or mandate under their signatures to the dean, whose name was James Amy, and curates of the said isle: the contents whereof here follow.

L E T T E R

Sent from the Bailiffs, Lieutenants, and Jurats of St. Peter's-Port, to the Dean and Curates of the Isle of Guernsey.

M A S T E R

Dean and justices in your court and jurisdiction, after all amicable recommendations, pleafeth you to know that we are informed by the deposition of certain honest men, passed before us in manner of an inquiry, in which inquiry Catherine Cawches and her two daughters have faid, concerning themselves in a certain matter criminal: wherein we are informed that they have been disobedient to the commandments and ordinances of the same, against the will and commandment of our sovereign lord the king and queen. Whereof we send you the said matter, from which you may proceed, having a further inquiry: wherein you may proceed therein after your good discretions for as briefly as you can possibly, and also that it pertaineth to your office, recommending you to God, who give you grace to do that which pertaineth to right and justice. Written the first day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1556.

After these letters and information thus addressed to James Amy, dean, and the other clergy, the said women were again convened before the justice aforefaid, with his affiants: in the presence of whom they, being examined of their faith, concerning the ordinances of the Roman Church and the authority they would obey and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and the commandments of the church, notwithstanding that they had said and done the contrary in the time of king Edward the Sixth, in showing obedience to his ordinances and commandments before which answer taken, they were returned again...
again to prison, until the others had an answer of their letter from the dean and his accusers. During which time the dean and curate gave their information touching the said women, and delivered their name to the bailiff and jurates, condemning and charging them for heretics, the women neither hearing of any information, neither being ever examined at any time before in their faith and religion. Whereupon, when the said dean and curates understood that the said dean and curates had not examined the women of their faith, they would not sit in judgment on that day, but ordained the women to come first before the dean and curates to be examined of their faith. So they did, and at the commandment of the justices, did fetch and send them before the said dean and curates; which being done, they were examined apart, and then returned to prison again.

The fourteenth day of the said month of July, in the year aforesaid, after the examination above-mentioned before Elieff Geffelin, bailiff, in the presence of Thomas Devicke, Pierres Martin, Nicholas Cary, John Blundel, Nicholas de Liffe, John Laerchauent, John le Fever, Pierres Bonamy, Nicholas Martine, John de la Marche, jurates; Sir James Amy, dean, and the curates, did deliver before the justices, under the seal of the dean, and under the sign of the curates, a certain bond and sentence, the sum whereof was, that Catherine Cawche, the mother of two daughters were found heretics, and such they reputedly, which had delivered them to justice, to do execution according to the sentence; the tenor of which here followeth:

In the year of our Lord 1526, July 13, at the church of St. Peter's Port, in the isle of Guernsey, inquiry being made by us the dean and curates, concerning the catholic faith and the sacraments of the church, viz. of baptism, confirmation, penance, orders, marriage, eucharist, and extreme unction, as also about ecclesiastical ceremonies, and the honour and worship of the virgin Mary and the saints, also of the mass, and its other offices, where Catherine Cawche, and her two daughters, Peronete and Guilemme, being called together, and separately, according to law, and although often desired and exhorted to confess their faults and ask pardon, yet they obstinately denied whatever they had formerly said vitally and dishonestly against the catholic faith, the sacraments of the church, and other ecclesiastical ceremonies; wherefore their denial, attestation, and denial being heard, and we seeing, considering, and well weighing, and according to law, and finding against them; as also the opinions of the curates and vicars there aforesaid, have found and do declare the said Catherine and Peronete, as also Guileemale, to be guilty of hereby; wherefore we command them back from whence they came.

Thomas Coli, Peter Tardfitc, John Alles, William Panquet,

When this was done, the king's officers were commanded to go to the cell and fetch them, to bear the sentence against them in the presence fore- said. And they appearing before them, said in the ears of all the auditory, that they would see their accused, and they had them that have deposed against them, because they might make answer to their sayings and perjuries, and cause them to be examined accordingly; for they knew that they had not offenses of majesties of the king and queen, nor of the church, but entirely would obey, serve, and keep the ordi- nances of the king and queen, and of the church, as good and obedient subjects are bound to do. And for any breach of the king's and queen's laws that they had done, they required justice. Notwithstanding all which their reasons and allegations, the said poor women were condemned, and adjudged to be burned until they were confounded to ashes, according to a sentence given by Elieff Geffelin, bailiff; of which sentence the subjoined here followeth:

Catherine Cawche, Peronete Mofey, and Guil- lemale Gilbert, are all condemned and judged this day to be burned, until they be confounded to ashes in the place accustomed, with the confutation of their good name and reputation, and their good persons and heritages, to be in the hand of the king and queen's majesty, according and in the effect of a sentence delivered, by the justice of the dean and the curates, the 17th day of July, 1556, in which they have been approved hereafter. In the presence of Thomas Devicke, Pierres Martin, Nicholas Cary, John Blundel, Nicholas Devincs, John le Merchant, &c. jurates.

After which sentence pronounced, the said women appealed to the king and queen, and their honourable council lying. That against reason and right they were condemned for fear that cause they made their appeal; notwithstanding their voices could not be heard, but were delivered by the said bailiff to the king and queen's officers, to see the execution done on them according to the said sentence.

The time then being come when these innocents should suffer, in the place where they floor confound their martyrdom were three make sets up. At the middle part was the mother, the eldest daughter on the right hand, the youngest on the left. They were first frangelled, but the rope brake before they were dead, and to the poor women fell into the fire. Peronete, who was then great with child, did fall on her side, where happened a useful fight, not only to the eyes of all that stood there but also to the ears of all true-hearted christians that thall read this his- tory. For as the belly of the woman burst after, by the vehemency of the flame, the infant, being a fair man-child, fell into the fire, and being immedi- ately taken out by one W. Houte, was laid upon the gaff.

Then was the child carried to the provost, and from him to the bailiff, who gave order, that it should be carried back again and cast into the fire. And to the infant baptized in his own blood, to fill up the number of God's innocent fants, was both born and died a martyr, leaving behind in the world, which it never faw, a spectacle wherein the whole world may see the Herodian cruelty of this graecelove generation of po- pish tormentors, to their perpetual flame and infamy. Now, as this story, perhaps for the horrible frangelings of the first, will be hardly believed by some, but rather thought to be forged, or else more amplified by me than truth will bring, and therefore, to dis- charge my credit herein, I have not only found thee a little before, how I received this story by the faithful relation both of the French and Engilish, of them which were there present witnesses and lookers on, but also in hereto annexed the true supplication of the said inhabitants of Guernsey, and of the brother of the said two fitters, complaining to the queen and her commissioners, concerning the horri- bleness of the act; which supplication for the more evidence, hereunder followeth:

To the Right Honourage the Queen's most gracious Commissioners, for the hearing and conferring of Matters of Religion, and Caufes Ecclesiastical.

M ost lamentably and wofully complaining, heaven unto your gracious and honourable lordships, your poor and humble orator Matthew Cawche, of the isle of Guernsey, that where James Amy, clerk, dean of the said isle, afflicted by the curates there, against the wyss of law, and reason, by colour of a sen- tence of hereby, as also Catherine Cawche, the wife of your honours fald suppiants, and Peronete and Guileemale her daughters, did cause the said Cathe- ringe, being a widow, and her daughters, most cruelly to be burned, although neither of them did hold, maintain, or defend any thing against the ecclesiastical laws there, and in place under the reign of the last queen Mary, but in all things committed obedience to the laws then in force: and yet the cruelty
may extend to acquit all the inhabitants of the said isle of their ares, &c.

The Copy of the Queen's Pardon to them of Guernsey,

To the Queen to all whom these presents shall come, greeting. Be it known unto you, that We of Our special favour, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have pardoned, remitted, and forgiven; and for Us, Our heirs, and successors, by these presents do pardon, remit, and forgive, Elier Goffilene, of the parish of St. Peter's Port, within the said isle of Guernsey, merchant; John Blundel, the elder, of the parish of St. Saviour, in the aforesaid island of Guernsey, merchant; Nicholas Cary, the elder, of the aforesaid parish of St. Peter's Port, within the said isle of Guernsey, merchant; Richard Devicke, of the said parish and island, gentles; Nicholas Martin, John, of the said parish of St. Peter's Port, within the said isle of Guernsey, merchant; John Blundel, the elder, of the parish of St. Saviour, within the said isle of Guernsey, merchant; Peter Pelley, of the said parish of St. Peter's Port, within the aforesaid isle of Guernsey; and James Amy, of the parish of St. Saviour, within the said isle of Guernsey, clerk; and to all of them jointly and separately, whether by any other name or names, firm-names or additional name, or firm-name of trade, art, or place, the aforesaid Elier Goffilene, John, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Peter and James Amy, or any of them, or named, or by any other name, firm-name, or additional name, or firm-name of degree, trade, art, or place, of the said Elier, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Peter and James Amy, or any of them, known, called, or named, all and singular them, man-slaughter, felon, and felonious killings of Catherine Cawche, and Guillemine and Perotine, daughters of the said Catherine, of every one of these, and the accesseries of them, and all and singular felonies, infamities, strickings, woundings, burnings, transfegements, omissions, commissions, routings, running in, stainings, affamblings, gatherings together, plottings, confabulations, accessory helps, combinings, procurings, abettings, strenthenings and supporting, concealments, fornications, contempits, affautings, neglects, and whatsoever other evil or mischievous appertaining to the murder, man-slaughter, and felonious killing of the aforesaid Catherine, Guillemine, and Perotine, or any of them, in any part or concern by the aforesaid Elier, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, and James Amy, or any one or more of them, by reason, or occasion of the murder, man-slaughter, or felonious killing of the aforesaid, done or practised, and that so fully, freely, and effectually, and in fo ample a manner and form as if every one of the aforesaid Elier Goffilene, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, and James Amy, had separately our letters of pardon sent forth.

Alfo We have pardoned, remitted, and forgiven, and by these presents do pardon, remit, and forgive, for Us, Our heirs and successeors, the aforesaid Elier Goffilene, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, James Amy, and every one of their heirs, executors, administators, and assigns, and their neglects, all and all manner of in croachtions, breakings and enterings, by all or some of them, or by the proxys, agents or ministrers of all or any of them, in all and singular our manors, lands, tenements, poiffions, and hereditaments whatsoever, and hereafterfor the aforesaid island of Guernsey, lately chaunceries, guilds, cloysters, and col leges of Ours, or any one or more of Ours predeces sors, before the 17th of November, in the first year of Our reign, done, performed or committed; and all all and singular deeds, returns, accomplishes, apparaits, collections, receipts, retainings, and duties of grain, and other returns, outgoings, or profits whatsoever, to Us or any one of Us predeces sors for the
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

[Q. Mary A.D. 1556]

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if she had opened the same to the judges? They would (said he) have spared her life for the time, and to the innocent, it had been prevented. And Mr. Harding, were it not for the kindness of his heart, would in all probability have burnt the young lady, and at some time or other, if not at the present, in the course of her life, have retaliated her treatment to her. This, however, was not the case; she was not burnt. And Mr. Harding sure of this, more than was the life spared of the young lady, and sometime the mistres, of Mr. Harding, who suffered notwithstanding the was reported of fame to be with child; because the law (with he) is not to be had to women in her cafe, claiming the benefit thereof.

The law goeth, I grant. But it followeth not therefore, whatsoever the law goeth or preferable, the fame to be put in execution.

But many times I have seen, as it pleaseth them which have the handling of the law. As for example, the law will then to be condemned by sentence of death for hereby, which the first time revoke their opinion, and yet contrary to this law, they condemned her unlawfully. Again, the like law, none be executed for hereby, before the writ be sent down De Combreure, and yet contrary to this law, without any such writ, as far as I yet understand, they burnt her most cruelly.

And what law then was here to be looked for of these men, who in their doings herein seemed neither to observe law, nor to regard honesty, nor much to care for charity? And although she had claimed ever so much the privilege of the law, what had that availed with those men, whose hunting altogether (as by their own proceedings) seems to condemn the hold goods of their unfortunate women, which after their death they immediately incroached into their own hands.

But be it admitted, that the neither demanded this benefit of herself, nor that the judges and their have ordered her if she had done; yet it had been the part of a grave accuser, before he had descended into such a railing action of murder against a poor woman now dead and gone, first to have advised wifely with himself whether it might be, that she had no such intelligence which she had been condemned in case, and which might have been refused.

For not unlike it is, and well may be thought, rather yea than no, that the simple woman, brought up all her life-time in her mother's house, in an obscure island, and in such an out-corner of the realm, far off from the court, and practice of English laws, never heard before of any such benefit of the law; and therefore, upon mere simplicity, and for want of skil, required it not, because she knew not what to require. Peradventure also her fentes might be so attuned of her, that she was not aware that it was out of her remembrance. Certainly it had been the duty of the judges, who knew the law, and could not be ignorant of her cafe, to have questioned her thereof, and to have helped her simplicity in that behalf. Or, at last, if they had disbelieved, yet it had been on the part of them, as her spiritual father, and priye thereunto, either to have instructed her, or to priye flaid the execution of her death, in order to preserve the child.

But Mr. Harding denieth all this; and, to aggravate the matter, infereth, that the nef of any simple unfil, fulnes of the law, "but only of mere willfulness, for avoiding of worldly flame, concealed her turpitude, and so became a murderer of her babe," & c. These are the words of Mr. Harding, written by him not of any sure ground, but only upon conjecture; for other demonstration certainly to prove this true, he bringeth none. Wherefore, to an swer conjecture by conjecture, thus I reply to him again: That in cafe the had been asked the question by the judges as to the insufficient of the law, the judge had such question, nor then denied the fame; or if the, by any other colourable means, had cloaked her being pregnant, whereby it should not appear, this accuser might have spoken probable advantage against her. Now, as she was never demanded of their parleys, she neither ever deny any such matter: so to answer this man with as good probability, I hold, that in cafe they had required that matter of her, she never have denied it. And therefore whereas the is accused for her not uttering of her being with child, why may she,
to conceal that from the world, which both knew she
should not live in the world, and also she
failed that she would not be known to die, whereby she could not be
hidden from the sight of the world, though she had
gone about ever so much to conceal it.

Fifthly, How is it to be thought that any woman
going to such a harp punishment of fire to be con-
sumed, would let for any worldly fame to receive her
own life from her own hands, and live so long as
she might, beside the safeguard also of her child, if
by any means she had known a remedy?

Sixthly, Forasmuch as Mr. Harding doth be
necessarily charge her with the willful murder of her
own child, and let all infinite confessions of con-
consider this, what was the cause that made her will-
lingly to recant as she did, but partly to save her own
life, and especially the poor innocent. Whereby it
is manifest to be understood, what a motherly affec-
tion she had to save her infant, if the father of the
spirtuall, is, and been to us, against all order of
law, to call both her and her child away, notwithstanding her said recantation.

Seventhly and lastly, When Mr. Harding hath in
seemed all he can against this poor woman, yet it is
all the fame but a bye-matter from this principal
point. For the charge of murder, and let all infinite confessions of con-
consider this, what was the cause that made her will-
ningly to recant as she did, but partly to save her own
life, and especially the poor innocent. Whereby it
is manifest to be understood, what a motherly affec-
tion she had to save her infant, if the father of the
spirtuall, is, and been to us, against all order of
law, to call both her and her child away, notwithstanding her said recantation.

Now, if the said accuser should be put to his proof,
how to judicial his sequel to be true by evident de-
emonstration, that she did it only for covering her dif-
fame, he will, in order to obtain the same, more than
he is able to make good, and in conclusion
should be brought into the like case as were the phar-
rifans, who coming to accuse the adulterers before
Christ, went away mute, with as much flame out of
the case, which was not carried on, having not one
word to answer. For a man cannot procure in an affair-
ly upon the secret thought and intent, either of man
or woman, faster than by utterance of speech is to him
figurish, paffeth his capacity, and is to be left only to
him, who is a God searching the heart and the reins.

But Jesus Christ, when Mr. Harding was sent by
himself, by furnishes, confirming every thing to the world, to
see us free what may be furnished as much to the contrary,
concerning the quality of this figurish murder; wherein divers things are to be considered, as here-
under followeth.

For the first, I conclude this, That such manner of
women, who for worldly flaire are dispos'd to mur-
der their children, have other ways to compass that
wickednes, than by keeping silence. Now, con-
cerning Perotin's going to be burned, neither could
this circumstance face her, if she would, from worldly
flaire any reason to be supposed, as she did be her,
as to murder her child; as appeared in her mother's house, where if she had continued her
time out, the intended no less but honestly to be
brought to bed, and to murde her child, not caring for
her child, nor fearing any sander to the gospel. Whereby may he argued that no in-
ject of murder was ever in her thought.

For how is it likely that she, who had gone so
long with child, almost to the full time of her deli-
erance, and never thought nor wrought any hurt to the
 infant all that time, should now, going to her
death, mind more hurt to her child, than did before,
hoping herself to live?

Secondly, How knoweth Mr. Harding to the con-
trary, but that she was known in the town to be with
child, and went boldly abroad without note of any
flame before the time of her death. In truth, after she
being true, flame then could be no cause why she
should conceal her child more after condemnation
than she did before she was condemned.

Thirdly, Admit the case it was not known before,
who should be her accuser, being ap-
oppointed to die, by concealing her being pregnant. She
should have avoided (faith Mr. Harding) the
public flame and slander of the world, in that none
should have known her to be with child. First,
what flame was it for a married wife to be noted to be
without her husband? Wherefore his profit had been to
to her, to avoid the flame and fame of the world, be-
ing now condemned to die?

Fourthly, How is it like, that for flame the meant

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That no blind affection of partiety be mixed with it; Thirdly, Whosoever taketh upon him to carp at, and impeach the crimes of others, ought themselves to be sincere and upright, and to see what may be written in their own foreheads.

An Account of three Martyrs burnt at Greenstead, in Sussex.

Near about the same time that these three women, and the infant, were burnt at Guernsey, suffered three likewise at Greenstead, in Suffolk, two men and one woman; the names of whom were Thomas Dungate, John Foreman, and Mother Tree, who for righteousness' sake, were burned to death, and torments of the fire, patiently abiding what the furious rage of man could say or work against them, ending their lives at the said town of Greenstead, on the 18th of July, and in the year aforesaid.

An Account of the Martyrs of Thomas Moor, in the Town of Leicester, June 26, 1556.

As the bloody rage of this persecution spared neither man, woman, nor child, wife nor maid, fame nor blind, and as there was no difference either of age or sex considered, no either was there any condition or quality respected of any person; but whosoever he were that held not as they did on the pope and the sacrament of the altar, were he learned or unlearned, wife, simple, or innocent, all went to the fire, as may appear by this simple poor creature and innocent poor soul, named Thomas Moor, retained as a servant in the town of Leicester, about 40 years of age, and after the manner of a husbandman; who, for speaking certain words, that his Maker was in heaven, and not in the pyx, was thereupon apprehended in the country, being with his friends. Who coming before his ordinary, was first asked, Whether he did not believe his Maker to be there, pointing to the high altar. Which he denied.

How then, said the bishop, doth thou believe? The young man answered, As my creed doth teach me.

Then said the bishop, And what is yonder that thou feelest above the altar?

He answered, Forsooth, I cannot tell what you would have me to fee. I see there fine clothes, with golden taurfs, and other gay matters hanging about the pyx; what is within I cannot fee.

Why, dost thou not believe, said the bishop, Christ to be there, fleed, blood, and bone?

No, that I do not, said he.

Whereupon the ordinary making flint with him, read the sentence, and so condemned the faithful servant of Christ to death in St. Margaret's church in Leicester; who was burnt, and suffered a joyful and glorious martyrdom for the testimony of righteousness, in the same town, about the 26th day of June 1556.

To this Thomas Moor, we have also annexed the examination and answers of one John Jackson, before Dr. Cook, one of the commissioners, for it belongeth near unto the same time.
The Examination of JOHN JACKSON, before Dr. COOK, March 11, 1556.

FIRST, when I came before him, he railed on me, and called me heretic.
I answered and said, I am no heretic.

Cook. Yes, thou art. For Mr. Read told me, that there were the rankpest heretic of all them in the King's Bench.

Jackson. I know him not.

Cook. No, he examined thee at the King's Bench.

Jackson. He examined five others, but not me.

Then answer me: what falsity thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Tell me.

Jackson. It is a vague question, to ask me at the first setting off.

Cook. What an heretic is this!

Jackson. It is easier to call a man heretic, than to prove him one.

Cook. What church art thou of?

Jackson. What church? I am of the same church that is built on the foundation of the prophets and the apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the head cornerstone.

Cook. Thou art an heretic.

Jackson. How can that be, seeing that I am of that church? I am sure that you will not say that the prophets and apostles were heretics.

Cook. No, but what falsity thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar again? Tell me.

Jackson. I find it not written.

Cook. No? Keeper, away with him.

Yet I tarried there long, and did talk with him; and I said, Sir, I am content to be tractable, and obedient to the word of God.

Dr. Cook answered and said to me, that I knew not what the word of God meant, nor yet whether it were true or not.

Jackson. Yes, that I do.

Cook. Whereby?

Jackson. Hereby, said I. Our Saviour Christ faith, "Search the scriptures; for in them ye think have eternal life. For they be they that testify of me."

Cook. This is a wise proof.

Jackson. Is it so? What say you then to these words that the prophet David said? "Whatsoever he be that feareth the Lord, he will shew him the way that he hath chosen: his soul shall dwell at ease, and his seed shall possess the land. The secrets of the Lord are among them that fear him, and he sheweth them his covenant."

Cook. Well, you shall be rid shortly one way or other.

Jackson. My life lieth not in men's hands, therefore no man shall do more unto me than God will suffer him.

Cook. No? Thou art a stubborn and naughty fellow.

Jackson. You cannot so judge of me, except you did see some evil by me.

Cook. No? Why may not I judge thee, as well as thou and thy fellows judge us, and call us papists?

Jackson. Why, that is no judgment: but Christ faith, "If you refuse me, and receive not my word, you have one that judgeth you. The word that I have spoken unto you now, shall judge you in the last day."

Cook. I pray thee tell me, who is the head of the congregation?

Jackson. Christ is the head.

Cook. But who is head on earth?

Jackson. Christ hath members here on earth.

Cook. Who are they?

Jackson. They that are ruled by the word of God.

Cook. You are a good fellow.

Jackson. I am that I am.
be otherwise occupied or hindered through sickness, he would repair unto John Perron, clerk of the parish church of All Saints, in the same town of Derby, or some other person whom he could read, and forewarn before how many chapters of the New Testament they should read, or how often they should repeat one chapter for such a price.

Moreover, amongst others, as this was notorious, and was done utterly blind, could notwithstanding, without a guide, go to any church within the said town of Derby, or to any other place of worship, with whom he had any such exercise. By which exercise he professed, that he was able not only to recite many chapters of the Old Testament, but also could apply divers passages, by divers places of scriptures, as well in Gallicanism, as in religion, as then were too much in use in divers and sundry persons. As this godly woman thus did, in the knowledge of God, and in receiving of the fruits of Christ, and the students of the said church, were all to that degree, and to that purpose, as they were able, and as they thought fit, to that end before learned in King Edward's time.

For which she was called and convented before the said bishop and Dr. Dracot, with divers others called in to bear witness.

The articles minished unto her, and whereunto she was charged, were these: First, that she did hold the sacrament of the altar to be only a memory or re-presentation of Christ's body, and material bread and wine, but not his natural body, unless it were received and that it ought not to be reserved from time to time over the altar, but immediately to be received, &c. Item, That she did hold, that Christ at his last supper did not blest the bread that he had then in his hands, but was blessed himself, and by the virtue of the eucharistic confection, the substance of the bread and wine was not converted and turned into the substance of the body and blood of Christ. Item, That she did grant that she was of the parish of Althallowes, in Derby, &c. Item, That all singular the premises are true and notorious by public report and fame, &c.

Whereunto she answered, that she believed therein so firmly as the holy scripture taught her, and according to the light that had been granted unto her by divers learned men. Wherefore she suffered imprisonment, and held the full and confirmed death for the same doctrine: among whom the name, besides others, Dr. Taylor, who, said, it of his conscience, that the doctrine which he was accused of he asked them if they would do so in like case for their doctrine, so, which if they would not, he freed them for God's sake not to be troubled at all being held poor, and unlearned woman, with any further talk, laying, that by God's afliance, she was ready to yield up her life in that faith, in such fort as they should appoint.

And yet notwithstanding being preajed by the said bishop and Dr. Dracot, with many arguments of Christ's omnipotence, as, Why was not Christ able as well to make the bread his body, as to turn water into wine, raise Lazarus from the dead? and such other like arguments, and many times being threatened with grievous imprisonment and death. The poor woman thus being as it were half accompanied through their terrors and threats, and probably desirous to prolong her life, offered to the bishop then present, that if he would before that company, take it upon his conscience, that the doctrine which he would have her to believe concerning the sacrament was true, and that he would at his peril give no answer for her therein (as the said Dr. Taylor, in divers of his sermons did offer) she would then further answer them.

Whereunto the bishop answered he would. But Dr. Dracot, his chancellor, hearing that, said, My lord, you know not how to do, you may in no case answer for a heretic. And hence it appeared to the people whether she would recant or no; the said she should answer for herself. Unto whose sayings the bishop also confirmed himself.

The poor woman perceiving this, answered again, that the bishop had no conscience that it was true; they would have her to believe the doctrine of the sacrament, and further no farther, but desired them to do their pleasure; and after certain circumstances, they pronounced sentence against her, and delivered her to the bailiffs of the said town of Derby aforesaid, who after they had kept her about a while, and then were at liberty without end, and to the writ De Heretico Comburendo; by virtue whereof they were appointed by the said bishop to bring her to the parochial church of All Saints at a day appointed, where Dr. Dracot was to make a sermon.

And when the said innocent martyr should suffer, first came to the church Dr. Dracot, accompanied with divers gentle-souls, as Mr. Thomas Power, Mr. Henry Vernon, Mr. Dethick of Newall, and divers others. This done, and all things now in readines, at last the poor blind creature and servile of God was brought to the said church, where the said bishop being entered into his seat on the pulpit, where the said doctor was being entered into his seat on the pulpit, where the said doctor entered into his seat on the pulpit, he then began to inveigh against many matters, which he called here-}

ies, declared unto the people, that the woman was condemned for denying the sacrament of the altar to be the very body and blood of Christ, and that it was declared to be a Catholic church; and said, that the said not only blind of her bodily eyes, but also blind in the eyes of her soul. And he said, As her body should be presently consumed with material fire, so her soul should be burned in hell with everlasting fire, as soon as it shall be separated from the body, and from all things that had been prepared for it. And said it was not lawful for the people to pray for her: and too with many terrible threats he made an end of his sermon, and commanded the bailiffs and those gentle-souls to see her executed. Then this blessed servant of God was carried back from the church, to a place called the Windmill Pit, near to the said town of Derby, where the said Dr. Dracot, his brother, by the hand, the prepared herself, and desired the people to pray with her, and said such prayers as by the said before learned, and cried upon Christ to have mercy upon her, as long as life served. In this manner she sat, in the said pit, for an hour and a half, for great sorrow of her death, and there laid him by, and slept, during all the time of her execution. And thus much of Joane Waine.

Now, forasmuch as I am not ignorant (faithful reader) that this and other stories seeth forth of the martyr, will not want carpers and mockers enough, ready to seek all holes and corners how to defame the memory of God's good saints, and to condemn these histories as lies and untruths, especially histories wherein they see their infamous acts and unchristian cruelty detected and brought to light; therefore for the better confirmation of this history, I shall proceed to open the case of such perfidious persons, this shall be to admonish all and singular readers hereof, that the discourse of this poor blind woman's life and death, in such fort as is above prefixed, hath been condemned to be very true, by divers persons of understanding and of living, and also hath been carefully perused and examined by W. Bermude, then bailiff of Derby; who as well of his own know-ledge, as by special inquiry and conference by him made, with divers others, hath certified the same to us to be not doubted; besides the testimony of John Cadman, the custode of the said town, and of others also, upon whose honesty well known, and their report, having 6 T nothing
nothing differing from such as were best acquainted
with that matter, I have been here the more bold to
commit this story to pottency, for all good men to
consider and judge upon.

An Account of EDWARD SHARP, JOHN HART,
THOMAS RAVENSDALE, a Shoemaker, a Currier,
a Carpenter, JOHN HORN, and a Woman.

On the 8th day of September (which was the next
month following) a certain godly, aged, devout
person, surnamed of the Lord’s glory, being in West-
minster named Edward Sharp, of that city for forty
years, or thereabouts, was condemned at Brittol to the like
martyrdom, where he contantly and manfully persisting in
the jiff quarr of Christ’s gospel, for misliking and
renouncing the ordinances of the Romish church, was
tried as pure gold, and made a lively facrifice in the
fire: in whose death, as in the death of all his
other sallies, the Lord be glorified and thanked for his great
grace of conffancy; to whom be praise for ever, Amen.

On the 24th of the same month, 1556, John Hart,
Thomas Ravensdale, a shoemaker, and a currier, suffered
at Mayfield in Suffix: who being at the place where they
shoul hath fuller, after they had made their prayers,
and were at the stake ready to undergo the force of the
fire, they contantly and joyfully yielded their lives for the
testimony of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, unto
whom be praise for ever and ever, Amen.

The day following, which was the 25th of the said
month, a young man, by trade a carpenter, (whose name
we have not) was put to death for the like testimony
of Jesus Christ, at Brittol, where he yielded himself to the
torments of the fire, gave up his life into the hands of the
Lord, with such joyful conffancy and triumph, as
would have caused all the church of Christ to have
jugg caufe to praise God for him.

On the 27th of the same month of September, John
Horn and a woman suffered death by fire at Wooton-
under-edge in Gloucestershire, and died very gloriously
in a conffant fight to the terror of the wicked, and com-
fort of the godly. So gloriously did the Lord work in
them, that death unto them was life, and life with a
blotted conffancy was death.

The unmerciul Handling of WILLIAM DANGER-
FIELD and JOAN his Wife, being in Child-bed,
taken out of her House, with her sucking Infant of four-
ten Days old, and slain in the common Gaol among
Thieves and Murderers.

WHEN I had written and finifhed the story of
the three Guernley women, with the young
infant there burned with them, and also had passed
the burning of the poor blind woman Joan Wafe at Derby,
I well hoped I should have found more such stories of
unmerciful cruelty shown upon innocent women with
their children and young infants: but now coming to
the perffection in Gloucestershire about the parts of
Bristol, I find another story of such unmercifulness shew-
ed against a woman in child-bed, as far from all charity
and humanity, as any other story that hath hitherto been
rehearsed, as by the fequel hereof may appear.

In the parish of Wootton-under-edge, not far from
Bristol, dwelt William Dangerfield, an honest poor man,
who by his wife Joan had nine children, and the now
lying in child-bed of the tenth. This William, after he
had been abread from his house a certain space for fear
of perffection, hearing that his wife was brought to bed,
repaired home to visit her, as natural duty required, and
to see his children, the being delivered four days before

The return of this man was no sooner known to some
of his unde and uncharitable neighbours, but they
incensed with the spirit of popery, immediately befet
the house, and apprehended him, and carried him to
prison, and so at length he was brought to the bishop
Dr Brooks, in cruel handling, he remained so
long, till his legs almoft were frettled off with im-
punity. After the apprehension of the husband, the wife like-
wise was taken with her young-born child, being but
four days old, out of her child-bed, and carried into the
common gaol, and there confined among thieves and
murderers; where fhe and her innocent babe had so
little charity, that the fhe could never come to any fare,
but was driven to warm the clothes that the should get
about the child both be before.

In the mean feizon, while the husband and wife
thus inclosed in different prisons, the bishop began
to practive not with the woman firft, as the ferpent did
with Eve, but with the man, craftily deceiving his simpility
with false promises, and false flattering, persuading him
that his wife had recanted, and asking him when he should
move more fland in his own conceit, than fhe, being as well
learned as he; and fo subtly drew out a form of recel-
tation, wherewith he deceived the simple fool. Where
unto after that he had once granted that he would con-
form, although he had not yet recanted, they fuffered him
to go to his wife, where the lay in the common

gal.

Then they with melting hearts opening their minds
one to another, when he law his wife not releafeed, and
perceiving that he had not done as he was bidde of her the
whole matter, how falsely he was cStorminated by the
subtle flatterings of the bishop, telling him that
she had certainly recanted: And thus deceiving me, (said he)
he brought this unto me, and so plucked out of his
mouth before the receiver, wherein he had
granted his promise. At the fight whereof the wife
hearing what her husband had done, her heart cleare
funder, saying, “Alack, thus long have we continued one,
and hath Satan so prevailed, to caufe you to break your
faith, and so to commit great sin, to your own
baptism!” And so parted the said William and Joan his wife, with
what hearts the Lord knoweth. Then began he greatly to
beware his promise made to the bishop, and to make his
prayer to Almighty God, defining him that he might not
live so long as to call evil good, and good evil, or light
darkenes, or darkness light; and so he departed from
his house: where by the way homeward as (it is affirmed)
he took his death, and shortly after departed, according
to his prayer, after he had been in prison twelve
weeks.

After this, Joan his wife continued still in prison with
her tender infant, till at last she was brought before the
bishop to be examined. Whereunto what her answer
were, it is not certainly known. Howbeit most like it is,
whatsoever they were, they pleased not the bishop, at
appearing before him, and the poor woman, and her long
continuance in the prison, together with her tender babe, which also remained with her in the

gal, partaker of her martyrdom, so long as her
milk would serve to give it suck, till at length the child
was starved for cold and famine, was sent away
when it was but a few days old, and shortly after died: and
not long after the mother followed. Besides, the old
woman, which was mother of the husband, of the age
of eighty years and upward, who being left in the bond
after their apprehension, for lack of comfort there
perffilished.

And thus have we in one story the death of four to-
gerer; first of the old woman, then of the husband,
after that of the innocent child, and lastly of the mother.
What became of the other nine children, I am not pro-
fectly sure, but I partly understand they all were
undone by the same.

This story is reported and testified as well by others,
as also by Mrs. Bridges dwelling in the same town,
and partaker then of the like afflictions, who hardly
ecapead with her life.

In the month of October following, was burnt at the
town of Wootton, a shoemaker, a true witness and
disciple of the Lord, who, according to the grace of
God given unto him, cleaving fast to the found doctrine
and preaching of God’s word, renounced the untrue and
An Account of five Persons familiated in Canterbury Caffe.

As among all the bishops, Bonner, bishop of London, principally excelled in perpetuating the poor numbers and saints of Christ; so of all archdeacons, Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, (as may evidently appear) was the foremost, and of least compulsion, (only Damning of Norwich excepted) by whole unmerci

ful and fruitful, and next followed many were put to death in the diocese of Canterbury, not only in the bloody time of queen Mary, but some also in the beginning of the reign of our most renowned and most gracious queen Elizabeth, as the grace of Christ hereafter shall appear. Of those that suffered in the diocese of Canterbury in the time of queen Mary, some are recorded already, with the order and form of such articles as then were most commonly administered to the examinations by Thornton, Osborn of Dover, and the said Nicholas Harpsfield, and others, as before mentioned. Now to proceed in order and course of time where we left, next following, the death of all of November.

In the beginning whereof, fifteen godly and innocent martyrs were together in the caff of Canterbury, of which number not one escaped with life, but either were burnt, or else furnished in prison: of which two sorts, which is the number death, God knoweth, is hard to say. Notwithstanding, the truth is, that of these fifteen, ten suffered in the fire, of whom in the next book, but, God willing, shall be said: the other five pined, and were most cruelly furnished in the close prison, of whom we shall treat. Their names were as follow: John Clark, Dunton Chittenden, William Foster, of Long, Alice Potkins, John Archer, of Cramboke, and others.

Of these five prisoners, the two first were uncondemned, the other three were condemned, and should have been burned, but suffered no less torments than if they had been in the fire, for they pined to death by famine. What their articles and answers were I need not here relate, seeing all they in the time of queen Mary commonly suffered for one manner of cause, that is, for holding against the seven sacraments, against the reality of Christ's being in his supper, for speaking against the church's canons, and determinations of the same, against masses set up and said in the church, not only to church, &c.

But, William Foster answereth to these and like articles, said, That he believed well in all the articles of the creed; but to believe that there be more sacraments than the three, is to pray to saints either to profit us, or to pray for souls in the world; and works do justify, or to allow the papists ceremonies in the church, that he denied. Moreover he said, to any candles upon Candlemas-day, were as good for the above a dung-fork; and that it is as necessary to carry the gospel about, if his father was hanged, as his cow. Came to the church he could not, he said, with a safe confidence. Concerning fasts and fastings, he granted it good to put difference therein, except more necessity required the contrary.

This William Foster was a labouring man, of the age of forty years. He was apprehended and imprisoned by Sir Thomas Myole, knight, Alice Potkins, for the like confession, was condemned to be burnt, for that she was not, neither would be condemned to the priest, for that she received not the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, nor to pray to saints, nor creep to the cross, &c. Being demanded of the oath, the said that she was forty-nine years old, according to her old age; and according to her young age, since she learned Christ, the was of one year's age, and was committed to prison by Mr. Roberts.

The answer and confession of John Archer of Cramboke was much of like sort. And although some of these upon ignorant simplicity sverred a little in the number of sacraments, some granting one sacrament, that is, the body of Christ hanging upon the cross, some more, for they are in the principal matter concerning the doctrine of salvation for faith to faith, and in disagreeing from the dreaming determinations of the papist church, they most agreed. Concerning the not praying to saints, and for the dead in purgatory, for not creeping to the cross, for faith only to justify, for taking of an oath, and other such like, he granted as the other had done. This father Archer, by his occupation, a weaver, of the town of Cramboke, of the age of fifty years, was imprisoned by Sir John Gilford, knight.

And thus have ye the cause and imprisonment of these five prisoners. Now as touching the cruelty of their death, the very sight of their corpers, the manner and action thereof to proceed of myself, you shall hear the own testimony by their own letter, shown out of the prison, concerning the unmerciful dealings of the papist tyrants in famishing them, as is afore said. The copy of their letter is this.

The Copy of a Letter written and sent out of the Caffe of Canterbury by the Prisoners there in Bonds for God's Word, declaring how the Papists went about to famish them to death; of which Company five were already most cruelly famished among locus.

Be it known unto all men that shall read, or hear these our letters, that we the poor prisoners of the cattle of Canterbury for God's truth, are kept and lie in cold irons, and our keepers will not suffer any meat to be brought to us to comfort us. And if any man do bring us any victuals, or give us any victuals, or give us any victuals, the said keeper will charge them that they bear us any thing, except money or raiment, to carry it them again; or else if he do receive any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himself, and he and his servants do spend it, so that we have nothing thereof; and thus the keeper keeps away all our victuals from us: information that there are four or us prisoners there for God's truth, famished already, and thus is it his mind to famish us all: and we think he is appointed thereunto by the bishops and priests, and also of the justices, to famish us, and not only us of the said cattle, but also all other prisoners in other prisons for the like cause, to be also famished: notwithstanding we write not the our letters, with a view to signify our unwillingness to be famished for the Lord Jesus's fake, but for this cause and intent, that they, having no law to famish us in prison, should not do it privily, but that the murderers' hearts should be openly known to all the world, that all men may know of what church they are, and who is their father. Out of the cattle of Canterbury.

The Persecution of good People in the Diocese of Litchfield.

These aforesaid months of September, November, and December, as they were troublesome to many other places, and especially to the diocese of Canterbury, by the archbishops, so likewise they brought no little businesse in the country to Litchfield and Coventry, by a cruel bishop there, named Ralph Baune, and a more cruel chancellor called Dr. Draitoc.
Dracon, through the fierce inquisition of whom great fire was there among the people, being called to examination of their faith, and many exiled to bear faggots. Who, although they were not put to the torment of death, yet because it may appear what a number there is in the countries of England abroad, who in their hearts have a maligning of the pope's Romish laws and religion, if, for fear they durst utter their minds, I thought to make a rehearsal of their names, which in the aforesaid diocese of Coventry and Litchfield were taken on suspicion, and examined for their religion.

And first amongst them that were detected and enjoined to the popish penance, that is, to bear a faggot, candle, and beads about in procession, were Agnes Foreman, detected, examined, and by witnesses convicted, and bare a faggot the 12th of September. Likewise Margery Kirby, Thomas Norris, Thomas Stiffe, William Kaine, Robert Katrege, Thomas Smith, John Barley, the younger. Item, John Waterhouse, against whom were as witnesses and accusers Richard Lacerbunke, J. Edge, William Smith, Robert Cooke, laying against him for feldom coming to church, forgoing no reverence at the elevation of the sacrament, but looking upon his book, for not kissing the psalms, &c. Robert Biffel, Leonard Well, Richard Bally, of the parish of Whitacre.

These were deprived.

Nicholas Cartwright, doctor; Richard Jundain, priest; Edmund Crokel, priest; Thomas Whitehead, priest; William Taylor, priest; Ansethe Sete, priest; Richard Slavy, priest, married; Edward Hawkes, priest, married; Robert Atton, priest, deprived; Henry Tecka, priest, deprived; Robert Mofley, priest, married, and deprived.

There were divers others besides the above, who in like manner were detected, accused, and examined, although they bare no faggot, but were dismiffed; as Richard Kempe, John Franklin, William Marder, Julius Dudley, Eufache Byscare, William Shene, Anthony Averehit, Thomas Scible, Henry Bidlym, William Mofley, John Leach, John Richardson, Anthony Jones, alias Patton, Thomas Wilton, Thomas Lymnares, and Hugh Lunacre, his for, Isabel Parker, Martin Newman, William Enderby, Cicely Prefon, Thomas Suter, John Stanford, theemaker, Richard Woodburne, Thomas Arnal, theemaker, John Robin- fon, Hugh Moore, theemaker, John Adale, Thomas Arch, Frances Ward, John Avines, Richard Fozal, Thomas Underdome, Richard Weaver.

These fornamed persons, with many more following, in the next year after, although they did sublerbe and relent through fear of death; yet for this cause I do here recite them, that by them it may appear what a number there were not only in the country of Litchfield, but also in other parts, if that fear rather than conscience had not compelled them to the contrary.

Thus have you the whole perfection of this year declared, with the names of all them which suffered martyrdom within the compass of the year 1556: the number of all which, slain and martyred in divers places of England at hundre times this year, came to above 84 persons, whereof many were women, wives, widows, and maidens; besides those who by secret practices were otherwise made away or driven from their goods, out of their houses, or out of the realm, or else within the realm were put to perrance and obliged by force of violence to recant; save only that I have omitted the story of Sir John Checke, knight, and sometime esquire, matter to King Edward. The worthiness of which man derereth much to be paid of him; but his fall rather be covered in silence and oblivion. Only to say a word or two of a few things to the present they not principally appertaining, it shall suffice.

Sir John Checke being in the country of Germany, out of all danger of persecution, with many more of his own countrymen and acquaintance, was not only a safety, but also with reputation accordingly esteem among the German, and also well placed in the city of Strasbourg. Where if he had contented himself to have remained, rather giving place to time, than to prefix upon adventures, peradventure it had been better for him. But what fatal infatation wrought in his mind, I know not. In the end it fell so, that he would not take a journey with Sir Peter Carew, from high Germany to Brusells and that (as I have credibly heard of them which knew the affair) not without the foretelling of his adventurous journey by the constellation of the star, and disposition of the heavens above. For as he was a man familiarly expert, and travelled in the knowledge of fudrny arts and sciences, so was he a little too much addicted to the curious practising of this star divinity, which we call astrologie. But howsoever it was, whatsoever it was that the stars did promulgate, thought it was, that men here on eaarth kept little promise with him. For having, as it is said, king Philip's letter conduct to pass and repass, and by the means, as I find, the lord Paget, and Sir John Mafi, pleading for his acquain to guard King Philip's fidelity, he came to Brusells to the queen's ambasadores; and having brought the intPaget on his way toward England, in the return to between Brusells and Antwerp, he was taken with Sir Peter Carew by the Provost Marshal, spoiled of his bonds, and clapped into a car, their legs, arms, and bedownd with halters to the body of the cart, and so hanged blind-fold under the hatches, and brought to the Tower of London.

Thus the good man being intrapped, and in his hands now of his enemies, had but one of three ways to take, either to change his religion, or to change his life, other remedy with those holy catholics there was none. Neither could his confederate excite him, nor truth defend him, nor his friends help him.

However Mr. Fecknum, whether sbonned by the queen, or upon his own devotion and friendship to his old acquaintance, took upon him the defense of commendation of Sir John Checke, speaking in this half: yet no mercy could be had with the queen, but must needs recant, and so he did.

Then after this recantation, he was through the trifling handling of the papists, allured first to dine and accompany with them, at length unawares to sit in the place, where the poor martyrs were brought before them and other billups to be condemned; the remnant whereof so mightily wrought in his heart, that not long after he left this mortal life. Whose fall, though it was full of infamy, yet his rising again by reputation was great, and his end comfortable, the less be praised.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.
THE NEW AND COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS,
OR, AN
Universal History of Martyrdom:
BEING
FOX’S BOOK of MARTYRS,
Revized and Corrected, with ADDITIONS and great IMPROVEMENTS.

BOOK III.

CONTAINING
An Historical Account of the Lives, Acts, Monuments, Persecutions, Sufferings, and Triumphant Deaths, of the
PROTESTANT MARTYRS;
Together with many other interesting Particulars, relative to the Protestant Cause, during the cruel Reign of
MARY I. commonly called BLOODY QUEEN MARY.

CHAP. I.

The Order and Manner of Cardinal Poole’s Visitation in Cambridge, with the condemning, taking up, and
burning the Bones and Books of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, January 9, 1557.

CARDINAL POOLE, three years after his return into England, having somewhat withdrawn his mind from other affairs of
the realm, and having in all points established the Romish religion, began to have an eye to the university of Cambridge, which place, among
others, especially seemed to have need of reformation out of hand. To perform this charge, were chosen
Cuthbert Scot, not long before consecrated Bishop of Chester, Nicholas Ormanet, an Italian, archi-
prist of the people of Bodolon, in the diocese of Vernon, professed in both the laws, and bearing the
name of the pope’s Datury; Thomas Watton, elected bishop of Lincoln, Christopherfon, elected bishop of
Chichester, and Henry Cole, provost of the college of Eaton. There was good cause why the matter
was especially committed to these persons: for as touching Ormanet, it is well known that he was a
man of much estimation with Julius the Third, at that time bishop of Rome, and was appointed to
come into England with cardinal Poole, because without his knowledge (as in whom he put his chief
trust and confidence) the bishop would have nothing done that was of any importance or weight.
These persons thus appointed (in the mean while the visitors were preparing themselves for their jour-
ney) lent their letters with the cardinal’s commission to Dr. Andrew Pern, then vice-chancellor of
Cambridge, with the other commissaries, commanding him to warn all the graduates of the uni-
versity, in their name, to be in readiness against the

11th day of January, between eight and ten o’clock, in the church of St. Mary the virgin: willing him es-
specially to be there in person, and also to get forward all the residue, to whose charge it belonged, that they
should search out all flatuses, books, privileges, and monuments appertaining to the university, or to any
of the colleges, or to themselves, and there to prevent the fame before them at the day appointed, and every
man to appear there personally; for they would not fail being there at the same time, to lay before them
such things as should seem necessary to this charge of reforming the university, and further to give charge of
all such things as should seem most for the profit and benefit of the same, together with such things as
were to be done on their part, according as should seem most agreeable to the decrees of the canon law.
This citation of the cardinal, being brought to Cambridge by Mr. Bullock, was first examined in the
convocation-houe of regents, and there openly read by the orator of the university the 11th of De-
cember.

After this, upon the 24th of December, which was Christmas Eve, the vice-chancellor with the
heads of the houses, meeting together in the schools, it was there concluded, that the visitors’ charges
should be borne by the university and colleges (which then cost the university an hundred pounds) and also
that no matter of any college should suffer any of the fellows, scholars, or minions, to go out of the
town, but to return before the visitation.

On Monday, the 8th of January, the queen’s com-
6 U
millions,
milioners, namely, Dr. Perne, vice-chancellor, Dr. Sedgwick, Dr. Harvy, Mr. Frank, Mr. Kraft, and another who is here nameless, and all or in James Dyer, the rector. For the act of happiness being together in the hall, some were there called by the appointment of L. Hewes, and charge given what should be done. And if the commission was read. Then were all the high-confablers called and minds in their presence. For every parish of ten or twelve hundreds, were sworn to inquire of hereby, lollardy, conspiracy, sedition words, tales, and rumours against the king and queen. Item, For heretical and sedition words, books, pamphlets, and seditious in the church, for observance of ceremonies, for ornaments, and flock of the church.

We said at the first, that the cardinal thought the university to have need of reformation. Why he should think fo was this, other because the fame of long continuance had cast off the bishop of Rome, and cleaved to the wholemse doctrine of the gospel; or else, by reason that both for the late schism, not yet worn out of mankind, and yet the doctrine of Martin Bucer, who not long before openly in the said university interpreted holy scripture, they faw many so fore corruption and spotted with this infection, that (even as when fire is spread in a town) unless a speedy recess or change were out of hand and Everest not possible to their thinking, to quench it many years after. Who also feared (if it were not looked to in time) that left this mischief should take root, and by little and little infect all the members next unto it, which yet were whole and sound. This was in the year 1556. To the intent therefore to make a false for this, the inquisitors, of whom we spoke before, came unto Cambridge the ninth day of January. At the same time were out of the town, divers of the masters and preachers of the colleges met them, and brought them courteously, forth into the town, and after to their lodgings. They were entertained in Trinity-college, by Mr. John Christophebor, master of the said house, and a little before elected bishop of Chichester. Notwithstanding they were deified, come to one place, and come to another, as occasion served, either to do their duties, or to shew their good wills; Dr. Cole, to the king’s college, and Dr. Watson to St. John’s. But whether it was for the acquaintance of Christophebor, or for the largeness of the house, which seemed most convenient for their purpose, they all took up their lodgings in the said college with Mr. Christophebor, that it might be easier for their lords to have so good an opinion of them, as to shew their house especially to lodge in, whereby they had both encouraged them to stand in hope of further benevolence towards them, and also done great honour to their college by their being there: wherefore they should look at their hand again for as much duty and reverence as lay in their power to perform.

To this occasion Dr. Watson made anther, that this forward and earnest good will and minds of theirs, in doing such courtesies to, was right thankfully taken by him and his, exhorting them to continue steadfastly in the fame, and to proceed also when need should require: for it was far from any of their thoughts, to stop them in this, in their race, that they should rather halfe them forward to run through more speedily, being not without good cause persuaded to conceive good hope of their benevolence towards them, inasmuch as they would do for them whatsoever might turn to their advantage.

This day (it being near evening before they came, and the sun going down) nothing else was done. The next day (the tenth of January) they bestowed in recreating themselves after their journey, and in managing other things. Nevertheless, to the intent the fame should not escape without doing somewhat, they interdicted the two churches, namely, St. Mary, where Mr. Stone was, and St. Michael’s, where Paul Phipps was daily buried.

The men had been dead some time; Paulus Phipps had scarce yet shewed the proof of his wit and learning when he departed to God in 1549. But he lived here six years after. During which, somewhat by writing, but chiefly by reading and meditating, he became openly, (wherein the old man, being painful in the word of God, never spares himself not regarded his health) he brought all the men into such admiration of him, that amongst his friends considered it an honour to make his name, or his enemies in any point find fault with his singular life and sincere doctrine. A most certain token thereof may be his shortness of burial, solemnized and ordained. And all the instructions, from the names of all the degrees of the university, that it was not possible to deviate more to the settling out and amplifying of the fame. The whole manner and order of the doing whereof was by written by Mr. Nicholas Care, a learned man, in a little treatise to Sir John Chedworth, knight, with an epistle full of consolation, as likewise concerning his departure added thereunto, was sent afterward unto Peter Martyr, then abiding at Oxford. Princess and author of M. Bucer and P. Phipps, unto the coming of these vilitors, three or four days after his death passed. And from the time of the decease of King Edward the Sixth unto that day, the priests celebrated their masses and other kinds of ceremonies in this place, without any scruple, to both as men and as angels could perceive. But after the time that the commissioners came hither, thofe things that before were accounted sacred and holy, began to be denounced profane and unholy. For they commanded that all these abominations should hereafter be banished, and that, in the execution of holy ceremonies, should be returned to the King’s Chapel, which is a place far more fitly than all the others.

Now the 14th day was come, in which the chamber of the said great man, with the masters and preachers of colleges, and all the other graduates of every house, were commanded to appear before the said commissioners in their habits. It was commanded, that the scholars also should come in their surplices, but that was not done. They assembled in great numbers to Trinity-college, having the university-eros before before them, and in the Gate-room a form was set and covered with cushions, and a carpet on the ground for the vicar-chancellor, having sea sable cope, sprinkled holy-water on them, and poeted to cense them, but they refused it there, which notwithstanding afterward in the Queen’s-college, and elsewhere, they refused not.

There Mr. John Snell, a commonor of the university, made a Latin oration in the name of all the rest: a copy whereof, now rendered into English, but followeth.

Mr. Stoke’s Oration to Queen Mary’s Pilgrims at Cambridge, Jan. 11, 1557.

THIS university, most reverend fathers, has been a long time for his sake, with much and many, that are most pleasingly beholds your honours; and as a testament of your willingnes, pours out her self of your treasures. Assembled here are all the Cambridge scholars, all orders present, who I assure you all welcome of the common good, upon my own knowledge, one and all congratulate your most wished arrival. For we are all perfused, that the business of this day, through God’s affilliation and your excellencies, will proceed to the common good, nor, in a matter so necessar to the common good, will your help be wanting.

By many things I am confirmed in this opinion, but I shall mention only thos that relate to the business in hand, that they cannot possibly be controverted; and their truth is certain and finite; but in their virtue and power so immene, that no faculty of
speech is able to express, because, as I said before, the joy this university received from your coming was very great, I believe; and while briefly I relate the manner in which this revolution of opinion was accomplished, may be a suitable ear.

The most reverend father in Christ, cardinal Poole, legate, who had relieved oppressed religion, supported the ruin of his country, brought back from exile our laws; he, I say, was one of the principal movers. But the spirit of this new government, which he managed with so much prudence, that he not only removed whatever might impede our studies, but also added such ornament, as greatly increased the glory of our university; these things confirmed our former hopes, and opened new vistas for our future. As for us, we cannot chafe but think all his kindness to be collected in this veneration, from which we expect all those things which the remarkable love of our great chancellor, who looked on our university as his proper pupil, promised. And I think we are not mistaken, in thinking that the love of Cardinal Poole, legate, has been here at this time; that he, with his rays might have illuminated his university, involved in darknes and a profound night, with the glory of the true religion. But this our desire is repugnant to the public good, and the interest of the most holy apostolic see; the legate therefore has appointed another of his most profound and learned friends, who is the most worthy of our love and esteem, as a public person for worth, and whose minds for knowledge, he judged most fit for this employment: I can therefore assure you truly, we all esteem you, as men whose religion we love, virtue we honour, and whose goodwill we desire, for the public good we love.

After so many years of the virtuous of the legate, cardinal Poole, from the darknes and night of former times, we began to review the light in public, together with a clearer light of our former unhappiness, to the greatness of which our ignorance of it contributed not a little; for, in my opinion, we ought to be accounted among the most miserable, who laboured under so damnable a heresy, yet faw not the danger we were in. As that dilemma is by much the worse, which destroys nature without being perceived to afflict the senses; and the man is often dead before he knew he was dying. This was the diface of our university, which however sharp-fighted and clear-sighted the hint of religion, the head of the church being hurt, (whence springs all the power of judging) became Rudip, lethartick, and as it were without any fence; till about three years ago, the divine compassion of the most holy father Julius, to us Englifh almost dead, again corporated us in his most holy church, again put us in that trust, belonging to our bodies, and peace to our minds. How easy was it then for Britannia to see how near the had approached the jaws of hell, this university especially plainly disdained, and our nation was infebrably afllicted with this defolation and schism of religion. There is no need here to repeat the disfolio and concomitants of the church, robbing the church, slaying the priests, murdering the nobles, the riots and tumults of the people, the impoverishing the whole kingdom, these things might have happened and we blamelesafs, but here the judgment was to be remarkable, that we must needs look on it as a punishment for our sins and wickedness. But granting these things only the sport of chance, we suffered worse in our religion and conscience. Piety to God was banished, the charit of the priests was turned upon profition, the fould as it were fell asleep, no religion, no ceremonies to awaken it; the mind by the variety of opinions to be distinguished from itself, that it embraced an infinity of errors, among which there were two principal fountains, of the flames which this university drinking a little too much, we confess have come intoxicated. The first owed it's birth to unnatural separation from the unity of the catholic church, not unlike what Menenius Agrippa men-


tions of the members and the belly. The second arose from Wickliffe's mud and mire, which made the celebrati of the faithful a thorn in the flesh. For the truth of which let any man consult himself: for we imitating philosophers, and those none of the best, have borrowed a light to the fireflies from the school of the Epicureans. For whereas Chirll (in the truth of which all pious fathers placed the foundation of their faith) affirms where it is said, excepting the true and perpetual presence of his body, yet we are truly to interpret these expressions as if they were imperfect, or had another meaning, unlefs we had recourse to the atoms of Epicurus, and that the true and perpetual presence of his body was only as it were the body and blood. But this is not in any case the true and constant mention of all the things that have past; no, I rather with they could be eternally forget, no that remembrance of them might be handed down to our posterity. Yet I thought myself obliged to say something in the general, as a confession of our past errors; still remembering, that as this university received her wounds from her former visitors, fo from you her present, she may be restored to her former health. And here she promises both for herself and her's, by her unwearied preaching of repentance, to bring back to the true religion all her erring children, and make them diligent in the present, as to redeem the time past. For that you are a self-constituted court, tend to carnality, as maketh plainly appear they voluntarily entered it; and they that came in laft, and as it were at the eleventh hour, shew such zeal for their religion, as well winnefses they left it raftly, and not on more pure judgement, nor on the institution; our university thus restored, the defiled religion ferces more to please, than had her precepts been constantly obeyed, and her glory never obscured.

Wherefore this university suppliant and prostrate first begs pardon and peace of the external God, and that he will permit him to worship thee, the fpiritual father of his and her's, and caufe this university once more to be on the right path. The number of ihere for her and her's, all and singular, offereth this petition to your highnesses, that the industry of her present fons may make amends for the errors and offences of her former. For the reft the submis who to the fentence your great sinner and fingular love fhall pronounce, hoping your justice will find her caufe good, or your mercy make it fo: either in be an equal benefic, whether you judge this university innocent from the justice of her caufe, or whether you make her fo by the abundance of your love. Now to return you thanks, we again pray you, the greatest regard to things facred, unwearied diligence in fear of God, for the fcriptures and fathers, a perpetual love of the true religion, and an eternal remembrance of your favours.

When he had made an end of speaking, the bishop of Chelten answered thereunto:

That they took it in right good part, that the mother the university had made to open a declaration of her good will toward them: for which he gave most hearty thanks, desiring her to perform in deed, and in her works, the things that she had so largely promised of her self in words and communication.

As concerning the declaration of good will, there was no caufe to mistrust. For their coming thither was not to deal any thing roughly with such as fell to the amendment: but both the cardinal himself, and they also, were fully minded to shew favour, devising how to bring all things to peace and tranquility, devising nothing more earnefsly than that they which have erred and gone astray, should return into the rightpath again. Then the most reverend father, the lord cardinal, whom he wished to have been present, wilhed the self-same thing also, devising nothing so much as he with his own hands to fuffain and help up, me ready to fall, or rather to raise up already fallen to the ground, and to give place for the gladly taketh upon him the name and duty of her guardian, whom it greatly grieved, that the infecions of the time past had spread abroad such grievous diseases, that even the university itself was touched with the contagious air therof. For he more gladly have come
chancellor with an oration did exhibit the certain
which formed the office with the cardinal's citation un-
nessed, containing all manner of acts of the univers-
ity and colleges, with the officers and all manner of
relates. Among whom was also Robert Brayley, master
King's-college, a worthy old man, both for his wit
and learning, who being his name received after the
vice-chancellor's, said, He was not prevented as all
the others were: nevertheless, forasmuch as the in-
formation of his house was wholly referred to the de-
position of the bishop of Lincoln, not only by the king's
interrogation, but also by grant of confirmation from
the bishop of Rome himself, under the condition
that he should suffer any strangers to intermeddle, both
protected, in discharge of his duty, that unless this
commission gave them authority and jurisdiction
upon the college, either by express words, or ra-
niless feneis, he utterly exempted himself from being
prevented.

This his exception they all took in great displeasure,
also, alleging that they were fully authorized for the orde-
ner of the matter by the cardinal, out of whole jurisdic-
tion no place nor perfon was excused: when he had
never done evil to call into question their authority, so

The bishop of Chester seemed to be more moved with the matter than all the other,
and seeing their power, he before desired the worship of that room, even utterly against his will,
the worcest he could against him.

After the formal solemnity of these things (as
complished, the commissaries being read, and the citation
of the foramen of the college being openly called, every
man for a while departed home to his own
with command to be at the common schools of the fa
university, at one o'clock the same day. When the
ere of the university, commonly called regens ut
notwithstanding, they in no part parts from the pope,
and in peruting of the
the monuments pertaining to the university.

The next day following, being the 3d of June,
they reftored to the King's-college to make inquisitions,
neither because the fame for the worthines he there
and sovereign of all the residue, or else be
that house especially before all others, had been
accounted, time out of mind, never to be without
chier or two (as they esteemed them).

And at this
they were also withdrawn themselves from thence, yet they
there were some still remaining. The order in
inquest should be enforced and required of them when they
hould to come to make inquisition, they ther-
their own

They commanded the matter of every house, su-
ther with the residue, as well fellows as scholars, ap-
rely in private, and to the holy
that house especially before all others, had been
accounted, time out of mind, never to be without
rere or two (as they thought).

The order of their going they appointed to be as
wife: The matter of the house to go before, and
unto him every man in his order, as he was of
cerity, or of years. Before the matter should be
carried a croce, and holy water to sprinkle the en-
the town. The matter himself to be dressed in a
chierial apparel as the priest when he drest himself to
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that was done to his legates, was not done to them, but to his holiness.

Now was the hour come, at which they appointed to meet and being entered the King's college gate, where they looked for the arch and fellows of the house feeling them to come to meet them, they proceeded to the church door, where they stood. There perceiving how the matter and the rest of the house were dreeling themselves as fast as they could, in such order as was appointed before, they came suddenly upon them, before they could get a foot out of their places.

Then the matter first excused himself, that he was ready no sooner, acknowledging that it had been his duty to have been in readiness. Secondly, he said he was very glad of their coming, promising first in his own name, and also in the name of all the rest of the college, that as it might be, in all matters concerning their common utility, which he doubted not but should be performed at their hands, according to his expectation. But, like as he had done the other day in St. Mary's church, the same exception he made to them now also, for doing which he besought them not to be offended. Seeing he did it only for the discharge of his duty, he had good cause to be held excused.

He had fearfully finished his tale, but the bishop of Chester, with a gross looking, and an angry countenance, determined not to say a word, and without coming to any resolution, not to repeat the things he had protested before, nor to make an answer any more to those things wherein they had sufficiently informed him before. He feared that their quarrel was not good, that they made such things as they do about it, and in light of particular holes. So were deputed persons oftentimes to do, when, for the pain and grief, they are not able to abide a strong medicine. As that any man were able to grant so strong a privilege, as to withstand the pope's authority, as much as the pope's letters, he said, they must needs make on his side, and in light of particular holes. So were deputed persons oftentimes to do, when, for the pain and grief, they are not able to abide a strong medicine. As that any man were able to grant so strong a privilege, as to withstand the pope's authority, as much as the pope's letters, he said, they must needs make on his side, and in light of particular holes. So were deputed persons oftentimes to do, when, for the pain and grief, they are not able to abide a strong medicine. As that any man were able to grant so strong a privilege, as to withstand the pope's authority, as much as the pope's letters, he said, they must needs make on his side, and in light of particular holes. So were deputed persons oftentimes to do, when, for the pain and grief, they are not able to abide a strong medicine. As that any man were able to grant so strong a privilege, as to withstand the pope's authority, as much as the pope's letters, he said, they must needs make on his side, and in light of particular holes. So were deputed persons oftentimes to do, when, for the pain and grief, they are not able to abide a strong medicine. As that any man were able to grant so strong a privilege, as to withstand the pope's authority, as much as the pope's letters, he said, they must needs make on his side, and in light of particular holes. So were deputed persons oftentimes to do, when, for the pain and grief, they are not able to abide a strong medicine. As that any man were able to grant so strong a privilege, as to withstand the pope's authority, as much as the pope's letters, he said, they must needs make on his side, and in light of particular holes. So were deputed persons oftentimes to do, when, for the pain and grief, they are not able to abide a strong medicine.
signed with the common seal. Which request was very eaily obtained; and it was no marvel.

For after the death of king Edward, when the realm was governed by queen Mary, all such matters that were done in that Roman religion (in whom alone well nigh reft whatsoever wit and learning was in the whole universitie besides), and such a fort of men were put in their room, that all places now warmed with unlearned chaplains; to whom nothing was given but power to call and ende other clerks from the tone of Bucer. Divers were ye lost among them to speak against their demands: but they (be- cause it commonly cometh to pafs, that might over- comes right) could nothing avail. It is a common cullion amongst these countrymen at home to say, that the greater number decreeth is published in the name of all: and that which the better part disalloweth seemeth as if no man at all allowed it.

The next day, being the 14th of January, all the vis- itors (Mr. Christopher only excepted) came to the Kings-college: and first going into the church, there making their prayers at the greeings, they so proceeded into the stalls, sitting all the maie time, the company flanding in their cotes, and singing a solenn respond in honour of the new chaplains, who were done, the provost brought to them his protestation, unto whom the bishop of Chester made anwerk in Latin, declaring that he could not perceive to what purpose his protestation was, notwithstanding they would accept it and bear with him. Then went they to the antechamber, caried up to the altar, and took down the facrament, and searched the pyx, but first the two bishops confec the facrament.

Then they went unto the vestry, and opened the chalice, corporis cafe, and chytrumary, and viewed all those things: and returned in a company to the chamber, divided them selves in examination of the provost, vice-provost, and the rest of the company. The same day Dr. Bacon, master of Gonvill-hall, invited the vice-chancellor, Dr. Young, Dr. Harvey, Swinborne, Mapton, with others, home to dinner. These men immediately after dinner, caured the common seal of the universitie to be put to the aforesaid indument of condemnation, as was determined the day before by the general consent of the graduates of the universitie: and afterwards they carried the fame to the commissio- ners to their lodging: which when they had received and carefully perused, it pleased them not in all points, and therefore they razed out some things, some they interlined, others they changed; so that in fine, they were fain to take the pains to ingros it again.

The next day they all met in the same place and immediately called of all the graduates of the universitie against the next day, which being read over, a new grace again was asked and granted for setting the feu.

Then the graduates were dismissed, and commanded to return forthwith to St. Mary's church, whither the commissioners also repaired. When they had taken their places, Dr. Harvey presented to them, before the company, a new commissio to make inquest upon hereby then newly sent from the cardinal, which was immediately read by Ormanet's clerk. This done, Dr. Perne, who was factor for the universitie, exhibited to the commissioners in the name of the universitie, the sentence of the aforesaid condemnation. This condemn- ment being openly read, Dr. Perne defied to send for Bucer and Phagius, or any other that would take upon them to plead their caufe, and to stand to the order of the court against the next Monday: to the intent that when they had exhibited themselves, the court might better determine what ought to be done to them by order of law.

Mark then what followed; the court was then recessed, and the next day proceed to go out to cite the offenders. This citation Vincent of Noally, their common nota- ry, having read it over before certain witnesses ap- pointed for that purpose, caused to be fixed up in places both within and without of the university, the door, the door of the common schools, and the crose in the market-place of the same town. In this was spe- cified, that whoever would maintain Bucer and Phagi- us; or stand in defence of their doctrine, should at the eighth day of the same month, stand forth before the law, in St. Mary's church, which was appointed the place of judgment, where every man should be sufficiently heard what he could say. This commandment was set out with many words.

Shortly after the matter drew toward judgemeht. Therefore they thereupon before the 15th day of the same day, which was the 17th of January, the vice-chancellor called to him to Peter-houfe (whereof he was master) Dr. Yound, Dr. Sedgwick, and with them Bullock, Taylor, Parker, Redman, Whitlock, Mitch, and certain others. These men teneto and trusted, they might bear witness against Bucer or Phagius, to declare all that they knew of them hereof: for facing the matter was brought in court, and because it might so come to pafs, that some patrons of their cause would come out, they thought it needful to have witnesses to depose of their doctrine.

What came of their consultation is unknown.

On the 18th day, the vice-chancellor going to the inquirers, sitting at the King's-college, put them in remembrance, that that was the day on which, by their procefs, fent forth the 16th, they had commanded to appear in court. They accordingly went forth, and there met them to condemn them to deliver Bucer and Phagius by the law. Heil- fired therefore that they would vouchsafe to fit there, if perchance any man would try the adventure of the law. They soon consciencized that. Therefore, when the vice-chancellor had read the procefs and delivered unto them the procefs of the citation which he had re- ceived of them to publish a little before, saying that he had diligently executed whatevher part of the contents of the fame required. After that they had taken their places, and no man putting himself to answer for the offenders, the judges called aside Dr. Yound, Sedg- wick, Bullock, Taylor, Maptide, Hunter, Parker, Redman, above-mentioned. Alfo Brown, Gogman, Rud, Johnston, Mitch, Raven, and Carre, who had before written out the burial of Bucer, with a singular commendation of him, and sent it to Sir John Cole, knight. These men, taking first their oath upon a book, were commanded to bear witness against the he- refy and doctrine of Bucer and Phagius. The twen- ty-second day of the same month was limited to this jury to bring in their verdict.

In the mean while, Ormanet and Dr. Watson abide at home in their lodging to take the depositions of them, whom we shewed you before to have been call- ed to Peter-houfe, and to have communicated with the vice-chancellor, as concerning that matter wherein, who de- jure the church, did refuse to let the plait of the light. The bishop of Chester, and Dr. Cole this day visited them of Ca- therine-hall, where, as far as could be learned, nothing was done worthy of reprehension.

As Ormanet, the pope's daftary, was sitting at Tri- nity-college, John Dale, of Queen's-college, came to him, whom he had commanded before to bring with him the pyx, wherein the bishop of Rome's god of bread is wont to be enclosed. For Ormanet told them that he had a precious jewel; the fame was a linen cloth that the pope had consecrated with his own hands, which he promised to bestow upon them for a gift. But Dale misunderstanding Ormanet, instead of the pyx brought the chalice and a sining cake, called the hoil, which he had wrapped up and put in his bosom. When he was come, Ormanet desired him to bring him the thing he had fent for: to whom he answered, he had brought it. Then give me it (quoth he,) Dale pulled out the chalice and the sining cake. When Ormanet saw that, he stepped back a little, as if he had been in a wonder, calling him blockhead, and little better. Dale therefore, desiring to know what he meant by these things, saying, he desired him to bring him name of that fluff, and that he was unworthy to enjoy high a benefit: yet, notwithstanding, as he had sim- mified before to give it them, he would perform his pontifical charge, and in solemn religious and ce- remony, he pulled out the linen cloth and laid it in the chalice, and the bread with it, commanding them both
The Sentence of Condemnation against BUCER and PHAGIUS.

The Sentence of Condemnation against MARTIN BUCER and PHAGIUS.

WE Cuthbert, by the grace of God and the apostolic see, bishop of Chester, Nicholas Ormner, archbishop of Verone, within the diocese aforesaid, auditor of the reverend lord cardinal and legate, Thomas Watson, dean of Durham; and Henry Cole, provost of the university and town of Cambridge, within the diocese of Ely, alo to all per sons dwelling in the said town and places adjacent, for certain motions, caues and reasons thereunto moving, are to inquire, and as we think fit, proceed against those who have run into vile heresies, and condemned the whole church, and by their schism have divided the whole kingdom, to dispise and contemne the private charity of our minds. Neither ought any such negligence to overtake us for our parts, that we, being scarce escaped out of the shipwreck of our former calamity, should now suffer this inexplicable mischief to differ among us, wherefore we charge that they be heard, and that the matter be denounced and tried by law, we sent out the fecond proces.

If we had refused revenge, we might have showed cruelty upon them that are alive of which (also, are more pity) there are too many that embrace this doctrine. If we thirsted for blood, it was not to be fought in withered carcasses and dry bones. Therefore you may well perceive, it was no part of our wills that we now came hither, but partly induced at the intrest of the whole universitie, mov'd and in great measure by the advice of the cas itself, but especially for the care and regard we have of your health and salvation, which we cover by all means to preserve.

For you yourselves are the cause of this businesse: you gave occasion for this confusion, among whom this day our reverend lord cardinal of York, we are informed, was present at St. Mary's church, to behold what there should be determined upon these men. After long attendance, at length the commissiourners came forth, and went up to a scaffold that was somewhar higher than the residue, prepared for the same purpose. When they had taken their places, Dr. Ferre, the vice-chancellor, the player of this interlude, fathioning his counsenance with great gravity, reached to them the procés which was lately publish'd to cite them, saying these words: I bring forth again to you, right reverend father, and commissiourners, our lord Cardinal Pole, this citation executed according to the purport and effect of the same, omitting nothing for his part that might make to the commen
dation of this matter. When he had thus finnished his tale, the bishop of Chester, having viewed the people a little, began as follows.

To the Oration of Dr. Scott, Bishop of Chester, before the Condemnation of BUCER and PHAGIUS.

YOU see how far the universiety presupple upon us, how earnits intercession it make unto us, not only to denounced Bucer and Phagius, which these certein years past have spread most pertinacious doctrine among you, to be heretics, as they be indeed, but also to command their dead carcasses, which unto this day have been preserved in the burial, and are to be digged up, and as it is excellently ordain'd by the canon law, to be cast into fire, or whatsoever is more grievous than fire, if any can be: for the decease of the university deal not lightly nor flackly with this. And if it please us, it shall be give us at the request of fier to earneitly, that they were given us, and that we give them in this case to God, who will grant it. And I assure you, tho' this cause of itself be such, that even the unworthinesse of these persons, though there were no further cause, ought to induce us to the doing of it, and much the rather moved with these so wholesome percons, and convenient to God, it shall be grant it. For howsoever we of ourselves are inclined to mercy in our hearts, (whence we protest there thing is nothing under the sun more dear and acceptable) yet notwithstanding the very law rife up to revenge, but to the common salvatiun of you all, which the law provided for, we could not have been able to be grant it.

Moreover, it is but reason that we should do some what at fo earnit an intrety and fuit of the universitie. I me not to speack much of ourselfes: for if we had been disfous to enteripize this matter, it had been lawfull, after the first citation, to have proceeded to judgement, but as your parlement were willing that their de
defenders should be heard, and that the matter should be denounced and tried by law, we sent out the second processes. If we had then renounced revenge, we might have showed cruelty upon them that are alive of which (also, are more pity) there are too many that embrace this doctrine.

If we thirsted for blood, it was not to be fought in withered carcasses and dry bones. Therefore you may well perceive, it was no part of our wills that we now came hither; but partly induced at the interest of the whole universitie, moved and in great measure by the advice of the case itself; but especially for the care and regard we have of your health and salvation, which we cover by all means to preserve.

For you yourselves are the cause of this businesse: you gave occasion for this confusion, among whom this day our reverend lord cardinal of York, we are informed, was present at St. Mary's church, to behold what there should be determined upon these men. After long attendance, at length the commissiourners came forth, and went up to a scaffold that was somewhat higher than the residue, prepared for the same purpose. When they had taken their places, Dr. Ferre, the vice-chancellor, the player of this interlude, fathioning his countenance with great gravity, reached to them the procés which was lately publish'd to cite them, saying these words: I bring forth again to you, right reverend father, and commissiourners, our lord Cardinal Pole, this citation executed according to the purport and effect of the same, omitting nothing for his part that might make to the commen
dation of this matter. When he had thus finnished his tale, the bishop of Chester, having viewed the people a little, began as follows.

The Sentence of Condemnation against MARTIN BUCER and PHAGIUS.

WE Cuthbert, by the grace of God and the apostolic see, bishop of Chester, Nicholas Ormner, archbishop of Verone, within the diocese afore

tive sentence, which we give according to the opinion of the most learned divines and lawyers, herein contained, to condemn these flocks of infidels, as Mr. Bucer and Paulus Phagius, by nation Germans, but both of old living and dying in this town, whom we here declare, pronounce, judge and condemn as notorious heretics whithil they lived; for Martin Bucer, contrary to the rules and precepts of the holy fathers, as also to the church, and the Protestant confessions of the churches of the holy councils, and of the christian religion, those rights and proceedings (which are every year on the day of the supper of our Lord celebrated and read by the Roman priests, in which, among others, the Wickliffans and Lutherans, and all other heretics are condemned and anathematized) of the facades having continued in the church hitherto, he especially taught and preached about the number of them, contrary to what our holy mother the church had preached and observed: and he denied and openly condemned the authority of the holy apostolic see, and the supremacy of our great high-priest, and he especially held this article:

"That the church may err in faith and worship."

This he particularly defended in the public assemblies, and there maintained and determined it to be true as well as by Mr. Wickliff, Martin Luther, and other chief heretics invented, and condemned by the church, especially that,

"That all things were governed by fate and an absolute necessity."

As by himself first broached, believing and following false and heretical principles, and moreover also writing books, andcaulging them to be printed, and publishing them being printed, and in reading these writings publicly, and defending them in public disputations, as also by an obfinate living and dying in this manner, not only as a notorious heretic, but as a founder of heresy.

Also Paulus Phagius, who, among other things which favour of hereby, scattered up and down in his writings, printed and commonly read, not only approved, but also by his endeavoured to induce others to believe and approve the fame: that he lived a common, notorious heretic, and did impendent. Therefore we pronounce the said Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius excommunicated and anathematized, as well by the common law as by letters of procists; and that their bodies and other heretics flourishing in this kingdom, were lately buried in holy ground to be dug up, and cast from the bodies and bones of the faithful, according to the holy canons; and we command that they and their writings, if any be there found, be publicly burnt; and we interdict all persons whatsoever of this universify, town or places adjacent, who shall read or conceal their heretical books, as well by the common law, as by our letters of procists.

And as from this follows, that the bishop commanded their bodies to be dug out of their graves, and being degraded from holy orders, delivered them into the hands of the secular power: for it was not lawful for such innocent persons as they were, abhorring all bloodshed, and detesting all desire of murder, to put any man to death.

The Effect of Dr. Perne’s Sermon against Martin Bucer.

Besides this oration and sentence of Dr. Scot, came also of Dr. Perne, vice-chancellor, with his sermon tending to the same effect, to the depraving of Mr. Bucer, taking for his theme the place of the 133d Psalm, "Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is," &c.

Where beginning first with the commendation of concord, and of the mutual knitting together of the members, he alleged, that it was not possible to hold an union, but in concord, which was derived out of the head, which he made to be the bishop of Rome, and that it also reft in the same.

After he had made a long protestation hereof, he passed forth to Bucer, upon whom he made a thankful remonstrance, that his sermon gave occasion of division in the commonwealth, and that there was not so grievous a mischief as that which by his means had been brought into the realm.

Although all men might perceive by the books he had compiled, what manner of doctrine it was not, yet (he freely and (be fairly and) he knew it more perfectly himself than any did, and that he had learned it apart at the author's hand himself.

For at such time as they had communication secretly among themselves, Bucer (said he) would oftentimes with such ease be called by some other name, than by the name he had; for this purpose, as though knowing himself guilty of so grievous a crime, he might by this means escape unknown to the world, and avoid the talk that went among men of him.

Moreover, among other things, he told how Bucer held that God was the author and cause of all, not only of good, but also of evil, and that whatsoever floweth of that from him, as from the head-spring and maker thereof. Which doctrine he held to be sic cere; howbeit, for offending divers men's conscience, he durst not venture himself into meaner parts, by forging such shameful lies upon so worthy a man.

But what need of witnesses to prove him a liar? his own conscience shall make as much against him as a number of men.

It was reported four thousand, and testified by his own family, and relations (the said Dr. Perne himself, either immediately after his sermon, or else somewhat before he went to it, striking himself on the breast, and in manner weeping, with his head at home in his own house, with all his heart, that God would grant his soul might even then perfectly depart and remain with Bucer. He was so well known that his life was such, that if any man's soul was worthy of heaven, he thought his especially to be most worthy.

While he was thus talking to the people, in the mean time the leaves of the church doors were covered over with veres, in which the young men, with the help of God, in their fire, who feared they were put to the fire, burned a blasphemous and most profane prayer.

These things being dispatched, Dr. Perne (as though he had justified his matter marvellously well) was for his labour, of courteously bidden to dinner to Trinity-college by the commandment of the president. Where, after the table was taken up, they caufed the sentence of condemnation to be copied out with all speed: which being signed with the bishop of Chester's seal, the next day following was for a triumph lent to London, with divers of those veres and slanderous libels.

Besides, they had in their letters to their own letters, whereby they both adverfed the cardinal how far they had proceeded in that matter, and also defended his grace, that he would caufe to be lent out of hand to Smith, mayor of the town, the commandment, commonly called a writ, for the burning of heretics. Unlesse he had been May's warrant to have him burnt, he would not have to do in the matter: and that which remained to be
er, (for it was not lawful for them to intermeddle in cafes of blood) commanded certain of his townsmen to wait upon him in harness, by whom the dead bodies were garbed, and being bond with ropes, and laid upon men's shoulders (for that was the custom), Bucer in the fame that he was buried, and Phagius in a new one, they were carried into the midst of the market-place, being followed by a great train of people.

This place was prepared before, and a great poll was set up all the head to bind the carcasas to, and a great heap of earth was laid upon them. When they came thither, the chaffs were set up on end with the dead bodies in them, and fastened on both sides with stakes, and bound to the post with a long iron chain, as if they had been alive. Fire being forth to the wind, as it began to flame round about, a great many books that were condemned with them were cast into the flame.

There was that day gathered into the town a great multitude of country folks (for it was market-day), who seeing men borne to execution, and learning that they were dead before, partly detested and abhorred the extreme cruelty of the commonwealth, for they had seen the rotten carcasas, and partly laughed at their folly in making such preparations. For what needeth any weapon? said they: as though they were afraid that the dead bodies, which felt them not, would do them some harm. People's heads are full of such idle notions, wherewith they are tied, since they might be burnt without peril? for it was not to be feared that they would run away.

Thus every body that stood by found fault with the cruelty of the deed, either sharply or effusively, as every man found and gave him. There were very few that liked their doing therein.

In the mean time that they were roaming in the fire, Dr. Watfon went into the pulpit in St. Mary's church, and there before his audience railed upon their doctrine, as wicked and erroneous, saying, that it was the greatest sin that could be committed, that a long time in the commonwealth. For behold, said he, as well the prosperity as the adversity of these years that ensued, and you shall find that all things have chanced unluckily to them that have followed this new-found faith; as contrarily, all things have happened fortunately to them that have followed the covenants esteemed unreasonable.

By this time the purifiau was returned again, who (as dart before) was sent to London with the commissioners letters, and brought with him a warrant for the burning of these men.

Upon the receipt whereof, they appointed the fifth day of February for the accomplishment of the matter; for it had been in hand a great while already.

The next day the council of the church, and some of the commissioners, went to the vicar-chancellor, demanding of him in what cafe things flood, whether all things were in a readiness for the accomplishment of this business. Understating by him that all things were ready, they commanded the matter to be broached out of hand.

This being done, the 5th of February was set aside the common notary, went first to St. Michael's church, where Phagius was buried. Then he called forth Andrew Smith, Henry Sawyer, and Henry Adams, men of the fame parih, and bound them with an oath to dig up the bones of Phagius, and to bring them to the place, and afterwards receiving the like of Roger Smith and William Hassell, the town ferjeants, and of John Capes, warden of the same church, for doing the like with Bucer. Smith, the mayor of the town, who should be their executioner, to be done in that cafe, could not be dispatched till that it came to pass.

While this purifiau went on his journey, they ordered to bring the remains of the purification of the dead virgin, and making a sermon to the people upon that psalm, 'We have received thy mercy, O Lord, in the midst of thy temple,' &c. In which sermon he made much reproach of Bucer and Phagius, and of their doctrine.

He said that as the holy scribes, and all the heretics of our time, were of the fame opinion, (for which the most part, he said, were budded out of Germany) among other things which they had perniciously put into men's heads, taught to call away all ceremonies. Whereas, notwithstanding, the apostle himself commanded all things to be done in due order.

And upon that deed of the blessed virgin and Joseph, which was done by them as upon that day, it was manifestly apparent, that they, with their Saviour, being then a little babe, observed those rites and ceremonies for catholic men to teach: for he said, that they came into the presence of the child Jesus, hands, after the manner of procession (as they term it), in good order, with much reverence and devotion, and yet we were not affrighted to laugh and mock at such things with the heretics and schismatics.

As he was speaking of Christ, Mary, and Joseph, etc. that he commanded, a pleasant and merry-conceited fellow, turning to one that stood next him, And if it be true, said he, that this man preacheth, which of them, I pray you (if a man might ask him a question) bare the crofs before them? for that might not be willing in such solemn ceremonies. Not only this man, but himself, he said, he was often laughed at his manifold infamies, in preaching such vain and foolish superstitions.

While he was thus talking to his audience, John Christopheren, elected bishop of Chichester, being fricken with a sudden fickness, fell down in a swoon over the prebends, and came not to himself for some time; but said many things, as if he had been out of his wits. Some imagined it came upon this occasion, because he had been greatly accursed before the commissioners, for mis-spending, and mis-ordering the goods of the college, and therefore was grieved with him. Knowing that they had been offended with him, by reason of Ormanet cancelling before his face a lease of his, by which he had let to farm to his brother-in-law a certain manor of that college, because the covenants feemed unreasonable.

By this time the purifiau was returned again, who (as dart before) was sent to London with the commissioners letters, and brought with him a warrant for the burning of these men.

Upon the receipt whereof, they appointed the fifth day of February for the accomplishment of the matter; for it had been in hand a great while already.

There being now nothing more to hinder, the commissioners sent for the vicar-chancellor, demanding of him in what case things flood, whether all things were in a readiness for the accomplishment of this business. Understating by him that all things were ready, they commanded the matter to be broached out of hand.

This being done, the 5th of February was set aside the common notary, went first to St. Michael's church, where Phagius was buried. Then he called forth Andrew Smith, Henry Sawyer, and Henry Adams, men of the same parih, and bound them with an oath to dig up the bones of Phagius, and to bring them to the place, and afterwards receiving the like of Roger Smith and William Hassell, the town ferjeants, and of John Capes, warden of the same church, for doing the like with Bucer. Smith, the mayor of the town, who should be their executioner,
Messiah are woven with them, and when a Christian had been lifted from the earth, there would be a vision of the And yet he was not ignorant, that Bucer taught nothing other than the very same whereunto both he and Scot, in the reign of king Edward the Sixth, had willingly afforded, by subscribing thereto with their own names. We should then have believed in the people, many of them that had written verses before, did now set up others, in which, like a fort of water frogs, they vocalist out their venomous malice against Bucer and Phagius. This was the last act of this incursion, and yet there remained a few things to be done, among which was the reconciling of two churches, of our Lady, and of St. Michael, which we declared before to have been interdicted. This was done the day following by the aforesaid bishop of Chelles, with as much ceremonious solemnity as there was any at that time. But this was, when Bucer's carcase had chafed from thence, was not yet turned thither again: either was it lawful for him to come there any more, unlesse he was brought thither with great solemnity; as I suppose, during all the time that he was confined in the chained prisoners at Trinity-college, and there continued as a foijourner. All the graduates of the university came on the 8th of February, out of gentlemen and courteys, to bring him home again: amongst which number, the bishop of Chelles (worthy for his elate to some who declare because of his eloquence) and carried him, clad in a long rochet, and a large tippet of farrenet about his neck, wherein he wrapped his iden alfo. Ormanet had given the same a little before to the university, for that and such like purposes. When this idol should return home, he went not out the front and near way as other folks are wont to go, but he fetched a compass about most part of the town, and roamed through so many of the streets, that it was an hour or more before he could find the way into this church again. I believe the ancient Romans observed a custom not unlike this in their processions, when they made supplications at the shrines of all their gods: the order of the procession was this: the masons regents went before, singing loudly, Salve festa dies, &c. Next them followed the bishop of Chelles, about him went Ormanet and his fellow, and after them a long procession, bearing every man a long taper lighted in his hand. After whom, a little space off, followed other degrees of the university. Lastly came the mayor and his townsmen. Before them all went the beadles, crying to such as they met, that they should bow themselves humbly before the host; if any refused so to do, they threatened to send them forthwith to the Tolbooth. Their god being led with this pomp, and pacified with great accursed bills of Bucer and Phagius, at lengthsettled himself again in his accustomed room. When the bishop of Chelles heard these many words, that that day might be lucky and fortunate to himself, and to all that were present, and that from that day forward (now that God's wrath was appeased, and all other things set in good order) all men should make themselves conformable to peace and quietness, promising many things to the people. After this they bestowed a few days in punishing and amercing such as they thought had deferred it. Some they suspended from giving voices either to their own preferment or to that of another. Some they forbade them to commit adultery, lest they should infect the tender youth (being unable to take what print foreer should be laid upon them) with corrupt doctrine and heresy; others they chastized wrongfully, without any desert; and many a one they punished, contrary to all right and reason.

Laft of all they fet forth certain statutes, by which, they would have the university hereafter ordered. Wherein they enacted many things, as concerning the statutes, or their eleemosynaries of keeping and administering the goods of the university, and of many other things. But especially they dismissed the matter very circumspectly for religion; in which they were so scrupulous, that they replenished all things with опиум blasphemy or with ridicu-

From the foregoing few words how many mallers every man should be day by day, and so many Peter Nolters and Aves every man should be when he entered the church; and in his entrance, after what fort he should bow himself to the altar, and how he should speak to the minister, if he should do there, and how long he should tarry, how many and what prayers he should say, what, and how he should sing, what meditations others should use while the priest was in his memento, mumbling to himself, what kind of the mass a man should stand, and when he should sit down, when he should make courteys, when exclusively and inclusively, and other superfluous toys they decreed, that it was a sport to behold their superfluities, and were tedious now to recite them. Moreover these matters of good order, for fashions, fancies, and policies, that I have set forth, are now upon a fur- niffe, not torn nor worn, but clean, forbidding them in any wife to wipe their noses theron.

Thee things thus fetted, the commissioners were ready to depart, when the university, for such great benefits (which thee should not fall to fall out of re- figuring unless thes years before coveting to these fame tokens of courtesy towards them again, dignified Ormanet and Cole with the degree of doctorship; for all the rest, saving Chrilphorphon, who now, by rea- non he was elected bishop, prevented that degree, that he did receive that order before. Thus at length were fought away these peace-makers, that came to pacify frifres and quarrels; who, through provoking every man to accute one another, left such gaps and breaches in men's hearts, that for years after they could never be cloesed nor joined together again. These commissioners, before they departed out of the university, commanded, that the makers of every house should copy out their statutes, which besides common ordinances, contained in them certain rules of private order for every house particularly. Swin- born (who, as I said, was master of Clare-hall) being decreed to publish them, he was not permitted to be pressed on parchment or paper, answered, That it made no matter, for paper, or lighter thing that were of less continuance than paper, would do well enough: for he said, a flender thing than that would last a great deal longer than these decrees would perish in their fire. We are left to conjecture, for within two years after, God beholding us with mercy, called queen Mary out of this life the 17th of November, 1553, after whom, her sister Elizabeth being eded in the kingdom, ratified life in the true religion: whereupon, the See of Christ begain by little as little to flourish, for the memory of Bucer and Phagius (although their bones were burnt by Cardinal Poole) was restored by the godly queen Elizabeth, who gave them in commision to Matthew Parker, then archbishop of Canterbury, to be published in London, by Mr. Walter Hadden, and others: for the performance of which commision, the said reverend bishops addressed their letters to the vice-chancellor, &c.

The Orator of MR. ACKWORTH, Orator of the University, at the Retrofitting of MARTIN BU- CER and PAULUS PHAGIUS.

I am in doubt, whether I may treat of the praise and commendation of so great a clerk (for the celebrating whereof, this assembly and concourse of yours made this day), or of the vices and calamities, out of which we be newly delivered, or of them both, confir- dering the one cannot be mentioned without the other.
not by little and little to be darkened, but that it altogether vanished away, and turned into nothing. For we are again into the troublesomeness of the popish doctrine, when the rites and customs of the Romish church are restored again, not only to adornning and beautifying of the christian religion (as they fancied), but to the utter defacing, violating, and defiling of the same. Death was set before the eyes of such as performed the christian doctrine that they had learned before. It was required that they must sacrifice the realm that would not apply themselves to the times, and do as other men did: such as remained were forced either to difflame, or hide themselves, and creep into corners, and else, it were, by drinking of the charmed cup of Babylon, and thus were delivered, not only from the nature of man into that of beast, but from the world and its works and more monstrous ones from the likemess of God and his angels, into that of devils. And all England was affected with this malady. But I would to God the corruption of those times, which overwhelmed the whole realm, had not yet pierced every part and member thereof: of which there was not one, but (besides the grief that it felt with the residue of the body, by reason of the sickneces and contagion spread into the whole) had some sorrow and calamity pecked at their heart, and that the rest of the realm might be comforted. But if the treatment of such things and this dwelling-place of the Muffa[s] whom we call the university may be a sufficient witness what we may judge of all the rest of the body. Certainly in my brevity, the thing is not to be delineated that was done in those latter days, applying ourselves to the least matter, times, have been therein, as it were, like rewards, who had not the flammas to sustain the universities of poverty, banishment, and death: which in our living and conversation kept neither the conversation of our mothers, nor the patience taught us by holy scripture, which has been in all things at the commandment of others. Therefore, the poet, tho' in another sense, hath aptly spoken, may be thought to have been truly prophesied upon us:

The times and feasons changed be;
And changed with the fame are we.

Divers of them that were of a pure and sincere judgment, as concerning religion, being driven from hence and troubled, tho' that remained tafted and felt of little or nothing, yet the hands of the authority of doing things here confin'd, and the telling of the truth, I have used a gentler term than behoved. For it is not to be accounted inhumanity, but rather immanity and heastly cruelty: who, when they had excefced all kinds of torments and punishments upon the living, when they had cruellly tormented from such as confessedly perverted; from other riches, and all hope of promotion; yet they could not so satisfie, but that incensed and flirred with a greater fury, it began to outrage even against the dead. Whereas in every singular place was exercis'd a finall kind of cruelty, inasmuch that there was no cruelty that could be defied, but it was practis'd in one place or other, this was proper or peculiar to Cambridge, to exercis the cruelty upon the dead, which in other places was extended but to the living. Oxford burnt the right reverend fathers, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, noble winsteirs of the clearest light of the gospel. Moreover, at London perfir'd these lanthorns of light, Rogers and Bradford: in whom it is hard to say, whether there were more force of eloquence and utterance in preaching, or more holines of life in publick service, and in other places, were confess'd to after for being recorde to the truth. For what city is there that hath not flamed, I say not with burning of houses and build- ings, but of holy bodies? But Cambridge, after there have no more left among, upon whom they might flew out their bitter poison, placed it all within the dead. The dead men, whose living no man was able to find fault with, whose doctrine no man was able to reprove,
prove, were by false slanderous accusers inditid, contrary to the laws of God and man, fixed in the law, condemned, their sepulchres violated and broken up, their carcasses pulled out and burnt with fire. A thing fiercely incredible, if we had not seen it with our eyes, and heard it from lighting lighted. Of the heinousness of this wicked act was spread abroad as a common talk in every man’s mouth, and was blown and dispersed through all Christendom. Bucer, by the excellency of his wit and doctrine known, and all men, and our consciences in manner crave, of many others interested and sent for, to the end he might instruct our Cambridge-men in the sincere doctrine of the christian religion, being spent with age, and his strength utterly decayed, forsook his own cures, and the benefactions of a long diet. Ne, was not afraid to venture himself upon the seas, but had more regard of the dilating and amplifying of the church of Christ, than of all other things. So in conclusion he came, every man received and welcomed him; afterward he lived in such wise, as it might appear he came not hither for his own sake, but for ours: for he fought not to drive away the flickness that he had taken by troublesome travel of his long journey: and albeit his strength were weakened, yet he regarded not the day, so he could with ease and immediate necessity to rate labour and intolerable pain, only to teach and instruct us. And yet toward this noble and worthy a person, while he lived they shewed all the tokens of humanity and gentleness, reverence and courtey that could be. The example of his death was without cruelty and quite that might be imagined. For what can be so commendable, as to grant unto the living house and abiding place, and to the dead burial? Of that is what he will find in his heart to give entertain ment, and to cherish that gift in his house with all kinds of gentleness that he can devise, upon whom he could not vouchsafe to bestow burial when he is dead? What an inconstancy is it, with great solemnity, and with most advancement and commendation of his virtues, to be a man honourably, and after to break up his tomb, and pull him out spiritually, and wrongfully to flander him being dead, who during his life-time always deserved praise? All these things have happened unto Bucer, who, while he lived, had free access into the most gorgeous buildings and stately palaces of the greatest princes; and when he was dead, could not be suffered to enjoy his poor grave; who being laid in the ground nobly to his eternal fame, was afterward spiritually taken up and burned: which things, though they can not hurt the dead, (for the dead carcasses feel not pain,) neither doth the least injury possibly depend upon the report of vulgar people, and the light, the rumour of men, but upon the rightful censure and just judgment of God;) yet manifest the extreme cruelty and indefinable desire of revenge in them who offer such wrong to the dead. These perfons therefore whom they have pulled out of their graves and burned, I believe (if they had been alive) they would have called out of house and home, they would have driven out of all men’s company, and in the end with most cruel torments have been tortured. In plain and clear terms, the executioners, strangers, and also fetched hither by us out of a country, where they not only needed not to fear any punishment, but, on the contrary, were always in much expectation, as well among the noble and honoured, as also among the vulgar and common people. How much more gentle than these men was bishop Gardiner, otherwise an earnest defender of the popish doctrine? who against his own countrymen let pass no cruelty wheresoever he might extinguish with fire and sword the light of these, and the light of religion? when he went his way, he gave him wherewith to bear his charges. So that the thing which he thought he might of right do to his countrymen, he judged unlawful to do to strangers; and whom the law of God could not, hold from the wicked murdering of his own countrymen, him did the law of man breed from killing of strangers, which hath ever appeared all harmless beaflines, and mitigated all cruelty. It is a point of honour, not to meet together, and one to come to another, though they be not so far separated and so far ambled, both by sea and land, without which access there can be no intercourse of mercantile, no conference of wits, which first of all ingendered learning, nor any commodity to society long to continue. To repulse them that come to us, and to prohibit them, our countries, is a point of inhumanity. Now to entertain them evil, that by our sufferance dwell among us, and have increase of household and household-fish, is not to be done. To take revenge on long injuries, was not afraid to venture himself upon the seas, but had more regard of the dilating and amplifying of the church of Christ, than of all other things. So in conclusion he came, every man received and welcomed him; afterward he lived in such wise, as it might appear he came not hither for his own sake, but for ours: for he fought not to drive away the flickness that he had taken by troublesome travel of his long journey: and albeit his strength were weakened, yet he regarded not the day, so he could with ease and immediate necessity to rate labour and intolerable pain, only to teach and instruct us. And yet toward this noble and worthy a person, while he lived they shewed all the tokens of humanity and gentleness, reverence and courtey that could be. The example of his death was without cruelty and quite that might be imagined. For what can be so commendable, as to grant unto the living house and abiding place, and to the dead burial? Of that is what he will find in his heart to give entertain ment, and to cherish that gift in his house with all kinds of gentleness that he can devise, upon whom he could not vouchsafe to bestow burial when he is dead? What an inconstancy is it, with great solemnity, and with most advancement and commendation of his virtues, to be a man honourably, and after to break up his tomb, and pull him out spiritually, and wrongfully to flander him being dead, who during his life-time always deserved praise? All these things have happened unto Bucer, who, while he lived, had free access into the most gorgeous buildings and stately palaces of the greatest princes; and when he was dead, could not be suffered to enjoy his poor grave; who being laid in the ground nobly to his eternal fame, was afterward spiritually taken up and burned: which things, though they can not hurt the dead, (for the dead carcasses feel not pain,) neither doth the least injury possibly depend upon the report of vulgar people, and the light, the rumour of men, but upon the rightful censure and just judgment of God;) yet manifest the extreme cruelty and indefinable desire of revenge in them who offer such wrong to the dead. These perfons therefore whom they have pulled out of their graves and burned, I believe (if they had been alive) they would have called out of house and home, they would have driven out of all men’s company, and in the end with most cruel torments have been tortured. In plain and clear terms, the executioners, strangers, and also fetched hither by us out of a country, where they not only needed not to fear any punishment, but, on the contrary, were always in much expectation, as well among the noble and honoured, as also among the vulgar and common people. How much more gentle than these men was bishop Gardiner, otherwise an earnest defender of the popish doctrine? who against his own countrymen let pass no cruelty wheresoever he might extinguish with fire and sword the light of these, and the light of religion? when he went his way, he gave him wherewith to bear his charges. So that the thing which he thought he might of right do to his countrymen, he judged unlawful to do to
A Sermon of Dr. James Pilkington.

affably In the following light: that forasmuch as we have violated the holy scriptures, we should give ourselves up unreservedly to the guidance of the holy men may be commended unto posterity unhurt and unabashed. Wherefore amend ye at length (my brethren), which hitherto, by reason of the vanities and uncookliness of the times, have been wavering and unfixed in your endeavor to be true and upright in making satisfaction for the injury you have done to the dead, whom with such great wickedness of late you injured and defiled; not concerning them with the perfumes of those odours and spices now used for the dead, which before, for such an ungrieved repentance of the heart, and with prayer, to the intent that the heavenly Godhead, provoked by our doings to be our enemy, may by our humble submission be intreated to be favourable and agreeable to all our other requests.

When Mr. Ackworth had more than an end of his oration, Mr. James Pilkington, the queen's reader of the divinity lecture, going into the pulpit, made a fervent upon the 11th Psalm, the beginning whereof is, "bled is the man that feareth the Lord." Whereinto it is observed, that the remembrance of the dead shall not perish, that the dead is blest, and that the ungodly shall fret at the sight thereof, but yet that all their attempts shall be to no purpose, (to the intent that this fancy may be verified, I will curse your blessings, and bless your cursings) he took his beginning. For as he was ready and willing to take that matter in hand, partly for the worthines of the matter itself, and especially for certain singular virtues of those persons, for whom that congregation was called; notwithstanding, he said, he was not fit to take that charge upon him. For it was a point so crucial, if done Bucer wrong, should now make him amends for the displeasure. As for his own part, he was far from working evil against Bucer, either in word or deed; that for their singular knowledge almost in all kind of learning, he embraced both him and Phagius with all his heart; but yet he had somewhat more favoured Bucer, as with him he had more familiarity and acquaintance. In consideration whereof, although that it was farre convenient that he at that time should speak, yet he was contented, for friendship and cordially's sake, not to cause them in their own substance.

Having made this preface, he entered into the pith of the matter, wherein he blamed greatly the barbarous cruelty of the court of Rome, so fiercely extend against the dead. He said, it was a more heinous matter than was to be borne with, to have flewed with the mouth of foul language; but for any man to misbehave himself in such wise, whilst the dead was, such a thing as had not lightly been heard of: that he affirmed this custom of excommunicating and cursing of dead bodies to have come from Rome. For Evagrius reporteth in his writings, that a great rashness of the same matter, induced by the example of Jodias, who slew the priests of Baal, and burnt up the bones of them that were dead, even upon the altars. Whereas before the time of Eutychius this kind of punishment was nearly unknown, but afterwards usurped by any man that ever heard it. In the latter times (which as much the further they were from the golden age of the apostles, the more they were corrupted) this kind of cruelty began to creep further: for it is manifestly known, that Stephen, the first martyr, was cast into prison, and dug up for the apostles' sake, and buried in the church which bear his name. At the last of the synods of the church in that place, not many years since, he was taken up and buried in a better place. Which his unspoken tyranny used against Formosus, he added, doth show the Third increased also against the same Formosus, and his party, taking up his dead body, and putting it in a pope's chair, he caufed his head to be struck off, his other three fingers to be cut from his hand, and his body to be cast into the river Tyber, abrogating and dishonouring an arch-deacon, which thing was never done by any man before this time. This cruel act was exercised (by the report of Nauclerus) was this; because that Formosus had been an adversary to Stephen and Sergius, when they fled to be made bishops.

This sort of cruelty, unheard of before, the pope a while excercised one against another. But now, before they had sufficiently felt the smart thereof themselves, they had turned the same upon their necks. Wherefore it was to be wished, that feeling it began among them, it might have remained still with the author thereof, and had not spread out into us. But such is the nature of all evil, that it quickly paffeth into example, for others to do the like. For about the year of the Lord 1400, John Wickliffe was in like manner digged up, and burnt to ashes, and burned in a very year that runneth by the town where he was buried. In the same manner was forsooth one William Trayle, of Gloucester, a man of a worshipful house, because he had written in his life what, that he should be faved only by faith in Jesus Christ, and not by the works of men. He had not neede the help of any man thereunto, to whether he was saved and damned, but that he was bequeathed no legacy to that purpose, as all other men were accustomed to do. This deed was done since we may remember, about the twenty-second year of the reign of king Henry the Eighth, in the year 1539.

Now seeing they extended such cruelty to the dead, he said it was an easy matter to conjecture what they would do to the living. Whereof we have had sufficient trial by the examples of our own men, these few years past. And if we would take the pains to perceive it, much longer ago, we might find notable matters out of our doomsday chronicles. However, it was sufficient for the manifest demonstration of that matter, to declare the beaflly butchery of the French king, executed upon the Waldenses at Cabrier, and the places therewithout, by his capitains. Whereto, about the year of our Lord 1546, there was nothing else read of any cruelty done, no not even of the barbarous pagans. And yet for all that, when divers had fweared their utmost cruelty both against these and many others, they were so far from their purpose, in extinguishing the light of the gospel, and the truth. But yet it is probable, that it increased daily more and more. Which thing Charles the Fifth (than whom all Christendom had not a more prudent prince, nor the church of Christ a furer enemy) easily perceived; and therefore when he had put down Luther dead, and Melanchthon and Pomeran with all their doctrines, he made the protestants alive, he not only determined not any thing extremely against them, nor violated their graves, but also inquiring them gently, sent them away, not so much as once forbidding them to publish openly the doctrine things they professed. For it is the nature of Christ's church, that the more that tyrants fume against it, the more it increaseth and flouriseth. A notable proof assuredly of the providence and pleasure of God in fowing the gospel, was that coming of the Bohemians unto us, to the intent to hear Wicke- liffe. Whereto, about the year of our Lord 1546, there was openly at Oxford, and also the going of our men to the said Bohemians when persecution was raised against us. But much more notable was it, what we have seen come to pafs in these our days; that the Spaniards, sent for unto the realm on purpose to suppress the gospel, were in heaven or on earth profoundly defeated, replenished many parts of their country with the fame truth of religion to which before they were enemies. By which examples it might evidently be seen, that the princes of this world labour in vain to overthrow it, confusing how the mercy of God hath fown abroad, not only in the Indies, but also in France, Poland, Scotland, and almoft all the rest of Europe. For it is said, that some parts of Italy (although it be under the pope's nofe) yet do ye of
lative incline to the knowledge of the heavenly truth; wherefore sufficient argument and proof might be taken by the success and increase thereof, to make us believe that this doctrine is sent us from heaven, un- less we will be blind, and believe not only that there were any that desired to be persuaded more at large in the matter, he might advisibly consider the voyages that the emperor and the pope, with both their powers to- gether, made jointly against the Bohemians: in which the emperor led an unjust and unrighteous war, and so for a handful of his enemies, that he never almost in all his life took the like dishonour in any place. Here- of also might be an especial example of the death of Henry, king of France, who, on the day that he was pur- posed to be burned certain of his guards, who were imprisoned for religion, at whole execution he had promised to be present, in the midst of his triumph at Tournai, was wounded so for to lose in the head with a spear, by one of his own subjects, that he soon after died.

In which behalf the dreadful judgments of God were no less approved in our own countrymen. For one that was a notable lawyer—man of Christ's fairs, rotted alive, and before he died, such a rank fiant flamed from his body, that none of his friends were able to carry it from him, for he was being, ther, being in utter despair of all health, howled out miserably. The third ran out of his wits. Divers others, that were enemies to the church, perished miserably in the end. All which things were certain tokens of the favour and defence of the church, and of the just judgment and war of God, and vengeance towards the tyrants. And forasmuch as he had made mention of the Bohemians, he said it was a most apt example that was reported of their captain Zifca, who, when he shoul die, ordered his body to be flayed, and, out of his skin, to make a parchment to cover the head of a drum: for it should come to pass, that when his enemies heard the sound of it, they should not be able to stand against them. The like counsel (he said) he himself now gave them as concerning Bucer: that last, the Bohemian, did with the skin of Zifca, the fame should they do with the arguments and doctrine of Bucer: for as soon as the papists should hear the noise of him, their jew-gawas would forthwith decay. For saying that they used violence as such as withstood them, their doctrine corriged, and their understanding (as well in holy scripture) to be grounded upon any reason. As for those things that were done by them, against such as could not play the mad-men as well as they, some of them favoured of open force, and, as it were, for us now [it is difficult to understand this of all]? Was it not frivolous, that for the space or three years together, masses should be sung in those places where Bucer and Phagius refted in the Lord, without any offence? and as soon as they took it to be an office, straightway be an office if any were heard there; or he it should not be good then as it was before: as if that then, upon a sudden it was been a heinous matter to celebrate it there, and that the fault that was past should be counted the more grievous, because it was done of long time. Moreover, that Bucer and Phagius only should be dug up; as if they alone had embraced the religion which they call hereby. It was well known how one of the burgesses of the town had been inclined toward the popish religion: who, when he should die, desired neither ringing of bells, dirges, nor any kind of rites, to be done on his an- nexýrity, as it is termed; but that they should go with instruments of music before the mayor and coun- cil of the city, to celebrate his memorial; and also, that yearly a sermon should be made to the people, because it is a good money, there might be omit in that place to speak of Ward the painter, who, although he was a man of no reputa- tion, yet was not to be defiled for the religion's sake which he diligently followed. Nor were divers others to be paffed over with silence, who were known of a certainty to have continued in the same sect, and to rell in other church-yards in Cambridge, and passed through the whole realm, and yet defiled not their marriage.

All which perions (forasmuch as they were all of one opinion) ought to have been taken up, or all have been left to lie with the fame religious sect, and a man would grant, that it lieth in their power to make it appear by lawful and unlawful, at pleasure. In the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, to say the truth, they used too much cruelty, and in the form of violence. For howsoever it went with the doctrine of Bucer, certainly they could find nothing whereof to accuse Phagius, insomuch as he wrote nothing that he knew not; and moreover to say that he had translated out of the Hebrew and Chaldee, that comes into Latin. After his coming into the realm, he never read, disputed, preached, or taught; for he died soon after, that he could in that time give no oc- casion for his adversaries to accuse him whom they never heard speak. In that they hated Bucer is falsely, for allowing marriage of the clergy, it was their own malice conceived against him, and a very slander raised by themselves. For he had for his de- fence in that matter (besides other helps) the testim- onies of many learned men, and that the church of Paris place fays, That upon weighty considerations, priests and wives were taken from them, but for more weighty cauls were to be reformed. And also the statute of the emperor, (they call it the Interim) by which it is commanded, that if any ministers of the word were married, should not be divorced from their wives.

Thus turning his fyle from this matter to the uni- versity, he reproved, in few words, their unfaithful- nes towards these men. For if the Lord suffered not the bones of the king of Edom, being a wicked man, to be taken up and burnt, without revenging (as faith Amos), let us affure ourselves he will not suffer so notable a wrong done to his godly preachers unrevenged.

Afterward when he came to the condemnation, (which we told you in the former section was pro- nounced by Dr. Perne, vice-chancellor, in the name of them all) being somewhat more moved at the mat- ter, he admonished them how greatly it behoved them to use circumspection, what they decreed upon any man by their voices, in admitting or rejecting any man into the order of the clergy, or any of the orders of the church. For that he which should take his authority from them, should be a great prejudice to all the other multitude, which (for the opinion he had of their doctrine, judgment, allowance, and knowledge) did think themselves under the guidance of God, and that if they would defer their promotions upon none but fit persons, and let the unfruit go as they come, both the commonwealth should receive much advan- tage and profit by them, and they should highly please God. But if they permitted to be negligent in this matter, they should grievously injure the common- wealth, and work their own shame and reproach. Befides, they should greatly offend the majesty of God, whose commandment (Not to bear false witnes) would be broken and violated.

Wherein the death of Bucer, and many other things before his audience, many of the university, to set out and defend Bucer, beset the walls of the church and church-porch on both sides with verbes; fome in Latin, fome in Greek, and fome in English, in which they made a manifest declaration how they were minded toward Bucer and Phagius. Finally, when his sermon was ended, they made common supplica- tion and prayers. After giving thanks to God for many other things, especially for restoring the true religion, every man departed his way.

For we readeth, that those that were made of the death of the worthy and famous clerk Martin Bucer, and of the burning of his bones after his death, it will not be improper here to inflict the funeral verse of Dr. Redman upon Bucer's death, now translat- ed into English.
after to Marshall, then dean of Fridelwide's, that he should dig her up, and lay her out of christian burial, because she was interred nigh unto St. Fridelwide's relics, sometime had in great reverence in that college. Dr. Marshall calling his spades and mattocks together in the evening, when he was well fuddled, caused her to be dug up in a dunghill. However, when it pleased God, under good queen Elizabeth, to give quietness to his church, long time perpetuated with prnion and death, then Dr. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindall, bishop of London, Richard Goodrick, with divers others her majesty's high commissioners in matters of religion, (nothing ignorant how far the adversaries of the truth had transgressed the bounds of all humanity, in violating the sepulchre or grave of that good and virtuous woman) willed certain of that college, in which this uncourteous fact was attempted, to come, to take her out of the dunghill where the lay, and solemnly, in the face of the town, to bury her again in a more decent grave: for though the body being once dead, no great estimation were to be had, where the bones were laid; yet some reverence was to be used toward her for the sake of her sex. Beside, in fact, it was shameful, that he, after travelling so far at king Edward's request, from the place wherein he had dwelt quietly, and had taken so earnest pains, being an old man, in reading and forming the truth as far as he was able, and to the great sorrow of one of his seven children, because she could not hear and understand, and so well deserved of that university, should, by so ungentle a recompense of ingratitude, be rewarded again, as to have his wife, who was a godly woman, a stranger, good to many, especially to the poor, and doing justice to no one, in word or deed, without just deserving, and contrary to their own law, not proceeding against her according to the order thereof, slyly to be laid in a thinking dunghill. To all good persons, the fact seemed odious, and of such a thing in human society, utterly to be deterred. Wherefore Mr. Califf, sub-dean of the college, diligently provided, that from Marshall's dunghill the rector was restored and translated to her proper place again, yes, and withal coupled her with Fridelwide's bones, that in case any cardinal will be so mad hereafter to remove this woman's bones again, it shall be hard for them to decipher her bones from the other. And in order to inform the minds of men the better, the next day, being Sunday, Mr. Roperfon preached unto the people, in which sermon he declared the true nature of their sin, the wanders, and the pain he practised upon the living, but they must all rage against one that was dead, and lain two years in her grave. God grant them once to see their own wickedness. Amen.

The much-touching the noble acts and strangeness of this worthy cardinal in both the universities; whereunto it will not be impartial here also conqueintly to adjoin and set forth to the eyes of the world the blind and bloody articles set out by cardinal Poole, to be inquired upon, within his diocese of Canterbury, wherefore we cannot set in a dunghill, that yokes, and farnes of fruit, and fruitless traditions were laid upon the poor flock of Chrift, to intangle and oppress them with loss of life and liberty. By which, woman men may see what godly fruits proceeded from that catholic church and fee of Rome: in which, although the root (good reader) some good articles interjected, let not that move thee; for else how could such poison be ministrable, but it must have some honey to relish the reader's taste.

The Articles set forth by Cardinal POOLE, to be inquired upon in his ordinary Visitation, within his Diocese of Canterbury.

Touching the Clergy.

1. FIRST, Whether the divine service in the church at times, days, and hours, be observed and kept duly, or no.

2. Item, Whether the parsons, vicars, and curates,
do comely and decently in their manners and doings behave themselves, or no.

3. Item, Whether they do reverently and duly administer the Sacraments or sacramentals, or no.

4. Item, Whether any of the parishioners die without ministration of the sacraments, through the negligence of their curates, or no.

5. Item, Whether the said parsons, vicars, or curates, or do have any Holy Communion or other such acts of idolatry, increasing thereby infamy and slander, or no.

6. Item, Whether they be diligent in teaching the midwives how to christen children in time of necessity, according to the canons of the church, or no.

7. Item, Whether they see that the font be comely kept, and have holy water always ready for children to be chrismated.

8. Item, If they do keep a book of all the names of them that be reconciled to the duty of the church.

9. Item, Whether there be any priest that of late unlawfully had women under pretended marriage, and hitherto are not reconciled, and to declare their names and dwelling-places.

10. Item, Whether they do diligently teach their parishioners the articles of the faith, and the ten commandments.

11. Item, Whether they do decently observe those things that do concern the service of the church, and all those things that tend to a good and Christian life, according to the course of the church.

12. Item, Whether they do devoutly in their prayers, pray for the prosperous estate of the king and queen's majesties.

13. Item, Whether the said parsons and vicars do sufficiently repair their chancels, rectories, and vicarages, and do keep and maintain them sufficiently repaired and amended.

14. Item, Whether any of them do preach or teach any erroneous doctrine, contrary to the catholic faith and unity of the church.

15. Item, Whether any of them do say the divine service, or do administer the sacraments in the English tongue, contrary to the usual order of the church.

16. Item, Whether any of them do sufficiently keep any women in their houses, or do keep company with men suspected of heresies, or of evil opinion.

17. Item, Whether any of them that were under pretence of lawful matrimony married, and now reconciled, do privately resort to their pretended wives, or whether the said women do privately resort unto them.

18. Item, Whether they do go decently apparelled as it becomes a man, sober, and discreet ministers, and whether they have their crowns and beards shaven.

19. Item, Whether any of them do use any unlawful games, as dice, cards, and other like, whereby they grow debauched and evil report.

20. Item, Whether they do keep reverence and hospitality upon their benefices, and do make charitable contributions according to all the laws ecclesiastical.

21. Item, Whether they do keep the book of registers of christenings, burials, and marriages, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers.

Touching the Lay-people.

1. FIRST, Whether any manner of person, of what estate, degree or condition ever he be, do hold, maintain, or affirm, any heresies, errors or erroneous opinions, contrary to the laws ecclesiastical, and the unity of the catholic church.

2. Item, Whether any person do hold, affirm, or say, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is not contained the real and substantial presence of Christ: or that by any manner of means do contemn and despise the said blessed sacrament, or do refuse to do reverence or worship thereunto.

3. Item, Whether they do contemn or despise by any manner of means any other of the sacraments, rites, or ceremonies of the church, or do refuse or deny auricular confession.

The Martyrdom of Hugh Laverock, John Apprice, at Stratford, near Bow, in Middlesex.
people into their houes to drink and eat, and thereby neglect their duties in coming to the church.

30. Item, Whether any have or do deprave or corrupt the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's holy line, in the see of Rome.

31. Item, Whether any ministrals, or any other persons, do use to sing any songs against the holy sacraments, or any other rites and ceremonies of the church.

32. Item, Whether there be any hospitals within the city, and whether the foundations of them be duly and truly observed and kept; and whether the charitable contributions of the same be done accordingly.

33. Item, Whether any goods, plate, jewels, or possessions be taken away, or withheld from the said hospitals, and by whom.

As Account of Ten Martyrs condemned and burnt within the Diocese of Canterbury.

MENTION was made a little before the perfecution in Kent: where we declared that 15 were imprisoned and condemned in the cell of Canterbury: of which 15 we declared live to be famished to death within the city, and buried by the high executioner, in the beginning of November. The other ten in January, 1557, were committed unto the fire, and there conformed to ashes, by Thornton, Saffragan of Dover, and Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury.

Their names are as follow: John Philpot, of Tenterden, William Waterer, of Beddingden, Stephen Kempe, of Norgette, William Hay, of Hithe, Thomas Hudson, of Salenge, Matthew Bradbridge, of Tenterden, Thomas Stephens, of Beddingden, Nicholas Fenn of Tenterden, W. Lovick, of Cranbrooke, and Percival Thornham.

Of these ten godly martyrs, six were burnt at Canterbury about the 15th of January, that is, Kempe, Waterer, Prowting, Lovick, Hudson, and Hay. The other two, Stephens and Philpot, at Wye, about the same month. The other two, Foul and Bradbridge, were burnt together at Ashford the 16th of the same.

What the ordinary articles were that were commonly objected to them of Canterbury diocese, is before rehearsed, save only that to some of them, as to Smyth, who followed after, as the time of their perfection did grow, so their articles withal did increase to the number of two and twenty, containing such like matter as seemed to the tenet of the Romish faith.

Their answers likewise to these articles need not be rehearsed, seeing they all agreed together, though not in the fame form of words, yet to the fame effect, &c.

The next month, which was February, came out another bloody commination from the king and queen, to kindle up the fire of perfecution, as though it were not hot enough already; the contents of which commination I thought here not to omit; not for lack of matter, whereof I have too much; but that the reader may understand how kings and princes of this world, like as in the first perfections of the primitive church under Valerian, Decius, Maximinan, Diocletian, Licinius, &c. so now in these latter perilous days, have set out all their main force and power, with laws, policy, and authority, to the uttermost they could deplore against Christ and his gospel. Yet, notwithstanding all these laws, institutions, injunctions, and terrible proclamations provided against Christ and his gospel, he still continueth, his gospel flouriseth, and truth prevaleth; kings and emperors in their own purposes overthrown, their devices dissolved, their counsels confounded; as examples both of this and of all times and ages do make manifest. But now let us hear the intent of this commision, in tenor as follows:

A bloody Communion given forth by King PHILIP and QUEEN MARY, to persecute the poor Members of Christ.

PHILIP and Mary, by the grace of God king and queen of England, &c. To the right reverend father in God, Bishop of London, and well-beloved counsellor Thomas, bishop of Ely, and to our other right and well-beloved William Windfor, knight, lord Windfor, Edward North, knight, lord North, and our truly and well-beloved counsellor J. Bourn, knight, one of our chief secretaries, J. Mordaunt, knight, Francis Engle, knight, master of our wards and liveries, Edward Walgrave, knight, master of our great wardrobe, Nicholas Hare, knight, master of the rolls, Thomas Pope, knight, Roger Cholmley, knight, Richard Rede, knight, Rowland Hill, knight, William Palf, alderman, Henry Cole, clerk, dean of St. Paul's, William Roper, and Ralph Cholmley, quire, William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of the law, greeting.

Forasmuch as divers devilish and lacerious persons have not only invented, noised, and set forth divers false rumours and libellous charges against Us, but also have two divers hereticks, and heretical opinions, and set forth divers seditions books within this Our realm of England, meaning thereby to stir up division, strife, contention, and sedition, not only amongst Our loving subjects, but also betwixt Us and Our said subjects, and as true traitors, enmities, conspiracies, seditions, enormities, contempts and omissions, daily committed and done, to the disquieting of Us and Our people, We, minding the due punishment of such offenders, and the repression of such like offences, enormities, and misbehaviours from henceforth, having special truf and confidence in Your Royal Highness's governors and counsellors, and the general and particular knowledge of Our people and subjects, by books, lyes, tales, or otherwise, in any county, bowing, key, or other place or places, within this Our realm of England or elsewhere, in any place or places beyond the sea, and of the bringers-in, utterers, buyers, sellers, readers, keepers, or conveyors of any such books, books, rumour and tale, and of all and every their coadjuvators, counsellors, comforters, procurers, abettors, and maintainers, giving unto you, or any three of you, full power and authority by virtue hereof, to sear out and take up into your possession, all manner of hereetical and seditions books, letters, and writings, where they or any of them shall be found, as well in prints houses and shops as elsewhere, willing you and every of you to search for the same in all places according to your discretion.

Alfo to inquire, hear, and determine all and singular enormities, disturbiances, misbehaviours, and negligences committed in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place within this realm, and also for and concerning the taking away or with-holding any lands, tenements, goods, ornaments, flocks of money, or other things belonging to every of the said churches and chapels, and all accounts and reckonings concerning the same.

And also to inquire and search out all such persons as obstinately refuse to receive the blest sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or to come to their parish churches, or other convenient places appointed for divine service,

6 Z.
AFTER my duty done in receiving and accounting your honourable and most loving letters, dated August 7, be it known unto your lordship, that on the 28th of August, the lord of Oxford, lord Darcy, H. Tyrel, A. Brown, W. Bendons, E. Tyrel, R. Welton, R. Appleton, published their commission, to seize the lands, tenements, and goods of the fugitives, so that the owners should have neither use nor advantage thereof, but by inventory remain in safe keeping, until the cause was determined. And also there was likewise the proceeding for the restitution of the church goods within Colchester, and the hundreds thereabout, to the use of God's service. And then were called the parishes particularly, and the heretics partly committed to my care, and other things in that direction, as being only to me of the ornaments of their churches, but this and the justices' next appearance, which shall be on Michaelmas next. And the parishes which had prefixed at two several times, to have all ornaments within the church, were in good order, were expected for ever, till they were warned again, and others to make their appearance from time to time. And their names blotted in the indenture, were indited for treason, fugitives, or disobedience, and were put forth by Mr. Brown's commandment. And before the sealing of my lord Darcy, I said unto me apart, and Mr. Bendons, that I should have sufficient time to send unto your lordship, and, if need were, the heretics to remain in confinement till I heard from you, yea, till the lords legates grace commissioners come into the country.

And Mr. Brown came unto my lord Darcy's house and parlour belonging to Mr. Barnaby, before my said lord and all the justices, and laid his hand on my shoulder, with a smiling countenance, and desired me to send for Mr. Brown's commandment, he being bound to you, and asked me if I would: I said, Yea, with a good will. Wherefore I was glad, and thought I should not have been charged with so sudden carriage.

But after dinner, the justices counselled with the bailiffs, and the jailors, and after took them from me, and madecollation of the indentures, and sealed them; and then Mr. Brown commanded me this afternoon, being the 30th of August, to go and receive my prisoners by and by. Then I said, It is an unreasonable commandment, for I have been in prison, and this Sunday early I have fasted my home. Wherefore I desire you to have a convenient time appointed, wherein I may know whether it will please my lord, my master, to send his commissioners hither, or that I shall make carriage of them unto his lordship. Then Mr. Brown said, We are certified that the council have written to your master to make speed, and to rid these prisoners out of hand: therefore go receive your prisoners in haste. I answered, Sir, I shall receive them within the first opportunity. Then Mr. Brown said, We are at ease in us, and not in you, wherefore get you hence.

I replied, Sir, you have indicted and delivered me by this indenture, whole faith or opinions I knew not, trifling that you will grant me a time to examine these prisoners, which you shall please to command. Well, said Mr. Brown, for that cause you shall have time before this and Wednesday. And I say unto you, Meff. 1

The Apprehension of twenty-two Prisoners in Exon.
Mr. Commisary KINGSTON’S LETTER TO Bishop BONNER.

Membrane, that the householders might be compelled to bring every man his own wife to her own feast in the church in time of divine service, it would profit much, and also the year long fasting and others of like foundation, about Colchester, which I have not known to appear at any visitation, as the matters and lavers of Mary Magdalen in Colchester, the procotor of St. Catherine’s chapel in Colchester, the hospital on the south-house of the foundation of the lord H. Harney in London, and the church and hospital of Little Horkley. Thus precluding on your lordship’s goodness, I am more than bold ever to trouble you with this worldly buffets, befeeching Almighty God to send your honourable lordship a considew-ward.

From Ealthorp, this present 30th of August.

We found a letter concerning the marriage of priests in the hands of the aforesaid sir Robert Smith. Also I desired Mr. Brown, the doer of all things, to require the audience to bring in their unlawful writings and books; who asked me, if I had made the proclamation. I said, Yea. Then he said openly upon the bench, that they should be proclaimed once every quarter. And then take the confiables and officers, and they take and punish, be they princely or meanly.

By your poor headman,
John Kingston, priest.

An Indenture wriken between the Lords and Justices within the said, and BONNER’S Commisary, concerning the Delivery of the Prisoners above-mentioned.

This indenture, made the 19th day of August in the third and fourth years of the reign of our sovereign lord Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, France, both Sicilies, Jerusalem and Ireland, defenders of the faith, archdukes of Austria, dukes of Burgundy, Millain, and Brabant, counties of Hainault, Flanders, and Tirol, between the right honourable lord John W. V. of Oxford, lord high chamberlain of England, Thomas lord Darcy of Chich, Henry Tyrel, knight, Anthony Brown, the king and queen’s serjeant at law, Edmund Tyrel, Richard Wetton, Roger Appleton, esquires, justices of oyer and terminer, and of the peace within the said county of Essex, to be kept of the one part, and John King John, clerk, bachelor at law, commissary to the bishop of London, of the other party, witenesseth, that Robert Colman, of Walton, in the county of Essex, labourer; Joan Winsley, of Hornfield Magna, in the said county, spinster; Stephen Gleave, of Rayleigh, in the county of Essex, labourer; Richard Clerke, of Much Holland, in the said county, mariner; William Muns, of Much Bentley, in the said county, tenant; Margaret Field, of Ramfey, in the said county, spinster; Agnes Whightock, of Dovercourt, in the said county, spinster; Rose Allin, of the same town and county, spinster; Richard Bongeour, of Colchester, in the said county, currier; Richard Atkin, of Halstead, in the said county, weaver; Robert Barcock, of Walton, in the county of the said county, cooper; Richard George, of Welfordbroke, in the county of Essex, labourer; Richard Jolly, of Colchester, in the said county, mariner; Thomas Ferrinfane, of the same town and county, mariner; Robert Debnam, late of Dedham, in the said county, weaver; Cicely Warren, of Cockfield, in the said county, spinster; Christian Pepper, widow, of the same town and county; Allin Simpson, Helen Euring, Alice the wife of William Wallis, of Colchester, spinster; William Bongoeur, of Colchester, in the said county, glazier; being indicted of hereby, are delivered to the said John King John, clerk, to answer, upon the complaint of London, according to the statute in that case provided.

In witness whereof to the one part of this indenture remaining with the said earl, lord, and other the justices, the said ordinary hath fet to his hand and seal; and to the other part remaining with the said earl, the said earl, lord, and other the justices, have fet to their
his place, had not Queen Mary, by intreaty, kept him out of the pope's danger. Which letters I have [if need be] to shew, besides, that it is thought of him that toward his latter end, just before his coming from Rome to England, he began somewhat to favour the doctrine of Luther, and was no less trusted at Rome: yea, he there converted a certain learned Spaniard from papism to Luther's side; notwithstanding the pomp and glory of the world afterward induced him to play the papist as he did. But enough of this cardinal.

To your letter, this, godly company; first, ye have heard how they were brought up in bands to London; also, how Bonner was about to have read the sentence of death upon them, and how he was flapped by the cardinal, ye know. Touching their confinement, which they were in, and no writing at all to divert them to recite it at length. Briefly touching the article of the Lord's supper (for which they were chiefly troubled) they wrote as follows:

The Supper of the Lord.

WHHEREAS Christ, at his last supper, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, "Take, eat: this is my body:" and likewise took the cup and thanked, &c. we understand it to be a figurative speech, the most part of his language being in parables and dark sentences, that they which are carnally minded should be far from them, but should hold to the light of true knowledge and holy readings, and the understanding of such sentences, before and after, and all the rest from Colchester to Stratford-le-Bow, did go quietly and obediently, yet coming to Stratford they began to take heart of grace, and to do as pleased themselves, for they began to have their guard, which generally incresced till they came to Aldgate, where they were lodged on Friday night.

And although I took order that the said heretics should be with me very early on Saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come and be examined by me; yet it was between ten and eleven before one of the clerks before mentioned, and they早晨 take no way but through Cheapside, so that they were brought to my house with about a thousand persons: which thing I took very strange, and spake to Sir John Greffam, being then with me, to tell the mayor and the sheriff, that this thing was not well suffered in the city. These wicked heretics, all the way they came through Cheapside, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort from the promiscuous multitude; and being entered into my house, and talked withal, they then declared their grievances deferred, and very obdurate; yet I used all the honest means I could, both of myself and others, to win them, cauting divers learned men to talk with them; and finding in them nothing but pride and wilfulness, I thought to have had them all hither to Fulham, to give sentence against them. Nevertheless, perceiving by my last doing that your grace was offended, I thought it my duty before I proceeded herein, first to inform your grace hereof, and know your pleasure, which I believe your grace may do by theundertaking by your servant. And thus my business I take my leave of you, beseeching Almighty God to preserve the fame. At Fulham, Anno 1556. Your grace's most bounden beardman and fervans, Edmon Bonner.

By this letter of bishop Bonner to the cardinal, is to be understood what good-will was in this bishop to have the blood of these men, and to have paffed sentence of condemnation against them, had not the cardinal somewhat (as it seemed) played his fervent henchmen. Concerning which cardinal, though it cannot be denied by his acts and writings, that he was a perfidious enemy, and a reputed papist; yet it is to be supposed that he saw none of the cruel fruit of papists, as many are under the supposition the rage of this bishop, as well as by the fictitious writing, and long letters written to Cranmer, also by the complaints of certain papists, accusing him to the pope, of being a bearer with the heretics, and by the pope's letters sent to him upon the same, calling him to Rome, and setting friar Pero in

The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS. [Q.MARY. A.D. 1557.]

their several hands and feals, the day and year above written.


Anthony Bown. Roger Appleton.

The twenty-two aforesaid prisoners thus sent from Colchester to London, were brought at length to bishop Bonner, concerning whom Bonner himself writhe to cardinal Poole, in the following manner:

A Letter of Bishops BONNER to Cardinal POOLE.

MAY it please your grace, with my most humble obedience, reverence, and duty to understand, that going to London on Thursday last, and thinking to be troubled with Mr. Germaine's matter only, and such other common matters as are accustomed, enough to weary a right strong body, I had the day following, to comfort my strength withal, letters from Colchester, that either that day or the day following, I should have sent me from thence twenty-two heretics, indicted before the commissioners, and indeed, of this, and compelled to bear their charges as I did of the others, both of which cost me above twenty nobles, a sum of money that I thought full evil bestowed. And these, heretics, notwithstanding they had honest catholic keepers to condole and bring them, yet through the rigour and all the force from Colchester to Stratford-le-Bow, did go quietly and obediently, yet coming to Stratford they began to take heart of grace, and to do as pleased themselves, for they began to have their guard, which generally increased till they came to Aldgate, where they were lodged on Friday night.

And although I took order that the said heretics should be with me very early on Saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come and be examined by me; yet it was between ten and eleven before one of the clerks before mentioned, and they required no way but through Cheapside, so that they were brought to my house with about a thousand persons: which thing I took very strange, and spake to Sir John Greffam, being then with me, to tell the mayor and the sheriff, that this thing was not well suffered in the city. These wicked heretics, all the way they came through Cheapside, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort from the promiscuous multitude; and being entered into my house, and talked withal, they then declared their grievances deferred, and very obdurate; yet I used all the honest means I could, both of myself and others, to win them, cauting divers learned men to talk with them; and finding in them nothing but pride and wilfulness, I thought to have had them all hither to Fulham, to give sentence against them. Nevertheless, perceiving by my last doing that your grace was offended, I thought it my duty before I proceeded herein, first to inform your grace hereof, and know your pleasure, which I believe your grace may do by the undertaking by your servant. And thus my business I take my leave of you, beseeching Almighty God to preserve the fame. At Fulham, Anno 1556. Your grace's most bounden beardman and fervans, Edmon Bonner.

By this letter of bishop Bonner to the cardinal, is to be understood what good-will was in this bishop to have the blood of these men, and to have passed sentence of condemnation against them, had not the cardinal somewhat (as it seemed) played his fervent henchmen. Concerning which cardinal, though it cannot be denied by his acts and writings, that he was a perfidious enemy, and a reputed papist; yet it is to be supposed that he saw none of the cruel fruit of papists, as many are under the supposition the rage of this bishop, as well as by the fictitious writing, and long letters written to Cranmer, also by the complaints of certain papists, accusing him to the pope, of being a bearer with the heretics, and by the pope's letters sent to him upon the same, calling him to Rome, and setting friar Pero in
The names of those who subscribed to this submi-
ssion were these:

John Atkin, Alyn Symphon, Richard Tho-
mas, John Fitz, Richard Perche, Joly, Richard Gratwick, Thomas Winley, Richard Dore, Richard
Clark, Stephen Glover, Robert Colman, Thomas Meade,
William Bongor, Robert Bercock, Margaret Hide,
Elyn Euring, Christiah Pepper, Margaret Feld, Alice
Munt, Joan Winley, Cicely Warren, Rose Aln,
Ann Whitchefitte, George Barker, John Saxby, Tho-
mas Locker, Alice Locker.

An Account of Five godly MARTYRS, burnt at one Fire
in Smithfield, on the 12th Day of April, 1557.

To proceed further in this history of perfecuted
martyrs, next follow these five, namely—

Thomas Lofeby, Margaret Hide, *
Henry Ramsey, and
Thomas Thirtell, Agnes Stanley,

Who being, some by the lord Rich, some by other
juices of the peace, and confabuls (their own neigh-
bours), at the first accused and apprehended for not
coming to their parish churches, were in the end sent
unto Bishop of London, and by his command-
ment, on the 27th of January, were examined before
Dr. Darbyshire, then chancellor to the said bishop,
upon the former general articles mentioned.

Answers to the Articles.

WHERE anfvers thereunto were, that as they
confessed there was one true and catholic
church, wherein they stedfastly believed, and thought
the church of Rome to be no part or member; so in
the fame church they believed there were but two fa-
caments, that is to say, baptism and the Lord's sup-
ners. However, some of them attributed the title and
donour of a sacrament to the holy euffate of matri-
mony, which undoubtedly was done rather out of sim-
ple ignorance than of any wilful opinion, and are
thereof to be adjudged as before is admonished.

Moreover, they acknowledged themselves to be
baptized of anathema, and added, that the third article
is specified. And here, in reading, as well these articles as the reft, mark, I believe you,
the subtlety of these catholic companions, who, inter-
mixing certain points of faith, and of the true
church, with the idolatrous and superstitious tral of
their Romish religion, and being in their ignorance
and folly, for lack of knowledge, oftentimes to fall into
their crafty nes.

For after they had made them grant a true church,
with the sacraments of the fame, though not in such
a number as they would have them, and alfo that they
were chriftian in the faith thereof, that is, in the
name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy
Ghoft, they craftily now in their other objections,
defending, as it were, from the faith of the Trinity
unto their idolatrous mafs and other superstitious ce-
memories, would make them grant, that in all an-
alying thereof, they have veuered themselves from
the faith of the true church, whereunto they were bap-
tized, which is most faile: for though the true light
of God's gospel and holy word was marvellously dark-
ened, and in a manner utterly extinguished, yet the
true faith of the Trinity, by the mericel providence
of God, was still preferred, and into the faith thereof
were they baptized, and not into the belief and profes-
sion of their horrible idolatry and vain ceremonies.

These things not thoroughly weighed by these poor,
yet faithful and true members of Christ, caused some of
them ignorantly to grant their part, not only the years of discretion, and understood the light of the
gospel, they did separate themselves from the faith

7 A
of the church, meaning none other but only to separate themselves from admitting or allowing of such popish and erroneous truth, as thou hast here described the church of England with, and nor from their faith received in baptism, which in express words, in their answers to the other articles they constantly affirmed, declaring the mafs and Sacrament of the altar to be most wicked blasphemy against Jesu Christ, and contrary to the truth of his gospel, and therefore they utterly refused, or differ unto them, or to be reconciled again thereby.

These answers in effect being thus taken by the said chancellor, they were for that time dismissed; but the bishop, taking the matter into his own hands, the 6th of March, presented unto them certain other new articles; the copy whereof here followeth:

Other Articles objected by BONNER, Bishop of Londos, against THOMAS LOSEBY, HENRY RAMSAY, THOMAS THIRTELL, MARGARET HIDE, and AGNES STANLEY, the 6th of March, being the second Time of Examination.

FIRST. That thou hast thought, believed and spoken, within some part of the city and diocese of London, that the faith, religion, and ecclesiastical service here observed and kept, as it is in the realm of England, is not a true and laudable faith, religion, and service, especially concerning the mafs, and the seven sacraments, nor is agreeable to God’s word and the doctrine thereof; nor that thou hast not in thy heart, without murmuring, grudging, or scruple, to receive and use it, and to conform thyself unto it, as other subjects of this realm customably have done and do.

2. Item, That thou hast thought, &c. that the English Church, taken and set forth in the time of king Edward the Sixth, here in this realm of England, was and is good and godly, and catholic in all points, and that it alone ought here in this realm to be received, used, and practised, and none other.

3. Item, Likewise thou hast thought, &c. that thou hast not bound to come to thy paroch church, and there to be present, and hear matins, mafs, even-long, and other divine service, sung or said there.

4. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that thou art not bound to come in procession to the church upon days and times appointed, and to go in the same with others of the parish, singing or saying then the accustomed prayers used in the church, nor to bear a taper or candle on Candlemas day, nor take alms on Ash-Wednesday, nor to creep to the crots upon accustomed mafl-time, or to receive holy water and holy bread, nor to accept and allow the ceremonies and usages of the church, after the manner and fashion as they are used in this realm.

5. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that thou art not bound at any time to confess thy sins to any priest, and to receive absolution at his hands, as God’s minister, nor to receive at any time the blessed Sacrament of the altar, especially as it is used in this church of England.

6. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that in matters of religion and faith, thou must follow and believe thine own conscience only, and not give credit to the determination and common order of the catholic church, and the see of Rome, nor to any member thereof.

7. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that all things do chance of an absolute and precise mere necessity, to that whether man do well or evil, he could not choose but do so, and that therefore no man hath any free-will at all.

8. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that the fashion and manner of chrifening infants is not agreeable to God’s word, and that none can be effectually baptized, and thereby freed, except he be of years of discretion to believe himself, and to willingly accept or refuse baptism at his pleasure.

9. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that prayers to saints, or prayers for the living, for all nothing, and are not allowable by God’s word, or profane, in any wise, and that the souls departed do go straight to heaven or hell, or else do sleep till the day of doom, so that there is no place of purgation at all.

10. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that all such as in the kingdom of King Henry Eighth, or in the time of queen Mary in England, have been fled, renounced, and were theretofore heretics, were no heretics at all, but faithful and good christian people; especially Barne, Garret, Jerome, Frith, Rogers, Hooper, Cardmaker, Latimer, Taylor, Whaddon, Philips, Cosmio, Ridley, and such like; and that thou didst and dost allow, like and approve all their opinions, and dost mislike their condemmations and burnings.

11. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that fasting and prayers used in this church of England, and the appointing of days for fasting, and the abstaining from flesh upon fasting-days, and especially in the time of Lent, is not laudable or allowable by God’s word, but is hypocritical and foolishness; and that men ought to have liberty to eat at all times all kinds of meat.

12. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and to receive and keep it, or to honour it, is plain idolatry and superstitition; and likewise of the mafs and elevation of the sacrament.

13. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that thou or any else, converted before an ecclesiastical judge concerning matters of belief and faith, are not, nor bound to make answer at all, especially under an oath upon a book.

Their Answers to the above Articles.

CONCERNING the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth, they generally granted unto, saving that they denied the souls of the departed to sleep till the day of judgment, as is mentioned in the ninth article.

And as concerning the first objection, they thought themselves bound to believe the true catholic church, so far forth as the same doth instruct them according to God’s holy word, but not to follow the determinations of the erroneous and Babylonical church of Rome.

As for the seventh, eighth, and thirteenth, they utterly denied, that ever they were of any such absurd opinions as are contained therein, but they granted that man of himself, without the help and assitance of God’s Holy Spirit, hath no power to do any thing acceptable in God’s sight.

To the eleventh they said, that true fasting and praying, used according to God’s word, are allowable and available in his sight, and that by the same word every faithful man may eat all meats at all times, with thanksgiving to God for the same.

After this, the 7th of April, they were again convened before the bishop in his palace at London, where little appeareth to be done, except it were to know whether they would stand to their answers, and whether they would recant or no. But when they refrained to recant, and deny the received and infallible truth, the bishop caused them to be brought into the open consistory, the third of the same month of April in the forenoon, where first understanding by them their immutable constancy and steadfastness, he demanded particularly of every one what he had to say, who thought fit to pronounce the sentence of condemnation.

To whom Thomas Lofcby first answered, God give me grace and strength to stand against you and your sentence, and your law, which devoureth the flock of Christ. And I perceive there is no way with most death, except I would confess to your condemning law, and believe in that idol the mafs.

Next
brought them into Smithfield, where they all in one fire most joyfully and contently ended their temporal lives, receiving therefore the life eternal.

An Account of Three Martyrs burned in St. George's Fields, in Southwark.

In the month of May following, William Morant, Stephen Gratwick, — King, suffered in St. George's Fields, in Southwark.

Among other histories of the perfected and condemned saints of God, I find the condemnation of none more strange nor unlawful than this of Stephen Gratwick, who first was condemned by the bishop of Winchelsea and the bishop of Rochester, who were not his ordinaries.

Secondly, When he did appeal from these incompetent judges to his right ordinary, his appeal could not be admitted.

Thirdly, When they had no other shift to colour their inordinate proceedings withal, they suborned one of the priests to come in for a counterfeit and a false ordinary, and sit upon him.

Fourthly, He was openly accused and overthrown in his own arguments, yet Dr. White, the said bishop of Winchelsea, neither would yield to the force of truth, nor suffer any of the audience to speak once to say, God strengthen him.

Fifthly, As he was brought in a false ordinary to sit upon him, where they pretended false articles against him, which were no part of his examinations, but of their deviling, to have his blood.

Sixthly and lastly, Having no other ground nor just matters against him, but only for saying these words, "That which I said, I have said," they read the sentence of death upon him.

And thus did these men deal, who needs will be reputed for catholic fathers of the spirituality, successors of the apostles, disciples of Christ, pillars of the holy church, and leaders of the people. Of whose proceedings, how agreeable they are to the example of Christ and his apostles, I leave to discuss, referring the judgment hereof to them who know the infallibility of Christ's religion and doctrine.

Now, left the disordered mis-rule of the Christians lords and people be credited up to the temple narration of the story, you shall hear the whole discolour of this process, regisitered by the hand of the martyr himself, who, as he could tell what was done, do I am sure he would not testify otherwise than the truth was, as you shall hear by his declaration.

The Declaration of STEPHEN GRATWICK concerning his own Story and Condemnation.

On the 25th day of May, in the year 1557, I Stephen Gratwick came before Dr. White, bishop of Winchelsea, in St. George's church, Southwark, at eight o'clock in the morning, and then he called me before him, and said unto me—Winchelsea. Stephen Gratwick, how standeth the matter? Art thou contented to revoke the herefes, which thou hast maintained and defended within my diocese, oftentimes before me? Also upon Sunday last you stood up in the face of the whole church maintaining your herefes, so that you have offended within the liberty of my diocese; and now I being your ordinary, you must answer to me directly, whether you will revoke thou or not, which I have here in writing; and if you will not revoke them, then I will excommunicate you, and therefore note well what you do, for now I read the article against you.

And when he had ended, he bade me answer unto them.

Gratwick. My lord, these articles which you have here objected against me, are not mine, but of your own making; for I never had any of my examinations.
tions written at any time, and therefore these are the objections that you lay against me as a snare to get my blood. Wherefore, I defy your lawful favour, to allow my appeal to mine ordinary; for I have nothing to do with your lordship. Be it so, however you desire, that I have offended within your diocese, I say, it is not so; for I have not enterprized either to preach or teach within your diocese, but was apprehended by mine own bishop, and sent prisoner into your diocese, by the consent of the council and mine ordinary; and therefore I do being in your diocese, you have no cause to refuse my lawful appeal.

And with that came the bishop of Rochester, (whom the bishop of Winchelsea gladly received) according to their determined course; and for overthrew the archdeacon of Canterbury: and the bishop againstart up, as a man half ravished of his wits for joy, embracing him with many gentle words, and said, he was very glad of his coming, making ignorant thereof, as he thought it should appear to me. Then said Winchelsea:

Sir, I am very glad of your coming; for here I have one before me, who hath appealed unto you, being his ordinary. Then said the archdeacon of Canterbury:

I see this man very well. He hath been divers times before me. And I answered—

My lord, I am not of his diocese by five miles: for his diocese reacheth on that part no farther than the cliffs of Lewes, and I dwell at Brightlifehome, five miles beyond, in the diocese of the bishop of Chichester; and therefore I am not of his diocese.

Then the bishop of Winchelsea, the bishop of Rochester, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, cast their heads together and laughed: and then they said my ordinary would be here by—and-by; and to them went a counterfeit, instead of mine ordinary: then I saw them laugh; when I spake to them, and said—

Why do you laugh? Are you confederate together for my blood, and therein triumph? You have more cause to look weightily upon the matter; for I stand here before you upon my life and death. But you declare yourselves what you are: for you are clothed in lamb's apparel; but I would to God you had cast down according to your assemblies here, which is scarlet gowns, for I do here perceive you are both filled with blood.

And then came rushing in that counterfeit bishop, who was the hired servant to deliver me into the hands of the high-priest; and the bishop bearing him come, with halter inquired of him who was there, and he said, My lord of Chichester. Then the bishop said—

You are most heartily welcome; and required him to sit down: and then said the bishop of Winchelsea to me, Lo, here is your ordinary; what have you now to say to him?

Gratwick. I have nothing to say to him. If he has nothing to say to me, I pray you let me depart. Then answered my counterfeit ordinary, and said—

Here you stand before my lords and me in trial of your faith; and if you bring the truth, we shall by compulsion give place unto you, as it is to be proved by the word; and your deliverance to be heard and embraced for a truth.

Gratwick. Then I demanded of him whether he meant by authority, or by the judgment of the Spirit of God in his members.

He was answered me, By authority as well as by the Spirit.

Then, said I, now will I turn your own argument upon you; for Chrift came before the high priests, and his body of Scripture, bringing the truth with him, brought the truth himself, which truth cannot lie, yet both he and his advocates were condemned, and took no place with them: and also the apostles, and all martyrs that died since Chrift:

therefore I turn your own argument upon you: an

der it, if you can.

Then the said counterfeit ordinary, with great heat, was paid to the bishop of Winchelsea. Object some articles against him, as he is obstinate, and would fain get out of our hands; therefore, hold him to some particular: so that no other answer could I have to this argument.

Then the bishop of Winchelsea began to read ob. jections against me, making against me, and he led me answer to them.

And I said, No, except you will let the law upon, because I see you are mindful of my blood.

Winchelsea. Now you may fee he will not answer to the things he hath aforesaid.

Then spake the counterfeit ordinary again, and said, My lord, ask him what he faith to the sacrament of the altar. Then the bishop asked me, as my counterfeit ordinary required him.

Gratwick. My lord, I do believe that in the sacrament of the altar, the Lord, truly adminis tered in both kinds, according to the institution of Christ, unto the worthy receiver, he bath mystically and by faith the body and blood of Christ. Then I asked him, if it were not the truth, and he said, Ye; then you are the greatest witness of the truth.

Then the bishop of Winchelsea, whose whole head being subtlety to gather upon my words, said, My lord, are you not how he creeps away with his heresies, and covereth them privily? Note how here he separah the sacrament of the altar from the supper of the Lord; and the true sacrament, and also how he condemneth our administation of one kind, allowing that the unworthy receiver doth not eat and drink the body and blood of Christ, which be fore matters truly weighted, being covered very craftily with his subtle shifts and sophistry, but he flieth wither before he depart.

Gratwick. My lord, that is but your gathering of my words, for you before confected the fame say ings to be the truth, and this you catch at me, and fain would have an advantage for my blood: but seeing you judge me not to mean the sacrament of the altar, how can you prove the falsity of the sacrament, and prove it to be the true sacrament, and I am with you: or else, if you can prove your church to be the true church, I am also with you.

But then he called to memory the last probation of all, and this face of face, who was driven to forfake the scriptures, and to fly me by good reason how they might administer the sacrament in one kind: and his reason was this, Like as a man or woman dieh on a sudden, and so when we have given him the body of Christ, in the mean time theirs spirit, and so he administered the body of Christ, and drinketh not his blood. And this was his simple shift in the proving of their sacraments: so he was now half affamed to begin that matter again. But yet a little shift he brought in, and said—

What sayest thou by the administration of the priests every day for themselves, and they minister in both kinds?

To that I answered, You have two administrations, for I am sure at Easter you administer but in one kind, and therefore it is not according to the institution of Christ, but after your own imaginings. Then, what sayest thou to these words, " Take, eat, this is my body?" There is the words of Christ. wilt thou deny them?

Gratwick. My lord, they are the words of scripture, that be in the gospels, and must be teached them. Then said Rochester. Why, then, thou dost confess the sacrament of the altar to be a real presence, the self-fame body that was born of the virgin Mary, and is ascended into heaven.

Gratwick. My lord, what do you now mean? Do you mean the more visible body? For it cannot be, but of necessity, if it be a real presence, and a material body, it must he a visible body also.

Winchelsea.
Winchaff. Nay, I say unto thee, it is a real presence, and a material body, and an invisible body too.

Gratwick. My lord, then it must needs be a fantastical body, for if it should be material and invisibl e, as you affirm, then it must needs be a fantastical body: for it is apparent that Christ's human body was visible and feet.

Then the vessel brake out and said, When didst thou for it? I pray thee tell me.

That I answered and said, A simple argument it is, because our corporal eyes cannot comprehend Christ, doth it prove or follow, that he is invisible, because we cannot see him?

And with that he that had grown weary of his argument, and removed his talk to Judas in eating the sacrament, and said, He eat him wholly, as the apostles did.

And then I asked him, If he meant Christ's flesh and blood, which he speaketh of in the sixth of John, and faith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life in me; To that he answered and said, Yea.

Then said I, Of necessity Judas must needs be saved, because he did eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, as you have affirmed, and also all the other, and the sacrament, because they have eaten your sacrament, which you say is the flesh and blood of Christ: therefore of necessity they shall receive the benefit thereof, that is, eternal life: which is a great absurdity to grant, and then of necessity it must follow, that all that eat not, and drink not of your sacrament, shall finally perish and be damned, and damned in the fire and in the brimstone, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you. And you have affirmed that of your sacrament, which you say is the same flesh and blood which Christ speaketh of: and here I prove, that all children then that die under age to receive the sacrament, by your own argument, must be damned, which is horrible blasphemy to speak. Now here I turn your own argument upon you; answer it, if you can.

Winchaff. My lord, do you not see what deceitful arguments he brings in against us, mingled with sophistry, and keepeth himself so that we can get no hold of him? But I say unto thee, perversa heretic, I think thou art a pervers fellow. I had a better opinion of thee, but now I see we lose our time about thee; yet I answer thee, St. Paul doth open the sixth of St. John plainly, if thou wilt see; for he saith, They eat Christ's body and drink his blood unworthily: and that was the cause of their damnation.

Gratwick. But no, sir, you do not add unto the text, for he that addeth to the text is accursed of God, and I am sure here you have brought more than Paul hath spoken: for he faith not, because they have eaten his body and drank his blood unworthily; but St. Paul faith, Whosoever shall eat this bread and drink of this cup unworthily, he shall be guilty of the body and blood of Christ. Note, my lord, he faith not as you have affirmed, but quite contrary. And with that they were all in a great rage.

Then the bishop of Winchaff said I belied the text.

And then I called for the text.

Winchaff. I alked thee even now if thou didst understand Latin, and thy answer was, Whether thou didst or no, the people shall bare witnes in English.

Gratwick. And lo I called again for the Testament, whether it were Latin or English, for the trial of the question.

And then when the bishop of Winchaff faw that I cared not which of the translations I had, he stood up, thinking to beguile some simple man that had a book there, and bade him that had an English Testament to bring it in, that he might get some hold of him that should bring a Testament: but God disappointed him thereon, and so he flew away from the matter, and began to rail upon me, and said, my faith arguments should not serve: for if I would not answer directly, it should not be communicated. For (said he) I saw a mad toy in thine head; thou gloriest much in thy talk, and thinkest now the people are come about thee, that thou shalt encourage them with thy flat and heretical opinion. For the last day, when thou wilt be before me upon Sunday in our church, thou wilt prevail me, for I provided my sermon, and had a thousand by thee at least, to bid God strengthen thee: but now let me see thee here that dare open his mouth to bid God strengthen thee; he shall die the death that thou shalt die.

To that I answered, My lord, I know your cruelty far exceeds your pitty. I know from experience that you keep men in prison a year or two, taking their books from them, permitting them not so much as a Testament to look upon for their souls comfort, which all men ought to have: and so you treat them more like brutish beasts than christian men.

Winchaff. No, sir, we will use you as we will use the child: for if the child will hurt himself with the knife, we will keep the knife from him. Because you will damn your soul with the word, you shall not have it.

Gratwick. My lord, a simple argument you bring to maintain and cover your fault. Are you not ashamed to make the word the cause of our damnation? I never knew any man but you that did not affirm ours sins to be the cause of our damnation, and not the word, as you say: and therefore if your argument be good, thou hast good also: because that foreign men do abuse the drink, therefore the benefit of drink should be taken from all men, or any other such like good gift.

Winchaff. My lords, we lose much time, for this fellow is perverse, speaking nothing but sophistry and perverse questions: so that we can get no advantage of him.

Then I make my counterfeit ordinary, as one half asleep all this while: yet somewhat with haste when he was awakened he began to tell his tale, and said—

Read these articles against him once more, and if he will not answer them, take him upon his first words—'That which I said, that I have said.'

Then the bishop of Winchaff began to read them again.

But I paid unto him I would not answer them, because they were none of mine examinations, but objections of their own making, because they would have my blood. But yet I said, if they would let the law apart, I would talk my conscience freely to them.

Then the bishop of Winchaff spake again, charging me with the saying of St. Peter, that I should render an account of such hope as was in me.

Gratwick. So I can do, yet I shall not plea you, for here I now render my hope as St. Peter willeth me: I believe only in Jesus Christ to have my salvation in him, by him, and through him; but I perceive you would have me render my faith in such sort, as you may have my blood, and therefore you bring good scriptures, and evil apply them.

Winchaff. Why, this fellow is perverted, and we shall get no more at his hands than we have already; therefore we will pronounce sentence against him, for we do not lose our time.

Gratwick. Nay, my lord, seeing you will needs have my blood, let me say a little more for myself.

On Sunday last, when I was before you, you preached this which was a truth, and agreeable to the doctrine of the apostle St. James, and said, If any man thinketh to glory, let him thinke this mean time endure his tongue or his heart, the same man's religion is a vain religion; and so, my lord, you standing there in the pulpit, in the mean time endured your tongue to slander us poor prisoners, being there present in iron bands, burdening us with the yells of Arius, Herodians, Amabulaths, Sacramentaries, and Pelagians.

And when we stood up to purge ourselves thereof, 7 B.

No. 19.
you said you would cut out our tongues, and cause us to be pulled out of the church by violence. But then you gave yourself a threedow blast, for your tongue in the mean time flandered your neighbour. For I, my lord, will give my life against all these herefeches, which you there burdened us withal, even as I will give my life against that wherein I now stand before you. And with that he was raging angry, and caught my condemnation, and said—

Thou wilt grant here no more but this word, "That I have said, I have said!" and here I gather matter enough to condemne thee, for this is a confirmation of all that thou hast before said.

Then I answered, If you can prove that ever any of my examinations were written, it is enough; but you have nothing against me but objections of your own making.

Winchfield. Have at thee now, if thou wilt not yield, I will pronounce sentence against thee; and so he proceeded forward, cursing and banning in Latin; so I told him if the people might hear it in English, they would think him an uncharitable bishop. And then I said, Stay, my lord, and mind what you do: for you have no other temporal or spiritual law here against me in any cause.

Then stepped forth a gentleman, and said unto my lord, Take heed what you do: for he doth here say, that you have no title or cause why you should condemn him.

Then the bishop looked upon him again, and asked me if I would recant.

I asked him, whereof I should recant?

Then said the bishop, Are you there? Nay then I know what I have to do; and so he proceeded forth in reading my condemnation. And there was another gentleman which began to snap and snatch at me; and then, said I, I would to God I had known before this I had ever come from home, I would have put on breeches, and not had my skin thus torn. And all this while the bishop read over and over straight, and his chaplains cried, Stop, stop, my lord; for now he will recant. And then the bishop asked me again.

To which I answered, My lord, my faith is grounded more heartily, than to change in a moment; is no process of time can alter me, unless my faith were as the waves of the sea: and so the bishop made an end, and delivered me into the hands of the sheriff, to be again carried to the Marshalsea. And when I was condemned, I defied God with a loud voice, that he would not take my blood to their charge, if it were his good will, and they refurred my prayer, and sent me away. Then I began to talk as I went, and they cried, Cut out his tongue, or stop his mouth: and so I was brought to the Marshalsea, and bound in irons. Therefore I pray unto God that they undo whom this present writing shall come, may take example by my death and warfare. So be it.

By me Stephen Gwatrick, condemned for God's everlasting truth.

Here, for want of time, I left out many matters, because the lords hath hastened the time, so that I have written but the briefies of the matter in proportion of faith, and the reward of faith, which the bishop of Rochester and I debated upon; which matter I would have been glad to have set down in writing.

All too much more talk there was, that the bishop of Winchelsea and I had concerning my worldly friends and personal estate: for he played Satan with me, he carried me up to the mountains, and there told me my learning was good, and my eloquence, and also my knowledge, and told me that I had offended God, and then he fell to praising of my person, that it was comely, and worthy to serve a prince. Thus Satan flattered me, to make me answer to such objections as he would lay against me, that I might fall into his diocese.

Thus this christian martyr Stephen Gwatrick, being wrongfully condemned by the bishop of Winchelsea (as you have heard), was burnt with W. Mo- rant, and one named King, in St. George's Fields, about the latter end of May.

The History of seven godly MARTYRS, five Women and two Men, burnt at Maidstone for professing the true Religion of Christ.

I SHewed a little before, how after the universal proclamation was first forth by the king and queen in the month of February last, the storn of perfection began in all places to rise (whereof some part also is declared before), but yet in no place more than in the diocese of Canterbury, where the bishop of the aforesaid inquisition was joined up with, especially by reason of Richard Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, who were so furious and fierce against the harmles flock of Christ, that there was no need of any proclamation to stir them up the coals of their burning cruelty, by reason whereof many a godlyaint lieth slain under the altar.

Now to return to the said diocese of Canterbury, in the next month following, being the 18th day of June, were seven chrestian and faithful martyrs of Christ burned at Maidstone, whose names here follow: Joan Bradbridge, of Staplehurst. Walter Appleby, of Maidstone. Petronel, his wife. Edmund Allin, of Frytenden. Catherine, his wife. John Morton, his wife. Elizabeth, a blind maiden.

As concerning the general articles commonly objected to them in the public controversy, and the order of their condemnation, it differed not much from the usual manner expressed before, neither did their answers in effect much differ from the others that suffered under the fame ordinary in the aforesaid diocese of Canterbury.

As now to touching their answers and manner of apprehension, and their private conflicts with their adversaries, I find no great matter coming to my hands, save only of Edmund Allin some intimation is given me, how his troubles came, what was his cause and answers before the justices, as here consequently you shall understand.

The Examination of EDMUND ALLIN.

THIS Allin was a miller, of the parish of Frytenden, in Kent, and in a dear year, when many poor people were like to starve, he fed them, and sold his corn cheaper by half than others did; also fed them with the food of life, reading to them the scriptures, and interpreting them. This being known to the popish priests dwelling thereabouts, by the procurement of them, namely of John Taylor, parson of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, he was soon complained of to the justices, and brought before Sir John Baker, knight, who committed both him and his wife to prison, but soon after they were let out, I know not how, and went to Calais; where continuing some time, he began to be troubled in conscience, and meeting with one John Webb, from Frytenden (who had likewise fled from the tyranny of Sir John Baker Taylor), said unto him, that he could not be in quiet there, whatsoever the cause was; for God, said he, had something to do for him in England: and shortly after he returned to Frytenden, where was cruel Taylor.

This parson being informed that Edmund Allin and his wife were returned, and were not at mass-time in the church; as he was the same time in the midst of his mass, upon a Sunday, a little before the elevation (as they term it), even almost at the lifting up of his Romish god, he turned to the people in a great rage, and cried to them with all the need to go unto his house, and apprehend them, and he would come unto them as soon as he could. Which promise he well performed.
The Examination of Mr. EDMUND ALLIN.

For he had no sooner made an end of Itse, ight of, and the vestments off his back, but presently he was at the house, and there laying hands on the fald Allin, caused him on all sides to be brought to the house, and with a grievous complaint of his exhorting and keeping the scriptures to the people; and so he and his wife were sent to Maidstone prison. Witnessed by Richard Fletcher, vicar of Crambroke, and John Webb, of Fryenten.

Davies were they in prison, but sir John Baker immediately sent certain of his men to their house, namely, John Dove, Thomas Beff, Thomas Linley, Percival Barber, with the aforeaid John Taylor, parson of Fryenten, and Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst in Kent, for discovery of all the goods that were in the house: where they found in the bed fibers, a little chest locked with a padlock, wherein they found a sackcloth bag of money, containing the sum of thirteen or fourteen pounds, partly in gold and partly in silver, which money after being told, and put in the bag again, they carried it away by force by license.

Besides also they found there certain books, as psalms, bibles, and other writings: all which books, with the money, were delivered to the aforesaid priest, Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, and afterwards in the fifth year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, it was by the law recovered from him again, as in records remaining to be seen.

Thus good Edmund Allin and his wife, being maliciously accused, wrongfully imprisoned, and cruelly robbed and spoiled of all their goods, were brought, brought before sir John Lineker, the justice, to be examined; who taunting and reviling them, as all mercy and pity, asked him if those were the fruits of his gospel, to have conventicles to gather people together, to make conspiracies to fowl sedition and rebellion, and thus he began to reason with him.

A Conference between Sir JOHN BAKER, COLLINS, bis Chaplain, and EDMUND ALLIN.

Who gave thee authority to preach and interpret? Art thou a priest? Art thou admitted thereunto? I have me fee by licence.

Collins, sir John Baker's schoolmaster, said, Surely he is an arrant heretic, and worthy to be burned.

Allin. If it pleases your honour to permit me to save in the cause of my faith, I am persuaded that it is given me this authority, as he hath given to all other christians to be brought to the throne, to be used by Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, whether we do not follow Christ, if we do not read his law, if we do not interpret it to others that have not so much understanding? Is not Christ our Father? Shall not the son follow the father's steps? Is not Christ our prophetic scholar? Is not Christ our interpreter? Doth not this give the right understanding, and every text to be understood in the law and gospel, not to suffer any man that hath any of these gifts, which he repeateth, 1 Cor. xiv. to preach the same? Only he forbidst women, but no man. The Jews never forbid any. Read the Acts of the apostles. And the reason why is that Gregory, the ninth pope of that name, as I heard a learned man preach in king Edward's day.

Collins. This villain, pleaseth your honour, is mad. By my priesthood, I believe that he will say that a priest hath no more authority than another man. Doth not a priest but an advocate have the right of preaching? Allin. No, my fin bindeth me, and my repentance lootheth. God forgiveth fin only, and no priest. For every christian, when he finneth, bindeth himself, and when he repenteth, lootheth himself. And if any other be loothed from sin by my exhortation, I am said to looth him and if he persevere in sin notwithstanding my exhortation, I am said to bind him, although it is God that bindeth, and lootheth, and giveth the increase. Therefore, fait Christ, Matth. xviii. " Whereover two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them; and whoeever finneth they forgive, they are forgiven, and whoeever they retain,
tain, they are retained." Neither hath the pope any keys, fave the keys of error; for the key that openeth the lock of error and salvation, is the key of faith and repentance. And as I have heard learned men reason, St. Austin, Origen, and others, are of this opinion.

Then they reviled him, and laid him in the flocks all night. But such flocks were better minded, being offended with such extremity, defined St. Austin to keep his conscience to himself, and to follow Baruch's counsel, in the fifth chapter. "Wherefore when ye see the multitude of people worshipping them, behind and before, say ye in your hearts, O Lord, it is thou that ought only to be worshipped."

Wherewith he was persuaded to go to hear mass the next day, and suddenly before the sacring, went out and considered in the church-yard with himself, that such a little cake between the priest's fingers could not be adored. Yes, bread, which you call Christ's body.

Sat he fill at the table, or was he both in their mouths and at the table? If he was in their mouths, and at the table, then had he two bodies, or else he had a fantastical body; which is an abridgment.

Baker. Christ's body was glorified, and might be in many places at one time. If so, then he had more bodies than one, by your own placing of him.

Allin. Thou ignorant ass, the schoolmen say, that a glorified body may be everywhere.

Baker. If his body was not glorified till it rose again, then was it not glorified at his last supper; and therefore was not at the table, and in their mouths by your own reason.

Allin. A glorified body occupieth no place.

Baker. That which occupieth no place, is neither God nor any thing else; but Christ's body, you say, occupieth no place; therefore it is neither God, nor any thing else. If it be nothing, then is religion nothing. If it be God, then have we four in one Trinity, which is the person of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, the nature of Christ. If Christ be nothing, which you must needs confess, if he occupieth no place, then is our fludy vain, our faith frustrated, and our hope without reward.

Allin. This rebel will believe nothing but scrip- ture. How know we then that it is the scripture but by the church? and so faith St. Austin.

Allin. I cannot tell what St. Austin faith, but I am persuaded that it is scripture, by divers arguments: First, that the law worketh in me my condemnation. The law telleth me, that of myself I am damned; and this damnation, Mr. Collins, you must find in yourself, or else you shall never come to repentance. For as this grief and sorrow of conscience, without faith, is desperation; so is a glorious and remitt faith, without the lamentation of a man's sins, pre- ferring to the Old Testament.

The second is the gospel, which is the power and Spirit of God. "This Spirit (faith St. Paul) certifieth my spirit that I am the son of God, and that these are the scriptures."

The third are the wonderful works of God, which cause me to believe that there is a God, though we glorify him not, as God, Rom. i. The fun, the moon, the stars, and other his works (as David dif-

This prison was within a court where the prebend's chambers were, being a vault beneath the ground, and before the window inclosed with a pale about four feet and a half high, and three feet distance from the same; so that the breathing from beneath, might only give such as flood at the vault. After this, her life was fomented for her, with no less danger of life than diligence.

But, for the unknown situation of the place, it is being but seldom used as a prison, and the matter closed, he, could never understand that she was there, until, through God's merciful will and unsearchable providence, he coming thither early in the morning, her keeper being gone to the church to ring, happened to hear her voice, as she was pouring out her heartful complaints unto God, saying the Psalms of David, for she could not relieve her, only by putting money in a leaf of bread, and this she had on a pole, and so reached it to her, for neither with meat nor drink could she sustain her. And this was five weeks after her coming thither, in which time no notice was known to come at her more than her keeper.

Her lying in that prison was only upon a little straw between a pair of stocks and a stone wall; being allowed three farthings a day, that is, one halfpenny for bread, and a farthing for drink, neither could she get any money there. Wherefore she desired to have her whole allowance in bread for her drink. Thus did she lie nine weeks. During all which time the never changed her apparel; whereby at last she became a very pitious and loathsome creature to be seen.

At her first coming into this place she did grievously bewail, with great sorrow and lamentation, and renounced with herself, why her Lord God did suffer her with such heavy justice to be quaffered from her loving fellows into such extreme misery.

In these deplorable mournings did the continue, till on a night as she was in her chamber, and after her application, rehearsing this verse of the Psalm, "Who is he that hath heaved me heavy, O my soul?" And again, "The right hand of the Most High can change all," she received comfort in the midst of her misery, and after that continued very joyful till her delivery from the same.

About the 25th of March, in the year 1557, she was called before the bishop, who demanded of her, whether she would now go home, and to the church or no, promising her great favour, if she would be reformed and do as they did.

And when she was answered, I am thoroughly purged, by the great extremity that you have alreade shewed me, that you are not of God, neither can your doings be godly: and I see that you feake my utter destruction; shewing how lame the she was by hunger and cold, while she lay in the dismal prison, whereby she was not able to move without great pain.

Then the bishop delivered her from that filthy hole, and sent her to Welfgate, where being kept clean, her skin did peel and scale off, as if she had been poisoned by some moral venom. Here she continued till the latter end of April, when she was called before them, and with others committed to a prison called the Castle, where she lay till the 27th of June, and then resigned her life in the flames.

When she was at the stake, she threw her handkerchief to one John Banks, requiring him to keep it in memory of her; and from her middle she took a white lace, which she gave to the bishop, to give the same to her brother Roger Hall, and to tell him, that it was the last band that she was bound with, except the chain. A filching also, of Philip and Mary, she took forth, which her father had bent and fent her when she was first sent to prison, defining that her said brother should with obedient submission render the same to her father again, and shewed him that it was the first piece of money that he sent her after her troubles began, which (as she professed) she had kept, and now sent to let him understand, that she never wanted money while she was in prison.
Alice Benden, and the other five before mentioned, were burnt at the same time. Being brought to the place of martyrdom, they undressed themselves joyfully at the fire, and being ready, they all seven (like the communion of saints) knelt down, and made their humble prayers to the Lord with such zeal and affection, as even the enemies of the crofs could not but like it. When they had made invocation together, they arose and went to the stake, where being soon encompassed with horrible flames of fire, they yielded their souls and lives gloriously into the hands of the Lord.

This Bradbridge's wife had two children, the one named Patience, the other Charity, and when she was condemned by the bishop, she desired (if the must needs be burnt) that he would take Patience and Charity (meaning her two children) and keep them. Nay, quoth the bishop, by the faith of my body, I will meddle with neither of them.

The Troubles and Examinations of MATTHEW PLAISE.

MATTHEW PLAISE, of the parish of Ston, in the county of Kent, weaver, and a faithful christian, being apprehended and imprisioned in the castle of Canterbury, was brought to examination in the year of our Lord 1557, under the care of Mr. Thornton, bishop of Dover, archdeacon Harpsfield, commissary Collins, and other inquisitors, in the following manner:

Bishop. Art thou of the diocese of Canterbury, and where dwellest thou?

Plaize. I am of the parish of Ston, in Kent, and subject to the king and queen of England.

Bishop. Thou wast indicted by twelve men at the sessions of Ashford, for hereby.

Plaize. That is sooner said than proved.

Bishop. I have spoken the truth, and can prove it.

Plaize. I desire to hear it, and then will I answer to it.

Bishop. No, no; you shall answer to the article, yea or nay.

Plaize. You cannot prove it: for I was not at Ashford, and therefore you have nothing to lay to my charge; but now I perceive you go about to lay a net to have my blood.

Harpsfield. Peace, peace: we do not define thy blood, but we are glad to hear thou art no heretic, [with many other flattering words] yet thou art full pelted of heresy; and if thou wilt be content to confess how thou dost believe concerning these articles, we shall gladly teach thee.

Plaize. I do not think so, for I talked with one of your doctors, and after long talk, he would needs know how I believed in the sacrament, and I recited unto him the text, and because I would not make my exposition to him upon it, he would teach me nothing: yet I prayed him, for my instruction, to write his mind, and if it were the truth I would believe him; and this I declared of him for the love of God, but it was not so.

Harpsfield. I dare swear upon a book, that it is not so.

Plaize. Nay, I can prove it to be true.

Harpsfield. I will tell thee the truth [and he stood up with a long process], I am sure that the same doctor doth believe as I do.

Plaize. How do you know that? Seeing St. Paul doth say, That no man knoweth what is in man, but the Spirit which dwelleth in him: but if you knew what Christ meant by these words, "I require mercy and not sacrifice," Matthew xii, you would not kill innocents.

Bishop. I charge thee, in the name of the king and queen and the lord cardinal, to answer ye or nay to the articles.

Plaize. I command you, in the name of Him who shall come in flaming fire with his mighty angels, to render vengeance to the disobedient, and to all those that know not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ who shall be punished with everlasting damnation, that you shall speak nothing but the truth grounded upon Christ and his apostles, and then I will answer ye, or else not.

Bishop. Unlesse thou wilt answer to every article, I will immediately condemn thee.

Plaize. Well, if you do, you shall be guilty of my blood, and prove yourself a murderer.

Then the archdeacon took the articles in his hand, and read the second article, which was, That I was a christian, and did believe in the catholic church, and the determination thereof.

Plaize. I am a christian man indeed, and therefore you have nothing against me.

Harpsfield. What sayest thou to the catholic church, which hath so long continued, except it were nine or ten years, that this hereby hath sprung up in this realm?

Plaize. No man can accuse me of any thing spoken against the catholic church of Christ.

Bishop. Dost thou not believe the creed?

Plaize. Yes verily, I believe my creed, and all that is written in the Tenthament of Christ, with the rest of the scriptures.

Bishop. Thou dost confess that there is a catholic church, I am glad of that; but tell me, are the king and queen of England catholics?

Plaize. Well, now I perceive you go about to be both mine accuser and also my judge, contrary to all right. I confess Christ hath a church upon earth, which is built upon the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head thereof; and as touching the king and queen, I answer, I have nothing to do with any man's faith but mine own; neither came I hither to judge, for I judge not myself, but the Lord must judge me.

Bishop. Is there no part of that church here in England?

Plaize. Well, I perceive you would fain have something to lay to my charge. I will tell you where; Christ's faith, Where two or three are gathered together in his name, there is he in the midst of them.

Then the archdeacon stood up with his macks, to put me out of countenance, and said to the people that I had no wit, but that I thought all they were deceived so long time, and that half a dozen of us should have the truth in a corner, and that all they should be deceived, with such like taunts and mocks; but would not suffer me to speak one word. Then he read the articles, and then I seemed to see the presence to be in the sacrament after it was once consecrated, and that I said, Christ's body was in heaven, and no where else, and that the bread was nothing but sign, token, or remembrance.

Plaize. You have to shew where and what my words were.

Hereof we talked a great while. At last the bishop was so angry, that he charged me, in the names of the king, queen, and cardinal, before the mayor and his brethren, taking them to witness, if I did not say yea, or nay, he would condemn me.

Then said I, Seeing you have nothing to accuse me of, why should I answer?

Then the archdeacon said I was guilty, and that I was like a thief at the bar, who would not confess his fault because his accusers were not profane; with a great many more words, and would not let me open my mouth against him.

Then I saw whereabouts they went, gathering to answer them by the word, or else I think they would have condemned me for his sake of my peace and mine. I believe that Christ took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, "Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me."

Harpsfield. Dost thou believe that Christ meant even as he said?

Plaize.
Christ was no dissembler, but he spake the truth.

Philip. Thou hast very well said, we will take no advantage of thy words. Then he prayed me with many words, going about to prove his heart real and substantial, and said, Christ calleth his bread: and this to prove, when Christ said, "This is my body;" the bread was his body, said he; indeed, real and substantial, not so long and so big as it hung on the cross, as the Caperνiætes did think; but thou hast seen his weak nature, as Christ came forth. Therefore when he had said, "This is my body;" the bread was his body in very deed.

Philip. What did Christ mean by these words, "This is my body?"

Harpreel. Christ spake that by the bread also. It is Christ's body made of bread? Was bread given for our redemption? Or was the bread crucified for us, or not?

Harpreel. No, by St. Mary, I say not so.

Philip. You have said the truth indeed, and even as I believed. Then he stood up with a great many words, and said, that I thought it but bare bread still, as other bread is; but he was sure Christ called it his body, and then it was his body indeed, for he would believe Christ. When he had spoken his pleasure by me, thinking to have condemned me by the law, I said, he had not judged right of me, for I had not so spoken, but did believe the words of Christ as well as he, and as much as he could prove by the word.

Harpreel. What doth thou say it is?

Philip. Well, my lord, what he gave them.

Harpreel. What was that?

Philip. He made bread.

Harpreel. What is that which he brake?

Philip. That which he took.

Harpreel. What did he do?

Philip. He brake it.

Harpreel. What text faileth, "He took bread;"

Philip. Well then, thou failest it was but bread that his disciples did eat, by thy reason.

Philip. Thus much I say, Look, what he gave them, they did eat it indeed.

Harpereel. Why, then, was not that his body of which they did eat?

Philip. It was that which he brake.

Harpreel. Well, I perceive thy meaning well enough; for thou dost think it is but bare bread till, and that he was not able to make it his body.

Philip. That is thy exposition upon my mind.

Harpreel. What didst thou receive when thou didst receive it?

Philip. I do believe that I did eat Christ's flesh, and drink his blood; for he saith, "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Harpreel. Then hast thou, and I have answered well, thinking to have had some advantage over me, and prayed me to tell him how I did eat Christ's flesh, and drink his blood. Then I said, I must answer you by the word which Christ faith, "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." Then he faced out this matter with sophistry, and said, I did eat Christ as that church was in his eye, with many such mockes, but would not let me answer one word.

Complimentary Collins then asked me, if I did not remember St. Paul, who rebuked the Corinthians for their evil behaviour, and because they made no difference of the Lord's body, and brought in to prove his matter, how he called himself bread in the 6th of John. So Paul faith, "So also ye eat of this bread, (meaning Christ's body) unworthily, ye eat and drink your own damnation, because ye make no difference of the Lord's body." For thus faith Christ, "The bread that I will give you is my flesh;" Now it is no bread, but it is his flesh. And thus he alleged every Scripture false, to make up the matter.

Philip. I believe the words of St. Paul very well, even as he hath spoken them. For thus he faith, "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body.";

Collins. What is the cause that he eateth his own damnation?

Harpreel. I marvel that you will not say, that he called the bread his body, seeing Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, with many others, called it his body.

Philip. I have condemned them as heretics, and you would have me say with them, because you would kill me.

Harpreel. In that they said it was his body, they said the truth.

Philip. Therefore were they killed, seeing they said the truth.

Bishop. I had all their answers, and they did not believe as they said. For they said Christ called it his body, but it was not his natural body: but thou failest to answer me by and by, whether it be his body or not, or else I will anger thee.

Philip. I have answered you by the word already, and I believe it also; therefore if you condemn me for that, my life is not dear unto me, and I am sure you shall not escape unpunished; for God will be revenged on much murder.

Then the archdeacon intreated me to be ruled by him, and take mercy while it was offered; for if I were condemned, I must needs be burned. Yet he would not say but my soul might be saved; with many more words, and defined me that I would believe him, for he would speak the truth: beginning with how Christ fed five thousand people with four loaves, and how he turned the water into wine; even so Christ took bread and bleft it, and when he had done, he brake it, and said, "This is my body," and then he commanded them to eat it: and therefore it must needs be his body.

Philip. I desire you to speak the rest right, or else I will not believe you.

Then archdeacon Harpsfield stood up, and put off his cap, and thanked me for teaching of him, and said, I was a stubborn fellow, and took scorn to be taught.

Philip. I ought to hold you accurcyed, if you teach doctrine contrary to Christ and his apostles.

Harpreel. Do you believe that Christ gave that he took or not?

Philip. I do believe as much as can be proved by the scripture, and more I will not believe.

Then he began with Moses' rod, how God commanded him to lay it down, and it was turned into a serpent. Seeing that this was by Moses being but a man, how much more Christ, being both God and man, took one thing and gave to his disciples another?

Philip. Your comparison is nothing like, for Moses' rod when it was laid down, he saw that it was turned into a very serpent indeed; but in this sacrament no man can see either quality or yet quantity to be changed.

Bishop. Your opinion and faith is like unto the Caperνiætes.

Philip. Yours is more like their opinion than mine.

Then Harpsfield asked me, whether Christ took not one thing and gave another?

Philip. What he brake he gave unto them, and bade them eat it, and no other answer will I make, contrary to the word.

Then the archdeacon said, he marvelled why I would not believe them, seeing this learning had continued 1500 years; neither yet did say, as others had before, how Christ did call it his body.

Philip. When Cranmer, who was here bishop, was in authority, he said, he held the truth, and commit a deed to believe him, and hath given his life for his opinion, and would you have me believe you, because you lay you hold the truth? That which makes me believe chiefly, is the Scripture, which I am sure is the truth indeed.

Bishop.
Bishop. I have spoken the truth, and you will not believe.

Plaife. If you do not now speak the truth, I am sure you have spoke the truth: [for he had before preached doctrine contrary to this.]

Then the articles were read; which I answered, and in every article he had up this broad sheet.

And they sent for a lighted candle, and I thought they would have condemned me, but God would not suffer their cruel hearts to have their pleasure then; blest be his name evermore, Amen.

Then the archdeacon was angry, and began to chide me, because I would not define a day of the bishop, and said, I was a naughty stubborn fellow, and that it had been my duty to have defined him to have been good to me, that I might have a day.

And thus they kept the Coast, and therefore will not ask him for a day, except he would give me a day of his own mind.

Then the commissary said, Dost thou not think that thou mayst be deceived, seeing he may be deceived that hath gone to study all the days of his life?

Plaife. Yes, I might be deceived in that I was a man; but I was sure God's word could not be deceived.

Then the commissary prayed me to be content, and confessed that I might learn; and said, they would be glad if each one.

Plaife. I will be as glad to learn as any man.

And thus they rove up, and went away, saying nothing.

What became of this Matthew Plaife afterwards, whether he died in prison, or was executed, or delivered, I have as yet no certain knowledge.

The History of TEN MARTYRS, who were burnt in one Fire at Lewes.

In the town of Lewes, on the 22d of June, the ten following persons suffered in one fire.

Richard Woodman, George Stevens, William Mainard, Alexander Hofman, his servant, Thomas Wodd, Mainard's maid, Margery Moris, James Morris, her son, Denis Burgess, Ashford's wife, and Grove's wife.

Of which number Richard Woodman was the first, who by his occupation was an iron-moulder, dwelling in the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Sussex, and deacon of Chichester, about the age of 30 years.

The occasion of his first apprehension was this: there was one Fairweather, who had sometime been a married priest, and served the cure of Warbleton, where he had often perjured the people not to credit any other doctrine but that which he then preached, taught and fet forth in king Edward's day. Afterward, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, the said Fairweather preached contrary to that which he had before taught.

Whereupon Richard Woodman hearing him preach contrary to himself, admonished him of his inconstancy, how before time he had taught them one thing, and after he had taught them another, and desired him to teach them the truth. For which words he was apprehended, and brought before Mr. John Aliburnham, Mr. Tonton, Mr. Culppeper, and Mr. Roberts, justices of the peace in the county of Sussex, and by them committed to the King's Bench, where he continued from June, the space almost of a year and a half; and from thence was transferred by Dr. Story into bishop Bonner's Coal-houfe, where he remained a month before he came to examination.

At length, the same day, when Mr. Philpot was burnt, which was the 18th of December, he, with four other prisoners was fet at liberty by bishop Bonner. Notwithstanding shortly after he was sought for again, and at last taken by means of his father, brother, and other friends, and was sent up again to bishop Bonner, where he remained in the Coal-houfe eight weeks. He was there five times examined, and twenty-six times before; so that his examinations were in all thirty-two, from his apprehension to his condemnation. And as the matter is somewhat strange, and will fill a large space; I shall therefore not give a full relation, with them who deny all things that do not please them, you shall hear himself speak and testify both of the manner of his troubles, and also his own examinations, recorded by himself as follows:

A true Certificate written by RICHARD WOODMAN, of his Apprehension and Imprisonment, and how he was there used, till he was brought before the Bishop of Chichester, at Black-Friers, London, together with his Examinations.

GENTLE reader, you will here perceive how the seriptures be partly fulfilled on me, being one of the leaff of these poor lambs. Fifth, you shall understand, that since I was delivered out of the bishop of London's hands in the year 1556, and the same day that Mr. Philpot was burned, which was the 18th of December, I lay in his Coal-houfe eight weeks, wanting a day; and before that I was almost a year and a half in the King's Bench after my first apprehension, for which reason I was a preacher in the church of Warbleton, where I dwelt. Wherefore I was at two sittings before I was sent to prison, and carried to more while I was in prison, twice before the bishop of Chichester, and five times before the commissary; and then my brother's Coal-houfe, and many times called before him, as it appeareth by my examination which I have written.

And it pleased God to deliver me with four more out of the butcher's hands, requiring nothing else of us but that we should be honest men, and members of the true canons of the church that was built upon the prophets and apostles. Christ being the true head of the church; to which we all affirmed, that we were members of the true church, and purified by God's help therein to die. And hereupon we were delivered, but he ordered us many times to speak well of him. And no doubt he was worthy to be praised, because he had been so faithful a servant in his master the devil's buffinies. For he had burnt good Mr. Philip the same morning, in whose blood his heart was fo drunken (as I supposed) that he could not tell that he did, as it appeared both before and after. For but two days before he promised us that we should be condemned that same day that we were delivered; and the morrow after that he had delivered us, he fought for some of us again, yet, and that earnestly. He wished more for his great drunkenness; wherefore he is like to have blood to drink in hell, as he is worthy, if he repent it not speedily. The Lord turn all their hearts, if it be his will.

This have I written, chiefly to certify to all people how we were delivered, because many carnal professors and papists have said, that it was preferred that we should be so delivered, because they think that God is subject to man, and not man to God: for if they did they would not blaspheme him as they do, or if they thought they should give an account for it. Have no many of them read how God delivereth Ios. 1 out of Egypt, and Daniel out of the lion's den? Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, out of the burning oven; with divers other such like examples; yea God is the same God that he was then: he is no other, nor less in power, as some count him, in wondering at his works. Now to the matter.

After I was delivered, the papists said, that I had confected to them, whereof they made themselves glad; which was the least part of my thought, (I praise God for it) as they well perceived, and it was the latter end of the short time I had to go to the parish, and talked with them, to the number of thirteen or fourteen, and that of the chiefest is all the country; and I angered them so, that the with the commissaries complained of me to the lord chamberlain that was, then to the queen.

Rose Alleyn's Hand burnt with a Candle by that humours of inhumanity Edmund Tyrrel, a descendant of him who murdered Edward, the 14th.
to prison, and kept me there almost a year and three quarters; without all right or equity, as it is openly known, not hearing my case genteelly debated. And if Feithrange to me to 1 should be thus evil handled; and therefore I will go to none of them at all hereafter, nor any to the extremity of the law.

Then one of them unconferringly said to me, we have not the warrant here, but it is at home at my house; the word is to you can but make us fetch it. Then said I, Fitch it if you will; but if you come in my house before you have it, at your venture be it. So I shut my door, and went away way out at the other door. So they got help to watch my house, whilst one of them fetched the constable and many more, thinking to have carried me away with a license; but, as God would have it, I was gone before. Notwithstanding they fought every corner of my house, and for no purpose. I suppetted they would search it that night again, and keep myself abroad, and indeed there came seven of his men, and the constable, and searched my house. And when they found that they could not meet with me, they were ready to curse the gods, and that I had so escaped them, knowing that they should have a caution from their master. When I heard that they had so fought for me again, I perceived that they were greedy of their prey, came home, and my wife told me all things.

Then I suppetted that they would search all the county for me. They continued the search for me, and I should not go over, and then I thought that they would not dare to go in that I would dare to be near home. So I told my wife that I would take my lodging in a wood near my house, as indeed I did, even under a tree, and there had my bible, my pen and ink, and all necessaries, and there continued fix a week, in the woods, and was supplied from thence daily as I had need. Yes, I thought myself blessed of God, that I was counted worthy to live in the woods for the name of Christ. Then there came word into the country, that I was seen and spoken with in Flan- ders, and that they were looking in wait for me: for they had fought all the country for me. I went from Porfhinton to Dover, even as God put it in my mind they would.

So when all was hushed, I went abroad among our friends and brethren, and at length I went beyond the sea both into Flanders and in France; but I thought every day seven years whilst I was there; so I came home again as soon as it was possible. I was there but three weeks, before the preists of Balse discovered me, who procured warrants out against me, caufing my house to be searched twice in the week. This continued from St. James's-tide to the first of May. Sometimes I went privily, at other times openly; sometimes I went from home a fortnight or three weeks, at other times I was at home a month or five weeks together, living there most commonly and openly, about my ordinary business; and I laid my hands on me, till the hour was fully come: and thereby by the voice of the country, and by manifest proofs, mine own brother as concerning the flesh, delivered me into their hands, because he knew that I was at home.

My father and he had as much of my effects in their hands as would produce geld, a year clear. It was a lordship and an honour, and half an honour that I had delivered into their hands to pay my debts, and the rest to remain with my wife and children. But they had reported that it would not pay my debts; which grieved me sore; for it was cooler than the goods came to; which caused me to speak to some of my friends, that they would speak to them to come to some fort of recon- ciling with me, and to take all such money again of me as they were charged with, and to deliver me to such writings and words as they had of mine again, or to whom I had delivered.

So it was agreed bewisia my father and me, that I should have it again, and the day was appointed that the reconciling should be made and sent to me the same day that I was taken; my brother supposing that I should be put out of my world, and that he possessed; for it was all mine, in a manner, that he occupied, if the country can and do well know. Whereupon (as it is reported...
reported) he told one Cardioll, my next neighbour, and a friend of Mr. Gage, for Mr. Gage himself; and for his fishing, his brother and his brother sent twelve of his men (he being sheriff,) in the night before I was taken, and lay in the bushes near my house, till about nine o'clock, even the hour that was appointed among themselves; and, at the same time, they thought they had found me within my house.

They had taken a man of mine, and two of my children that were abroad in the land, and kept them till their hour was come, that they might be put in a corner, and that they might have room to come in, and there put a little girl, with my children, in the corner, and there they came together, and came running in, and cried, Mother, mother, yonder comes twenty men. I sitting in my bed, and making of fine doings, heard the words, and the feet falling, and the feet of the draymen they put upon my door, and I knew they were to have gone out of the door before they had come. My wife being amazed at the child's words, looked out at the door, and they were by. Then the chappelled to the door, and barred it fast, even as I came out of my chamber into the hall, and barred the other. They immediately beat the house, and commanded the doors to be opened, or they would break them in pieces. Then I had no thrift, but I must either fly myself openly, or make some other remedy.

So there was a certain place in my house which was never found out, and which was at the eaves, I dare say, searched twenty times, and sometimes almost by twenty men at once: into which place I went. And then my wife opened the door, and they came in and asked for me, and I was not at home. Then they asked her where the flat, the door, if I was not at home. She said, because the house had been made afraid divers times with such as came to search us; and therefore the flat: for it is reported (said the draymen) that whoever can take a man in his house may have him burnt at their own discretion; and therefore I doubt they will serve me or my children for: I think they may do so unto us as well as to him. Well, said they, we know he is in the house, and we must search it, for we are the sheriff's officers; let us have a candle and a man nailed places in your house. So the lighted a candle, and they fought up and down in every corner that they could find, and had given over, and many of them were gone out of my house into the church-yard, and there talking with my father and with whom he brought with him.

Now when they could not find me, one of them went to my brother who informed them I was at home, and said, we cannot find him. Then he asked them whether they had fought over a window that was in the hall (so it was known) for that place I had told them, and they themselves. For many times when I came home, I would send for them to bear me company; yet as it chanced, I had not told them the way into it. Then they began to search anew. One looked in over the window, and one another; it was then I put a youth, with four shepherds, and the way went in between two of the shepherds, but no man could perceive it. Then he asked my wife which was the way into it: here is a place that we have not fought yet. When the thought they could see it by, one more, then I said then, they came into it out of one chamber they were in now. So they went them up, and cried, Away, away. Then I knew there was no remedy, but made the best shift for myself that I could. The place was boarded over, and fast nailed, and if I had come out that way that I went in, I must needs come out amongst them all in the hall. Then I had no shift, but met my shoulders to the boards that were nailed to the rafters to keep out the rain, and brake them in pieces, which made a great noise; and there were that were in the other chamber, feeling the way into it, hearing the noise, and looked out of a window, and spied me, and made an out-cry. But yet I got out and leaped down, having no shoes on.

So I took down a lane that was full of hop-cinders, and they came over after with a great cry, with their fingers nailed, crying, Strike him, strike him. Which words made me look back, and there was never a one nigh me by an hundred feet: and that was but one, for all the rest were a great way behind. And I turned about hastily to go my way, and stepped upon a thin cinder with one foot, and falling of it, I stepped into a great muddy hole, and fell down within, and before I could get out of being drowned, the water coupled with me. His name is Parkin the Wild, as he is commonly called. And since that I had had on my shoes, they had been like to have gone away straitoff, if there had been five hundred more, if I had caught the plain ground there. But not a soul there was not God's will; for if it had, I should have escaped from them all, if there had been ten thousand of them.

Then they took me and led me home again to put on my shoes, and dress clothes as I had need of. Then said John Faunce[or]t, now your matter hath deceived you. You said you were an angel, and if you had been an angel, why did you not come away from us? Then said I, Who are they that ever heard me say that I was an angel? It is not the first lie by a thousand that they have made of me. Angels were never gotten of men, nor born of women: but if they had said, they had heard me say, That I do trutl I am a saint, they had not said am I. What do you think I nan be a saint? Yes that I do, and am already in God's sight, I trutl in God; for he is not a saint in God's sight already, is a devil. Therefore he that thinketh for to be a saint, let him be a devil. And with that word they had brought me to my former own door, where I spake with my father, who desired me to remember myself.

To whom I answered, I praire God, I am well re- membered whereabout I go. This was appointed of God for me to be delivered by the hands of my enemies, but was unto him by whom I am betread. It had been good for that man that he had never been born, if he repent not with speed. The scriptures are now fulfilled on me, for the father shall be against the son, and the brother against the brother to destroy this generation. Then said I, Doth that not agree with what that word they had brought me to mine own door, where I spake with my father, who desired me to remember myself.

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cold, and therefore God will spew you out of his mouth, as faith St. John.

Then they were in a great fury, especially Dr. Story, who was fast.

What a perverse fellow is this? He hath the devil within him, and is mad. He is worse than the devil.

Now I perceive that it is true what is reported by thee, and it is the pride of all such heretics to boast themselves.

Chich. Yea surely, he is sent to me to learn, and taketh upon him to teach me.

Wood. The Jews said to Christ, he had the devil, and was mad, as you have said here by me. But I know the servant is not above his master. And God forbid that I should learn of him, who confesseth that he hath Christ in him.

Chich. Why, do you think that you have the Spirit of God?

Wood. I believe verily that I have the Spirit of God.

Chich. Ye boast more than ever Paul did, or any of the apostles, which is great presumption.

Wood. I boast not in myself, but in the gift of God, as Paul did; for he said he believed verily that he had the Spirit of God, making thereof no doubts, in Cor. xiii. 12.

Chich. It is not so, you bely the text.

Wood. If it be not so, let me be burnt to-morrow.

Story. Thou shalt not be burned to-morrow, but thou shalt be burned within three or five days, I promise thee.

Chich. If it be so, it is wrong transliterated, as it is in a thousand places more.

Then one looked in a Latin Testament, and another in a Greek Testament, and they said it was in them both, that Paul spake that he had the Spirit of God, but he was not sure.

Chich. Even so I hope and suppose that I have the Spirit of God, but am not sure.

Wood. If that place be wrong transliterated, and so many places of the Bible as you say, then I may say with Christ, it cannot be avoided but offences must be given; but we are to use them by whom they come. I may say, Woe unto faith translators: for cursed are they that add or take away.

But take heed you that bely not the translators: I believe they had the fear of God more before their eyes, than you report of them. And yet if that place be wrong transliterated, I can prove by places enough that Paul had the Spirit of God, as I myself and all God's elect have.

Chich. How prove you that?

Wood. No man can believe that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost, I Cor. vii. I do believe that Jesus Christ is my Redeemer, and that I shall be saved from all my sins, and that Christ is the Lord, as Paul and all the apostles did; and as all faithful people ought to do: which no man can do without the Spirit of God. And as there is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus; so there is no salvation to them that are not in Christ Jesus.

For he that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his, but is a castaway, as he faith in the same text. And again, We have not received the spirit of bondage, to fear any more, but we have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba Father. The same Spirit certeth our spirits, that we are the children of God. For the Spirit hearken weaned of the Father; and we are the sons of God: and if sons, heirs also of God.

Chich. No. I am not sure of that.

Wood. No! be you not sure of that?

Chich. No, by St. Mary, I dare not be so bold to say so; I doubt that.

Wood. Then you are like the waves of the sea, for faith, and cannot be told with about the wind, and are unstable in all their ways, and can look for no good thing at the Lord's hand: yea, you are neither hot nor
Why hear you him? Send him to prizon to his fellow in the Marthalkes, and they shall be dispatched within these twelve daies.

When I heard him say so, I rejoiced greatly in my heart, desiring to see him, if it were his will, to keep him in that mind: for I looked surely to have gone to the bishop of London's Concl-houfe, or Lollards'. Tower, yea, I thought myself happy if I might have gone to Lollards' Tower; but it pleased God to put in their hearts to send me to my device, both of my kith and kin, and my old fellow-prisioners. So merciful hath God dealt with me in eafing of my burden that I looked for. And when they perceived that I feared not imprisonment, but rather rejoiced, as they well perceived, the bishop then said, Mecthinks he is not afraid of the prizon. Wood. No, I praise the living God.

Story. This is an heretick indeed. He hath the right terms of all hereticks: the living God! I pray you be more dead gods, that you fay the living God. Wood. Are you angry with me, because I speak the words that are written in the Bible? Story. Bible babble, bible babble. What speak-est thou of the Bible? there is no such word written in all the Bible.

Wood. Then I am much to blame if it be not so written. Behold, for the offences that you have done, you shall be carried away captive by Nebuchadneemon to Babylon, and there you shall be seven generations: and when you be there, you shall flee gods of gold, of silver, of wood, and of stone, before you and behind you upon men's shoulders, to call out a fear among the heathen. When you shall flee all these abominations, then fay in your heart, It is the living God that ought to be worshipped. Here I prove my faying true, both that there is a living God, and that there be dead gods. Also Davyd fait in the Psalms, My soul hath a desire and longing to enter into the courts of the Lord: my heart and my flesh rejoice in the living God; with divers other places that I could recite. Wherefore I marve that you relate me for speaking the truth.

Chich. I do not deny but it is written, and is the truth, and I know it as well as you; but such is the speech of all hereticks.

Story. My lord, I will tell you how you shall know an heretick by his words, because I have been more used to them than you have been; that is, they will fay [the Lord, and] we preach God, and the living God. By these words you shall know an heretick.

Wood. All these words are written for our learning, and you shall have no pleasure by the preachers without pleasure in the olden times, as this: The Lord's name be praised from the rising up of the sun unto the going down of the same. Also, As many as fear the Lord, fay always, the Lord be praised.

Story. My lord, send him to prizon, you shall do no good with him, I will go to church, and leave you here. This is an old heretick. Waft thou never before me ere now?

Wood. Yea forsooth, that I have. Story. Yea, I thought so; and I fent thee to the bishop of London, and he releafe thee, and thou promised him to be an honest man, and that thou wouldst be of the true catholic church, which thou hatedst not fulfilled.

Wood. I promised him nothing but I have fulfilled it. No man is able to prove the contrary.

Story. Well, it will be tried well enough. My lord, I will take my leave, I fear you will do this man no good.

Chich. I would not have you to use such speeches as this, and that were last be prifoned, and the living God, with such like words. Can you not as well, my lord, or our God, as other wise?

Wood. I marvel why you should reprove me for it, seeing they be the words of God. I do not refuse to fay, my lord, or our God. When I talk of the scripture which I have in my hands, it is only, He that shall obey me, he shall be blessed; that I denounced the words of God, and must needs be an heretic; but I do not. Wherefore I marvel what you mean to find fault therein. It seemeth to me, that you are a true thing that I believe not as you do.

Chich. Yea, that is my meaning indeed.

Wood. I believe in the living God, if you do, then I believe not for the better. But it is please you to examine me upon any particular matter, now or at any other time, I will make answer therein by God's help.

Chich. Though you believe in God, I can prove you have some error among you. You may see you by your hand-writing. You have denied the catholic church. Wherefore he that erreth from the church, it cannot be said that his faith is good. Wherefore be ruled by the church, from which you have erred.

Wood. I will not deny my hand by God's help. For I have written nothing at any time but the truth. There may be things written against me, reporting it to be mine, and yet be not: but my hand cannot well be counterfeited, there are enough that know my hand. Chich. Do you know it yourself if you see it?

Wood. Yea, that I do. Then he arose and brought a great bundle of writings, and opened them, and bade me come near. I looked on them, and wert it hand indeed.

Chich. How say you, is it not your hand writing.

Wood. Yea surely it is.

Chich. How say you to this, is not this your hand also?

Wood. Yea verily it is.

Chich. Well, you know what it meaneth, I dare say.

Wood. Yea, I know it very well; here is a great deal, which I had thought had been in my house, but I thank God that it is here: for in this you shall try whether it be true or not. For in this is contained all the talk that was between the commissioiners and me, when I was before them five times, and also before the bishop of London divers times: and I am sure, neither you nor they shall find any words false therein written: and I think the heathen's men, when they searched my house for me, when I was taken, found this, and carried it with them, but I never knew it before now. But I am not forry for it, but rather glad: for herein you may see all the wrong that I received at their hands, and how long I was in prizon, and how I was toiled up and down, and how I was delivered at length, and by this you may try whether it be fo or not. I dare say they that found it, and they that brought it to you, had thought it would have sinned to me in pleurare: but in very deed all things work for the beat to them that fear God.

Chich. Indeed, I find no great fault in this; but here is perillous gear, here is sedition. This was set upon the church door, you know it well enough.

Wood. Indeed I wrote it to the priest, and to others that took upon them to fetch my child out of my house without my leave, and used it at their pleasure, when they knew it was baptized already, as they were well certifie before. Wherefore my confience compelled me to fewe them my mind in writing, wherein is contained nothing but the scriptures of God, rebusking them for their folly.

Chich. Yea, but it is terribly meant, and unchristian. It is such a gear coupled together I promise you, as I never saw the like. But I promise you, I will make the beet of it. And I protest before God, I would you do as well as mine own foul and body. Be content to be rebommed. God hath done his part on you. Cast not yourself away. Remember your wife and children, and was not the other thing, as I say. Meet to follow your vocation. Remember you are not called to be a teacher nor preacher. St. Paul faith, Let every man walk wherein he is called, and therein abide. Remember you are called to another vocation, for God's sake, and therefore be as I say. Meet to follow your vocation. Remember you have done. You might do as much good by the report of worshipful men, as any man might do in all the country.
country by your example, and if you would follow the laws of the catholic church, it would be an occasion to bring a great many into the true church, that are out, as you are.

Wood. I would not that you should say that I am out of the church of God, for I am not, but do allow the end of my conduct is to bring others to it. Yea, if I were abroad, if I could win any into the true church, that be out, by any means that I could use, I should be glad. God knoweth I love all people as myself. And where you say I have been a preacher, it is not so. I never took any such thing upon me, as a help to the church of God, nor for it becometh every man to teach and instruct his household in the fear of God, and all others (as far as he can) that desire it of him. And whereas you have blamed me for reading the scripture, and leaving my vocation (as you say), I left not my vocation in any sort, but for the truith I followed my vocation the better for it. And the greatest reason that compelled me to read the scriptures, was because the preachers and teachers were so changeable.

Chich. No? Did you not preach at a fair?

Wood. No, I was not there. While I was at the council, I had written a letter, and delivered it to the council to go home to pay my debts, and then I went to a fair to sell cattle, and met with divers poor men that I had set to work, who lovingly asked me how I did, and how I could away with imprisonment. I showed them how I had dealt with them, and how I would also deal with them that put their trump in his; and this they called preaching. And since that is both reported that I have baptized children, and married folks, which I never did; for I never was a minister. And if I had, I had done contrary to the order of the apostles, which God forbid I should.

Chich. I am well paid. If you be faultless in these things; for I have heard the contrary.

Wood. I have shewed you the truth, and that no man living shall be able to prove the contrary.

Chich. You said you did not disallow the true catholic church.

Wood. No, that I do not.

Chich. Why do you not then go to the church? I am informed you do not go there.

Wood. I trust I am in the true church every day. But to tell you the truth, I come not to the church there you are here.

Chich. For if I was, I should offend, and be offended: for the last time that I was there, I offended many, and was offended myself. For conscience sake therefore I would not come there. I was sent to prison for my coming there, and now I am sent to you for biding thence. So they may scandalize any way with me, for they feek my life. Look you, if God be my judge, and ye ought to be a house of defence against my enemies. For if you suffer them to kill me, my blood shall be required at your hands. If you can find just cause in me worthy of death by God's word, you may condemn me, and not offend God: wherefore look to it, the God is not made to come into their hands, and think to be discharged.

Chich. I tell you truth, I can do little in the matter. I have no full authority as yet of mine office: I will fend for you and talk with you, if I thought I should do you good.

Wood. I should be glad to talk with you, and to let you know my mind in any thing you shall demand of me, now, or at any other time.

So then he desired the sheriff's men to tarry and charge him; that this man (said he) may dine with me. It may be he may have no great store of meat where I am.

So we tarried to dinner with him, and had no further talk, neither how to prove where the true church of God is, nor of the sacraments, nor of any thing tending toward me, for the space of two hours or more, nor concluded into talk with me, how I understood many scriptures, and for bishops and priests marriages, and whether Paul had a wife or not. To whom I answered, it is a thing that I have little to do with, as concerning marriages; but I am content to talk with you in the matters that you will serve. When he had talked with me of divers scriptures, he liked my discourse well. He asked me how I fai led by St. Paul, whether he were married or not. To whom I answered, I can prove by the scriptures that you have married.

Chich. How prove you that?

Wood. I will prove it well enough, by God's help. But yet I will prove that Paul might have had a wife, as well as the other apostles had.

Chich. Why, had the apostles wives?

Wood. Ye see we are to bring Paul and Barnabas as I understand it. For these are Paul's words in the sixh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians: "Am I not an apostle? am I not free? have I not seen Jesus Christ? Are not ye my work in the Lord? and if I not an apostle to others, yet to you I am an apostle: for you are the seal of mine apostleship in the Lord. Mine answer to them that ask me, is this. Have we not power to eat and to drink? Or have we not power to lead about a filier to wife, as well as the other apostles have, and as the brethren of the Lord? Or have I not Barnabas and I power thus to do?" So this text proves Paul had a wife, they were unmarred. But Paul declareth, that the reh of the wife, and that they had power likewise to have, but they found no need thereof. Paul declareth, in the 7th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, that he hath no power over his flesh may marry: "For it is better to marry than to burn, to avoid fornication, let every man have his wife." And the same, "Let every man have his wife, and every woman her husband." By this text of scripture, I understand, that bishops and priests may have wives, because they are men, rather than burn, or commit fornication.

But I will prove that he that can attain, having power of his own will, doth beat; but if he married, he sith not.

So then he debated the scriptures with me divers ways, that a bishop or priest ought not to have a wife; but I proved by divers scriptures both in the old law and in the new, that women were at first made for the help of men, which was spoken generally to all men. Wherefore (said I) every man may have a woman, and fin not, in honest marriage, as well bishops and deacons, as other men, which you call priests, if they be true ministers of Jesus Christ, and of that order the bishop or priest may marry at their leisure time. For Paul declareth to Timothy, in the first epistle and 15th chapter, "That a bishop should be the husband of one wife," and how they should be honestly apparelad, and shoud bring up their children, and likewise the deacons. This proveth more plainly, that both bishops and deacons had wives in the apostles' time, which he could not deny. But then he alleged, that no bishop or priest might take a wife, after he had taken upon him that office; but if he had a wife before he took the office, tried met for the purpose for his life and his learning, he might keep his wife and bring up his children according to St. Paul's meaning to Timothy, or else they might breed out of order.

Then said I, I think Paul's meaning in that place, was, that a man that hath had two wives might not be made a bishop nor a deacon, if he had ever so much learning. But that text doth not say, that a bishop or a deacon may not marry after he be made bishops and deacons. For I am sure that Paul was in the latter of a bishop, when he said, "He had power to lead about a filier to wife, as well as the other apostles had." Here Paul declareth, that it was in his power to have a wife, after he had the office of a bishop, which was not his wife, but his wife's brother.

Thus have I shewed you my mind in this behalf, both of Paul, and also for the marriages of bishops and priests, as I understand the scriptures. However, it is a thing that I have little to do with: but as you required me to give you my sentiments on that matter, I have done so.
Chich. Marry, I am glad you have said as you have done. Many do affirm boldly that Paul had a wife, and cannot prove it by the scriptures; but you have said very well. I am glad that you are contented to be God's work. And if you will be contented likewise in other matters, no doubt you will do well: therefore, good Mr. Woodman, be ruled. God hath given you a good wit. I protest before him, I would you should do as well as my own soul and body, and so would all the worshipful men in the country, as they have reported to me.

Wood. Why, my lord, I take God to record that I would be as glad to live in rest and peace as any man in the world, if I might. And I stand to learn, and I stand to be reformed of any thing that I hold, if it can be proved that it be not agreeable to God's word. And the truth is, I have talked with a dozen priests at the leaf, since I was delivered out of prison, of certain matters, and they have not been able to certify me in any thing that I have asked them: therefore they have complained of me to the sheriff and justices, forging tales and lies of me, to turn me to displeasure, as much as in them lieth. I promise you, there be as many unlearned priests in your diocese, as in any one diocese in England, I think, I have seen them. This is the laymen.

Chich. I promise you I do much lament it myself: for I hear what you say is true. I wish I could remedy it, but I cannot: but I will do the belt that I can when I come into the country; and I will be glad to talk with you at some other time, when I am more seasonable. But fender now, as I have been more than half a year. Come to dinner; it is ready. I caueth you not to tarry for any great cheer that you should have, nor would I have you think that I go about to win you with my meat. But you are welcome with all my heart. Come, fit down.

Wood. I thanked him, and went to dinner; and there dined with him a merchant-man, one of the sheriff's men, and I; and we had good cheer, God be praised therefore. We had no talk of the scriptures all dinner time; but when dinner was over, the bishop said—

Now call Mr. Story's man: for the commissioners have committed you to prison: but I will lend for you before it be long, and I pray God I may do you no harm, but I very glad. You know.

Wood. Should it please you to lend for me, I should be glad to talk with you, for I like your talk well. And then, if it please your lordship to examine me on any particular matter, I will shew you my mind therein, by God's grace, without diffamation. But I have no thing to say with Mr. Story, for I think he is a man void of reason.

Chich. Well, before you go, what say you to the seven sacraments? Let me hear what you say to them, that I may be the more willing to lend for you.

Wood. I know not seven sacraments.

Chich. Then what shall I talk with you? How many do you know?

Wood. I know but two; one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the supper of the Lord. But if you can justify prove by God's word, that there be more to be reformé...

Chich. If I prove not seven by God's word, then believe me not: and so he bade me farewell.

And so I was brought to the Marshalsea, where I now am, as a sheep appointed to be slain, God be praised therefore.

Chich. Marry, I am glad you have said as you have done. Many do affirm boldly that Paul had a wife, and cannot prove it by the scriptures; but you have said very well. I am glad that you are contented to be God's work. And if you will be contented likewise in other matters, no doubt you will do well: therefore, good Mr. Woodman, be ruled. God hath given you a good wit. I protest before him, I would you should do as well as my own soul and body, and so would all the worshipful men in the country, as they have reported to me.

Wood. Why, my lord, I take God to record that I would be as glad to live in rest and peace as any man in the world, if I might. And I stand to learn, and I stand to be reformed of any thing that I hold, if it can be proved that it be not agreeable to God's word. And the truth is, I have talked with a dozen priests at the leaf, since I was delivered out of prison, of certain matters, and they have not been able to certify me in any thing that I have asked them: therefore they have complained of me to the sheriff and justices, forging tales and lies of me, to turn me to displeasure, as much as in them lieth. I promise you, there be as many unlearned priests in your diocese, as in any one diocese in England, I think, I have seen them. This is the laymen.

Chich. I promise you I do much lament it myself: for I hear what you say is true. I wish I could remedy it, but I cannot: but I will do the belt that I can when I come into the country; and I will be glad to talk with you at some other time, when I am more seasonable. But fender now, as I have been more than half a year. Come to dinner; it is ready. I caueth you not to tarry for any great cheer that you should have, nor would I have you think that I go about to win you with my meat. But you are welcome with all my heart. Come, fit down.

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Now call Mr. Story's man: for the commissioners have committed you to prison: but I will lend for you before it be long, and I pray God I may do you no harm, but I very glad. You know.

Wood. Should it please you to lend for me, I should be glad to talk with you, for I like your talk well. And then, if it please your lordship to examine me on any particular matter, I will shew you my mind therein, by God's grace, without diffamation. But I have no thing to say with Mr. Story, for I think he is a man void of reason.

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Chich. If I prove not seven by God's word, then believe me not: and so he bade me farewell.

And so I was brought to the Marshalsea, where I now am, as a sheep appointed to be slain, God be praised therefore.
and would have you to tell me your mind in few words. For indeed the last time that I talked with you, our talk was so long, that I fell into a great thought, and have been the worse in my body ever since. Wherefore, I pray you, let me know your mind by your own words in these particular matters: that I shall demand of you, according to the promise that you made when you was left with me. Will you?

Chich. Nay, I will answer to anything you shall demand of me (by God's help) as well as I can.

Chich. How far you was from the sacrament of matrimony for these two last years, and where we shall begin again. You was there then but two, How far you now to it? Will you deny all except two?

Wood. I say now as I said then, You said, there are two sacraments; and I said I knew not of such a sacrament but what you could have feyn by God's word, when I came before you again, I must needs grant them. And you said, if you could not prove them by God's word, I should not believe them: and now I am come to see how well you can prove them.

At which words the bishop and his chaplains were moved.

Chich. By God and my troth, I believe he thinketh I cannot prove them. How far you to the sacrament of matrimony?

Wood. To my lord, St. Paul faith to Timothy, A bishop should be a faithful; and you use much swearing, which is the greatest fault in a bishop of all others, that should be an example to the flock.

Then the bishop and his priets were in a rage with me, because I reproved him for swearing.

Chich. I perceive this man is wiser than he was the last day: what, he taketh upon him to teach me to speak, as though I could not tell what I had to do.

Prieft. So I think, my lord, he is a fluent fellow indeed, as we have seen.

Wood. Yes, my lord, because I do what I am commanded. I dare not for my life hold my peace; for I should bear your sin, which I will not do for any of you, I tell you plainly.

Chich. Where find you that you are commanded to reform me?

Wood. If thou speakest thy brother sin, reproves him; if he repent, thou halt won thy brother. But you repent it not, but rather go about to maintain the fame, Christ faith, He that breaketh one of the least of my commandments, and teacheth men so, shall be called the devil himself; and you go about to teach men so, as far as I see.

Prieft. Why, my lord, this man is in a mad cure. I see no hope in him.

Chich. No, no, I think, I will never talk with him there. Call Mr. Story; let him do with him as he will. He shall find there is no more love in the Marshafield, and is wiser than he was before. I had some hope in him the other day, but now I see none.

Wood. No, I praeifie God, my faith hangeth upon to man, but upon God.

Prieft. Nay, my lord, I think he is not the worse for them: I fear they be the worse for him. I know his man of old, before mine old lord.

Wood. Well, my lord, look well to it: will you deliver me to other men to fad my blood, and so think to wath your hands of me, as Pilate did by Christ? No, you cannot be do discharged.

Chich. I have nothing to do with you: but of my endnes I have fent for you, because you faid, you coule declare your mind in any particular matter I coule demand of you.

Wood. You do not deny but I will do so, if you demand it of me. But you go about to deliver e to others to kill me: and I know there is none at hath to do with me but you. Chich. I am not yet confecrated: wherefore my rd cannot examine you, and comete you, y lord of Love, or you are now in his diocese.

Wood. Yes, my lord, is the matter even fo? Then perceive wherewith you go. Nay, I will talk no ere with you then, if you be at that point. Ake me what you will, but I will fiew you nothing of my mind. I promfe you I will not anfwer in particular matters, fo that you may accuse me to others, and they to kill me.

Chich. I go not about to kill you, but would be glad to hear your mind relating the sacraments, and if you do not underland them, I shoulde be glad to let you know how I underland them. For I would you shoulde do as well as mine own felf.

Wood. If you would talk with me to do me good, I would be fufficient to hear you, and tell you my mind; otherwife I shoulde be loth.

Chich. Nay, I will promife you, if I can do you no good, I will do you no harm: for if I meant to do you harm, I would lay your own hand-writing against you, but I know you would not have be in no doubt of me. What fay you to the sacrament of matrimony? is it a sacrament or no? What think you of it?

Wood. I think it is an holy infitution ordained by God in parfif, and fo to continue to the world's end.

Chich. Lo, now you fhall fee how you be deceived in that, as you be in all the rell. Come hither. You can read Latin I am sure.

Wood. Yes, I can read Latin, but I underrand very little.

Chich. Come to me, you fhall fee that Paul calleth it an holy sacrament. For thefe are his words, For this caufe fhall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined to his wife: and two shall be made one ffe: this is a great sacrament.

Wood. I remember fuch a faying; but St. Paul calleth it a sacrament, but he faith, It is a great mystery.

Chich. Where faith he fo?

Wood. I am not fure in what text it is, but I am fure there are St. Paul's words, and that he calleth it not a sacrament in all his writings.

Chich. That day you were we were full of scriptures! here it is written, and there it is written. Why, we can recheare the scriptures as well as you. Wherefore, if we are fure it is written, it is no great matter for the place. Come hither, I will fiew you the place, I think, that you mean.

I looked, and it was written Sacramen. I know it is a great mystery, in the English translation. Chich. I permit it to be a mystery. What is a mystery?

Wood. A mystery is (as I take it) uneffen; for he faith, he speakeith betwixt Christ and the congregation: to the great mystery that he speakeft of, I take to be the faith of them that are married, which is hid in Christ, which we fee not, but Christ. But the deed which is in the congregation, which is the outward marriage, the body, and the mutual marriage of the heart we fee not. Wherefore Paul calleth it a mystery. Therefore if it be a sacrament, it is inivible to us: it is not seen, as other sacraments are.

Chich. Nay, I tell you it is a visible sacrament, feen as the others are: for is not the marriage feen, is not the marriage fign?

Wood. My lord, I pray you, what is a sacrament?

Chich. It is a fign of a holy thing.

Wood. Methinks you have certified me very well. There need not be a fign of a holy thing, where the holy thing is.

Then his chaplains would have interrupted me, but I defried my lord I might speak my mind in the matter. So with much ado he bade me fay what I could. There need not be a fign of a thing, where the thing is ielf. Matrimony is holy of ielf, and is ended outwards, and needs no more figns but themfelves; fo it cannot be a sacrament as others be.

Chich. Lo, how much you speak against youfelf. For example, I come by an holyer's hop, and there hangeth a pair of hofe, which be holy, and are a fign that he has a hid work. Prieft. What fay you to this? Now my lord hath hit you home indeed.

Wood. He hath hit me perifhfly, I tell you, with sophiftry to blind mine eyes withal. I wonder you are
Paul meant that no man should eat of that which was offered upon the altar, but the priests.
Chich. Yes, I perceive you understand the meaning of Paul; well enough, but that you like to cavil with me.
Wood. Why, my lord, do you think I understand such dark places of the scripture without learning? You said, even now, I had no knowledge nor learning. Why, was I not warned and forewarned of what you judged of me.
Chich. Well, let this matter pass, and let us turn to the principal again. How far you by the sacrament of the altar?
Wood. You mean the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ.
Chich. I mean the sacrament of the altar and I say.
Wood. You mean Christ to be the altar, do you not?
Chich. I mean the sacrament of the altar in the church.
Wood. Is it to be offered to you?
Chich. It is that altar that I mean.
Wood. I understand not the altar fo.
Chich. No, I think fo indeed: and that is the cause of all the trouble I perceive. How do you understand the altar then?
Wood. If you will give me leave till I have done, I will shew you how I understand the altar, and where it is.
Chich. Yes, you shall have leave to say your mind as much as you will.
Wood. It is written, Matt. xviii. "That wheresoever two or three be gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst of them: and whatsoever they do ask in my name, I will grant it unto them that ask in my name." Agreeing to the 5th of Matthew, saying, "When thou comest to offer thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath offended thee, leave there thy offering, and go first and be reconciled to thy brother, and then offer thy gift." The priests would have interrupted me, but the bishop bade them alone, (for (said he) you shall hear a pretty conclusion anon.
I pray you let me make an end, quoth I, and then find fault with me if you can. Now to the matter. In these two places of scripture, I prove that Christ is the true altar, whereon every Christian man and woman, may offer his or her gift and offering, and whatsoever the people are gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst; and where he is, there is the altar, so that we may be bold to come and offer our gift, if we be in love and charity; if not, we must leave there our offering, and go first and be reconciled to our brother, and agree with him quickly, and so forth, and then come and offer our gift. Some will say, How shall I agree with mine adversary, when he is an hundred miles off? May I not pray till I have spoken with him? To all such I answer, If thou dost preface to pray among the faithful, willing evil to any man, woman or child, thou askest vengeance upon thyself. No such akeft any thing else of the Lord in his prayer. Wherefore agree with thine adversary, that is, make thy life agreeable to God's word, Say in the heart, without dilumination, thou akeft God and the world wronged folly by thy heart, intending never to offend them any more. Then all faith may be bold to come and offer their gift, their prayer, on the altar, where the people of God are gathered together. Thus have I shewed you my mind, both of the altar, and of the offering, as I understand it.
Chich. How could you understand the offering and the altar fo? I never heard any man understand it fo. no not Luther, the great heretic, that was condemned by a general council, and his picture burned.
Wood. If he were a heretic, I think he understood it not fo indeed, but I am sure all christians ought to understand it so.
Chich. O what vain-glory is in you, as though you under-
The Second Examination of Mr. RICHARD WOODMAN.

understood all things, and other men nothing? Hear ye! I will give you the true understanding both of the altar, and the offering on the altar. We have an altar, and the offering on the altar, but the priest. For in Paul's time all the living that the priest had, the people came and offered it on the altar, money or other things; and when the people came to offer it, and they remembered that they had any thing against their brother, then they left their offering upon the altar, and it came again and offered their gift, and the priest had it. This is the true understanding of the place that you have rehearsed; wherefore you be deceived.

Wood. My lord, that was the use in the old law. Christ was the end of that. But indeed I perceive by Paul's words, that sacrifices were offered in Paul's time: yet that maketh not that it was well done, but he rebuked it. Wherefore it seemeth to me that you be deceived.

Chib. Who shall be judges between us in this matter?

Wood. The 16th of John declareth who shall be judge in the last day.

Chib. You must mean the word shall judge the word, how can that be?

Wood. St. Peter faith, "The scripture hath no private interpretation;" but one scripture must be understood by another.

Chib. You will understand it one way, and I will understand it another; and who shall be judge between us then?

Wood. The true church of God is able to discern all sounds: to whom I refer it.

Chib. I am glad you say so, if you mean so indeed.

Wood. My lord, I never meant otherwise.

Chib. The church of God doth allow the sacrifice of the altar.

Wood. What do you now offer upon the altar?

Chib. We offer up, in the blessed sacrifice of the altar, the body of Christ, to pacify the wrath of God the Father; and therewith they all put off their caps to the abominable idol.

Wood. St. Paul faith to the Hebrews, in the 10th chapter, "We are sanctified by offering of the body of Jesus Christ, not with this bread and this wine;" and all priests are daily ministering, and oftentimes offering one manner of offering, which cannot take away sins; and that is the offering that you use. As I can see, you be priests after the order of Aaron, that offer sacrifices for their own sins, and the sins of the people.

Chib. Nay, Aaron's sacrifice was with blood, which signifieth the death of Christ, the which was ended upon the cross by his blood-sufficing; but we are priests after the order of Melchisedek, which offereth bread to the king in remembrance, and signifieth the giving of Christ's body in bread and wine at the last supper, which he gave to his disciples, and commanded it to be used to the end of the world. This is the sacrifice that we offer, according to his word.

Chib. I think you have made the matter plain to me, that as Christ was the end of all sacrifices, so was he the beginning of the sacraments, willing them to be used in remembrance of him, to the world's end.

Wood. What in remembrance of him, and not himself, as his word faith, "Take, eat, this is my body." Yes, I am well content with that.

Chib. If you say the words of baptism over the water, and there be no child there, is there true baptism?

Wood. No, there must be the water, the word, and the child, and then it is baptism.

Chib. Very well. Then if a child be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, it is not truly baptized.

Wood. No: the child must be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, else it is not truly baptized.

Chib. And there may be nothing added, nor taken away from the sacraments?

Wood. No.

Wood. Now, my lord, I will answer to you, if you please.

Chib. Well, how say you, "Take, eat, this is my body;" is it not Christ's body, as soon as the words be said?

Wood. My lord, I will answer you by your own words, which is true: the water, the word, and the child; all these together make baptism: the bread, wine, and the word, make the sacrament; and the eater, eating in true faith, maketh it his body. Here I prove it is not Christ's body, but to the faithful receiver. For he said, "Take, eat, this is my body." He called it not his body before eating, but after. St. Augustine saith, "Believers do not eat Christ until they be converted." And St. John faith, "He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him:" so it is impossible to dwell in God, and to eat his body, without a true faith.

Priest. Then the faith of the receiver maketh it his body, and not his word, by your laying. I pray you what did Jesu Christ say?

Wood. Judas did eat the sacrament of Christ, and the devil withal.

Priest. He eat the body of Christ unworthily, as St. Paul faith.

Wood. Yes, my lord, Paul faith no such thing. He speakest not of eating his body unworthily, but of the sacrament unworthily. For he faith, "Whoever eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eteath and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body." If Judas had eat Christ's body, it must needs follow, that Judas is faved. For Christ faith, in the 6th of John, "Whoever eteath my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up again at the last day."

Priest. My lord, this man is an interpreter after his own mind.

Chib. I see it is but folly to talk with you; it is but lost labour. How say you do not believe that after the words be said, there remaineth neither bread nor wine, but the real body of Christ? Make me a plain answer, for I will talk no more with you.

Wood. I will make you a direct answer, how I believe of the true sacrament. I do believe, that if I come to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ truly ministr’d, believing that Christ was born for me, and that I shall be faved from my sins by his blood-suffic’ing, and so receive the sacrament in that remembrance, then I believe I do receive wholly Christ, God and man, mystically by faith: this I believe.

Chib. Why, then it is no body without faith: God's word is of no force, as you count it.

Wood. I do believe in God's word without dissimulation, and more you get not of me, without you will talk with me by the scriptures: and if you will do so, I will begin anew with you, and prove it more plainly three or four manner of ways, that you shall not fay nay to that I have fay’d.

Then they made a great laughing, and said, This is an heretic indeed; it is time they were burned. Which words moved my spirit, and I faid to them, Judge not, lest you be judged. For as you judge me, you shall be judged yourselv: What you call hereby, I serve God truly with, as you will shall well know, when you shall be in hell, and have blood to drink, and shall be compelled to say for pain, This was the man that we jefted on, and whose talk we thought foolishneth, and his end to be without honour: but now we may fay 7 F how.
how he is counted among the saints of God, and we are punished. These words you shall say, being in hell, if you repent not with speed, if you conant to the shedding of my blood: wherefore look to it, I give you counsel.

And when you are angry, methinks. Now I will say more to you than I thought to have done. You were at Baxill a twelvemonth ago, and font for the parson, and talked with him in the church-yard, and would not go into the church; for you said it was the idol's temple. Yes, I was with mine own lord, when he came to the King's bench to you, and you said many foul words to him.

Wood. That I said, I said: and where you said I was angry, I take God to my record, I am not, but am zealous in the truth, and speak out of the Spirit of God, with cheerful face.

Priest. The Spirit of God? hough, hough, hough! think you that you have the Spirit of God?

Wood. I believe surely that I have the Spirit of God, I praise God for it; and you are deceivers, mockers, and scorners before God, and are the children of hell, all the sort of you, as far as I can fee. And therewith came in Dr. Story, pointing at me with his finger, speaking to the bishop in Latin, saying at length:

Story. I can say nothing to him, but he is an heretic. Pray you, how you talk this hour and a half, and can have no reason in him.

Wood. Judge not, left he be judged: for as you judge, you shall be judged yourself.

Story. What, do you a preaching? you shall preach a trance shortly with your fellows. My lord, trouble yourself no more with him.

With these words, one brought word that the abbot of Welminster was come to dine with the bishop, and many other gentlemen and women. Then there was running away with speed to him.

And therewith came in Dr. Story to my keeper, Carry him to the Marthalshe with me, keep him close, and let nobody come to speak with him.

And so they departed. Then one of the priests began to flatter me, and said, For God's sake remember yourself. God hath given you a good wit: you have read the scriptures well, and have borne them well in memory. It were a great pity you should do amiss.

Wood. What a flatterer be you, to say my wit is good, and that I have read the scriptures well; and but even now you said I was an heretic, and deified me. I have read them: The devil asked me when I was a good wit, as you have confessed. But I think your own conscience doth accuse you. God give you grace to repent, if it be his will.

Priest. I call it a good wit, because you are expert in all things.

Wood. You may call it a wicked wit, if it agree not with God's word. Then one cried, Away, away, here come strangers. So we departed, and I came again to the Marthalshe with my keeper.

The Third Examination of Mr. WOODMAN, (copied with his own Hand) before Dr. LANGDALE, Chaplain to my Lord MONTAGUE, and Mr. JAMES GAGE, at my Lord MONTAGUE's House, near St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, May 15, 1557.

The 12th of May the marshal came to the Marthalshe, and sent for me to speak with him. When I came before him and had done my duty, he asked my name, and what countryman I was; I informed him. Then he asked me when I was abroad in the city. To whom I answered, If it shall please your majesty, I was abroad in the city on Monday was seven-night.

Marshall. What took you abroad?

Wood. A step of Chichester sent for me to talk with me at his house, near St. Nicholas's Shambles.
I know no more why I am sent to prison, than the least child in this town knoweth. And I am sinning, for I defied not master Sheriff to speak with you; but indeed he defied me that I would speak with you, and utter my faith to you. For he hippocra that I did not believe well, and he reported you to be learned. But I renounced not that you were learned. But forsooth, if I shall judge him, I would not utter my faith to any but to the bishop. I said, he is my ordinary, and I appeal unto him. I am commanded by St. Peter, in the first epistle, chap. iii, to render account of my hope that I have in the righteous judgment of God, and if the bishop will take with none in that matter, but with him. Wherefore send me to him if you will, or else there shall no man know my faith, I tell you plainly. These words made the sheriff angry, and he went his way, and when he was gone from me, I remembered that it was you that he would have me to talk with; and then I remembered that I had made the promise to my father and Goodman Day, of Vefeld, not past a fortnight before I was taken, that whensoever I came into the country, I would speak with you by your messengers, and freely and openly and fair words. When a man cannot trull his father nor brother, nor others that have been his familiar friends, but they deceive him, a man may lawfully follow the example of Christ towards them that he never fase before, saying, "Be as wives are serpents, and as innocent as doves." And if I have spoken to you, I shall not say you. And I suspect you, because you blame me for unfeeling with the scriptures, I doubt that you would take advantage of me, if I should speak mine own words. Wherefore I will take as good heed, as I can, because I have been deceived already by them. So I am not rash in the matter that I speak circumspectly. It shall not be said, by God's help, that I will run willfully into my enemy's hands, and yet I praise God my life is not dear to myself, but it is dear with God; wherefore I do the uttermost that I can, to prove your words. Lang. You are afraid where no fear is, for it was defined by master Sheriff and his brother, and other friends, to talk with you, and they told me that you were defirous to talk with me, and now you make the matter as though you had nothing to do with me, and as though you were fain, if you had not nothing, for you call for your accusers, as though there were no man to accuse you. But if there were no man to accuse you, your own hand-writing did accuse you enough, that you set upon the church-door (if you remember it), and other letters that you let fall abroad, as divine letters, that aforesaid two letters and your accusers. Your own hand will accuse you, I warrant you; it is kept safe enough. I would not for two hundred pounds there were so much against me. Wed. I will not deny my own hand; for it cannot easily be counterfeited. I do not deny but I wrote a letter to the priest, and others of the parish, declaring their folly and presumption, to come into my house without my love or leave, and take out my child, and use it at their pleasure: which moved me to write my mind unto them: and because I could not tell how to conceal it from my child, I went upon the church-door; which letter my lord of Chichester hath; for he showed it me when I was before him: wherein is contained nothing but the very Scriptures, to their reproach. Let it be laid before me when you or he will, I will answer to it by the help of God, to all their shame that I wrote it to. Lang. I will show it you. I said, you had no cause to say I did, neither had I written that, if they had done like honest neighbors. Wherefore if they be offended with me for that, I will answer them with Christ's words, in Matthew xviii. Woe unto them if they accused me through you, and because they gave me the occasion.

And we were again at the same place to speak with you, and that master Sheriff and his brother, and other of my friends, would you to talk with me, and that I was now as though I had nothing to do with you, and as though I were sent to prison for nothing: the truth is,
Wood. That is no matter what I would have done. I am sure you cannot deny but it is sufficiently done, if the midwife do it, and I hold not against the doing of it, neither did I it myself, as you said I did.

Wood. First tell me whether the child were not truly baptized by the midwife.

Lang. Yes, it was truly baptized, if she baptized it in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Wood. Yes, that I am sure she did, and you grant that was sufficient: and the caufe that I blamed them was, because they did more to it than need was, as you say. Yes, they fetched it out of the houfe, without malice, which was not well done.

Lang. They did it in church, to confirm what was done.

Wood. Yea, but that was more than needs. But God forgive them, if it be his will. Let that matter pass. But I would you should not say, that because your children were not baptized by children, for I do not, I take God to record, but do allow it to be most necessitous, if it be truly used. But methought you spake words even now that were unfit to be spoken: if a child die, and be not baptized, it is damned. How think you? be all damned that receive not the outward sign of baptism?

Judge. Yea, that so.

Wood. How prove you that?

Lang. "Go, faith Christ, and baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and he that believeth not, shall be damned." These be the words of Christ, which are our warrant.

Wood. Then, by your saying, baptism bringeth faith, and all that be baptized in water shall be saved. Shall they?

Lang. Yes, that they shall; if they die before they come to defeption, they shall all of them be saved; and all that be not baptized, shall be damned every one of them.

Wood. Then my spirit was moved with him to reprove him sharply, because I had manifest scriptures fhew in my mind against his saying. Then said I

O Lord God! how dare you speak such blasphemy against God and his word, as you do? How dare you take upon you to preach and teach the people, and underlend not what you say? I protest before God you understand not the scriptures, but as far as natural reasons can go. For if you did, you would be ashamed to speak as you do.

Lang. Wherein have I spoken amiss? take heed, you have a toy in your head will make you despair: I dare say you cannot tell what you say. Wherefore remove yourself.

Wood. Because you blaspheme God; and as for defeption, take heed to yourself. For I cannot see but you be out of your wits already; and as for me, I praiie God, I can tell what I say, and what you have said; which shall turn to your shame, if you will talk by the scriptures with me.

So when he perceived that I spake in earnest, and challenged him to talk by the word, his colour began to change, and his feth to tremble and quake. And I said:

Prove your sayings true, if you can; for I will prove them false, with God's help. You said, All children, or others, that be not baptized with water, shall be damned. I dare not say so for all the good in the world. And you brought in Christ's sayings as a warrant. In Mark xvi. it is written, "Whoof believeth and is baptized shall be saved." For it would be true: "and whoof believeth not, shall be damned." Which words be true. He says, "He that believeth not, shall be damned." Yea, St. John faith, "He that believeth not, is condemned already, because he believeth not." But neither of these two scriptures, nor either of them in all the New Testament, faith. That he that is not baptized shall be damned, or is damned already, as aforesaid. Then he would have interrupted me, and would have laid to my charge that I was an Anabaprtist. But I would give him no place to speak, but said:

Lang. Wherefore you end, and then say what you can. You shall have as much to do, with God's help, in this matter, as ever you had to answer a thing in your life. You know, I am fure, it is no manners to pluck a talk out of a man's mouth, nor is it the order of reasoning, as you are in law. It is better that I can tell you. Then Dr. Langdale bade me say on.

Wood. My saying was, that those that believe not shall be damned, and are damned already. But I dare not say for all the good under heaven, that all those that receive no material baptism by water shall be damned. I said that such as would not believe what I should gather of these words, that I deny baptism, as you were about to accuse me of, before I had half told out my tale. I would not have you, nor any man so rash in judgment, to condemn the thing that they are not able to prove by the word, and to make it seem to the simple, that the outward washing of water were the cause of faith.

Lang. Why, is it so too? Will you deny it? How say you? I say, the child hath no faith before it is baptized; therefore, the baptism bringing faith. What say you to it? Make me a plain answer to this question.

Wood. Now I perceive you go about nothing else, but to take advantage of my words. But, by God's help, I will answer you so, that you shall well see your day. For I will not fall from God's word, nor speak on words, but the words of the Holy Ghost, out of the mouth of the prophets and apostles; and then ask them whether they will deny it. You said, that faith cometh by baptism, had the use of material water. I must be so bold to ask you where you have found, that baptism can give faith. St. Paul faith in the 6th chapter to the Romans, "Before ever the children were born, before ever they had done either good or bad, that the purpose of God, which is by election, might stand, not by the reason of works, but by the grace of the Caller, the elder shall forbe the younger. Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated." How think you, had this child faith before he was born, or no? Answer to this, if you can.

Lang. What, you speak of the old law. Jacob was not christened, but circumcised. I speak of baptism, and what belongs to the time of baptism; answer me to the baptism. Remember, by your talk, you deny original sin and free-will, by the words that you brought in of St. Paul.

For if children can be saved without baptism, then it must needs follow, that children have no original sin, which is in being in baptism. I think you know not what original sin is, nor free-will neither.

Wood. Yes, I praiie God, I think I can tell them all better than you can. First, I pray you what free-will hath man to do good of himseld? Tell me this first, and then I will answer to all other questions that you have objected against me.

Lang. I say that all men have as much free-will now, as Adam had before his fall.

Wood. Pray, how prove you that?

Lang. Thus I prove it, that as fin entered into the world, that means death, and all that were finned all men became finners, which was by Adam; so by the obedience of one man, righteousness came upon all men that had finned, and set them as free as they were before their fall, which was by Jesus Christ, Rom. v. 18. "Therefore as what is done, so have you given yourself here in original fin, and cannot see it! For, in proving that we have free-will, you have quite de-nied original fin. For you have declared that we be set as free by the death of Christ, as Adam was before his fall; and I am sure that Adam had no original fin before he was finned, and then I marvel wherefore Paul complained thrice to God, to take away the fining of it, God making him answer, and saying, "My grace is sufficient for thee."
These words, with divers others, prove original fin
ing, wherein few (that is to say eight fouls) were
water, like as baptism now also faveth us,
not in putting away the filth of the flesh, but there
is a good confidence confecting to God." 

Here Peter proveth, that water had not faved Noah
and the children with him - more than it faved all the
reft, if it had not been for the fear of death which faith new
eth us; not in putting away the filthy foul of the flesh,
by the washing of the water, but by a good confidence
confecting unto God.

But ye only, if they be baptized with the water, if
they die before the time of years of diffusion, they
are all faved; which St. Peter is clean again, mells
you grant that children have faith before they are bap-
tized.

Now I ask you what confection of confidence the chil-
dren have, being infants; but by faith; they believe
before they are baptized; therefore you are not con-
stant not to be baptized, because they believe not. And
by this it followeth, that none shall be faved, if they
were baptized. I would know how you can anfwer this.

Long. You are the mofl pervert man I ever knew.
You know not what you fay. The children are bap-
tized in their godfather's and godmother's faith, and
that is the good confidence that St. Peter fpeaketh of;
and the chriftening is the keeping of the law that St.
Peter fpeaketh of, faying, Neither is circumcision any
thing worth, but the keeping of the law is all together;
which circumcision was the keeping of the old law, fo is bap-
tifm the keeping of the new law.

Wood. Ah, I thought if you would talk with me,
you would bring in the old law to maintain your fay-
ing; and, believing by, the law of God, and not imputed
my faith to my own defervinc, but of his free mercy
he hath faved us. Where is now your boafeid free
will that you fpeak of? If we have free will, then our
libation cometh of our own felves, and not of God;
which is, great blasphemy againft God and his word.

St. James hath a fpeech, in a. 1. "Every good and
perfect gift cometh from above, from the Father of
lights, with whom is no variablenefs, neither is he
changed into darknefs. Of his own will he begat us.
For the wind bloweth where it listeth, and we hear the
sound thereof, but cannot tell whence it cometh, neith-
er whether it goeth: even fo is it with every one that is
born of God," For St. Paul faith, Phil. ii. "It is
God that worketh in us both to will and to do of his
Good pleasure." Seeing then that every good and
perfect gift cometh from above, from the Father of
lights, with whom is no variablenefs, neither is he
changed into darknefs. Of his own will he begat us.
For the wind bloweth where it listeth, and we hear the
sound thereof, but cannot tell whence it cometh, neith-
er whether it goeth: even fo is it with every one that is
born of God,

Long. Say what you can; for what I have faid to
you is ineffictual. I was defir'd to fende for you,
to fuch you, but you go about to reprove me. Say
what you will, for me.

Wood. I take not upon me to teach you, but be-
cause God hath laid to my charge: and I
seek not mine own mind, but the mind of the Holy
Ghoft, written by the prophets and apostles. Will
you give me leave to anfwer briefly in this matter,
that you may report to others the opinions I hold?

St. Paul faith, "And I am content: but to nothing
I fpeak, neither by ftrength of肉, neither by wise
words." First, if you remember, you faid, that if my
child had died without baptism, if I had been the caufe
that it had not been baptized, the child fhould have been
damned, and I too. How fay you?

Wood. Yes, you fhould fay.

Wood. That is true.

For the prophet faith, "The father fhall not bear the child's offencens,
or the child the father's; but the foul that finneth
shall die," What could the child have done withal,
that it had died without baptism? What fay you to this?
And I am sure, that which I brought in, in the old
law, to prove that faith is before baptism, is not dif-
agreeable to the word. For circumcision is a figure of
baptism. And that I may bring to prove baptism by,

Wood. A pretty queffion, I think, it is that you
aff me: as though I did make myself equal with God.
No, no, you fhall catch no fhuch advantage of my
words,
words, nor do I know how many there be. But I will tell you as near as I can.

Long. Yes, I pray you tell me as much as you can, seeing you are so cunning.

Wood. You shall see my judgment in it by and by: First, the prophet faith, "Follow not a multitude to do evil, for they must go the wrong way." I take that as a ground to know the thing, for the prophet said it is a good point to know them.

Then Christ faith in Matt. vii. "Broad is the way, and wide is the gate that leadeth unto destruction, and many there be that go in thereat; and straight is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." And in Luke xii. it is written (which words were spoken of Chirill), "Come, you little flock, it is my Father's will to give you a kingdom." The third point this is, in Mark iii. and Matt. ii. "You faith (Chirill) shall know the tree by the fruits. A good tree bringeth forth good fruits, and a bad tree bringeth forth bad fruit." So by the fruits I know them: for every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, must be hewn down, and cast into the fire (into hell I think Chirill meant), and your fruits declare that you be one of them. Thus have I proved before, and I dare say he will tell you no more make but a small company in comparison with the rest. But if that be not enough, for the proof thereof, I have twenty more ways to prove it by, and you were never the nearer your purpose.

Long. What a naughty man are you! you would make the most patient man in the world angry with you. I think your talk is nothing but pride and vainglory, with mockery, decrying and judging of men. It is time such a fellow were apprehended indeed. Such a one is enough to trouble a whole country. I think he is blessed of God that took you; for you are not fit to be in a commonwealth.

With divers such like words that I cannot recite, they came out so thick, with fuch flaping, as though he had been out of his wits. I held my peace until he had made dozen or ten and then I spake.

Wherein have I said amiss? or have I not answered you unto every quillon that you demanded of me? what fault can you find in any word that I have said? I dare say you can find none. I marvel why you take on this against me, having no cause to do so. I am as just as the most patient man.

Long. No, no, you have not answered me to original sin, you deny original sin.

With these words Mr. James Gage came in; and I think he stood up at a door a good while before he came in, and that Dr. Langdale sat him: for his face was toward the door, and his face was from it.

Gage. Ah, Woodman, I think Mr. Doctour and you cannot agree.

Wood. Yes, sir, I think we agree very well.

Long. Without doubt, sir, he is the naughtiest man I ever talked with in all my life: for he will have his own way in all things.

Gage. Woodman, leave that pride. Do nottrust too much to your own wit. Hearken to this man, which is a learned man. He is known to be learned: or he would not be allowed to preach before the queen's majesty. He is naughtier than he seems; nor will he do all things, but that he will do himself: and I dare say he will not go to the devil to bring you there. How say you, Mr. Doctour? Would you think us mad, if we would hurt ourselves to hurt you. No, I suppose you, my brother, neither I, nor any gentle- man in the country, I think of my conscience, but you should do as well as their own souls and bodies, as a great many of them have fad to thy face, whilst thou wait at my brother's, and which you cannot deny.

Wood. I can fay no otherwise but that I was gently treated at thy brother's, both with meat and drink, and gentle words, both by you and him, and divers other gentlemen: and I am sure neither you nor they can fay, that you found me unreasonably at any time.

For I believe it was decreed that we were able to teach me, and so I am, God knoweth: and here, Mr. Doctour, I think, can fay no otherwise; for I dare say he can find no fault in the talk that we have had.

Long. No, marry, I can find nothing else in you. I promise you, Mr. Gage, if you had been here, you would have fad to yourel. He took me up indeed, and said, he wondered how I durst preach. For he said, there was not a soul that the English people understood, but as far as natu- ral reaon comprehended: as though I understood all, and I nothing. With many other such like words he made a great complaint to him of me, and said to Mr. James Gage, he would make you believe I could find no fault in him. Yes, I understand, he doth original sin.

Gage. Dost he so? by St. Mary that is a great matter: Woodman, leave your pride. That pride will come to nought. Can you live without? for God will not.

Wood. Sir, now I perceive he will foon belie me because he fad me back, when he will not fick to lie before my face.

He faith, I denied original sin; and it was he him- self, as I will let you be judge in the matter. For, as he went about to prove that man had free will, he said, we were set free by the death of Christ, as Adam was before his fall: which proves plainly, he have no original sin: and I took him without, and fall. Had Adam original sin before his fall? and then he could not tell what to say, but cavilled with words, and said he mant not: and therefore I marvel he is not more used to tell such a story. These words made them both affronted.

Gage. Mr. Doctour, he fad even now you could find no fault in all his talk. Ask him one question, and you will find fault enough. I pray you ask him, how he believe in the sacrament of the altar. I think he will make but a bad account thereof.

Wood. Yes, I will make account good enough of that, by God's help.

Long. Well, how fay you to the facrament of the altar?

Wood. I fay, I know no such facrament, unless Christ be the altar you mean.

Gage. Lo! I told you you should foon find fault in him, if you came to the point with him. You should have begun with that first, and not have talked with him about other things. What, know you not the facrament of the altar?

Wood. No suer, I know no such, unless Christ be the altar that you mean; for Chirill is the altar of all goodnafs. And if you mean Chirill to be the altar of the facrament you speak of, you shall foon hear by my mouth what it is.

Long. Well, we mean Chirill to be the altar. Say your mind, and go briefly to work; for I think it duteous dinner-time.

Gage. I pray you go roundly to work, that you may make an end before dinner.

Wood. Yes, you shall foon hear my mind therein, by God's help. I do believe, that whenever I come to receive the facrament of the body and blood of Chirill, being truly ministraded according to his intuition, I believe that Chirill was born of the virgin Mady, and that he was crucified on the cross, that did shed his blood for the remission of my sins, and so take and eat the facrament of bread and wine in that remembrance, that then I do receive whole Chirill, God and man, mystically by faith. This is my belief of the facrament, which no man is able to dispute.

Gage. By St. Mary I can find no fault in this. How say you, Mr. Doctour?

Long. Sir, you see not so much as I do. For he goeth craftily to work, I tell you as I have heard. For though he hath granted, that the faithful receiver receiveth the body and blood of Chirill, God and man, yea, he hath not granted that it is the body of Christ before it be received, as you shall see by and by, I warrant you, by his own words. How fay you? Is it the body of Chirill as soon as the words be spoken by the priest, or not? For I will try him more than you in all the reck

Wood. Dost thow fay that it is his body before it is receiveth? If it do, I will fay so too.
Gage. Why then shall we agree well enough, if you will be tried by the word. You indeed, that I will; God forbid. 

Gage. Why, the word faith it is his body before it is in cachet.

Gage. Thrice words would I fain hear; but I am sure they be not in the Bible. 

No! That you shall see presently (flays he to Mr. Gage), and then turned to the 2d of Luke, and there he read, "When fapper was done, Christ eat bread, gave thanks, brake it, and gave to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body:" so they spake both at once. Here he faith it is his body. 

Gage. Mr. Gage, I do not deny that he called it his body, but not before eating, as I laid before; which I pray you mark the words. Christ said, Take, eat: I pray you, sir, mark these words that he said, "Take and eat," and then he said, "it is his body." So you see, eating goeth before. For he said, "Eat, this is my body." So according to the word, I do believe it is his body. Which words make them both amnified.

Gage. Why, then, by your saying, Judas eat not the body of Christ. How fay you, did he not?

Wool. Nay, I ask you. Did he?

Wool. I ask you.

Wool. And I ask you.

Wool. marry, I ask you: and I bid you answer if you dare for your life; for whatsoever you answer, unles you say as I have saide, you will damn your own soul.

Wool. Mr. Gage, I protest before God, I would you should do as well as my own soul and body; and it grieved me to see how you were deceived with them; they be deceivers of all of them. He cannot answer to this, but either he must prove Judas to be fayed, or else he must prove that it is no body before he be received in faith, as you shall well perceive, by God's help, if he dare answer the question.

Gage. Yes, I dare fay he dareth. What you need not to threaten him for.

Wool. Then let him answer if he can.

Then he said he knew what I would fay to him; therefore he was much in doubt to answer the question.

Gage. Mr. Gage, I will tell you in your car what these words he will answer me with, before I speak to him. Then he told Mr. Gage a tale in his ear, and said, have told me Mr. Gage what you will say.

Gage. Yes, and I will speak the truth for both parties.

Wool. Well, how fay you? Did Judas eat the body of Christ, or not?

Gage. Yes, I say Judas did eat the body of Christ.

Gage. Then it must needs follow, that Judas hath everlasting life: for Christ faith in John vi. "Who so eat my flesh and drink my blood hath eternal life and I will raise him up at the last day." If Judas did eat Christ's body, I am sure you cannot deny but he did both eat his flesh, and drink his blood, and then he was tried by Christ's words. Therefore now you are compelled to fay that it was Christ's body, or else that Judas is fayed.

Gage. Surely there be the very words that Master Wool told me in mine car that you would fay to him.

Wool. Well, let us see how well he can avoid this argument.

Gage. Judas is damned, and yet he eat the body of Christ; but he eat it unworthily: and therefore he but a beast.

Wool. Where find you that Judas did eat the body of Christ unworthily?

Gage. They be St. Paul's words, 1 Cor xi.

Gage. Master Gage, I defere you for God's sake well to the words that I fay. If St. Paul speake any fact words there, or in any other place; if there be any
George's church, in Southwark, by one of the mar-
thal's men, and one of the sheriff's men. When I came
before them, and had done my duty to them as
high as I could, then said the bishop of Winchester,
What is your name?
Wood. My name is Richard Woodman.
Bishop. Were you not three weeks at the sheriff's?
Wood. Yes, that I was, just a mouth and a half
ently treated by him; I can say no otherwise; for I had
meat and drink enough, and fair words.
Bishop. It is not all lies then, as it chance. For
I spake but of three weeks, and you confest a
month yourself.
Wood. Yet your tale is never the truer for that:
for you said, I was there three weeks for hereby, which
is not so: for I was not apprehended for hereby; at
the first, neither did my old lord of Chichester reason with
me, to pull me from hereby, as truly I did for I held
no stay, neither do I now, as God knoweth, neither
was I sent to the commissiourns, nor to the bishop
of London for hereby, neither was I delivered to him
for any such thing, nor promised him to recant, as
you said I did, neither therefore I marvel that you are
not advanced to tell so many lies, being a bishop, that
should be an example to others.
Bishop. Lo, what an arrogaut heretic he is. He
will deny God; for he that denieth his own hand, de-
nieth God.
Wood. My lord, judge not lest you be judged
yourself: for as you have judged me, you shall be
judged, if you repent not; and if I have set my hand
to any recantation, let it be seen to my shame before
this audience; for I will never deny my own hand by
God.
Bishop. It is not here now, but I think it may
be had well enough; but if it cannot be found, by whom
will you be tried?
Wood. By my lord of London; for he dealt like
a most merciful man in that matter for which I was sent
to prifon. For it was upon the breach of a statute, as
maler Sherifh here can tell. For he was therfore, as
he is now, and can tell how I was tolled up and
down from felfions to felfions; and because I would
not confess that I had offended therein, they faen me
to prifon as a traitor.
Then my lord of Chichester being my ordinary, and
I being his tenant, came to me, to persuade me
to confesse to them, and to find myself in fault, when
I was in none: to which I would not agree; but I de-
clared that he would see me released of my wrong: but
he faid he could not; but willed me or my friends to
speak to the commissiourns for me, because it was
a temporal matter: and when I came before them, they
fent me to my lord of London, who was certified by
the hastening of the quality more to prifon this gentle
woman and yeomen, the chief in the county where
I dwelt, that I had not offended in the matter I was
sent to prifon for: whereupon he delivered me, not
requiring me to recant hereby, for I held none (as God
knoweth), neither did I now, as I have now shewed
what I was sent to prifon, no more than any man here,
for I was taken away from my work.
Bishop. Why then did you appeal to my lord of
Chichester, if it were not for hereby?
Wood. Because there was laid to my charge that
I had baptized children, and married folks, which I ne-
ver did, for I was no where minister. Wherefore I
appealed to my ordinary, to clear my self therof, which
I have done. Wherefore if any man have any thing
against me, let him speak: for I came not hither to
ace myself, neither will I.
Bishop. Maler Sheriff, can you tell upon what
breach of statute he was sent to prifon first?
Sheriff. Yes, my lord, that I can.
Wood. My lord, if you will give me leave, I will
tell you the whole matter.
Bishop. Nay, master Sheriff, I pray you tell
the matter, seeing you know it.
Sheriff. My lord, it was for speaking to a curing
in the pulpit, as I remember.
Bishop. Ah, like enough, he would not click to
reprove me for my speech. For did you not see how he fashioned
himself to speak to me in the pulpit on Sunday? He
played the impudent fellow with me: so it is no great
wonder that he played that part with another.
Wood. Why, you will not blame me for that, I am sure. For we spoke for no other cause, but to purge out of thee heretofy that you laid to our charge. There were your words; Good people, these men that be brought before us, being here, deny Christ to be God, and the Holy Ghost to be God (pointing to the Mompox and the others), with your own lips. And so I thought that you meant us all. Wherefore to clear ourselves thereof we spoke, and said we hold no such thing. And you said you would cut out our tongues.

But I am sure you have no such law.

Nay, you have. He has spake against you and blasphemed, and as it is written, his words shall return back to him:

Indeed. After we spake, you declared who they were, but not before: for you spake generally. Wherefore we blasphemed not, but purged ourselves.

But pray you, how can you purge yourself for speaking, against the cause of God, and not thereby?

Forthof these be the words of the statute: Whosoever doth interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen’s majesty, or by any other lawful authority, that all such shall suffer three months imprisonment, and furthermore he brought to the quarter sessions, there (being forry for the fame) to be released upon his good behaviour one whole year. But I had not so offended as it was well proved; for he that I spoke to was not lawfully authorized, nor had put away his wife. Wherefore it was not lawful for him to preach by your command, and therefore I break the statute though I spake to him.

I am glad I perceive this man speaketh against priets’ marriages; he is not contented with priets that have wives. He is an honesty man that I took him for, and would not him away. And I do love them not priets’ marriages.

Wood. Then I would have answered to his laying, but he would in no wise hear me, but bade the sheriff have me away. So the sheriff took me by the hand, and plucked me away, and would not let me speak, but said, the matter is in your discretion, and in the whole matter, if he would have given me leave, but seeing he will not, if he will let me go, they shall see whether I will not go home to my wife and children, and keep them, as my bounden duty is, by the help of God. So I was sent to the Marshalsea again, where I now am merry. I profe God therefore, as a seer appointed to be lain.

Moreover, I was credibly informed by one of our brethren that heard our talk, that the bishop said when I was gone, that they would take me whilst I was sometimes absent, that as you were the third of the people that were there, that I spake against priets’ marriages, but I did not, but did only answer to such questions as he asked me, as you shall perceive well by the words, if you mark them, which words are these:

And you can purge yourself from this, for talking to the cure in the pulpit, and not offend the statute? said the bishop; meaning thereby, I think, to have advantage of my words: but it was not God’s will that he should at that time. For I answered him by the words of the statute, which words be as hereafter followeth. Wherefore doth interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen’s majesty, or by any other lawful authority, that all such shall suffer three months imprisonment. But I prove that this man was not lawfully authorized to preach (by the queen’s law) because he had not put away his wife. For there is, that no priest may marry, nor preach with the mafs, but he must first be separated from his wife. That is, because honest marriages be good and commendable, and their’s saugh and abominable; therefore they cannot dwell together.

And I told you this, and I declared, and that I did not reprosec this priest because he had a wife, but because he taught false doctrine, which grieved my soul, because he had been a fervent preacher against the mafs, and all the idolatry thereof seven years before, and then came again and joined with it again; for which cause I kept against the pulpit, in the pulpit, I spake to him and in written divers of my examinations at my first imprison.

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Hence. Woodman, you were before us the last day, and would not be known in any wife that you were sent to prison for hereby, and called for your accusers, and fessed freely in defending of yourself, and on your departing you thought that you had spake against priets’ marriages, thinking you all in the hands of God, who is the prrever, defender, and keeper of all his elect for evermore. Amen.

The Fifth Examination of Mr. RICHARD WOODMAN, before the Bishop of Winchester, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdale, a fat Preist, and others, whose Names I know not, at St. Mary Overwy’s Church, in Southwark, June 15, 1557.

Wich. Woodman, you were before us the last day, and would not be known in any wife that you were sent to prison for hereby, and called for your accusers, and fessed freely in defending of yourself, and on your departing you thought that you had spake against priets’ marriages, thinking you all in the hands of God, who is the prrever, defender, and keeper of all his elect for evermore. Amen.

Wood. I told you not either that I did reprosec him for lack of authority, or because I liked not his preaching, but I told you wherefore I was first sent to prison. For you said it was for hereby, and made a long tale against him, and found nothing in the statute that were there, that I spake against priets’ marriages, but I did not, but did only answer to such questions as he asked me, as you shall perceive well by the words, if you mark them, which words are these:

And you can purge yourself from this, for talking to the cure in the pulpit, and not offend the statute? said the bishop; meaning thereby, I think, to have advantage of my words: but it was not God’s will that he should at that time. For I answered him by the words of the statute, which words be as hereafter followeth. Wherefore doth interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen’s majesty, or by any other lawful authority, that all such shall suffer three months imprisonment.

But I prove that this man was not lawfully authorized to preach (by the queen’s law) because he had not put away his wife. For there is, that no priest may marry, nor preach with the mafs, but he must first be separated from his wife. That is, because honest marriages be good and commendable, and their’s saugh and abominable; therefore they cannot dwell together.

And I told you this, and I declared, and that I did not reprosec this priest because he had a wife, but because he taught false doctrine, which grieved my soul, because he had been a fervent preacher against the mafs, and all the idolatry thereof seven years before, and then came again and joined with it again; for which cause I kept against the pulpit, in the pulpit, I spake to him and in written divers of my examinations at my first imprison.

And when I was in prison, I bought a statute book, which when I had perused over, I found by the words thereof that I had not offended, because he was not lawfully authorized, as the bishop of London was certified by the hands of almoft thirty of the chief men of the county. For he had not put away his wife, and therefore the statute took not place on me, as I told you the other day. Wherefore my lord of London, feeing me not to retor in that like a man, I spake to the pulpit, and releas me. Now when I had told you this matter, you bade the sheriff take me away; you said 7 H
you were glad I held against priests' marriages, because I answered to the question you asked me.

Priest. My lord, do you not hear what he faith by your lord's of London? He faith he is a good man in that he refuseth him, but he meaneth that he is good, in nothing else.

Wood. What? can you tell what I mean? let every man fay as he findeth: he did duly by me in that matter. I fay, if he be not good in every thing else, as you fay, he shall answer for it, and not I; for I have nothing to do in smaller matters.

Bishop. Well, how fay you? How liked you his preaching? I pray you tell us.

Wood. That is no matter how I liked it. Howsoever liked I it, I offended not the Rauante. Wherefore have I anything to answer for that, I am sure.

Bishop. Well, how like you this then? Here is your own hand-writing. I am sure you will not deny it. Will you look on it?

Wood. It is mine own handy-work indeed, which by God's help I will never deny, nor yet ever did.

Bishop. And here is good gear, I tell you. I pray you hearken well to it: these be the words before the commissiouns. How fay you? Do not you believe as soon as the words are spoken by the priest, that there remaineth neither bread nor wine, but only the words of Christ, both flesh and blood, as he was born of the Virgin Mary? These be the words of the commissiouns.

And then thou faydest, thou durst not fay otherwise than the scripture fayth. I cannot find (say you) that it is thereby that it is received by faith, as it is written in St. Luke xxii. faying, Christ faid, Take, eat, this is my body. So I cannot prove it is his body before he eaten. Then faydest thou the commissiouns, Did not Judas eat Christ's body? And if you can prove that Judas is faved (say you), I must grant that he eat his body. For Christ fayth, St. John vi. Whosoever eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day; such words prove, say you, that if Judas eat the body of Christ, he must needs be faved. How fay you now? Did Judas eat the body of Christ, or not?

Wood. Then I perceived he went about nothing but to catch words of me in his diocese, to condemn me with. Though I shoul confound him ever so much, I perceived that he was fully bent thereto.

To what end would you do that? You will make use to no such thing, for I am none of your diocese; wherefore I will not answer to you.

Bishop. Thou art within my diocese, and thou hast offended within my diocese; and therefore I will have answer to thine.

Wood. Have to do with me if you will; but I will have nothing to do with you, I tell you plainly, though I be now in your diocese, I have not offended in your diocese; if I have, show me wherein.

Bishop. Wood, your words are thy own hand-writing, which thou affirmed in my diocese.

Wood. I do not deny but it is mine own hand-writing; but that does not prove that I have offended in your diocese; for that doth but declare what talk there was betwixt the commissiouns and me, with which I had nothing to do.

Bishop. No, hold him a book, and thou shalt finde whether thou holdest now or not, and whether thou didst not write it in my diocese, as I think thou didst; lay thy hand on the book.

Wood. I will not be sworn for you; for I am not of your diocese; and therefore you have nothing to do with me; and as for the writing of the fame, I never wrote a word of it in your diocese.

Long. No, did you not my lord, let me fee; I will witness for him.

Then he took it and looked on it, and presently he found that he was fent for out of the King's Bench to come before the commissiouns.

Long. My lord, here you may fee it was in the King's Bench, which is in your diocese.

Wood. Although I was fetched out of the King's Bench, that does not prove I wrote it there; nor did I, I affirme you.

Long. Where did you write it then?

Wood. I owe you no lo much service as to tell you; find it out as well as you can: I do perceive you go about to fhed my blood.

Bishop. It is no matter where it was written, it is here, and he does not deny writing it. You shall hear hereafter if the commissioners asked you, whether Judas did eat any more than bare bread.

Whereupon they fent you away back to the King's Bench again, and asked you nothing more, for which cause (as you have written here) you had a hell burning in your conscience. For you had thought they would have stretched you on the rack, and then you might have said, as you were in the King's Bench, and let me go (said you) and registre my name in their books, that I had granted that Judas did eat the body of Christ, and so the gospel should have been flandered by me. For which cause I was in such safe, I could scarcely eat, drink, or sleep for that space, as all my fellow-prisoners can testify. If all you, I fay, that go to the church of Satan, and there hear the detestable doctrine that they fipet and fpew out in their churches and pulpits, to the great dignor of God; if all you, I fay, that come there, had such a hell burning in your conscience, you would all have been dead, and after you had heard my conscience more plainly, I dare fay you would come there no more. All this is your writing; is it not? What fay you?

Wood. I do not deny but it was mine own deed.

Long. But I pray you, is it not the spirit of God that is in it? and do you not fipet and fpew out false doctrine as you speak of?

Wood. In the synagoge of Satan, where God is honoured with false doctrine.

Bishop. And I pray you, where is one of them?

Wood. Nay, that judge yourself; I came not hither to be a witness.

Bishop. Well, here you have affirmed, that Judas (your master) eat more than bread, but yet he eat not the body of Christ, as you have declared by your words. For you had a hell burning in your conscience, because you were in doubt that the commissiouns understood your words, that Judas had eaten the body of Christ, because you faid, he eat more than bare bread. Therefore thou hadst a great many devils in thee; for in hell be many devils: and therefore the devil and Judas is thy master, by thine own words.

Wood. Nay, I defy you master, and all devils; if you are devils, I will show them all devils; if you be devils, I will show you devils; and if you have devils, I will show you devils; and if you have any thing that I can fee, I tell you truth.

Bishop. Nay, they be thy masters. For the devil is master where hell is, and thou fayest thou hadst a dream of hell, shall I pray you tell me how you can avoid it, but that the devil was in thine own laying?

Wood. The hell that I had, was the loving correction of God towards me to call me to repentance, that I should not offend God and his people in leaving things too dark, as I left that. For which cause, my conscience bare me record I had not done well, at all times I have felt the fling of it, when I have broken the commandments of God by any means, as all God's people do, I dare fay: and it is the loving kindness of God to us, that we should feel, to know and hate our sins. But it is to be thought, that your conscience is never troubled, how wickedly forever you do. For if it were, it should not be so strange to you as you make it, which plainly proves whose servant you be.

Bishop. What a nangthy fellow is this? This is such a perverse villain, as never deals with it all my life. Hold him a book, I will make him f bcheon to answer directly to such things as I will demand of him; and if he will not answer, I will condemn him.

Wood. Call me no fellow? I am such a fellow, I tell you, that I am not able to answer directly to such things as you demand of me. It is as much as you consent to the shedding of my blood, and you shall have blood to drink, at St. John faith, in his Revelation, ch. ix. and being in hell, you shall be compelled to fay for pain of conscience. This is the man, that we have that in had in
Defend, and though his life madness, and his end to be without honour; but now we may see how he is committed among the saints of God, and we are punished.

This shall ye see in hell, if ye repent it not, if ye do condemn me. This thou shalt find in the fifth chapter of the Book of Widom; and therefore take heed of what you do to me.

Bishop. What speaketh thou of Widom? Thou hast not had it; for thou art as great a fool as ever I heard speak.

Ead. Do you not know, that the foolish things of this world confound the wise things of the world? Wherefore doth not God try the things that are wise in the sight of the wise?

Nay, thou art none of those fools; thou art an obtinate fool, and an heretic. Lay thy hand on the book, and answer to such things as I will lay against thee.

Ref. I will lay hold of the book for none of you. You are not my bishop; and therefore I will have nothing to do with you.

Bishop. I will have to do with you. This man is without law, he careth not for the king nor queen, I dare say; for he will not obey their laws. Let me see the king's commission. I will see whether he will obey that.

Her. I would you loved the king and queen's majesty no worse than I do, if it pleased God: you would not do then as you do now.

Bish. p. Hold him a book, he is a rank heretic. Thou hast answerd to such things as I will demand of thee.

Wool. I take heaven and earth to record I am no heretic, neither can I tell wherefore I am brought to prison, nor more than any man here can tell, and therefore I looked round about the people, and faid to the bishop, if you have any just cause against me, I charge you to lay it against me, and let me have it; for I desire not to die (I praise God) for the truth's sake, if I had ten lives. If you have no cause, let me go home, I pray you, to my wife and children to see them kept, and other poor people that I would fain work to set the feet of God. I have fain to work a hundred persons before this, all the yeer together, and was unjustly taken from them; but God forgive them that did it, it is be his will.

Bish. p. Do you not see how he looketh about for help? but I would not see any man flew thee a cheerful countenance, and especially you that be of my diocese. If you have any just cause against me, take him by the hand, or embrace him, or flew him a cheerful countenance, you shall be excused, and shall not be received in again, till you have done apenence; and therefore beware of it.

Her. I took you to help of men, for God is on my side, I praise him for it; and therefore I need not care who be against me, neither do I care.

Then they cried, Away with him, and bring us another. So I was carried again to the Marshalle, here I am now merry (I praise God therefore) as a prisoner bound to be slain. But for wear of time, I have left out much of our talk; but this is the chiefest of it.

The Sixth and Last Examination of Richard Woodman, written with his own Hand.

Be it known unto all men by this present writing, that I Richard Woodman, sometime of the parish of Wotton, in the county of Sussex, was condemned for God's everlasting truth, July 16, 1557, by the bishop of Woolwich, in the church of St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, in answer to the bishop of Chichester, the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Langdale, Mr. Roper, with a fat-headed priest, I cannot tell his name. All these confected to the shedding of my blood, upon this occasion, as hereafter followeth.

I affirmed, that Judas received the sacrament with a kiss and the devil withal; and because I would not be bound upon a book, to answer directly to such articles as he would declare to me; and because I would not believe that the body of Christ could not be received of any but of the faithful: for these articles I was condemned, as hereafter shall follow more at large, by the help of God.

First, the bishop said, when I came before him—

'Ve shall set on Monday next, and there you shall affirm certain heresies. How to you, before you go?' Do you hold them still, or will you recite them?

Wood. I hold hereafter these, neither do I now, as the Lord knoweth.

Bishop. Nay, did you not affirm, that Judas received bread? which is an heresy, unless you tell me what more than bread.

Wood. Is it here, thus? (Thus to Judge.) I laid he received more than bread, for he received, with the same sacrament that was prepared to shew forth the Lord's death, and because he presumed to eat without faith, he ate the devil withal, as the words of Christ declare; after he eat the sop, the devil entered into him.

Bishop. Hold him a book. I will have you to answer directly, whether Judas did eat the body of Christ or not.

Wood. I will answer no more, for I am not of your diocese; wherefore I will have nothing to do with you.

Bishop. No? You be in my diocese, and you are of my diocese, because you have offended in my diocese.

Wood. I am not of your diocese, although I am in your diocese; and I was brought into your diocese against my will: and I have not offended in your diocese; if I have, tell me wherein.

Bishop. Here is your own hand-writing, which is heresy. These be the words, I cannot find (say you) that it is the body of Christ in bread, when it is received in faith. How say you? Is not this your own hand-writing?

Wood. Yes, I do not deny but it is my own hand-writing: but when, or where was it written, or where were the words written?

Bishop. Before the commissioners, and here is one of them; Mr. Roper, the words were spoken before you, were they not?

Roper. Yes indeed they were. Woodman, I am sure you will not deny them; for you have written the words just spoken to the bishop.

Wood. No, sir, indeed I will not deny but that I spoke them, and am glad that you have seen it. For you may see by that whether I lie, or not.

Roper. Indeed the words be written word for word as you spoke them.

Bishop. If you here affirm, that it is your own deed. How say you now? Will you be sorry for it, and become an honest man?

Wood. Yes, indeed God will be sorry for it, and that I am an honest man; and as for that, I marvel that you will lay it to my charge, knowing that my lord of London dischargeth to me of all matters that were laid against me, when I was releasted by him.

Bishop. You were releasted, and it might happen, it was not laid to your charge then; therefore we lay it to your charge now, because you are suspected to be an heretic: and we may call you before us, and examine you upon your faith upon suspicion.

Wood. Indeed St. Peter willeth me to render an account of my hope that I have in God, and I am contented so to do, if it pleaseth my bishop to hear me.

Chich. Yes, I pray you let us hear it.

Wood. I do believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus Christ my Saviour, very God and very man. I believe in God the Holy Ghost, the Comforter of all God's elect people, and that he is equal with the Father and the Son. I believe there is one Catholic church, and all the sacraments that pertain to the Catholic church, and all the articles that pertain to the Catholic church, and all the articles that pertain to the Catholic church, and all the articles that pertain to the Catholic church.

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Bishop. You were releasted, and it might happen, it is not laid to your charge then; therefore we lay it to your charge now, because you are suspected to be an heretic: and we may call you before us, and examine you upon your faith upon suspicion.
Then there was much such that I should keep silence, and so I held my peace. Then spake the bishop of Winchf. fr., and the archdeacon of Canterbury, saying. We refuse to condemn thee, but go about to false thy soul, if thou wilt be ruled, and do as we would have thee.

Wood. To save my soul? nay, you cannot save my soul. My soul is saved already, I pray God. There cannot be a soul so far away as thy soul, but Jesus Christ, and he it is that hath saved my soul before the foundations of the world were laid.

Tut Priet. What an heresy is this, my lord? here is an heresy. He faith his soul was saved before the foundations of the world were laid. Thou canst not tell what thou sayest. Was thy soul saved before it was?

Wood. Yes, I pray God, I can tell what I say, I say the truth. Look in the first of the Epistles, and there you will find it, where Paul faith, chap. i. "Bless be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all manner of spiritual blessings in heavenly things, by Christ, according as he hath also set us in himself, before the foundation of the world was laid, that we should be holy and without blame before him through love, and thereto were we predestinated." These are the words of Paul, and I believe they be most true. And therefore it is my faith, in and by Jesus Christ, that faitheth, and not you or any man else.

Tut Priet. What! Faith without works! St. James faith, Faith without works is dead, and we have for will to do good works.

Wood. I would not have you think that I disallow good works. For a good faith cannot be without good works. Yet not of works, but it is the gift of God, as faith St. Paul to the Philippians, chap. ii. "I thank God that worketh in us both will to will and to do, even of his good pleasure."

Bisop. Make an end; answer me to. Here is your ordinary, the archdeacon of Canterbury; he is made over to you by your cardinal, and he hath power to examine you of your faith upon a book, to answer to such articles as he will lay to you: and I pray you refuse it not; for the danger is great if you do. Wherefore we desire you to shew your faith in this matter.

Then they spake all at once, saying, My Phát by faith!

Tut Priet. What a fool art thou, My Phát by faith! thou canst not tell what my faith is.

Wood. If I be a fool, so make me; but God hath chosen such fools of this world to confound such wise things as ye are.

Tut Priet. I pray thee, what is my faith?

Wood. I take my faith to be the faith that is in us, that the world feareth not, but God only.

Bisop. He cannot tell what he faith. Answer to the question of the altar, whether it be the body of Christ before it be received, and whether it be not the body of Christ to whomever receiveth it? Tell me, or else I will excommunicate thee.

Wood. I have said as much as I will say; I will not excommunicate thee.

Bisop. The bishop of Chichester is mine ordinary. Let him do it if you will needs have my blood, that it may be required at his hands.

Chich. I am not consecrated yet; I told you so when I was in Rome.

Wood. No indeed, your kine bring forth nothing but cow-calves, as it now happeneth; meaning thereby he had not his bulls from Rome.

Then they were all in a great rage with me, and called me all to nought, and said I was out of my wits, because I spake fervently to every man's question; all which I cannot remember, but I said:

So Felix said to Paul, when he spake the words of Job's enemies and truth out of the Spirit of God, as I do. But as you have judged me, you be yourselves. You will go hell all the fort of you, if you condemn me, if you repent it not with speed.

Wood. Then my keeper, and the sheriff's deputy, Fuller, rebuked me, because I spake so sharply to them.

And said, I pray you let me alone; I will answer for my life.
Bishop. He is the naughtyest varlet of an heretic that ever I knew. I will read the sentence against him.

Then they spoke all at once, and I answered them as far as I could. But I cannot remember all the words cried out so thick, I spared them not, I praise God therefore; for I spoke freely.

Then they voted that I should be excommunicated. Why, do you think I am? They are but men. But I am sure I have spoken as good as they are, and better than they will ever be, for any thing that I can fee, if they repent not with speed.

Bishop. Give ear! for I will read sentence against you.

Wad. Will you do? Wherefore will you? You have no just cause to excommunicate me; and therefore if you do condemn me, you will be condemned in hell, if you repent not; and I praise God, I am not afraid to die for God's sake, if I had an hundred heads.

Bishop. For God's sake, Nay, for the devil's sake. Thou sayest thou art not afraid to die: no more was Judas that hanged himself, than woulst wilt thyself willfully, because thou wilt not be ruled.

Wad. In God, Jove, God, God, God, God, all their members. And Judas' head was not afraid, but his spirit and conscience was afraid, and there appeared and hung himself. But I praise God, I feel no loathing towards my head but to die, to a joyful conscience, and a willing mind thereto. Wherefore my head is not afraid to die for God; and therefore I am not afraid of death.

Clash. Woodman, for God's sake be ruled. You know what you said to me at the house. I could say more, if I would.

Wad. Say what you can; the most fault that you found in me was, because I praised the living God, and because I said, I praise God, and the Lord; which you ought to be ashamed of, if you have any grace; for I told you where the words were written.

Bishop. Well, how far you? will you confess that Judas received the body of Christ unworthily? Tell me plainly.

Wad. My lord, if you, or any of you all can prove before this audience, in all the Bible, that any man ever eat the body of Christ unworthily, then I will be with you in all things that you will demand of me, which matter I defere all this people to be witnessed.

Priest. Will you so? Then we shall agree well enough: St. Paul faith.

Wad. I pray you where faith he so? Rehearce the words.

Priest. In 1 Cor. xi. St. Paul faith, "Who so eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation; because he maketh no difference of the body of Christ." 2 Cor. xi. Do these words prove that Judas eat the body of Christ unworthily? I pray you let me see them.

They were contained. Then said I, these be the words even that you said: Good people hearken well to them. "Who so eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body." 2 Cor. xi. Do these words prove that Judas eat the body of Christ unworthily? I pray you let me see them. They were contained. Then said I, these be the words even that you said: Good people hearken well to them. "Who so eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body." 2 Cor. xi. Do these words prove that Judas eat the body of Christ unworthily? I pray you let me see them.

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How is it then that some we say, that their faith is good, and that the things they suffer for the sake of Christ, they do not asphame to alledge certain scriptures to maintain their wickedness? St. Paul faith, To believe with the heart jultieff, and to confes with the mouth maketh a man fafe. Oh good God, here may all men see, that no man or woman can have a true faith, and shall not confes with the mouth, but what he has in his heart, is like the waves of the sea tofted about by the wind, and can look for no good at the Lord’s hands. May not a man judge all fuch to be like those which St. John speake of, that be neither hot nor cold? and that shall be cast into the fmouth? If we judge evil of fuch, have they not given us occafion? Had it not been better for them to have had a millifone tied about their necks, and to have been call into the fean, than they should give fuch offence to God’s elect people in condemning them as they do, in going to the fynagogues of Satan; and there to receive the mark of the becal, in that they fee and hear God blasphemed there, and hold their peace. Doth not thate declare to the whole world, that they allow their doings to be good? And thate do not only defile themselves, but do excuse to confeff the papifs in their popery, and so be an occafion of our weak brother’s falling, which will be all required at their hands, and will be too heavy a burden for them to bear, if they repent it not with fpeece. For they who know their manners will not be beaten with many ftriaces. Oh, do we not perceive that now is the acceptable time that Christ speake of? Yea even now is the axe put to the roots of the trees, so that every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit now, shall be thrown down, when call into the fean. Now is the Lord come with his fan in his hand, to try the wheat from the chaff. The wheat will he gather into his barn, and the chaff he will burn as afoareide. Now is the time come that we must go to meet the bridegroom with oil in our lamps. We are also bidden to the felf-feeding feast, where Christ has already delivered his talents unto us, God give us grace to occupy them well, that at his coming he may receive his own with advantage. Yea, now is the Lord come to fee if there be any fruit upon his trees; so that if he come and find none, he will serve us as he did the wild fig-tree, that is, never fruit shal grow on us more; also, if we go to meet the bridegroom without oil in our lamps, and should go to buy, we shalbe served as were the foolish virgins; that was, God faid to them, depart, I know you not. Or if we would make excites to come to the fealt, others shalbe called f into the felf-feeding feast in the room; if we occupy not our talents well, they shalbe taken from us, and given to others, and all such unprofitable fervants shall be call into prifon in hell, where shall be weeping and gnading of teeth. From the above it is evident that no fuch fatings is here contained? What christian heart will not heare diligentiy herets? Oh, may not all people well perceive that this is the time that Christ speake of, that there shalbe father again for son, and son again father, and brother again brother; that the brother shall deliver the brother to death? Yes, in the unex- ceeded fay all manner of wicked fatings against us for his name’s fake? Which I have found by experience, and I prafs God, who hath given me forength to hear it. For I think they are evil, but it hath been imagined against me, and that by my familiar friends, as David faith: but I prafs God, they cannot prove any of their fatings true, but go about to find fault in them that God hath chofen, because they themselves will not take up their crofs and follow Christ; and therefore they are now doing that which they knew not, who shall give account of it before him that is ready to judge both the quick and the dead. But my trust is, that all the people of God will be ruled by the counfel of St. John, saying: My sheep will hear my voice, and know me, and in me meaning thereby, that ye should not believe them that go about to subvert the gospel. Wherefore mark well what they be, and try them well before you believe them, according to St. John’s counfel in his epiftle. Deceit is not very fpirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God, or not by the following, that they be of not God, will speak good things but of them that be as they be. Wherefore (dear brother) be of good cheer, and give no credit to such peo- ple, who do not bring true fatings. Mere fatings, who present them fay. For I have no misfitf of God’s help, but God shall provide and take care that I know and shall fea and know that my blood shall not be dear in mine own fight, whensoever it shall please God to give my adver- saries leave to flied it. I do evenfey beleve, that God which hath begun this good work in me, will perform it to the day of the feaft and grace, and thalbe, and will always, to bear this cayfecake and light burdens; which I have always found, I prafs my Lord God. For when I have been in prifon, wearing sometimes bolts, sometimes flackles, sometimes lying on the bare ground, sometimes fitting in the flocks, sometimes bound with cords, that all my body hath been so well, much like to be overcome with the pain that hath been in my fleyth, sometimes fain to lie abroad in the woods and fields, wandering to and fro, few I fay, that dark keep my company for fear of the rulers, sometimes brought before the justices, thurrifs, lords, dofters, and biffops, sometimes called dog, sometimes devil, poet, whoremonger, traitor, thief, deciever, with divers others fuch like; and, even and yet they that did eat of my bread, that fhoald have been molt my friends by na- ture, they have been as my enemies. Wherefore I prafs my Lord God that hath reparated me from my father’s wond, all that this happened unto me hath been eft, light, and most deceleatable and joyful of any treafure that ever I poiffed; for I prafs God they are not able to prove one jot or little of their fayings true. But that way that they call hereby, I ferve my Lord God, and at all times when whomever I have been brought, God hath given me mouth and wisdom, which all my adverfaries have not been able to refil, I prafs God therefore. For every one of them (by better) be of good comfort with all your brethren and fitters, and take no thought what you shall fay, for it shall be given you the fame hour, according to the promises, as I have always found, and as you and all other of God’s elect fhall well find, when the time is falfome. And whereas I and many o- thers have hoped, that this perfettion would have been at an end before this time, now I perceive God will have a further trial to root out all diffemblies, that no man fhould rejoice in himself, but that he re- julceth fhalb rejoice in God. God will not fhall fee fail, and tongues fhould ceafe, yet love fhit endure. For fear har painfulfulness, but perfect love caufeth all fear: which I love I have no misfitf but God hath pour’d upon you fo abundantly, that nothing in the world fhalb be able to diftemper you. Neither high nor low, rich nor poor, life nor death, fhall be able to put you from Christ; but by him I truft you shall enter into the new Jerufalem, there to live for ever, beholding the glory of God with the fame eyes that you now have, and all other faithful people that continue to the end. Give me your care and your pray to your Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoft, three perfon and one God, to be honoured now and ever, Amen. Richard Woodman.

After these examinations thus had and commenced between Richard Woodman and the bîshops, he was (as is afoareide) judged by sentence of condemnation and deprived of his life; with whom also were burned nine others, to wit, five men and four women, whose names are left unknown. Neither high nor low, rich nor poor, life nor death, shall be able to put you from Christ; but by him I trust you shall enter into the new Jerusalem, there to live for ever, beholding the glory of God with the same eyes that you now have, and all other faithful people that continue to the end. The names of which being also before ex- pressed, here again follow in this order, Richard Woodman, George Stevens, William Maynard, Alexander Hofman, his servant, Thomasine Wood, his maid, Margery More, James Moris, her son, Deane Benjamin, his servant's wife, Gistic.

These persons above-named were put to death at Leves the 22d of June.
Of which number the eight left were apprehended (as is said) either the same day, or the second or third day before, and so with the same Woodman and Signature committed together to the fire; in which place no writ could come down from London to the justices, for their burning. Wherefore what is to be laid to such justices, or what reckoning they will make to God, and to the laws of this realm, I refer that to them that so do to make in the matter. The like whereof to be found also of other justices, who without any lawful sort of discharge or order of law, have unlawfully and disorderly burnt the warrants of Christ (whose blood the law both may and also ought to revenge); especially at Salisbury, Canterbury, and Guernsey. But concerning these matters, though man’s law do wink, or rather sleep at them, yet they shall be sure God’s law will find such murderers out at length. I pray God the doers may repent betimes.

One Ambrose died in Maidstone prison, about the same time.

On the account of the condemnation of Mr. Richard Lush.

Ix the recivers of Gilbert, bishop of Bath and Wells, I find a certificato made to king Philip and queen Mary, of one Richard Lush, there condemned and given to the secular power to be burned for the cause of heresy, whereunto the said certificate are expressd in tenor and effect, as follows:

1. For denying the verity of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.
2. For denying auricular confession to be made to the priest.
3. For affirming only to be three sacraments: viz., of baptism, of the supper, and of matrimony.
4. For refusing to call the Lord’s supper by the name of the sacrament of the altar.
5. For denying purgatory, and that prayers and alms profit not the dead body.
6. That images are not to be suffered in the church, and that all that kneel to images of the church, be idolaters.
7. That they which were burnt of late for recusation, died God’s servants and good martyrs.
8. For condemning the single life of priests, and other votaries.
9. For denying the universal and catholic church, meaning the church of Rome.

For these several charges, he was condemned, and committed to the shrieves, and also a certificate directed by the bishop aforefaid, to the king and queen.

A note concerning John Hullier, Minister and Martyr, who was burned at Cambridge.

Concerning the story of John Hullier, martyr, partly mentioned before, for the more full declaration of the death and martyrdom of that good man, because the story is before but rawly and imperfectly touched; for the more perfectly thereof I thought it good to publish, in order that which thence hath come to my hand, as followeth.

First, John Hullier was brought up at Eaton college, and, after, according to the foundation of that house, he was elected scholar in king’s college, where also not long after the full three years of probation, before he was fellow of the college, he after some time was one of the ten conduits in the king’s college, which was anno 1539. Then, in proceeds of time, he came to be curate of Babram, three miles from Cambridge, and went afterwards to Lyne; where he, having divers conflicts with the papists, was from thence carried to Ely, to

Dr. Thurlby, then bishop there; who after divers examinations, sent him to Cambridge Castle, where he remained till the time.

From thence he was conveyed to the town prison, commonly called the Tolbooth, lying there almost a quarter of a year, till at length he was cited to appear at great St. Mary’s on Palm-Sunday even, before divers doctors, both of divines and lawyers, amongst whom was chief Dr. Sagar, Dr. Youl, Dr. Sedgewike, Dr. Scot, and others. Where after examination, because he would not recant, he was first condemned, the sentence being read by Dr. Fuller.

Then conseqently he was degraded after their popish manner, with wearing crown and bands. When he had degraded them, he said cheerfully: 'This is the joyfullest day that ever I saw, and I thank you all, that ye have delivered and lightened me of all this paltry.'

In the mean time whilst he was doing it, one standing by, asked Hullier what book he had in his hand, and he answered, a Testament. Whereat this man in a rage took it and threw it violently from him. Then was he given over to the secular powers, Brayefy being mayor, who carrying him to prison again, took from him all his books. Hence, Princes, Hannay Barley.

On Maundy Thursday coming to the flake, he exhorted the people to pray for him, and after holding his peace, and praying to himself, one spoke to him, saying, The Lord strengthen thee. Whereat a ferman, named Briefly, flayed and bade him hold his tongue, as he should resolve, and for the testimony of the verity and truth, and that Christ was the only rock to build upon, under whose banner he fought, and whose soldier he was; and while speaking, he turned himself towards the ealt, and exhorted the people there likewise.

George Princes, Hannay Barley, and one Gray, all arch-priests of Trinity college, Cambridge, stood on a bank hard by. This Boyes was one of the preachers of the univercity that year. To whom Mr. Gray spake, laying, Hear you not, matter profitor, what blasphemy this fellow uttereth? Surely it is ill done to suffer him.

At whose words, this Boyes spake with a loud voice, Mr. Mayor, what mean you? If you suffer him thus to take liberty, I tell you, the council shall hear of it, and we take not to be the queen’s friend. He is a pernicious person, and may do more harm than you are aware of. Whereat simple Hullier, as meek as a lamb, taking the matter very patiently, made no answer, but made himself ready, uttering his prayer. Which done, he went meekly himself to the flake, and with chains being bound, was set on the wheel and wood, standing in a pitch, that the fire being set to, not marking the wind; the wind blew the flame to his back. Then he feeling it, began earnestly to call upon God. Nevertheless his friends perceiving the fire to be ill kindled, ceased the ferman to turn it, and fire it in that place where the wind might blow it in his face.

That done, there was a parcel of books which were call into the fire, and by chance a communion book fell between his hands, who receiving it joyfully, opened it, and read as long as the flame and smoke would permit him: and then he fell again to prayer, holding his hands up to heaven, and the book between his arms next his heart, thanking God for sending it: and at that time the day being very fair and hot, yet the wind was somewhat up, and it caused the fire to be fiercer, and when all the people thought he
An Account of the Martyrdom of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper, who were burnt at Norwich.

In the month of July next followed the martyrdom of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper. This Simon dwelling in the town of Lynn, a pious and zealous man in the knowledge of God and his truth, dwelling near the conclave of the presbytery, he felt to be of the church, he was taken before the bishop and his chancellor, and was ordained to be burnt at the stake. He was a man of great knowledge and eloquence, and was a teacher of many people. He was a man of great piety and orthodoxy, and was a friend of many noble and pious men.

The presbytery of Lynn, with the consent of the bishop, ordained that Simon should be burnt at the stake. The bishop and his chancellor went to the house of Simon, and ordained that he should be burnt at the stake. Simon was a great friend of the poor and the distressed, and was a great minister of the word of God. He was a man of great piety and orthodoxy, and was a friend of many noble and pious men.

An Account of the Martyrdom of Five Men and Five Women, at Colchester, Five in the Forenoon, and Five in the Afternoon.

As it is no new thing in these days when we call prelates and priests of the church, to be railed upon by the people, so it is no new thing to marvell at, or to lament that, a noble person of the house of honour and worship, should be made the subject of such insinuations as are now so common, as well as in the far-distant reign of the late queen Mary, as likewise in this present day.

And first thou remember, gentle reader, how motion was made a little before twenty-two, which was sent up prisoners together from Colchester to London, by the earl of Oxford, the lord Darcy, Mr. Tyrrell, Sir John Kingston, and other commissioners and justices, which twenty-two, as aforesaid, through a gentle fist of million put to them, which were afterwards released and set at liberty.

In the number of these aforesaid twenty-two, was one William Munt, of Muchenbey in Essex, husbandman, with Alice his wife, and Rohe Allan, maid, daughter to the said Alice Munt; who coming home again to their house at Muchenbey aforesaid, refrained themselves from the unfavourable sentence of the popish church, and frequented the company of good men and women, who gave themselves diligently to reading and calling upon the name of God, through Christ: whereby they so trusted the wicked priest of the town, called Simon Miller, and others like unto him, that laying their hands together, they made a supplication to the lord Darcy, in the name of the whole parish: the substance whereof is as followeth.

A Supplication to the Lord Darcy, and by his delivery to Sir John Kingston, Friel and Commissary.

Pleaseth your honourable lordship to be advertised, that we confesse whilom your good lordship have here in the country, the people were layed in good order and comfort: but since your lordship's departure, they have made digression from good order in some places, and made the parish of Muchenbey, by reason of three deceitful persons, William Munt and his wife, and Rohe her daughter, who by their seemd submission (as before appear) were digressed from good order and comfort, and sent down from the bishop of London, to their coming home they have not only in their own persons made manifest their disobedience, in coming to the church, but also relating other good orders, but also molesting and seditionally have deflected many from coming to the church, and from obeying all other good orders; mocking them thereat that frequent the church, and calling them church-old, and blasphemously calling the blessed sacrament of the altar a blind god, with divers such like blasphemies.

In consideration whereof, may it please your honours,
through the travail and pains of such honourable lords and revered fathers as your lordship is, unto whom I will with long life and continuance, with increase of much honour.

From Colchester, Jan. 18.

Your humble humble, 

THOMAS TYE, Prietit.

When this wicked priest had thus wrought his malice against the people of God, within a while after the storms began to arise against those poor persecuted William Munt and his company, whereby they were enforced to hide themselves from the said tyrant: And continuing so a little space, at last, the seventeenth day of March, 1657, being the first Sunday in Lent, and by two of the clock in the morning, one Mr. Edmund Tyrrel (who was one of the house of the Tyrells which murdered king Edward the seventh, and his brother) took with him the bailliff of the hundred, called William Samuel, dwelling in Colchester, and the two confedantes of Muchbentley aforesaid, named John Baker and William Harris, with many others; and beheaving the house of the said William Munt round, called to them at length to open the door; which being done, Mr. Tyrrel, with some of the company, went into the chamber where the said father Munt and his wife lay, willing them to rife: for, said he, you must go with us to Colchester-castle. Mother Munt hearing that, being very sick, declared that her husband first fetch her fame drink; for she was (the said) very ill.

Then he gave her leave and bade her go. So her daughter, the forenamed Rafe Allin, maid, took a stone pot in one hand, and a candle in the other, and went down into the street and as she came back again through the house, Tyrel said to her, for to be bidder to give her father and mother good counsel, and adveritise them to be good catholic people.

Rafe, Sir, they have a better instructor than me. For the Holy Ghost doth teach them, I hope, which I shall not be able to teach. But why, Mr. Tyrrel, art thou in this mind, thou naughty housewife? marry, it is time to look upon such heretics indeed.

Rafe, Sir, with what you call hereby, do I worship my Lord God, I tell you truth.

Tyrrel. Then receive you will burn, goffisp, with the reft, for company's sake.

Rafe, No, sir, for not for company's sake, but for Christ's sake, if so I be compelled, and I hope in his mercy, if he call me to it, he will enable me to bear it.

Tyrrel. What, canst thou burn, Rafe, my lord? Sir, this goffisp will burn: what do you think of her? Why truly, sir, faith one, prove her, and you shall see what she will do by and by.

Then that cruel Tyrrel, taking the candle from her, held her wif, and the burning candle under her hand, burning her hand: and as she took it away, he perceived the very finews cracked and riddled. Witnessed hereof, William Chandler, then living at Muchbentley, who was there present and saw it. Also Mrs. Bright of Rumsford, with Ann Starkey, her maid, to whom Rafe Allin also declared the fame, and the said Mrs. Bright also ministered sale for the curing thereof, as she lay in her houfe at Rumsford, going up towards London with other prisoners.

In which time of hys tyranny, he said often to her, Why, whore, wilt thou not cry? Thou young whore, wilt thou not cry? To which the said answered, that she thanked God she had no cause, but rather to rejoice. But, the said, he had more cause to weep than she, if he considered the matter well. In the end, when the fines (as I said) brake, that all the house were taken, and that they were burned, he thought I should be glad, saying, A strong whore, thou shameless beast, thou beata whale, &c. with such like vile words. But the quietly suffering his rage for the time, at last said, Sir, have you done what you will do? He said, yea, and if thou thinkest well of it, then meditate it.

Rafe, Madam, I have said, he said to you, and give you repentance, if it be his will. And now, if you think it good, begin at the feet, and burn the head also: for that he fet you on work, shall pay you your wages one day.
day, I warrant you: and so went and carried her mother
drink as she was commanded. Likewise, after search-
ing of the house for more company, at last they found
one John Thornton and Margaret his wife, whom they
also carried to Colchester cattle immediately.

On the morrow, before the said prisoner told a friend of her's this cruel act of the said Tyrel; and flaying him the manner thereof, she faid, while my
own hand was a burning, I having a pot in my other
hand, might have struck him on the face with it, if
I had a mind, for no man held my hands but hinder
me the better. To which I said, I thank God she did the
with all my heart, I did it not.

Alfo being afraight of another, how she could abide the
painful burning of her hand, the faid, at firft it was
foome grief to her: but afterwards, the longer the
burning continued, the better she felt, or very near none at all.

And because Mr. Tyrel shall not go alone in this kind
of cruelty, you shall hear another like example of a
blind harper's hand, burnt by bifioph Bonner, as is tell-
ified by the relation of Valentine Dingley, sometime gen-
tleman to the faid bishop, who declared before credible
witnesses, as followeth: How the said bishop Bonner, hav-
ing this blind harper before him, faide thus unto him.
That fuch blind objects, which follow a fort of heretical
preachers, when they come to the feeling of the fire,
will be the firft that will fly from the broth; Then asked he an answer, that if every joint
of him were to be burnt, yehe yet trusted in the Lord, he
should not fly. Then Bonner signifying privy to cer-
tain of his men about him what they should do, they
brought to him a burning coal; which coal being put
into the poor man's hand, they closed it fast again, which
burned his hand most pitifullly. Among the
does thereof was the faid Mr. Valentine Dingley, wit-
ness, and reporter hereof, as is declared.

We read in Titus Livius, of the story of king Parthen-
sus, who after the burning of the right hand of Marcus
Scævela, who came purposely to kill him, being only
contendeth withereth, sent him home to Rome again.
But thus to burn the hands of poor men and women,
who never meant any harm to them, and not contented
with that, but also to confume their whole bodies with-
out any just cause, we find no example of fuch barbarous
tyranny, neither in Titus Livius, nor in any other story
among the heathen.

But to return to our Colchester martyrs again. With
the said William Munt and his family, was joined also
in the fame prifon at Colchester, another faithful bro-
thern, named John Johnson, alias Aikier, of Thorp,
in the county of Efsex, labourer, thirty-four years of age,
having been for three years above therefor, and his family
was also indicted with them of herefoye, and so all these
four lay together in Colchester cell.
The other fix prifoners lay in Mote-hall in the faid
town of Colchester, whose names were,
1. William Bongeор, of the parifh of St. Nicho-
las, in Colchester, glazier, of the age of forty years.
2. Thomas Benold, of Colchester, tallow-chandler.
3. W. Purcas, of Bocking, in Efsex, fuller, of the
age of twenty years.
4. Agnes Silverfide, alias Smith, dwelling in Col-
chester, widow, of the age of forty years.
5. Edward White, of Maldon, miller, dwelling in Col-
chester, of the age of forty-five years, or
thereabouts, who was one of the twenty-two prifoners
mentioned before, fent up in bands from Colchester to
London, and after being delivered with the refl, repaired
come to Colchester again to her husband, where non-
withstanding her little children, and the many fearful
perils which she went through, not to fpeak of the long
journey: for shortly after her return, one Robert Maynard, then bailiff
of Colchester, met with her, who efpying her, came to
her, and killed her, and bade her welcome home from
London. Unto whom the confiderably answered again,
as a fandwife. Whereupon judge John, the gaoler,
{quote, I, know you will betray me, as indeed it came
to pafs: for immediately after that discourse she was
arrested by him, and was lodged with the refl in the
town prifon (as is afofayed), called the Mote-hall.
more to do with them. For bloody Bonner, whole
threat never cried his, shortly after got a writ for the
burning of the aforesaid persons; and to flew the more
diligence in his caue, he sent a truilly man of his, named
Edward Cofin, down with it, and also with his letter,
for the furtherance of the matter, the next month after
the condemnation.

The writ being thus received by the said bailiffs,
and they having then no leasure thereoubs, appointed the
day of the execution thereof, to be the second day of Augiift next ensuing. And because the faithful souls
were in two severial prisons, as the casle was for the
county, and More-Hall for the town; therefore it was
agreed among them, that they in More-Hall should be
burnt in the forenoon, and those at the casle, by the
thirfl of the floure, in the afternoon.

The second day of Augiilt, 1557, betwixt fix and
seven of the clock in the morning, were brought from
More-Hall unto a plat of ground, hard by the town-wal
of Colchefter on the out-side, William Bangeor, Wil-
liam Parens, Thomas Benold, Agnes Silveride, alias
Smith, Helen Ewring, and Elizabeth Folke before
mentioned, who being there, and all things prepared
for their martyrdom, they kneeld down, and made
their humble prayers to God, but not in such a man-
ner, as they shewed the other two; but more in the
way of Groaning; especially one Mr. Clee between the
reft (who sometimmes was a gofferler) threw himself very
extreme unto them; the Lord give him repentance (if
it be his good will) and grace to be a better man.
When they made their prayers, they rofe, and made
themselves ready for the fire; and Elizabeth Folk, when
she had poached off her petticoat, would have given
it to her mother, who came and kissed her at the
flake, and exhorted her to be strong in the Lord)
but the wicked there attending, would not suffer her to
give it. Therefore taking the flake petticoat in her hand
she threw it away from her, saying, farewell all the world,
farewell faith, farewell hope; and taking the flake in
her hand, said, welcome love, &c. Now being the
flake, and one of the officers calling the chain about
her, in the striking of the flake, he miffid the place,
and gave her a great stroke with the hammer on the
shoulder bone: at which, she turning her head, lifted
up her eyes to the Lord, and fmlingly praying, gave
herself to the people all again.

When they were all nailed to the flake, and the fire
about them, they clapped their hands for joy in the fire,
that the flakers by (which were by estimation thounsands)
among all cried, The Lord strengthen them, the Lord
comfort them, the Lord pour his mercies upon them,
with such joy and such gladnes.

Thus yielded they up their fouls and bodies into the
Lord's hand, for the testimonie of his truth. The Lord
grant we may imitate the fame in the like quarre, for
his mercy's sake. Amen.

In like manner, the flaid day in the afternoon, were
brought forth into the castle-yard, to a place appointed
for the fame, William Munt, John Johnfon, Alice
Munt, and Rofe Allin aforesaid: who after they had
made their prayers, were joyfully tied to the flakes,
calling upon the fame name of God, and being ever ex-
horting to the other two with a loud and hearty, suffered
martyrdom with fuch triumph and joy, that the people did
no lefs shout theretoe to see it, than at the others that
were burnt the fame day in the morning.

Thus thefe ten persons happily ended their lives for
the testimonie of the gospel.

You have heard before of the taking of John Thirfton
at Muchbentley, in the house of William Munt of the
same towne, from which saic John Thirfton, about the
month of May, 1557, died in Colchefter-caste, a con-
fant confessor of Iefus Chrift.
The History of GEORGE EAGLES, otherwise called Trudge-over.

Among other martyrs of singular virtue and constancy, one George Eagles delerveth much to our knowledge about. He was born in London in a very learned, most manfully served and fought under the banner of Christ's church. For oftentimes the will and pleasure of God is to beautify and adorn his kingdom with the weak and simple instruments of this world; such as Anto was in the Old Testament, who with many others of obscure and unknown names, were called from the herd and folds to the honour of prophets; as likewise we read of the apostles, who were called from the fisherman's craft, and put into churches. Wherefore this George Eagles publickly, and be described to his execration, whom Christ hath called thence to set forth and declare abroad his gospel. We ought rather to glorify God the more, who by his grace, in so blind a time, inspired him with the gift of preaching, and constancy of suffering: who, after he had used the occupation of a tailor, for some time, being eloquent and of good utterance, gave and applied himself to the service of Christ's church.

Which man, as before in those most bright and clear days of king Edward the Sixth, he had not fruitfully laboured, when he preached the power and force of the Lord, so afterwards in the tempestuous time and fall of the church (at which time the confessors of Christ and his gospel were troubled, divers of them murdered, some of them banished, and others through fear constrained from the going forth and preaching God's will), became a man with good mind with courage. For he, wandering abroad into divers and far countries, where he could find any of his brethren, did there most earnestly encourage and comfort them, now tarrying in this town, and sometimes abiding in that certain months together, as occasion served, lodging sometimes in the country, and sometimes for fear living in fields and woods, who, for his immoderate and unreasonable going abroad, was called Trudge-over. Oftentimes did he lie abroad in the night without cover, spending the most part in devout and earnest prayer.

His diet was so sparse and flender above measure, that he used, almost for the space of three years, to drink nothing but water, whereunto he was compelled through necessity in the time of persecution: but when he perceived that by God's providence his body proved well enough with this diet, he thought belte to inure himself to it against all necessities.

Now when he had professed Christ's church in this part, by going about and preaching the gospel a year or two, he finding himself answerable and at once that privy enemy which envieth always the salvation and blest efficacy of the good, lurked and laid wait by all means possible for him, so that there were divers spies sent out, who had in commandment wherever they found him, to bring him either alive or dead.

But when their attempt could not prevail, but was all in vain, (the said Eagles with his brethren keeping in clothe, and hiding themselves in secret places, as in barns, thickets, hales, &c.) his adversaries went about another way to compell this their enterprise of taking him.

For in the queen's name a grievous edict was proclaimed throughout all shires, Exeter, Suffolk, Kent, and Norwich, promising the person that took him twenty pounds for his pains; double that a worthy hire to entice any Jew to treachery. For being inflamed with greedy desire of the money, they devised and invented all ways possible to be enriched with the hurt and destruction of this poor man.

At length it came to pass, that he being seen at Colchester, upon Mary Magdalene's day, at which time they kept a fair in the town, would have been taken by his adversaries, if he had not speedily conveyed himself away, a great multitude pursuing after, and seeking diligently for him. Whofir'd him himself in a grove, and afterwards in a corn-field hard by, and so lay secretly coughed from the violence of his enemies, insomuch that they were all, except one, did hope of taking him, and therefore were ready to depart their way.

This man, having more subtlety and wicked craft in his head than the rest, would not depart thence with his fellows, but climbed up into a high tree to see and spy if he might see Eagles any where farther to move. The poor man thinking all fire enough, by reason that he heard no noise abroad, rose up on his knees, and lifting up his hands to God, and declaring the greedy and Judas knave, which had so menaced promised him, was thin to be contented with a very small part, and glad to take that too, lest he should have had nothing at all.

George Eagles being thus taken, was committed to prison at Colchester, and from thence within four days after conveyed to Chelmsford, where he abode all that night in devout prayer, and would not sleep, neither would eat nor drink but bread and water. The next day he was carried to London, to the bishop or the council, and in the midst of a certain place he was brought down to Chelmsford to the felicions, and there he was indicted and accused of treason, because he had assembled companies together, contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm in that cause provided. For it was ordained a little before, on no purpose, that if men should assemble secretly together, above the number of six, they should be attached of treason.

And although as it well known that George Eagles did never any thing seditionously against the quent, yet to be the more hated of the people, they turn him into a civil offence and crime, and though he defended his cause stoutly and boldly, making a full declaration of his religion or faith, before the judges; yet could he not bring it to pass by any means, but that he must needs be indited (as is said) of treason; whose inditement ran much after this fashion.

"George Eagles, thou art indicted by the name of George Eagles, otherwise Trudge-over the Word, for that thou didst such a day make thy prayer that God should turn queen Mary's heart, or else take away her heart."

"He denied that he prayed that God should take away her heart, but he confessed that he prayed that God would turn her heart in his prayer. Well, notwithstanding, he was brought to trial, and there he was a traitor, although the meaning thereof was for religion.

This being done, he was carried to the sign of the Crown, in Chelmsford, and being there, one Richard Potto, the elder, an inn-holder, dwelling at the sign of the Cock, in the same town, did much trouble him, in persuading him to confess he had offended the Queen in his prayer, which he was condemned for, and to ask her forgiveness.

To whom he said, he had not offended her grace in that behalf. So in process of time he was laid upon a pledge, with a burden on it, and desired to the place of execution, being fat bound, having in his hand a palm book, of which he read very devoutly all the way with a loud voice, till he came there; and being on the ladder, the said Potto did much trouble him with the matter aforewent, but the sheriff commanded Potto to hold his peace, and trouble him no more.

So he made his confession, and stood very confest till; then he was turned off the ladder. With him were certain thieves also, and the next day, when they were brought out to be executed with him, there happened a most extraordinary thing, which did declare the innocence and piety of this man. For being led between two thieves to the place where he should suffer, when as he exhorted both them and all other to stand steadfastly to the truth, one of them turned the
An Account of the Examination of RICHARD CRASHFIELD, of Wymundham, condemned to Death for the Testimony of Jefus Chrifi.

ABOUT this time suffered at Norwich, a godly man, named Richard Crashfield, whole examinations before the chancellor, named Dunning, as he penned them with his own hand, so have we faithfully recorded the same.

How say you, Errah, say the chancellor, to the ceremonies of the Church?

Then said I, What ceremonies? He said unto me, Do you not believe that all the ceremonies of the church are good and godly? My answer was, I do believe to many as are grounded in the testimony of Jesus Christ.

Tulf, said he, do you believe in the sacrament of the altar?

I said, I knew not what it was.

Then, said he, Do you not believe that Christ took bread, and gave thanks, brake it, and said, ‘Take, eat, this is my body’?

Yes verily, said I, and even as Christ did speak, so did he perform the work.

Tulf, said he, do you not believe this, that after the words spoken by the priest, there is the substance of Christ’s body, flesh, and blood? How say you, do you not believe this? Speak, man.

I do believe that Christ’s body was broken for me upon the cross, and his blood shed for my redemption, whereof the bread and wine is a perpetual memorial, the pledge of his mercy, the ring and seal of his promise, and my part and portion for the faithful remnant of the end of the world. So then I was commanded into prison until the next day.

Another Examination of RICHARD CRASHFIELD.

THE day following I was brought forth. Then the chancellor said unto me, Richard, how say you? Are you otherwise minded than you were yesterdays? He rehearsed all the words that we had before, said, Are not these your words? Whereunto I answered, Yes.

Then said he, How say you, can you not find in your heart, when you come to the church, to kneel down before the rood, and make your prayer?

I answered and said, No; rehearsing the commandment of God forbidding the same.

He said, Have you not read or heard, that God commanded an image to be made?
I answered, What image? He said, The brazen serpent. I asked, Have ye heard it read, how that God did command it to be made, and likewise to be broken down. Then doctor Bridges said, Wherefore did God command the seraphims and cherubims to be made? I said, I know not; I would fain learn. Then said the chancellor, But how say you to this? Can you find in your heart to fall down before the picture of Christ, which is the rood? I answered, No, I fear the curfe of God: for it is written, that God curfed his hands that make them, yea, and the hands that make the tools whereby they are carved. Then doctor Bridges rag'd, and said, Liften now what a piece of scripture he hath here gotten to serve no purpose, for he will not allow but where he listeth. Then said the chancellor, How say you to confession to the priest? When were you confefled? I said, I confess myself daily unto the eternal God, whom I most gravely offend. Then the chancellor said, Do you not take confession to the priest to be good? I answered, No, but rather wicked. Then the chancellor said, How say you by yonder gear, yonder finging, and yonder playing on the organs, is this not good and godly? I said, I could perceive no godliness in it. Then he said, Why, is it not written in the Psalms, that we should praiue God with hymns and spiritual songs? I said, Yes, spiritual songs must be had: but yonder is of the flesh, and of the spirit of error. For to you it is pleasant and glorious, but to the Lord it is bitter and odious. Then said the chancellor, Why, is it not written, my house is house of prayer? I said, Yes. It is written also, that you have made my house a den of thieves. With that the chancellor looked and said, Have we? I answered and said, Christ said so. Then was I commanded to ward. The Thursday next following, doctor Bridges was sent to me to examine me of my faith. And he said, Countryman, my lord bishop (for love he have you save') hath sent me unto you, because to-morrow is the day wherefore my lord hath thought it proper that you should declare your faith unto me. For to-morrow my lord will not have much ado with you. I answered and said, Hath my lord sent you? I am not you, to whom I am disposed to fwe my mind. Then he said to me, I pray you let me know your mind concerning the facrament of the altar. I answered, Are you ignorant of what I have said? He said, No, for it was well written, except you believe, faith he, as the church hath taught, you are damned both soul and body. I answered and said, Judge nor, let you be judged: condemn nor, let you be condemned. And then, Lord, will have a traitor as well as an heretic: for he will disallow the king's judgment. I said, No, I do not disallow the king's judgment, but your is I do disallow. For I pray you tell me, how came you by this judgment? He answered and said, By the church: for the church hath power not to make and not to condemn: for if you be condemned by the church, be you free, that you be damned both body and soul. Then I said, If you have this power, I am for de- ceive. For I believe that Christ will be our judge. But then it so happens you will do much for him, that you will not put him to the pain. Then he said, Stand nearer, countryman: why stand you so far off? I answered, I am near enough, and a little too near. Then he said, Did nor Christ say, is not my flesh meat, and my blood drink indeed?

I asked, To whom speake Christ those words? He answered, To his disciples. I asked, And to whom did Christ's disciples murmur inwardly? He said, No, they did not murmur, but they were the infidels, (faith he) for the disciples were satisfied with these words. I said, Did not Christ say thus, as he taught at Ca- pernaum, where his disciples murmured, saying, This is an hard sayeing, who can abide the hearing of it? Jesus percieving their thoughtes, said, Dost this offend you? Then he raged, and said, O, thou wretchest the text for thine own purpose: for the discipiles did never mur- mur, but the unbelievers, as thou art. I answered, Yes, but I perceive you know not the text. Then he said with much rage, I will lay my head thereon it is not so. Then I said, I have done with you. To which he answered, what shall I tell my lord of you? If you have nothing to tell him, your errand shall be sooner done, said I. So he departed. Then on Friday I was brought forth to receive judg- ment, when the chancellor said unto me, Are you a new man, or are you not? I said, I am old, and 300 and 30, I am a new man born of God. God give you grace so to be, said he. So he re- heard all my examination and said, How fay you, are not these your words? I answered, Yes, I will not deny them. Then he said to Dr. Perceval, by, I pray you talk with him. Then he alleging to me many far flattering words, said, Take, eat, this is my body. How fay you to this? Do you not believe that it is Christ's body? Speak. I answered, Have you not my mind, why do you trouble me? He said, What did Christ give you? Was it bread, or was it not? I said, Christ took bread, and gave thanks, and gave it, and they took bread, and did eat. And St. Paul maketh it more manifest, where he faith, "So oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew forth the Lord's death until he come." St. Paul faith not here as you say: for he faith, "So oft as ye shall eat of this bread." He doth not fay, Bread only. So they intending that I should go no further in the text, said, Truth, you go about the bath. Answer to the first question. Let us make an end of that. What fay you to the bread that Christ gave? Let me have your mind in the matter. I answered, I have said my mind in it. Then the chancellor said, No, we will have your mind in that. I answered, I have said my mind in it. Then the chancellor said, No, we will have your mind more plainly: for we intend not to have many words with you. I said, My faith is fully grounded and established, that Christ Jesus, the Everlasting Lamb, hath offered his blessed body a facrifice to God the Father, the prophet of my repetition: For by that only facrifice are all the faithful sanctified, and he is our only Advocate and Mediator, and he hath made perfect our redemption. This hath he done alone, without any of your daily oblations. Then Dr. Bridges started up and said, Truth, your words are true indeed: you take well the literal fentence: but this you must understand, that like as you said that Christ offered his body upon the crofs, which was a bloody facrifice, and a visible facrifice; so likewise we said, he offered the fole-fame body that was offered upon the crofs, but not bloody and visible, but invisible, unto God the Father. Do you offer Christ's body? I said, Why then Christ's facrifice was not perfect. But Christ is true, when all shall be liars.
Then he said, Thou shalt not fear him that hath power to kill the body; but thou shalt fear him that hath power to kill both body and soul.

I answered and said, It is not so: But the text is thus, Thou shalt not fear them that have power to kill the body, but thou shalt fear them that have power to kill both body and soul, and call them both into hell-fire; and not them.

He said, Yea: for it is the church.

I answered, Why, Christ faith, I give my life for the redemption of the world. No man taketh my life from me (faith he), but I give it of my own power, and so I have power to take it again. Therefore Christ the Son of God did offer his body once for all. And if you were to go and offer your body daily, then your power is above Christ's power. With that he was angry: and said, What, shall we have doctrine? You are not hereto appointed.

Then the chancellor stood up and said, Will you turn from this wicked error, and be an example of good deeds, as you have been an example of evil? or by your wicked reading you have perfumed some simple women to be in this error, and you shall have mercy. And I said, It is of God that I do crave mercy, whom I have offended, and not you.

Then the chancellor said, When were you at your parth church? You have flood communicate these two years and more: wherefore you are condemned. And so I was condemned.

Thus I had all (gentle reader) the examination of this pious young man, set forth in writing with his own hand, who, soon after his condemnation, was bought to the flake by the thirills and officers, where with much patience and constancy he endured his martyrdom, by way burning, one Thomas Carman was apprehended, whose story hereafter followeth in its order and place.

About the same time one named Fryer, with a woman accompanying him, who was the sister of George Fagles, suffered the like martyrdom by the unrighteous judges, whose tyranny the Lord of his mercy abate and cut short, turning that generation, if it be his will, to a better mind.

As account of the apprehension and death of Mrs. Joyce Lewes, the wife of Mr. Thomas Lewes, of Manchester.

Mistress Joyce Lewes, a gentlewoman born, was married to one Appleye, and afterwards to Thomas Lewes, of Manchester. In the beginning of queen Mary's time she went to church and heard mass as other did, but when she heard of the burning of that most godly and learned martyr Laurence Saunders, who suffered in Coventry, she began to take more heed to the matter, and inquire earnestly of such as the Knew Kard God, the cause of his death: and when the person was because he refused to give the mafs, he began to be troubled in conscience, and waxed very uneasy. And because her house was even hard by Mr. John Gleave's house, of whom mention was made before, a man of blessed memory, and a singular example of his unfeigned godliness, and manifold troubles which he suffered for the gospel, she did oftentimes refer to him, and defied him to tell her the faults that were in the mafs, and other things that at that time were aged as necessary to salvation.

Now he perswading both her unquiet mind, and the godly, the man, to keep her mouth, did most of his power to intrust her in the name of the Lord. Proving unto her out of God's holy word, that the mafs, with all other papistical inventions, was odious in God's sight; and besides this, reproved her, for that she delighted in the vanities of this world so much. By which godly counsell, she began to grow weary of the world, and thoroughly sorrowful for her sins, being inflamed with the love of God, and desirous to serve him according to his word, purposing also to flee from those things which displeased him. And because the had learned the mafs to be evil and false, and seeing the same, and when at a time she was compelled by the Succourfulness of her husband to come to the church, at the same time when the holy water was cast, she turned her back towards it, and threw herself to be displeased with their blasphemies of holy water, injurious to the blood of Christ. Whereupon she was accustaci before the bishop for despising of their sacraments.

Immediately a citation was sent for her to her husband's house, to appear before the bishop. The sumner that brought the citation delivered it to her husband, who looking upon the sumner and perceiving that it was marked with anger, defied the sumner to take the citation with him again, or else he would make him eat it. The sumner refused to take it again, for he thought no man didn't have been so bold to him. But in the end Lewes compelled the said sumner to eat the citation indeed, by letting a dagger to his heart; and when he had eaten it, he caufed him to drink, and so sent him away. But immediately after, the said Lewes with his wife were commanded to appear before the bishop, where the said Lewes was by the sumner and the bishop defiled, and defired the bishop to be good to him, excluding himself after the best fashion he could. Whereupon the bishop was content to receive his submission, with condition that his wife should submit herself also. But the following day before the bishop, upon Lewes being asked what holy water, she had neither offended God, nor any part of his laws. At which words the bishop being grievedly offended, yet because she was a gentlewoman, he would not take her at the word (as he said), but gave her one month's reprieve, binding her husband in a surety, to take her in again to him at the month's end, and so they were both let go.

When they came to their own house, the said Mrs. Joyce Lewes gave herself to most diligent prayer, and invoking of the name of God, resorting continually to the abovedescribed man of God, Mr. John Glover, who did most diligently instruct her with God's word, willing her in any case not to meddle with that matter in respect of vain glory, or to get herfelfe a name, shewing her the great danger she was like to cast herself into, if she should meddle in God's matter otherwise the Christ doth teach.

When the month was now almost expired, and the time at hand that the should be brought before the said bishop, her husband being advertised by the said Mr. John Glover, that the bishop would not be likely to come to her, nor to carry her to his bishop: but to seek some way to save her; or if the word should come, to be content to forfeit so much money, rather than to call his own wife into the fire; he answered, he would not lose or forfeit any thing for her sake; and so, like a murderer of his own wife, he carried her to the bloody bishop, where she was examined, and found more fruitful, than she was before death was threatened. But to begin withal, the was sent to such a thinking prison, that a certain maid, which was appointed to keep her company, did. Letting herself be conveyed, being thus kept in prison, and oftentimes examined, at length she was brought to judgment, and pronounced an heretic worthy to be burned. When the bishop reaoned with her, why she would not come to the mafs, and receive the sacraments and sacramentals of the Holy Ghost; she answered, Because I find not these things in God's word, which you urge and magnify, as things most needful for men's salvation. If these things were in the word of God commanded, I would, with all my heart, receive, esteem, and believe them. The thing that is in the mind, is in the scripture, concerning matters of religion, thou art in a damnable case. At which words she was wonderfully amazed, and being moved by the Spirit of God, told the bishop, that his words were ungodly and wicked.
After her condemnation, she continued a whole twelvemonth in prison, because she was committed to the sheriff, that was of late chosen, who could not be permitted to put to death in his time, as he affirmed; for which things, after her death, he was sore troubled, and in danger of his life. All that time she was in prison, her behaviour was such both in words and deeds, that all they, that had any spark of godliness and honesty, did greatly lament her cafe, that she should be put to death in his time, as she affirmcd.

Now when the time drew near which God had appointed for her deliverance, the writ De conscurrendo (as they term it) being brought down from London, she desired some of her friends to come to her, with whom, when she told them how it was, they advised her, that her death might be more glorious to the name of God, comfortable to his people, and also most uncomfortable to the enemies of God. As for death (faith she), I do not greatly heed it: when I behold the amiable countenance of Christ my dear Saviour, the ugly face of death doth not greatly trouble me. In which time also she reasoned most comfortably out of God's word, of God's election and reprobation.

In the evening before she suffering, two of the priests of the close of Litchfield, came to the under-sheriff's house where she was confined, and desired to go to her, that they were come to her confession; for they would be forry the should die without. She sent them word again, she made a confession to Christ her Saviour, at whose hands she was sure to have forgiven of her sins. As concerning the cause for which she should come to the castle to Christ, she never had come to her more humble praise to God, that he had made her worthy to suffer death for his word; and as concerning that absolution that they were able to give unto her, being authorized by the pope, she did deny the same, except by her hand.

When which the priests heard, they said to the sheriff, Well, to-morrow her finenesses will be proved and tried: for although perhaps she hath now some friends that whisper in her ears, to-morrow we will see who dare be so hardy as to come near her: and so they went their ways with anger, that their confession and absolution was sought for by.

All that night she was wonderfully cheerful and merry, with a certain gravity, insomuch that the majesty of the Spirit of God did manifestly appear in her, who did expel the fear of death out of her heart, furnishing her with discourse, reading and talking with them that were purposely come unto her, to comfort her with the word of God.

About three o'clock in the morning, Satan (who never sleepest, especially when death is at hand) began to make false charges against her that very day, which he is wont to do, until all that are at defiance with him, by questioning her, how she could tell that she was chosen to eternal life, and that Christ died for her. I grant that he died, but that he died for thee, how could thou tell: whilst she was troubled with this suggestion, they that were about her counselled her to follow the example of Paul, Gal. ii. where he faith, "What hath loved me, and given himself for me." Also, that her vocation and calling to the knowledge of God's word, was a manifest token of God's love and desire that she should be working in her heart, that love and desire towards God, to please him, and to be justified by him through Christ, &c. By these and like persuasions, and especially by the comfortable promises of Christ, brought out of the scripture, Satan was put to flight, and she comforted in Christ.

When the sheriff and Mr. Stiff came into her chamber, saying these words, Mrs. Lewes, I am come to bring you tidings of the queen's pleasure, which is, that you shall live but one hour longer in this world: therefore it behoveth you to prepare yourself for it. At which she made a great noise, and so suddenly, by such an officer's like, she was not known, and to be justified by him through Christ, &c. shutting the door fast. Wherefore one of her friends and acquaintance standing by, said these words: Mrs. Lewes, you have great caufe to praise God, who has vouchsafed so soon to take you out of this world, and make you worthy to be a witness of his truth, and to bear record that Christ is the only Saviour.

After which words, he said, for the sheriff, your message is welcome to me, and I thank my God, that he has made me worthy to offer my life for his services. At which words the sheriff departed; but in the space of an hour he came back again, with swords and clubs; and then he came up into the chamber, one of her friends desired him to give him leave to go with her to the stake, and to comfort her, which the sheriff granted at that time; but afterwards when she was dead, he was fore troubled for the same.

When she was brought through the town by a number of bill-men, and people being present, she was led by two of her friends, Mr. Michael Reniger, and Mr. Auguine Barnard, and so brought to the place of execution: and because the place was far off, and the throng of the people great, and heat prevented, she was led by two of her friends, and by a boy of twelve years old, being (as long in prison) of her friends sent a message to the sheriff's house for some drink: and after she had prayed several times, in which prayers she desired God moit inflantly to abolish the idolatrous maids, and to deliver this realm from popery (at the end of which prayers most part of the people cried Amen; yea, even the sheriff that stood hard by, ready to call himself the fire for not allowing the maids, at this her prayer said with the rest of her people, Amen); when she had thus prayed, she took the cup into her hands, saying, I drink to the death, and to that unfeignedly love the gospel of Jesus Christ, and with for the faithful brethren. When she had drank, they that were her friends drank also. After that a great number, especially the women of that town, drank with her; who afterwards were put to open penance in the church by the cruel papists, for their profession.

When she was chained to the stake, she showed such cheerfulnes, that it passed man's reason, being so well coloured in her face, and being so patient, that most of them that had honest hearts were moved, and even with tears bewailed the tyranny of the papists. When the fire was set a flare, she made no other resistance than by lifting up her hands towards heaven, being dead very soon: for the under-sheriff, at the request of her friends, had provided such fluff, that she was suddenly dispatched out of this miserable world.

This, amongst other things is not to be forgotten, that the devil desired no other way to destroy her, but to revive her, both as she went to the place of execution, as also when she was at the stake. Amongst others there was an old priest, who had a pair of writing tables, where in he set down the names of those women that drank of the cup, and he desired to describe her name among her friends by their apparel, for he could not prevent them, and afterwards enjoined them for: and so immediately after process was sent out for them, both to Coventry and other places: but God, whose providence sleeps not, did defend them from the hands of their cruel tyrants. Unto which God, with the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be honour and glory for ever. Amen.

The Martyrdom of RALPH ALLETON, JAMES AUSTOO, MARGERY AUSTOO, and RICHARD ROTH, at Hiffington. A BOUT the eleventh day of September, were burned at Hiffington, near London, these four professors of Christ, Ralph Alletton, James Austoo, Margery Austoo, and Richard Roth; which is the first appearance, that this Ralph Alletton was more than a year before his condemnation, apprehended and brought before the lord Darcy, of Cokesh, and was there accused, as well for that he would not drink the idolatrous maids, as for perdition which then was used, as also for that he by preaching enticed others to do the like.

Being examined hereupon, he confessed, that he con

3
The Examination of Mr. RALPH ALLERTON, at his Secular Apprehension, before the Bishop of London, at Fulham, April 3, 1557.

Bourer. A-h, sirrah, how chancest thou that you are come hither again on this fashion? I dare say you are accused wrongfully.

Ralph. Yea, my lord, so I am. For if I were guilty of such things as I am accused of, then I would be very sorry.

Bourer. By St. Mary, that is not well done. But let me hear, art thou an honest man? For if I can prove no hereby by thee, then shall thine accusers do thee no more wrong.

Ralph. Go on, let me hear thee; for I do not believe this.

Bourer. My lord, who did accuse me? I pray you let me know, and what is mine accusation, that I may answer thereunto.

Ralph. Ah, wilt thou fo? Before God, if thou hast not disputed, then thou needest not be afraid, nor ashamed to answer for thyself. But tell me in faith, hast thou not disputed?

Ralph. If I cannot have mine accusers to accuse me before you, my conscience doth concern me to accuse myself to you: for I confesse, that I have grievously offended God in my conversation, at my last being before your lordship, for which I am very sorry, as God knoweth.

Bourer. Wherein, I pray thee, didst thou dissemble, when you wait before me?

Ralph. To perfooth, my lord, if your lordship remem-

ber, I did set my hand to a certain writing, the contents whereof (as I remember) were, That I believe in all things as the catholic church teacheth, &c. In which I did not heare the story so strange, but harmlessly dissembled, because I made no difference between the true church and the untrue church.

Bourer. Nay, but I pray thee let me hear more of this truth. For I fear me thou wilt fill me of an heretic abuse. What is the true church as thou sayest? Dost thou not call the holy church of England, or the catholic church of Christ? Now which of these two are the true church, sayest thou? Speak, for in faith, I will know of thee, before I leave thee.

Ralph. As concerning the church of herrites, I utterly abhor the same as damned. I correspond before God, with all their enormities and heresies; and the church catholic is that I only embrace, whole doctrine is sincere, pure, and true.

Bourer. By St. Augunfius, but that will I say of thee. For, by God Almighty, if thou hast allowed the church of herrites, I would have burned thee with fire for thy labour.

Then said one Morton, a priest, My lord, you know not yet what church it is that he calleth catholic. I warrant you, so meanely enough.

Bourer. The same, thou sayest. Now, O happy, blessed lady, if it be so, he might have deceived me. How say you, sirrah, which is the catholic church?

Ralph. Even that which hath received the whoome found, spoken of by Jnshah, David, Mlaclach, and Paul, thus much as a holy church. Which found, as it is written, hath gone throughout all the earth in every place, and unto the ends of the world.

Bourer. Yes, thou sayest true before God. For this is the found that hath gone throughout all Christendom, and a true and belief not the found of the holy church, as St. Cyprian faith, death. For he faith, that whatsoever is out of the church, is like unto them that were out of Noah's ship, when the flood came upon all the whole world; for the ark of Noah is likened unto the church; and therefore thou shalt not fail in thy confession, that the church is not alone in God's sight. For the man was here in England in the time of the late shiefs, as the heretics do affirm. For if the church should be there alone, then were Christ a liar: for he promised that the Holy Ghost should come to us, and lead us unto all truth, yea, and remain with us, unto the end of the world.

Bourer. Now, by the blessed facent of the altar, Mr. Morton, he is the ranktest heretic that ever came before me. How say you? Have you heard the like?

Morton. I thought what he was, my lord, at the first.

Bourer. Now, by all-hallows, thou shalt be burnt with fire. Do not think prid-louke thou. Dost thou find a prophecy in David of us? Nay, thou knowest, it is you that speakest of, and of your false pretended holiness. Speake, let me hear what is the saying of Eldas, and take heed you make not me lie, I advise you.

7 M Ralph,
Ralph. The flying of Eftred is this: "The heat of great multitude is kindled over you, and they shall take away certain of you, and feed the idols with you, and he that contemneth unto them shall be had in derision, laughed to scorn, and trodden under foot; yes, they shall be like madmen, for they spare no man: they shall mock and scoff at you, and laugh at you.

Bonner. And have you taken this thing, to make your matter good? Ah, sirrah, wilt thou so? By my faith, a pretty interlusion, and a necessary thing to be caught among the people. By my troth, I think there be not half as much of it. I pray thee tell me, is it any sort of this scripture, or doth thou believe this scripture on this fashion? Before God, I think there are none in all England, but thou.

Ralph. Yes, my lord, there are in England three religions.

Bonner. Sayest thou so? Which be these three? Ralph. The first is that which you hold, the second is clean contrary to the fame; and the third is a neutral, being indifferent: that is to say, observing all things that are commanded outwardly, as though he were of your part, his heart being yet wholly against the fame.

Bonner. And of these three which art thou? For now thou must needs be one of them.

Ralph. Yes, my lord, I am one of them; and that which I am of, is even that which is contrary to that in which you are to be believed under pain of death.

Bonner. Ah, sir, you were here with me at Fulham, and had good cheer, yes, and money in your purse when you went away, and by my faith I had a favourite unto thee, but now I see thou wilt be a naughty knave. Why wilt thou take upon thee to read the scripture, and canst understand never a word? for thou hast brought a text of scripture which maketh clean against thee. For Elisha speaketh of the multitude of his adversaries, declaring your hate against the catholic church, making the simple or idle people believe, that all is idolatry that we do, and so intice them away till you have overcome them.

Ralph. Nay, not so, my lord. For he maketh it more plain, and faith on this wife, "They shall take away their goods, and put them out of their houses, and then shall it be known who are my chosen (faith the Lord), for they shall be tried, as the silver or gold in the fire." And we see it fo come to pass, even as he hath said. For who is not now driven from house and home that is a good man? No words can be so severe for other men that never sweat for them, if he do not observe as you command and set forth? Or else, if he be taken, then must he either deny the truth, as I did, in diffambling, or else he shall be sure to be tried, as Elisha faith, even when he was in the midst of the world may know that you are the bloody church, figured in Cain the tyrant, neither are you yet able to avoid it.

Moran. I promise you, my lord, I like him better now than ever I did, when he was here before you the other time. For then he did but dissemble, as I perceived well enough; but now methinks he spake plainly.

Bonner. Marry, sir, as you say indeed, he is plain. For he is a plain talker, and shall be burned. Have the knife away. Let him be carried to Little-cave, at London, until I come.

Ralph. And so I was carried to London unto Little-cave, and there I remained that night, and on the next morning, I was accused before him again, the dean of St. Paul's, and the others fear the London being preferred. Then were brought forth certain writings that I had let my hand unto.

Bonner. Come on your ways, sirrah. Is not this your own hand, or is it not? Ralph. Ye, they are my hand all of them; I confess the fame, neither yet will I deny any thing that I have let my hand unto. But if I have let my hand to any thing that is not lawful, therefore am I forry. Nevertheless, my hand I will not deny to be my doing.

Bonner. Well said, now you must tell me; were you never at the church since you went from me, at mafs, mattins? &c.

Ralph. No, my lord, not at mafs, mattins, nor any other strange worshipping of God.

Bonner. Yea, sayest thou so? Wilt thou rather at this time own it, than upon oath and other? And dost thou also say, that it is a strange worshipping? Why, I pray thee, wilt thou not believe the scripture to be true?

Ralph. Yea, my lord, I believe the scripture to be true; but in defiance of the fame I intend to give my life, rather than I will deny any part thereof, God willing.

Dean. My lord, this fellow will be an honest man, I hear by him. He will not stand in his opinion; for he be here before gentle and in his talk.

Bonner. Oh, he is a glorious knave, for he hath terms shall no more decease me. Ah, wondrous prick-loue, doth not Christ say, This is my body? And how darest thou deny those words, thou knave? I have a writing to shew, and thine own hand to the fame. Let me see, pray wilt thou deny this? Is not this thine own hand?

Ralph. Yea, my lord, it is mine own hand, neither am I ashamed thereof, because my confession is agreeable to the fame. And whereas you do lay unto my charge, that I should deny the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ, oh, good Lord, from whence cometh this rash, hastly, and untrue judgment? Forsooth not from the Spirit of truth; for he leadeth men into all truth, and is not the father of lies. Whereupon shouldest thou question him that speaketh to thee declaratively; wherefore, I befeech you, if I deny the scriptures canonically, or any part thereof, then let me die.

Tye, the Priest. My lord, he is a very judicious fel-well, and persuadest other men to do as he himself doth, containing that thou hast been appointed by the queen's highness and the clergy of this realm. For a great many parishes will be gathered one day to one place, and another day to another place to hear him, so that very few come to church to hear divine service: and this was not only not before that he was taken and brought unto the council, but also since his return home again, he hath done much harm. For where both men and women were honestly dispersed before, by St. Anne now they are almost as bad as he. And furthermore, he was not ashamed to withstand me before all the parishes, saying, that when he be in the good of his grace, then he will not be of the true church of Christ, alledging a great many scriptures to serve his purpose, saying, Good people, take heed, and beware of these blood-thirsty dogs, &c. And then I commanded the confable to apprehend him. But he got him away before it came to perfection, the confable let him go about his business all the next day, so that without putting in of fear, lest he let him go into Suffolk and other places, for no good, I warrant you, my lord; it were almost to teach others their duty, how they should let such rebels go at their own liberty, after that they be more prevailed and taken, and so keep them in the flockes until they bring them before a justice.

Ralph. As I said before, so I say now again; thou art not of the true church of Christ, and that I will prove, it may be further. And when you did command the confable to apprehend me, you did in deed, contrary to the laws of this realm, having neither treason, felony, nor murder to lay to my charge: no, neither had you precept, process, nor warrant to serve me; and therefore by without a law I was apprehended. And whereas you seem to trouble the confable, because he kept me not in the flock six three days and three nights, it doth shew in what you are. And my going into Suffolk was not for any evil, but only as half a buffer of corn for my poor wife and children, knowing that I had no long time to tarry with them. But if I had run away, then you would surely have laid somewhat to his charge.

Bonner. Go to, thou art a merchant indeed. Ah, sirrah, before God thou shalt be burnt with fire. Thou knowest
fantastical body; and therefore look to it for God's sake, and of your own words, be neat and fair: and eat ye," without which words the rest are not sufficient; but when the worthy receivers do take and eat, even then are fulfilled the words of our Saviour unto him, or every of them that so receiveth.

Bunen. Ay, I feel well thou canst not understand these words, nor canst thou speak the right tongue. If I should eat a piece of beef before thee, and say, Eat, it is beef; and then take part of it away, and feed it to my cook, and he shall change the fashion thereof, and make it look like bread; what, wouldst thou say that it were no beef, because it hath not the fashion of beef?

Ralph. Let me understand a little further; my lord, shall the cook add nothing thereunto, nor take any thing therefrom?

Bunen. What is that to the matter, whether he do or no, so long as the shape is changed into another likeness?

Ralph. Ah, will you so, my lord? your soppishness will not serve; the truth will have the victory nevertheless, as Ishai faith, He that restraineth himself from evil, must be spoiled. And Amos hath such like words also; as one, he must be fain to hold their peace; so wicked it is, when not permitted, or else if he that can speak the truth, and will not, shall give a trait account for the same.

A Doctur. By my lord's leave, here methinks thou speakest like a fool. Wilt thou be a judge of the ferourage of them? I woul'd much flatter thee, and not to teach; for the whole congregation hath determined the matter long ago.

A Priest. No, by your leave, we have a church, and not a congregation. You mistake that word, Mr. Doctur.

Ralph. Then I said to my fellow-prisoners standing by, My brethren, do ye not hear how these men help one another? Let us do so also. But we never came all in together. Then was I carried away for that time. The 19th day of May was brought before the bishops of Rochester and Chichester, with the prelates. Were you a companion of George Eagles, otherwise called Trudge-over? My lord of London telleth me that you were his fellow companion.

Ralph. I know him very well, my lord.

Roch. By my faith, I had him once, and then he was so drunk that the man, with me, was in bed all the while. And at my departing you gave me twelve pence, although I asked none, nor would have any.

A Lord. Be good to him, my lord, he will be an honest man.

Bunen. Before God, how should I trust him? He had deceived me once already. But ye shall hear what he will say to the blessed sacrament of the altar. How say you, ferrac? After the words of consecration he spoke by the priest, there remaineth no bread, but the very body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, God and man, and none other substance, under the form of bread.

Ralph. Where find you that written, my lord?

Bunen. Lo, sir. Why, doth not Christ say, "This is my body?" How sayest thou? Wilt thou deny these words of our Saviour Christ? Or else was he a deceiver, speaking one thing, and meaning another?

Ralph. Where is my lord, you have taken me indeed, and will keep me until you kill me. However, my lord, I marvel why you leave me out the beginning of the institution of the supper of our Lord? For Christ himself saith, "This is my body." If it please you ye to add the former words to the latter, then shall I make you an answer. For sure I am, that Christ was no deceiver, neither did he say one thing and mean another.

Ralph. Why, then muft thou needs say, that it is his body; for he faith it himself, and thou confessest that he will not lie.

Ralph. No, my lord: he is true, and all men are liars. Notwithstanding, I utterly refuse to take the words of our Saviour so fantastically as you teach us to take them; for should we confine with certain heretics called the Neoplatonists for they deny that Christ had a true natural body, and so methinks you do, my lord. If you will affirm his body to be there, as you say he is, then muft you needs also affirm, that it is a
again unto his former opinions, it should be then lawful for the bishop immediately to denounce and adjudge him as an infidel. Fourthly, That he had subscribed to a bill, wherein he affirmed, that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration be spoken by the priest, there remaineth still material bread and material wine; and that he believeth that the body of the Lord is present in the body of the bread of the sacrament; and the manner of Christ's death; and that when he receiveth it, he receiveth the body of Christ spiritually in his soul, but material bread in subsistence. Fifthly, That he had openly affirmed, and also explicitly spoken that which is contained in the said fourteenth article above specified.

Sixthly, That he had spoken against the bishop of Rome, with the church and see of the same, and also against the seven sacraments and other ceremonies and ordinances of the same church, used then within this realm.

Seventhly, That he had allowed and commended the opinion and faith of Mr. Cramer, Ridley, and Latimer, and others of late that were burned within this realm, and believed that their opinions were good and godly. Eighthly, That he had divers times affirmed, that the religion used within this realm, at the time of his apprehension, was neither good nor agreeable to God's word, and that he could not conform himself thereunto.

Ninthly, That he had affirmed, that the book of consciences was false when it said, "in the reign of Edward VI. in was all parts good and godly; and that the said Ralph and his fellow prisoners, did daily use amongst themselves in prison some part of the book. Tenthly, That he had affirmed, that if he were out of prison he would not come to mass, matins, nor even Song, nor bear taper, candle, nor palm, nor go in procession, nor would receive holy water, holy bread, ashes, or pas, or any other ceremony of the church then used within this realm.

Eleventhly, That he had affirmed, that if he were at liberty he would not confess his sins to any priest, nor receive absolution of him; nor yet would receive the sacrament of the altar, as it was then used.

Twelfthly, That he had affirmed, that praying to saints, and praying for the dead, were neither good nor profitable, and that a man is not bound to fast and pray, but at his own will and pleasure; neither that it is lawful to reserve the sacrament, or to worship it. Thirteenthly, That the said Allerton hath, according to these his affirmations, abjured, condemned, and is come to that his parish church ever since the tenth day of January last, or to use, receive, or allow any ceremonies, sacraments, or other rites then used in the church.

To all these articles he answered affirmatively, denying principally, repeating therein, favoring the same, contained in the twelfth article, that a man is not bound to fast and pray but at his own will and pleasure, he said that he had affirmed no such thing, but he confessed that he had not fasted nor prayed to saints as he was bound to do. And unto this answer he also subscribed in this fort.

Except it be proved otherwise by the holy scripture, I do affirm these articles to be true. By me,

RALPH ALLERTON.

The next examination was the fourth day of July; the act whereof, because they do appear more amply in his other examination, on the tenth of September, I here omit, giving you further to understand, that on the seventh day of July, he was brought before Dr. Darbyshire in the bishop's palace, who examined him again on the former articles, and after persuading him to recant, threatening him that otherwise he should be burned. To whom he boldly answered, I would I might be condemned rather for fasting, for the reign covetous loaf (meaning Bonner) doth nothing but feck men's blood. Upon which saying Dr. Darbyshire committed him again to prison, and the tenth of September, the bishop caused him (with the other three above-named) to be brought unto Falmouth, and there in his private chapel within his house, he judicially propounded unto him certain other new articles, of which, the tenor of the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth, he already mentioned in the second, third, and fourth former objections: as for the rest, their contents here follow.

"Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but that the information given against thee, and remaining now in the custodia of Richard Allerton, bishop of London, was, and is a true information. This information was given by Thomas Tye, one of the Bentleys of whom you have already heard, and certain others of the same parish and affinity; as namely, John Bassett, William Harris, John Barker, John Curte, Thomas Canderell, Jeffery Belward, John Richard, Richard Meer. The effect whereof was, that one Laurence Edwards, of Bentley aforesaid, had a child that was unchristened, and being demanded by the same, the child was not baptized, he made answer it should be when he could find one of his religion (meaning a true professed of Christ's gospel). Whereat the curate said, Ah, you have had some instructor that hath schooled you of late. Yea (quoth Edwards) that I have, and if your doctrine be better than his, then I will believe you; and therupon readily offered to fetch him. Whereupon the confabule going with him, they brought before the said curate the said Ralph Allerton; of whom in this information they make this report, that he had brought the confession into the hands of the bishop, from the bishop, had set upon the confabules divers tedious letters, moving and persuading thereby the people to follow his malicious disobedience; and that these in persuasions had taken effect in many: and farther, that the said Ralph Allerton (the curate affixing him who had instructed this Laurence Edwards, that it was against God's commandment to enter into the church) calling his hands abroad, should say, Oh, good people, now is fulfilled the saying of the godly priest and prophet Elisha, who said, Elisha iv. 15. "Then a multitude is kindled against a few; they have taken away their houses, and spoiled their goods;" &c. Wheth of you hath not seen this, this day? who is here among you, that feareth not all these things done upon us this day? The church which they call us to, is the church of Antichrist, a perfecting church, and the church malignant. With these, and many more words (said they, most maliciously and falsely alleged out of the scriptures) he thus persuaded great multitudes there present (as much as in him lay) unto disobedience. For which which the confabules did then apprehend him.

3. Item, thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but that the letter font unto me by my lord Darcy, beginning with these words, [Pleaeth it your lordship, &c.] was thy own letter, and was subscribed by thine own hand.

The contents of the letter mentioned in this article, and written by Allerton unto the lord Darcy, was a confession of his demeanour before his first apprehension, the effect and purport whereof, because it appeareth in the beginning of this history, I do here omit.

4. Item, thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but that the other letter, sent unto me from the said lord Darcy, was written by thine own hand, [Pleaeth it your lordship, &c.] and ending with these words, [whenever it be] is thine own letter, and subscribed with thine own hand.

This was also another letter written by him unto the lord Darcy, the contents whereof were, that where the said lord had commanded him to declare where he had been ever since Whithuntide last before his first apprehension, this was to certify his lordship, that he was not able to do, otherwise than as he had already showed unto his lordship at Falmouth; whereas he charged him to have read unto the people abroad in the woods, he certified him that he did never read any thing abroad, fasting once when he was in the company of George Eagles, and others, Richard Roth took a writing out of his bosom, and derided the said Ralph to read
it the food of our souls, the lantern of our feet, and the light unto our paths; and where it is not preached, the people perish. But the prophet faith, “He that refraineth himself from evil, must be spoiled, Jaf. lix.” We should therefore be ashamed to be spoiled, seeing that it is told us before, that it must so happen unto them that refrain from evil? And thus I bid you farewell in God.

RALPH ALLERTON.

Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but that the letter written with blood, beginning with these words in the over part thereof, [The angel of God, &c.] and ended thus, [Be with you, Amen] and having also this Postscript [Do ye suppose that our brethren, &c.] remaining thereunto added in the acts of this court, is thine own hand writing.

9. For the better understanding of this article, I have also infected the copy of the letter mentioned in the same; which letter he wrote (by his own confession) unto Richard Roth, then in danger of the subtle flares of that bloody wol要说你。

Letter II.

From Ralph Allerton unto Richard Roth, his Fellow Martyr.

The angel of God pitch his tent about us, and defend us all in our ways, Amen, Amen. O dear brother, I pray for you: for I hear say, that you have been divers times before my lord in examination. Wherefore take heed for God's sake what the wife man teacheth you, and shrink not away when you are enticed to confess an untruth, for hope of life, but be ready always to give an answer of the hope that is in you. For whatsoever confess God's Christ before men, him will Christ also confess before his Father. But be that is ashamed to confess him before men, shall have his reward with them that do deny him. And therefore, dear brother, go forward: you have a ready way, so far as ever had both of the prophets or apostles, or the rest of our brethren, the holy martyrs of Christ. Therefore come to go hence with the multitude while the way is full. Alfo (dear brother) understand that I have seen your letter, and although I cannot read it perfectly, yet I partly perceive your meaning therein, and very gladly would I copy it out, with certain commodious additions thereto annexed. The which as yet will not be brought to pass for lack of paper, until my lord be gone from hence, and then your request shall be accomplished, God willing, without delay. Thus fare you well: and I would willingly follow in tribulation, Robert Allin, salute you, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you, Amen.

Ralph Allerton.

P. S. Do you suppose that our brethren and sisters are not yet dispatched out of this world? I think that either they are dead, or shall be within these two days.

And for the other objection yet remaining, and not specified, if it were not more afterwardly from the folly of these bloody tyrants (which being so small, they take occasion to quarrel with the saints of God) than for any weighty thing therein contained, I would neither trouble you with the reading thereof, nor yet myself with writing. But that you may judge of them as their actions do give occasion, I will now proceed in the matter.

Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but confess, that the writing of letters in a little piece of paper on both sides of it, with this fentence following on the one side, “Look at the foot of the steps for a knife,” and the following sentence on the other side, “Look at the post and the wall for two books and two epistles, leave them here when you go,” remaining now in the regifter and acts of this court, is voluntarily written by thee, Ralph Allerton, with thine own hand.

Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but that
that thou art privy to a certain writing, remaining now in the register and acts of this court, the beginning whereof is with these words, "I have a woman with a face," which is from the folio, "Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but that thou art privy, and by consent and maintenance, to a certain great wood knife, a long fiddle, a hook, a flute, and a trenched written upon with chalk, having this in mind, I, in better health, and not of your folly." Also of two boards written upon with chalk, the one having this sentence, "Under the flute look," and the other having this sentence, "Whereas you did me take heed, I thank you, I trust in God that I shall be peace throughout this country," remaining now registered in the acts of this court.

For anser unto all these articles, he granted that the first nine were true, as the register reciteth. Howbeit, I find noted in the backside of the information, specified in the second article (although crossed out again), that he denied such things as were there on information against him. Therefore it is not likely that he did simply grant the contents of the second article, but that he only affirmed, that such an information was given against him, and not that the cause was true.

Thus much I thought to acquaint the reader of, left in misliking his answer, it might seem that he granted himself to be a seditions and a rebellious person, of which charge he was before accused, and being farther demanded upon the contents of the eighth article, where it had the blood he wrote that letter within? He said, that Richard Ruth, sometime fellow-prisoner with him, did make his face bleed, and thereby he got the blood of which he did the writhe. The bishop again asked him, to whom he would have sent the fame. He answered, Unto one Agnes Smith, alias Silveride, of Colcheffer. Why (says the bishop,) Agnes Smith was an heretic, and burnt for here. Nay, said Allerton. Heretic, I can it not, nor any of us all. And being again demanded, upon the ninth objection, to whom he would have sent the letter mentioned in the fame; he answered that he intended to have sent it unto Richard Ruth, at that time separated from him. Whereupon the bishop farther inquired what he meant by these words, "Brethren and fathers," specified in the said letter? He answered, that he meant thereby, such as were lately condemned at Colcheffer, and were like (at the writing thereof) shortly to be burned. As for the tenth, he, being of the sixteenth articles, he utterly denied them. But to the twelfth, he confest, that he wrote upon the said trenched and other boards, the words mentioned in the said article, and that he did write the fame in the prison house, to the intent that Richard Ruth, and other prisoners, there in the same prison, being of the same sentence, should not burn. To which the bishop answered, that the said Allerton also bringing out the wooden sword, mentioned in the said articles, asked him who made it, and for what purpose. Whereunto he answered, that he was the maker thereof, for no evil purpose. But being idle in the prison, and finding there an old board, he thought the time better spent in making thereof, than to fit and do nothing at all.

The forenoon being now spent, the rest of this tragedy was the business till the afternoon. Wherein was ministered unto him yet certain other objections, the tenor whereof was,

Firthe, That he had misliked the mafs, calling upon saints, and carrying the croix in procession, with other ceremonies, calling them idolatry, and also had finned them thereon.

Item, That he was most dextrous to have the people believe as he did, and therefore being in prison with his fellows, did fing psalms and other songs against the sacrament of the altar, and other ordinances of the church, so loud that the people abroad might hear them above the silence. And also, to break the prison and escape away.

Item, That he had failed against the bishop, being his ordinary, calling him a bloody butcher, tyrant, and raging wolf, and also against his officers, especially Cluny, his sumner, calling him butcher's cut, with other such names.

Item, That he had murmured, grudged, distained, and misliked, that the bishop had proceeded against some of his diocese, and had condemned them as heretics, or that he should proceed now against him and others yet remaining in errors, notwithstanding that he could only accordingly admonished and exhorted them from the same.

Item, That he ought faithfully to believe, that there is one catholic church, without which there is no salvation; of which church Jesus Christ is the very price and Succesor, whose body and blood is really and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine; the bread and wine being by the divine power transubstantiated into his body and blood.

Item, That he had kept himself, and also distanced, used to others, certain heretical and corrupt books, condemned and reproved by the laws of this realm.

Item, That he had, contrary to the orders and statutes of this realm, kept company with that sedition heretic and traitor, George Eagles, commonly called Trudge-over, and had heard him read in woods and other places, yet not accusing, but allowing and praising him.

Upon which articles, because they were for the most part foolish and full of lies, he would in a manner make no answer, fying he granted, that he misliked their masses and other ceremonies, because they were wicked and naught. And moreover, he told the bishop, that he and his accomplices did nothing but seek how to kill innocents.

The bishop then asked him, whether he would believe in all points touching the sacrament of the altar, as is contained in the general council holden and kept under Innocent the Third, and therewithal he did read the decree of the said council concerning the sacrament.

Whereupon Allerton again made answer and said, I believe nothing contained in the same council, neither have I anything to do therewith; and it were also very necessary that no man else should have to do therewith.

Then (quoth Bonner) thou art of the opinion that the heretics lately burnt at Colcheffer were of.

Yes, saith he, I am of their opinion, and I believe that that is true.

This done, the bishop perceiving that he would not recant, demanded what he had to say, why he should not pronounce the sentence of condemnation against him. To whom he answered, You ought not to condemn men without cause. And now, I desire you to, do as you have already determined: for I see right well, that right and truth is suppressed and cannot appear upon the earth.

These words ended, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation, and so delivered him to the temporal officers; who kept him in their custody till the 17th of September, at which time, both he and the other three before mentioned, were all burned, as you have already heard. Of which other three, because ye like it is said, I will therefore now proceed to declare such cause of their cruel deaths, as in the register is recorded.

As Account of JAMES ASTUOO, and MARGERY his Wife.

I cannot find why these two persons were first apprehended; howbeit, as the days then served, it was no hard or strange matter to fall into the hands of such, as with cruelty percieved the true professors of God's gospel, especially having so many promoters, and unknown negligence to help them forwards. By which kind people, it is not unlike these two godly and faithful men were accused and taken, and being once delivered into the mercifuls hands of Bonner, their examinations (if you may be there) were not long deferred. For the 16th of July, 1557, they were brought before him at London, where...
O dear brethren and fellow-sufferers, how much reason have you to rejoice in God, that he hath given you such faith as to overcome this bloody-thristy tyrant thus far? And now look to that which he hath appointed for that good work you in the world, it shall be fulfilled to the end. O dear hearts in Christ, what a crown of glory shall ye receive with Christ in the kingdom of God? O that it had been the good will of God that I had been ready to have gone with you, my lady, to the Lord's Little-cave in the day, and in the night I lie in the Coa-houle, from Ralph Allerton, or any other: and we look every day when we shall be condemned. For he said I should be burned within ten days before Easter; but I fell ill at the pool's brink, and every man goeth in before me: but we abide patiently the Lord's pleasure, with much hope in fleters and flocks; by which we have received great joy of God. And now fare you well, dear brethren and fellow-sufferers, in this world, but I trust to see you in the heavens face to face.

Oh, brother Munt, with your wife and my sister Rose, how blest are you in the Lord, that God hath found you worthy to suffer for his sake! with all the rest of my dear brethren and fellow-sufferers known and unknown. O sweet even unto death. Fear it not, faith Christ, for I have overcome death. Oh dear hearts, seeing that Jesus Christ will be our help, oh tarry you the Lord's pleasure. Be strong, let your hearts be of good comfort, and wait you till for the Lord. He is at hand. Ye, the angel of the Lord pitcheth his tent round about them that love him, and delivereth them which way he feeth north. For these favours are in the Lord's hands, and they can do nothing unto us before God shall do it. Therefore give all thanks to God.

O dear hearts, shall ye be clothed in white garments upon the mount of Sion, with the multitude of saints, and with Jesus Christ our Saviour, which shall never forfake us. O blessed virgins, ye have played the wife virgins part, in that you have taken oil in your lamps, that ye may go in with the bridegroom, when he cometh, into the everlasting joy with him. But for the foolish, the shall be left out, because they made not themselves ready to fulfill Christ, neither go about to take up his crofs. Oh dear hearts, how precious shall your death be in the sight of the Lord! For dear is the death of his saints. O fare you well, and pray. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen. And pray, pray, pray.

Written by me, with my own blood,

Richard Routh.
To whom he said, That he ever had, and yet then did abolish the fame with all his heart.

Then divers of the bishop's accomplies intreated and persuaded him to recant, and crave mercy of the bishop.

(Equor Ralp), I will not ask mercy of him that cannot give it. Whereupon he was (as the rest before-mentioned) condemned and delivered unto the sherriff, and the 17th day of September they all most joyfully ended their lives in one fire at Ilchester, for the testimony of Christ.

The Martyrdom of AGNES BONGEOR, and MARGARET THURSTON, two Pious Women, burnt at Colchester, for the sincerer Prosecution of Christ's Gospel.

A Little before (gentle reader) mention was made of ten that suffered martyrdom at Colchester; at which time there were also two other women, one called Margaret Thurstorn, and the other Agnes Bongeor, that should have suffered with them, and were likewise condemned at the same time and place, for the like cause with the other ten before-mentioned, and answered also in their examinations to the same effect as the other one, namely Margaret Thurstorn, the morning she should suffer with those that went from the castle, was for that time deferred. What the cause was, the testimony of Joan Cook shall declare unto us. Which Joan Cook, now the wife of John Spark, and so of the same family in religion, did demand of this Margaret Thurstorn, whose husband died in prison, being imprisoned for religion, wherefore the said Margaret being a condemned woman, should be referred when the others suffered in the castle Bally? She answered, That it was not for any fear of death, but being prepared, as the rest were that suffered the same day, she was taken with a great shivering and trembling of the flesh: whereupon, forsaking the company, she went aside to pray; and whilom she was praying, the thought she was lifted up by a mighty wind that came round about her. Even at that instant came in the gaoler and company with him, and whilom the turned herself to fetch her falter, they took the other prisoners and left her alone. Shortly after she was moved out of the castle and put into the town prison, where the continued until Friday seven-night after her company were burnt. That day, not two hours before her death, she was brought to the castle again, where she declared thus much to the aforesaid Joan Cook.

The other, named Agnes Bongeor, who should have suffered in like manner with the other six that went out of Mote-hall, was also kept back at that time, but not in like fort, because her name was wrong written within the writ.

The same morning, the second of August, that the said six in Mote-hall were called out to go to their martyrdom, Agnes Bongeor, was also called with them, by the name of Agnes Bower. Wherefore the bailiffs, underwriting her to be wrong named within the writ, communicated the fact Agnes Bongeor to prison again, as you have before heard. In the same tenor and manner as to that day sent her from Mote-hall to the castle, where she remained till her death.

But when the law herself separated from her fellow-prisoners in such a manner, oh! what pitious complaints that woman made, how bitterly the wept, what strange thoughts came into her mind, how nacked and desolate she esteemed herself, and to what a plague of despair and care her poor soul was brought, it was both bad and moving to behold; and all because she went not with them to give up her life for the causes of Christ; for of all things in the world, life was the least thing that she expected. For the morning on which she was kept back from burning, she had put on a finock that she had prepared only for that purpose. And also leaving a child, a little young infant, flocking on her whom she kept with her tenderly all the time she was in prison, that day likewise did the send away to another nurse, and prepared herself presently to give herself for the testimony of the glorious gospel of Christ. So little did she look for life, and so greatly God's gifts work in her above nature, that death seemed much more welcome than life. But this took not effect at that time as she thought it would, and therefore (as I said) she was greatly troubled.

Being in this great perplexity of mind, a friend of her's came to her, and required to know whether Abraham's obedience was accepted before God, for that he did sacrifice his son Isaac, or in that he would have offered him? Unto whom she answered thus:

I know, said she, that Abraham's will before God was allowed for the deed, in that he would have done it; but the Lord he delivered him again: but I (said she) am unhappy, the Lord thinketh me worthy of that dignity, and therefore Abraham's cain and mine is not alike.

Why then, said her friend, would you not willingly have gone with your company, if God should have suffered it?

Yes, said she, that I would with all my heart, and because I did not, it is now my chiefest and greatest grief.

Then, said her friend, my dear sister, I pray thee consider Abraham and thyself well, and thou shalt do thou doth nothing differ with him in will at all.

Alas, said she, there is a far greater matter in Abraham than in me; for Abraham was tried with the offering of his only child, but I am not so; and therefore our cafes are not alike.

Good sister, said her friend, weigh the matter by indifferently. Abraham, I grant, would have offered his fon; and have not you done the like in your little flock of a babe? But consider further than this, my good filter (said he), where Abraham was commanded that he offer his fon, you are heavy and grieved because you offer not yourself, which goth somewhat more near you than Abraham's obedience did; and therefore before God, aurally, is no less accepted and allowed in his holy presence; which further the preparing of your shroud also doth argue full well, &c. After which talk between them, she began a little to fly herself, and gave her whole exercise to reading and prayer, wherein she found a great deal of comfort.

During the time that these aforesaid two good women were prisoners, one in the castle, and the other in Mote-hall, God, by a secret means called the said Margaret Thurstorn unto his truth again; who, having her eyes opened by the working of his Spirit, did greatly fear that her heart was deluding before, and she informed faithfully to the Lord in hope of his mercies, never more while she lived to do the like again, but that she would constantly stand to the confession of the same, against all the adversaries of the crofs of Christ.

After which promise made, came in a florid time a writ from London for the burning of them, which was accordingly executed the 17th day of September, in the year aforesaid.

Now when these aforesaid women were brought to the place at Colchester, where they found the suffer, they put on their knee and began to make their humble prayers to God, which being done, they rose and went to the stake joyfully, and were immediately chained thereto, and after the fire had encompassed them about, they with great joy and glorious triumph gave up the ghost, into the hands of the Lord, under whose government and protection, for Christ's sake, we beseech him to grant us his defence and help for evermore. Amen.

An Account of JOHN KURDE, Martyr.

IN the story before, something was mentioned of a certain claymaker sufferer at Northampton, being un-named; yet, because we understand by a letter first
The Burning of Cicely Ormes at Norwich.
The Condemnation of Mr. JOHN NOYES.

In the month of September this present year, or (as some report) in the year past, suffered the blessed martyr, John Noyes, whose story here followeth.

First, Mr. Thomas Lovell, being then constable of Hoxton Hundred, in the county of Suffolk, and John Lovell and Nicholas Stannard, the fairsmen of the aforesaid town of Lakenfield, and Wolven Downig, and Nicholas Stannard, of the same town, being then accounted faithful and catholic Christians, though undoubtedly they proved most cruel hinderers of the true professors of Christ and his gospel, being, as they were, commanded to be burned that present day before the justice, whose names were Mr. Thurston, Sir John Tyrrel, and Mr. Kene, and Sir Jo. Stilhard being high sheriffs.

Those sitting at Hoxton, in the county of Suffolk, asforesaid, and there the said townsmen aforesaid, having commandment of the said justices to inquire in their town if there were any that would neglect to come to their service and masts, further to examine the cause why they would not come, and thenceupon to bring the true certificate to the said justices within fourteen days after their coming home, when coming home, being full of hatred against the truth, and defiled to get promotion, without any such commandment of the justices (as far as we can learn), took counsel one with another how to attack the said John Noyes without any more cause.

This devilish enterprise agreed upon, chiefly through the counsel of Mr. Thomas Lovell, Wolven Downig, and Nicholas Stannard, aforesaid, with expedition his haste was effect both on all sides. This done, they found the said John Noyes, in the backside of the said house, going out, and Nicholas Stannard called to the said John, and said, Whither goest thou? and he said, To see some of my neighbours. And the said Nicholas Stannard said, Your matter hath deceived you; you must go with us now. But the said John Noyes, saying he was afraid of being betrayed, said not a word. And so they took him and carried him to the justices the next day. After his appearance and fundy cause all-edged, the justices and the sheriff together cast him into Eye-dungeon, and there he lay a certain time; then was carried thence to Norwich, and so came before the bishop, where were ministrated unto him these petitions following:

First, Whether he believed that the ceremonies used in the church were good and godly, to fit up men's minds to devotion.

Second, Whether he believed the pope to be supreme head of the church here on earth.

Third, Whether he believed the body of our Lord Jesus Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine, after the words of consecration.

Whereunto he answered, That he thought the natural body of Christ to be only in heaven, and not in the sacrament.

For which, sentence at last was read by the bishop against him, in the presence of the thence sitting church, viz., Durning, chancellor, Sir W. Woodhouse, Sir Thomas Woodhouse, Mr. George Heyden, Mr. Spencer, W. Farrar, alderman of Norwich, Mr. Thurston, Mr. Winedden, with divers others.

No more of his examination than this came to our hands.

In the mean time his brother-in-law, Nicholas Fifik, of Dinnington, going to comfort him at such time as he remained in his imprisonment, gave him, after christian exhortation, asked him if he did fear death when the bishop gave judgment against him, considering the terror of the fame; and the said Noyes answered, he thanked God he feared death no more at that time, than he or any other did, being at liberty. Then the said Nicholas required of him to show the cause of his condemnation. Upon which request the said John Noyes wrote with his own hands as follows:

I said, That I could not believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there was the natural body of Christ, that came before him, nor that there was blood of Jesus, nor that in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is received by christian people in the remembrance of Christ's death, as a spiritual food, if it be ministered according to Christ's institution.

But they said, That I could not tell what spiritual meaning.

The said bishop said, That the sacrament was God, and must be worshipped as God. So said the chancellor also.

Then answered I, and said, My lord, I cannot so believe. Notwithstanding, these colloquies could not prevail.

Now being condemned, he was sent again from Norwich, Eye-prison, and about the 21st day of September, about midnight, he was brought from Eye to Lakenfield, to be burned; and on the morning next he was brought to the stake, where were waiting for his coming, the aforenamed justice, Mr. Thurston, one Mr. Walter, being then under-sheriff, and Mr. Thomas Lovell, high constable, and the sheriff, who was bound over by the vicar major. But I said, That the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is received by christian people in the remembrance of Christ's death, as a spiritual food, if it be ministered according to Christ's institution.

Then said the bishop, Why? Then say thou dost believe. Notwithstanding, these colloquies could not prevail.

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Then said the bishop, Why? Then say thou dost believe. Notwithstanding, these colloquies could not prevail.
have mercy upon me. Chrift have mercy upon me.

Son of David have mercy upon me.

And fo he yielded up his life, and when his body was burned, they made a pit to bury the coals and ashes, and amongst the fame they found one of his feet that was unburned, whole up to the ankle with the hoie where it lay buried.

Now while he was burning, there stood by one John Jarvis, a fervant in the fame town, a plain fellow, who faid, Good Lord, how the finews of his arms shrink up. And there foold behind him Grannow and Benet, the thievifh men, and they told their master, that John Jarvis fid, and not let him in the flacks till Tuesday. Are these? And their master ordered them to apprehend him, and they took him and pinioned him, and carried him before the juftice that fame day, and the juftice did examine him of the words afcribed, but he denied them, and answcred that he faid nothing but this, Good Lord, how the finews of his arms shrink up. But for all this the juftice did bind his father and his master in gl. a piece, that he fhou fhould be forthcoming at all times. And on the Wednesday following, he was brought again before the juftices, Mr. Thuril and Mr. Keene, fitting at Fredingfiel, Hoxton, Hundred, and there they did appoint and command, that the faid John Jarvis fhould be fet in the flacks the next market-day, and whip about the market naked. But his master, one William Jarvis, did after raffe, friendfhip of the contables, and their apprehended, and one of them rifed him, and the next morning, and in the afternoon they did whip him about the market with a dog-whip, having three cords, and fo they let him go.

A LETTER

From JOHN NOYES to his Wife, to comfort her at a time as he lay in Prison.

WIFE, you defired me that I would fend you fome tokens that you might remember me. As I did read in the New Testament, I defire to write unto you certain places of the Scripture for a remembrance. St. Peter hath, 1 Pet. iv. ['"Dearly beloved, be not troubled with this heat that is now come among you to try you, as though fome strange thing had happen'd unto you, but rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Chrift's fuffering, through the glory that fhall ap- pear before you.'] May be merry and glad. If ye be riled on for the name of Chrift, happy are ye, for the Spirit of glory, and the Spirit of God refteth upon you.

"It is better, if the will of God be fo, that ye fuffer for well doing.

"See that none of you fuffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or an evil doer, or as a bafy body in other men's matters: but if any man fuffer as a chriflian man, let him not be afhamed, but let him glorify God in this be- halfe for the time is come that judgment muft begin at the house of God. If it fhall begin with us, what fhall the end of them be, that believe not the gospel of God? Wherefore let them that fuffer according to the will of God, commit their fouls unto him in well doing." St. Paul faith, a Tim. iii. ['"All that will live godly in Chrifl fhall suffer persecution."']

St. John faith, 1 John ii. ['"See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world fetteth upon things that are above, and not on things which are on earth."']

Our Savour Chrift faith, Matt. xviii. ['"Whoever fhall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it is better for him that a mill-stone be hanged about his neck, and that he be cast into the fea."']

The prophet David faith, Psal. xxxiv. ['"Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all."']

"Fear the Lord, ye faints: for they that fear him lack nothing." When the righteous cry, the Lord heareth them, and delivereth them out of all their troubles: but nil fortune fhall flay the ungodly, and they that hate the righteous fhall perish.

"Hear, O my people. I affure thee, O Ifrael, if thou wilt hearken unto me, there shall flall no flrange god be among thee: thou fhalt have no other God. Oh that my people would obey me: for if I would walk in my ways, I fhou fhould put down their enemies, and turn mine hand against thine adulteries." Our Savour Chrift faith, "The difciple is not above the master, nor yet the fervant above his lord. It is enough for the difciple to be as his master is, and that the fervant be as his lord is. If they have called the master of the houfe Beelzebub, how much more fhall they call of them of his household? fear not then therefore." St. Paul faith, 2 Cor. iv. ['"Set thy felves there a large, and bear not a ftranger's yoke with the un- lievers: for what fellowship hath rightcousneffe with unrighteoufneffe? what company hath light with dark- nefs? or what part hath the believer with the infidel? &c. wherefore come out from among them, and touch not the evil thing; for I will receive you, and I will be a Father unto you, and ye fhall be my sons and daugh- ters, faith the Lord Almighty."']

"For neither eye hath feen, nor ear hath heard, neither can it enter into the heart of man what good things the Lord hath prepared for them that love him." 1 Cor. ii. ['"Ye are bought not with fiver nor gold, but with the precious blood of Chrift."'] 1 Pet. i. ['"There is none other name given to men wherein we must be saved, Acts ii."']

So fare ye well, wife and children; and leave worldly care, and fee you be diligent to pray.

"Take no thought, (faith Chrift, Matt. vi.) saying, What fhall we eat, or what fhall we drink, or where- with fhall we be clothed?" (for after all thefe things feck the Gentiles) for your heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of all these things, but feek ye first the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousneffe thereof, and all these things shall be ministered unto you.

The Martyrdom of CICLEY ORMES, at Norwich.

A BOUT the 23d day of the faid month of Sep- tember, next after the others above-mentioned, fuffered at Norwich, Cicley Ormes, wife of Edmund Ormes, worlhed-weaver, dwelling in St. Laurence parifh in Norwich: the being of the age of twenty-two, or more, was taken at the death of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper above-mentioned, in a place called Lollard's Pit, without Bishopgate, at the faid Norwich, for that the faid that she would fledge them of the fame cup that they drank of. For fo faying, one Mr. Corbet, of Sprowfon, by Norwich, took her and fent her to the chancellor. When the fume before him, he asked her what fhe faid unto the facrament of Chrift's body? And the faid, she did believe that it was the sacrament of the body of Chrift. Yea, faid the chancellor, but what is that the prifon holdeth over her head? He fuffered her and faid, It be not evil, if you make it any better, it is worse. At which words the chan- cellor fent her to the bishop's prifon, to the keeper called Fellow, with many threatenings and hot words, as a man being in great rage.

The aged of July fhe was called before the chancellor, and was put in judgment with Mr. Bridges and others. The chancellor offered her, if she would go
The Martyrdom of CICELY ORMES, at Norwich.

Mrs. Lewes, but especially Agnes Penfather sustained the most trouble, for that the accompanied the said Joyce Lewes to the burning of her death. Which Agnes being examined further of the said Joyce Lewes to the fire spoken to two priest of the church of Litchfield, called John Ady and James Fox, concerning the said Joyce Lewes after her burning, said as followeth, That she thought often after the said fire two priest being at her father's house in the church of Litchfield, at such time as she came from the burning of the said Joyce Lewes, why the said Agnes did weep for such an heretic, meaning Joyce Lewes, whose soul they said was in hell; the said Agnes unfather to their demand made this answer, That she thought the said bishop to be in better case than the said two priest were.

With which words being charged, and desired to submit herself as the others had done above, rehearsed to such penance as they should enjoin unto her, the refused to do, and therefore was commanded to clothe prison, the priest being charged with her under pain of an hundred pounds, that none should have any access unto her. At length, at the perfusion of her friends, she was compelled to do as the others had done before. And much concerning things done at Litchfield.

And now we come to Chichester, although we have but little to report thereon, being through of certain relation and records of that county, yet it feeceth no little trouble and perfection have there raged also, as in other countries. For what place was there almost in the realm, where the pope's minister did not better the realm, much less the county, as in the acts of this ecclesiastical history may sufficiently appear? Wherefore as this plague of the pope's tyranny was general to all other people and counties of England, so likewise in the diocese of Chichester, divers and many there were condemned and martyred for the true testimony of rightouesness within the compass of queen Mary's reign. In the number of whom were the like: John Foreman, of Effigrented; John Warner, of Berne; Chrixtian Grover, of the archdeaconry of Lewes; Thomas Athoth, priest; Thomas Avington, of Erdingley; Dennis Burgis, of Buxted; Thomas Ravnadale, of Yye; John Milled, of Headding; Nicholas Holden, of Withiam; John Hart, of Withiam; Margery Morice, of Hethfield; Anne Try, of Effigrented; John Okeward, of Woodman; Thomas Harland, of Woodman; James Morice of Hethfield; Thomas Dowsde, of Effigrented; John Affedon, of Katherfield.

The greatest setors against these faithful martyrs were the like: Chrixtopher, the bishop of Chichester, Richard, the bishop of London, and chancellor of Chichester, Robert, bishop of the law, and chancellor of Chichester, Robert, bishop of the law, his deputy, Thomas Piccard, civilian, Antony Clarke, Anne Longde, bachelor of divinity, &c.

The Examination of THOMAS SPURDANCE, one of Queen Mary's Servants, before the Chancellor of Norwich.

The bishop's chancellor asked me, if I had been before his court, and confessed my sins unto him? And I said, No, I had confessed my sins before God and faith, in what hour forever a linder repenteth and is forry for his sins, and aketh forgivenes, willing no more to do, he will no more reckon his sin unto him; and that is sufficient for me.

Then laid the chancellor, Thou deditst the sacrament of penance.

I said, I deny not penance, but I deny that I should fly my sins to the priest.

Then said the chancellor, That is denying of the sacrament of penance.

Write this article.

Have you received the blessed sacrament of the altar (said he) at this time of Easter?

And I said, No.

And why have you not? said he.

I said, I have not meddle with you in it, as you use it.

Why,
Why, do we not use it truly? said he.

I said, Not for the holy fopper of the Lord serveth for the Christian consolation, and you are none of Christ's members; and therefore I dare not meddle with you, left I be like unto you.

Why are we none of Christ's members? said the chancellor.

I said, Because you teach laws contrary to God's laws.

What laws are those? said he.

I said, These three articles, that you swear the people unto here, be false and untrue, and you do evil to swear the people unto them.

Then said he, Good people, take no heed unto his words; for he is an heretic, and teacheth you disobedience: and so he would no more speak of that matter.

Then said he, How believest thou in the blessed sacrament of the altar? dost thou not believe that after it is consecrated, it is the very same body that was born of the Virgin Mary?

I said, No, not the same body in substance; for the same body hath a substance in flesh, blood, and bones, and was a bloody facerice, and this is a dry facerice, and I do believe in the same facerice, but only in that one facerice that our Lord Jesus Christ made facerice for all.

Then said the doctor, That facerice that Christ made was a wet facerice, and the mafs is a dry facerice.

Then said I, That same dry facerice is a facerice of your own making, and it is your facerice, it is none of mine.

Then said the chancellor, He is an heretic, he denieth the sacrament of the altar.

Then said I, Will ye know how I believe in the holy fopper of the Lord? And he said, Yes.

Then said I, I believe that if I come rightly and worthily, as God hath commanded me, to the holy fopper of the Lord, I receive him by faith, as by believing in him. But the bread being received is not God, and the bread that is under the pyx is not God. God dwelleth not in temples made with hands. And therefore you do very evil to cause the people to kneel down and worship the bread; for God did never bid you hold it above your heads, neither hath the Church given the same.

Then said the chancellor, He denieth the presence in the facerice. Write this article also. He is a very heretic.

The said I, The servant is not greater than his master. For your predececssors killed my master Christ, the prophets and apostles, and holy virtuous men, and now you also kill the servant of Christ, so that all the righteous blood that hath been shed, even from righteous Abel, until this day, shall be required at your hands.

Well, said the chancellor, have him away.

Another Examination of SPURDANCE, before the Bishop in his Houfe.

Bishop. SIRRAH, dost thou not believe in the catholic faith of the holy church?

Spurd. I believe Christ's catholic church.

Bishop. Yes, in Christ's church, of which the pope is head? Dost thou not believe that the pope is supreme head of the catholic church?

Spurd. No, I believe not that he should be above the apostles, if he takes them to be his predececssors. For when there came a thought among the apostles, who should be the greatest when their master was gone, Christ answered them unto their thoughts, "The kings of the earth bear dominion above each other, but ye shall not so, for he that will be greatest among you shall become servant unto you all. How is it then (said I) that he will climb so high above his fellows? And all the same that was done in my master King Henry's time, that we should, to the utmost of our power, never consent to him again. And therefore as he hath nothing to do here in England, I need not he in his own country more than a bishop hath in his diocese.

Bishop. Yes, what of that? We were then in error and have many things in the right again, and therefore thou must humour again with us, and acknowledge thy fault, and become a christian man, and be born unto the pope as our supreme head. Wit thou be born unto the pope? How sayest thou?

Spurd. By the grace of God, as long as I live. For you cannot prove by the facerice that the pope is head of the church, and may do therein what he listeth.

Bishop. No? Yes I trave; for as the bell-wether which weareth the bell, is head of the flock of them, even so is the pope the head of the church of Christ. And as the bees in the hive have a master bee, when they are gone out, to bring them home to the hive, even so the pope, when we be gone away, and wandered from the fold, from the hive, &c. then is ordered our head by successor of our, to bring us home again to the true church; as though now thy good fellow, &c. haft long wandered out of the way, like a feasted bee, &c. Hear therefore that bell-wether, the pope, &c. and come home with us again to thy mother the church.

Bishop. Yes, that is true. All this is but natural reason, and no facerice: but since you cannot prove the pope to be authorized by facerice, you answer me not as I thought you would.

Bishop. Ha, I fee well you will be flout, and will not be answer me; therefore you shall be compelled by law, whether you will or no.

Spurd. My lord, do your forefathers treat Christ and his apostles. They had a law, and by their law they put him to death; and so likewise you have a law which is tyrannous, and by that you would enforce me to be a heretic: but when I know that God will still me against all your beggarly ceremonies, and make your foolishness known to all the world.

Bishop. When were you at church, or joined in the procession, and did the ceremonies of the church?

Spurd. Never since I was born.

Bishop. No? How old are you?

Spurd. I think about forty.

Bishop. Why, how did you use yourself at church twenty years ago?

Spurd. As you do now. Yes, when this firft, when you, now, you said you did not do the ceremonies since you were born.

Spurd. No more I did, since I was born anew; a Christ said unto Nicodemus, "Except ye be born anew, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven." Then said a doctor that fat by, He is a very unchristian; for that is their opinion plain.

Spurd. No, sir, you say falsely, for I am an unchristian; for they deny children to be baptized, which I do not.

Bishop. Well, why doft thou not go to church, and do the ceremonies?

Spurd. Because they are contrary to God's word and laws, as you yourself have taught: but now you say it is good again: and I think if there were a return to-morrow, you would say that was false again which you hold now. Therefore, I may well say, there is no truth in the right way again in you.

Bishop. Then thou art a rubbourn fellow, and is heretic, and a traitor.

Spurd. No, I am no traitor, for I have done, I think, better service for the crown imperial of England than you.

Bishop. If you had done such good service, you would be obedient to the laws of the realm.

Spurd. So I am. There is no man alive, I think, God, that can accute me juftly that ever I was disobedient to any civil laws. But you must confider, my lord, that I have a soul and body, and my soul is none of the queen's.
Secondly, That the said John, before the reign of king Edward the Sixth, late king of England, was of the same faith and religion that was then observed, believed, taught and fet forth in this realm of England.

Thirdly, That during the reign of the said king Edward the Sixth, the said John did, and at the time of the said preaching of certain ministrers in that time, did not abide by his former faith and religion, but did depart from it, and so did and doth continue till this present day, and so determineth to do (as he faith) till he depart from this life.

Fourthly, That the said John Hallingdale hath thought, believed, and spoken divers times, that the faith, religion, and ecclesiastical service received, and used now in this realm of England, is not good and lawful against God's commandment and word, especially concerning the mafs, and the seven sacraments; and that he the said John, will not in any wise conform himself to the same, but speak and think against it during his natural life.

Fifthly, That the said John abhomineth himself continually from his own parish church of St. Leonard's, neither bearing mafs, mattins, nor even-long, nor yet confessing his sins to the priest, nor receiving the sacrament of the altar at his hands, or using other ceremonies as they are now used in this church and realm of England: and that he believeth not that there be only once to the parish church of St. Leonard, and careth not if he never cometh there any more, the service being as it is there, and so many abuses being there, especially the mafs, the sacraments, and the ceremonies and service being as they are.

Sixthly, That the said John, when his wife, called Alice, was brought to bed of a male child, caused the said child to be chrinfened in English, after the same manner and form in all points, as it was used in the time of the reign of king Edward the Sixth, as afore-said, and caused that he should not have the said child chrinfened in Latin, after the form and manner as it is now used in the church and realm of England, nor will have it by his will to be confirmed by the bishop.

Unto all which articles the said John Hallingdale made answer, confessing them all, and every part of them to be true, and saying that he would not revoke his said answer, but stand unto them according as it was in every article above written.

Furthermore, the said John Hallingdale being demanded by the said Bishop, whether he firmly believed, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of our Saviour Chirill, or not; made answer, that he neither in the time of the said king Edward the Sixth, nor in any other time, did believe that in the said sacrament there is really the very body and blood of Christ. For he said, that if he had so believed, he would (as others had done) have received the same, which he did not, because he had and doth believe, that the very body of Christ is only in heaven and no where else. And furthermore the said John Hallingdale said, that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and generally all that have of late been burned for hereticks, were no hereticks at all, because they did not presume to preach; but that he groundeth his faith and confidence, as he said, according to the saying of St. John, Rev. xviii. where he faith, That the blood of the prophets, and of the saints, and of all them that were slain upon earth, was found in the Babylonical church, by which, he said, is understood the church where the pope is the head. After which examination, the said John was sent unto prison again. And the next day, being the fifth of the said month, he was called before the bishop again, who persuading him with some wreplet sentences of the firey seat, and of his soul and body, persuaded him to recant. Because I will not, faith he, come to your Babylonical church, therefore (speaking unto Bishop), you go about to condemn me. And being further demanded by bishop Bonner, whether he would perforence and fland in his opinions or no: he made answer, that he would.
would continue and perfir in them unto his death. Then Bonner read the sentence of condemnation. At which time the said John affirmed openly, that (thanking God) he never came into the church since the abomination came into it, and so he was sent to prirson again.

Upon the same forenoon, William Sparrow was brought before the bishop, and had the following articles laid to him.

Articles ministred to WILLIAM SPARROW.

FIRST, That thou, William Sparrow, waft in times detected and professedly lawfully unto thy ordinary, the bishop of London, called Edmund, who also is now thine ordinary of the said diocese, and thou waft professed and detected unto him for hereby, errors, and unlawful opinions, which thou didst believe, set forth, and hold.

Secondly, That thou before the said ordinary didst openly and judicially confess the said heresies, errors, and unlawful opinions, as appears plainly in the acts of the court, had and made before the said ordinary.

Thirdly, That thou, after the premises, didst make thy submision in writing, and didst exhibit and deliver the same as thy deed, to thy said ordinary; openly confessing and recognizing thy heresies, errors, unlawful opinions, and thine offences and transgressions in that behalf.

Forthrightly, That thou, after the premises, didst profane unto thy said ordinary, voluntarily and of thine own mind, that always after the said submision, thou wouldst in all points conform thyself unto the common order of the catholic church observed and kept here in this realm of England, and in no wise fall again to heresies, errors, or unlawful opinions.

Fifthly, That thou, since thy said submision, hast willingly fallen into certain heresies and errors, and hath voluntarily commissed certain divers lawfully and truly approved paper, given thee in the great hurt of thine own soul, and also to the great hindrance and loss of several others, especially against the sacrament of the altar, against auricular confession, with the other sacraments of the catholic church.

Sixthly, That thou, since the said commissione, hast willingly and without any special cause, given thyself to divers places within the diocese of London, and sold divers heretical, erroneous, and blasphemous ballads about, and waft apprehended and taken with the said ballads about thee, and committed to prison.

Un the first, second, third, and fourth articles, he answered affirmatively.

To the fifth article he answered, That if he had spoke against them, he had spoke but the truth: for they are taught, meaning the contents of the said article.

To the sixth, he granted to the article, adding, that he did fell the said ballads, and that the same did contain God's word.

After which answers, the said William Sparrow was sent unto prison. And the same day in the afternoon, being in the chancery, and there charged with his said submision made the year before unto the bishop, he answered thus: I am sorry, said he, that ever I made it, and it was the worst deed that ever I did: adding further unto them, Hold up your abomination as long as you can. Also being laid unto him, and charged by the bishop that he went to church, and there was confessed and heard mass: he made answer and confessed, that he did do, but with a troubled conscience, he said, God knoweth.

And being further demanded of Bonner, whether he would persif and continue in the same in the same; he made answer, That he would not go from his opinions: and adding thereunto, he said, That which you call heresy, speaking to the bishop, is good and godly, and if every hair of my head were a man, said he, I would burn them. And so forth.

Then being demanded, What ground of learning he had to cleave to his opinions: he made answer and said, That all the laws now used (meaning the ecclesiastical laws) are taught and abominable. Which words being spoken, the bishop immediately read the sentence of condemnation against him, and so delivered him to the secular power, by whom he was sent to prison again.

An Account of Mr. RICHARD GIBSON, Martyr.

With the other two above named, suffered also in the same fire, Richard Gibson, who first was cast into the Compter, in the Poultry (where he had been prisoner for the space of two years for a fancy in a matter of truth, and then floated upon his deliverance), then upon suspicion and evil will was accused to the bishop, Bonner, because he was never confessed in the prison, nor received at the pope's altar: by reason whereof he was called for, and fulminated divers confessions and examinations in the cause of his faith and religion. But first he seemed to make a certain submission with the others exhibited with the other twenty-eight before mentioned: but because it seemed in words to differ somewhat from the other, it appeared not to be received; or whether it was received or no, it is not fully certain. This is certain, that although his submission was recorded in the bishop's register, yet he was not delivered from imprisonment till the day of his burning.

The greatest matter which he was charged with, was for not coming to confession, being thereunto required, for not attending at the face and persons of the popish making, and for that he would not swear to answer to their interrogatories laid against him.

Notwithstanding after these his first examinations he continued in the prison of the Compter, from the month of May to the month of November, when he was again produced against the final judgment. Whereunto it is noted, that Mr. Gibson being a very big and tall man, of a personable and heroic stature, was sent for by Bonner by a little man, a promoter, like Robin Papil, called Robin Caley.

This person having the conducing of the said gentleman from the Poultry, would needs haul him through Cheapside, the gentleman deferring him to turn some other way. But the more the gentleman interred, the more fierce was he upon him; and drawing and holding him by the arm, would needs haul him through the High-fleet, that all the world might see what he could do in his office. Mr. Gibson, deferring to go without holding, intreated him to let his arm loose, and he would go quietly with him whether he would, or only craving that he might go by him freely without any uproar by the people.

But he saucily answered him, Nay, thou shalt not escape me so, come on thy ways. Thou shalt not chafe but come; and so reaching at his arm, would needs drag him unto the bishop. The gentleman content to go, and so being dragged in his way, and so again and again, that restraining his hold, he would suffer him to go of his own free will, he should not need to fear him, for he would not flint from him. To which he replied, Come on thy way, I will hold thee still, spite of thy beard, and whether thou wilt or no.

Mr. Gibson, who was bound and being greatly moved therewith, could bear no longer: but said, Wilt thou add more? Also, That if he did not immediately pluck away his hand, he would wring his head from his body. Whereupon he let go his hold, and so they proceeded unto the bishop to be examined again before him.

After this, another day being affixed him to appear again, much talked between him and Darbyshire, then chancellor. But in fine, being required to swear that he would answer unto all the articles the said bishop should command as ordinary: For he is not, faith he, mine ordinary, and fo bade him go tell the bishop. Before which bishop, he being then commanded to appear the Friday following, was brought into the Julel, with whom he had great discourse with other divers with the aforesaid bishop and divers other justices. At length he was affixed the Saturday following, to be present at the bishop's consistory court, to hear his final sentence.
sentence. At which day and place, the said examinee appearing as he was commanded, the bishop, after other manner of communication, asked him if he knew any cause why the sentence should not be read against him. To whom Mr. Gibbison anfwered, that the bishop had nothing whereof to condemn him, neither of his life, nor of his mind, nor of his body, nor of his spirit, or of his soul, except of his own conscience, that he had himself been objectified to him, that men said he was an evil man. To whom Gibbison replying again: Yea, faith he, and so fay I say of you also. To be short, after this and such other talk, the bishop halted unto the sentence. Which being read, Bonner yet again admodified him to remember himself, and to fave his soul: he said, that he would not hear the bishop's babblings; and said moreover, boldly protesting and affirming that he was contrary, and an enemy to all in his mind and opinion, although he had before kept it secret in mind, for fear of being objectified. Final and last, he said, faw he, am I, that am curst at your hands. We have nothing now, thus will I: for as the bishop faith, so mug it be. And no hereby is it to turn the wrath of God's word into lies, and that do you, meaning the bishop and his fellows. Thus this valiant folder, fighting for the gospel and sincere doctrine of Christ's truth and religion, against gibbison and error, was committed, with his fellows, to the secular power.

And to these three godly men, John Hallingdale, William Norris, and Mr. Gibbison, being thus appointed to the slaughter, were, the 15th day after their condemnation (which was the 18th day of November), burnt in Smithfield. And being brought thither to the stake, after their prayer made, they were bound thereon with chains, and wound faw unto them, and after wood, fire, in which being encompassed about, and the fiery flames consuming their flesh, at last they yielded cheerfully and joyfully their souls and lives into the holy hands of the Lord, to whose tuition and government I commend these, good reader. Amen.

An Account of the Martyrdom of JOHN ROUGH, Minuter, and MARGARET MEARING, burned at London, December 22.

JOHN ROUGH was born in Scotland, who, as himself confesseth in his answers to Bonner's articles because some of his kinsfolk would have kept him from his right of inheritance which he had to certain lands in a tenement, at the age of fourteen years, in defiance (and rather to displease than otherwise) the professed order of the black friars at Sterling, in Scotland; where he remained the space of sixteen years, until such time as the lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, and governor of the realm of Scotland (as a favour unto him) did apply to the king to be admitted to Andrew's, as to his professed order, that as a secular priest he might serve him for his chaplain. At which request the abbot bishop caused the provincial of that house, having thereto authority, to dispence with him for his habit and tonsure. This fait being thus obtained by the earl, the said Rough remained in his service one whole year: during which time it pleased God to open his eyes, and to give him some knowledge of his truth, and was thereupon by the said governor to preach in the freedom of Ayre, where he continued four years, and then after the death of the cardinal of Scotland, he was appointed to abide at St. Andrew's, and there had afflicted unto him a yearly pension of twenty pounds from Henry the Eighth, king of England. However, at last weighing with himself his dignity, and also abhorring the idolatry and superstition of that realm, he determined the next day after to bring his conscience into the confoltory, there to adjudge and condemn him as an heretic. Which purpose they accomplished: for the twentieth day in the afternoon, in the presence of the bishop of London, and St. David's, with Fecknam, abbot of Westminster, he was there produced. Where, after many persuasions, Bonner read unto him the articles and answers, Berwick, and Newcastle, where he married. From whence he was called by the archbishop of York that then was, unto a benefice in the town of Hull, where he continued till the death of good king Edward VI.

But in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary (perceiving himself void of religion, and the particular that would thereupon, by hearing of a play then now weakens) he fled with his wife into Friezeeland, and dwelt there at a place called Norden, labouring truly for his living, in knitting of caps, hose, and fuch like things, till about the end of the month of October, before his death. In which time he was taking yarn, and other such necessary provision for the maintenance of his occupation, he came over again into England, here to provide for the same, and the tenth day of November arrived at London. Where, hearing of the secret that was made among the holy congregation of God's children there assembled, he joined himself unto them, and afterwards being elected their minifter and preacher, did continue most virtuously exercised in that godly fellowship, teaching and confining them in the truth of the gospel of Christ. But in the end (fuch was the providence of God, who disappointed all things to the hell) the 19th day of December, he with Cuthbert Simfon and others, through the crafty and traitorous sallution of a falsypcorite and dissembling brother, named Roger Serjeant, a taylor, were apprehended by the vice-chamberlain of the green-house, at the Saracen's Head in Aldinaterion; where the congregation had then purposed to assemble themselves to their accumulable exercices of prayer, and hearing the word of God: which pretence, for the safeguard of all the rest, they yet at their examinations could not be extenuated, hearing of a play that was then appointed to be at that place. The vice-chamberlain, after he had apprehended them, carried Rough and Simfon unto the council, who charged them to have assembled together to celebrate the communion of the body and blood of Christ, and for other sundry examinations they sent unto the bishop of London, with a letter signed with their hands: the copy whereof see here follows.

A LETTER

From the Queen's Council to BONNER, Bishop of London, concerning the Examination of JOHN ROUGH, Minifter.

AFTER our hearty commendations to your good lordship, we fend you here included the examination of a Scottifh man, named John Rough, who, by the queen's grace and favour, is just now called to your tribunal, as chief of them that upon Sunday last, under the colour of coming to see a play at the Saracen's Head, at Aldinaterion, had prepared a communion to be celebrated and received there among other certain fidiitious and heretical persons. And forasmuch as by the said Rough's examination, containing the flory and projects of his former life, it well appeared of what sort he was, the queen's highness hath willed us to remit him unto your lordship, to the end that being called before you out of prison, as of your lordship's fhal think good, you may proceed in his further relation, and otherwise ordering of him according to the laws, as the cafe shall require. And thus we bid your lordship heartily well to fale. From St. James's, December 15, 1557. Your lordship's loving friends, Nicholas Ebor, P. Shrewbury, Edward Hallings, Anthony Montague, John Bourne, Henry Iernegam.

Bonner, now minding to make quick dispatch, did, within three days after the reception of the letter, send for Rough out of Newgate, to be examined before him and others: who, when they received his confession, determined the next day after to bring his conscience into the confuttery, there to adjudge and condemn him as an heretic. Which purpose they accomplifhed: for the twentieth day in the afternoon, in the presence of the bishop of London, and St. David's, with Fecknam, abbot of Westminster, he was there produced. Where, after many persuasions, Bonner read unto him the articles and answers,
in which they charged him to have received the orders of the church, and therefore might not marry: and that he had refused to confess to the Latin service then used in the church. Whereunto he then answered and saith, That their orders were nothing at all, and that he being a priest, might not marry, and that children in which he had by his wife were lawful. And concerning the service then used, he utterly defeated it, saying, That if he should live as long as did Methuselah, yet he would never come to the church to hear the abominable mass and other service being as it was then. Upon which words the said Mr. Rough was brought to an examination of the said Mr. Rough; and after condemning him as an heretic, committed his body to the secular power, who taking him into their custody, carried him unto Newgate. Moreover, as touching the said Mr. Rough, this is further to be noted, that he was born in the country in the time of King Edward VI. The cause of saving Dr. Watson’s life (who in queen Mary’s day was bishop of London), for a sermon that he had preached there. The said Watson after that, being with Bonner at the examination of the said Mr. Rough, to require him in saying his life, detected him there to be a pernicious heretic, who did hurt more in the north parts than a hundred besides of his opinion. Unto whom Mr. Rough said, Why, sir, is this the reward I have for saying your life, when you preached erroneous doctrine in the days of king Edward VI.? This Mr. Rough said, he had been three times in the French before he came to Baal: and being before Bonner, among other talk he affirmed, that he had been twice at Rome, and there had seen plainly with his eyes, which he had many times heard of before, namely, that the pope was the very Antichrist; for there he had seen him and his popish rouges, and the false and unlawful sacrament borne before him. Yet there was more reverence given to him, than to that which they counted to be their god. When Bonner heard this, rising up, and making as though he would have torn his garment, Hall shou’d, said he, been at Rome, and there he had seen the Antichrist. And lastly, he spake him after this fort: and with flying upon him, he plucked off a piece of his beard, and after making slyly hate to his death, he burnt him half an hour before six o’clock in the morning, because the day belike should not be far spent before he had done a mischievous deed.

LETTER I.

From JOHN ROUGH, to one of his Friends, enquiring and strenuing him in the Truth, which he had before taught.

The comfort of the Holy Ghost make you able to give consolation to others in thee dangerous days, when Satan is let loose, but to the trial only of the chosen, when it pleaseth our God to use his wheat from the chaff to turn the light before time. I have written the great temptations I have been under. I speak to God’s glory: my care was to have the heavens of my soul open, to perceive the voice of God, saying, Whosoever denieth me before men, will I deny before my Father and his angels. And to live the life corporall, is to lose the life spiritual; and he that will not die with Christ, shall not reign with him. Therefore, most tender ones, I have by God’s Spirit given over the flesh, with the fight of my soul, and the spirit hath the victory. The flesh shall now before it be long, leave off to sin, the spirit shall reign eternally. I have chosen death to confirm the truth by me taught. What can I do more? Consider with yourselves, that I have done it for the confirmation of God’s truth. Pray that I may continue unto the end. The greatest part of the affright is past, I praise my God. I have in all my affairs felt the present aid of my Lord, I give him most hearty thanks therefore. Look not back, nor be ye ashamed of Christ’s gospel, nor of the bonds I have suffered for the same, whereby you may be assured it is the true word of God. The holy ones have been feasted with the same mark. It is no time for the lolling of men in the battle, for the camp to turn back. Up with men’s hearts, down with the daubed walls of hereby. Let one take the banner, and the other the trumpet; I mean not to make corporal refuse, but pray, and ye shall have Elias’s deserts, and Eliez’s company to fight for you. The cause is the Lord’s. Now, my brethren, I can write no more, I am not in a reasonable time, and my heart is wasted with pangs of death is assaulted; but I am at home with the Lord, and yet alive. Pray for me, and salute one another with the kiss of peace. The peace of God rest with you all, Amen. From Newgate prion in halfe, the day of my condemnation. John Rough.

LETTER II.

From JOHN ROUGH, written unto the Congregation two Days before he fell.

The Spirit of consolation be with you, aid you, and make you strong to run to the fight that is before you, wherewithal God in all ages hath tried his elect, and hath found them worthy of himself, by coupling to their head Jesus Christ; in whom, whose dearth to live godly, the same must needs suffer perdition. I am grievously afflicted, which I freely believe, but also to suffer. And the fervent or scholar cannot be greater than his lord and matter: but by the same way the head is entered, the members must follow: no life is in the members which are cut from the body; likewise we have no life but in Christ; for by him we live, and by his grace we are saved. Disputing this my great advantage, I make change of mortality with immortality, of corruption to put no corruption, to make my body like unto the corn cast into the ground, which except it die first, it can bring forth no good fruit. Wherefore death is to me great advantage; for thereby the body casteth from sin, and after turneth in the first original; but after shall be changed, and made brighter than the sun or moon. What shall I write of this corporal death, seeing it is decreed of God, that all men shall once die? Happy are they that die in the Lord, who is to die in the faith of Christ, who die in the faith and confessing the same before many witnesses. I praise God I have passed the said journey by many temptations, the devil is very busy to pervert, the world to entice with promises and fair words: which I omit to write left some might think I did burn with guilt, which is farther from my heart. Lastly, the danger of some false brethren, who before the bishop of London purposed to confess as untrue to my face: yet the God that ruled Balaam, moved their hearts; where they thought to speak to my accustion, he made them speak to my purification. What a journal of days before this day, and what power of days before this day, is it above flesh and blood to bear: but as St. Paul faith, I may do all things in him which worketh in me, Jesus Christ. My course, brethren, have I run, I have fought a good fight, the crown of righteous is laid up for me, my day to receive it is at hand, Pray, brethren, for the enemy doth not sleep. Stand constant unto the end, then shall you posses your souls. Walk worthily in that vocation wherein you are called. Comfort the brethren. Salute one another in my name. Be not ashamed of the gospel of the cross, by me preached, nor yet of me, who am rich in the blood of all men, the same I spake in the first chapter. I go before, I suffer first the baiting of the dogger’s deces; yet I have not done what I should have done; but my weakness, I doubt not, is supplied in the strength of Jesus Christ; and your wisdom and learning will accept the small talent, which I have distributeth to your souls. And if to me afterward: and what was undone, impute that to frailty and ignorance, and with your love cover that which is and was naked in me. God knoweth ye are all tender unto me, my heart burneth for the love of you. Ye are not without the great power of your soul, who do love me, that if men were not to be bought out, (as God be praised there is no want of men) he would cause them to minster unto you. Cast your care on that rock, the wind of temptation shall not prevail: fast and pray, for the days are evil. Look up with your eyes of hope for the redemption of the soul, be not baulked at the hearse (as I desere to believe that I shall not see it). And also that which is behind the blood of our brethren, which shall be
be laid under the altar, shall cry for your relief. Time will now suffer me to write long letters. The Spirit of God guide you in and out, rising and sitting, cover you with the shadow of his wings, defend you against the tyranny of the wicked, and bring you happily unto the port of eternal felicity, where all tears shall be wiped from your eyes, and you shall always abide with the Lamb.

JOHN ROUGH.

An Account of MARGARET MEARING, Martyr.

It is before related, that in the company of John Rough, was burned one Margaret Mearing, who, as the register maketh mention, was at one time and day brought with the said Rough forth to examination: where the bishop having no private matters to charge against her, did the 8th day of December object against her those common and accustomable articles mentioned before, to which the answer was as follows.

1. That there is here on earth a catholic church, and that there is the true faith of Christ observed and kept in the same church.

2. Item, That there were only two sacraments in the church, namely, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism.

3. Item, That she was baptized in the faith and belief of the said church, renouncing there, by her godfathers and godmothers, the devil and all his works, &c.

4. Item, That when the came to the age of fourteen years, she did not know what her true belief was; because she was then of discretion to understand the same, neither yet was taught it.

5. Item, That she had not gone from the catholic faith at any time; but the said that the massa was abominable before the face of God, and before the light of all true christian people, and that it is the plain cup of fornication, and the whore of Babylon. And concerning the sacrament of the altar, she said, that she believed there was no such sacrament in the catholic church. Also the said, that the utterly abhorred the authority of the bishop of Rome, with all the religion observed in the same Antichrist's church.

6. Item, She answered to the 6th article, as to the fifth, before specified.

7. Item, That the said refused to come to her parish church, because the true religion of Christ was not then used in the same; and further said, that she had not come unto the church for the space of one year and three quarters then last past, neither yet did mean any more to come unto the same in those idolatrous days.

8. Item, At touching the manner of her apprehension, the said, That Cluney, the bishop's sufferer, did fetch her to the bishop.

These answers being then registred, they were again (with the said articles) propounded against her the 20th day of December, and there being demanded if she would stand unto these her answers, she said, I will stand to them unto death; for the very angels of heaven do laugh you to scorn, to see your abomination that you use in the church. After which words, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against her; and then delivering her unto the thirlris, she was, with the before-mentioned John Rough carried unto Newgate. From whence they were both together led unto Smithfield, the 2nd of December, and there most joyfully gave their lives for the profession of Christ's gospel.

C H A P. II.
Continuation of the Persecution of PROTESTANTS during the Reign of QUEEN MARY I., with the providential Deliverances of many from their cruel Enemies the PAPISTS.

An Account of the Sufferings and cruel Torments of CUTBERT SYMONS, Deacon of the Christian Congregation in London.

CUTBERT SYMONS was a man of a faithful and zealous heart to Christ and his true flock, infomuch that he never censured the labours, and studying most earnestly, not only to live singlely life, but popish religion, but also his care was very vigilant, how to keep them together without danger or peril of persecution. The pains, travail, zeal, patience, and fidelity of this man, in caring and providing for this congregation, as it is not easily to be expressed, so it is wonderful to behold the providence of the Lord by vision, concerning the troubles of this faithful minister and godly deacon, as in this here following may appear.

The Friday night before Mr. Rough, minifter of the congregation (of whom mention was made before), was taken, being in his bed he dreamed, that he saw two of the guards leading Cutbert Symon, deacon of the said congregation, and that he had the book about him, wherein were written the names of all them which were of the congregation. Whereupon, being, for his troubles awake, and called his wife, saying, Kate, strike a light, for I am much troubled with my brother Cutbert this night. When the had done, he began to read in his book a while, and there feeling sleep to come upon him, he put out the candle, and so gave himself again to rest. Being asleep, he dreamed the like dream again; and, awaked therewith, he said, Oh, Kate, my brother Cutbert groaned and was again wide awake. And, as the said Mr. Rough was making him ready to go to Cutbert to see how he did, in the mean time the said Cutbert came in with the book containing the names and accounts of the congregation. Whom when Mr. Rough had seen, said he, Brother Cutbert, you are welcome; for I have been sore troubled with you this night, and for him his dream. After he had done, he defird him to lay the book away from him, and to carry it no more about him. Unto which Cutbert answered, he would not so do; for dreams, he said, were but fancies, and not to be credited. Then Mr. Rough most fiercely charged him in the name of the Lord to do it. Whereupon the said Cutbert took such notes out of the book as he had defird him to do, and immediately left the book with Mr. Rough's wife.

The next night following, the said Mr. Rough had another dream in his sleep, concerning his own trouble. The matter whereof was this: he thought in his dream that he was carried himself forcibly to the bishop, and that the bishop pluck'd off his beard, and cast it into the fire, saying these words, Now I may say I have had a piece of an heretick burnt in my house, and so according it came to pass.

Now to return to Cutbert again; as we have touched something concerning these visions, so now remaineth to mention his pains and sufferings upon the rack, and otherwise, like a good Laurence for the congregation's sake, as he wrote it with his own hand.

A true Account how he was used in the Tower of London, being sent thither by the Council, the 12th Day of December.

On the Thursday after, I was called into the Warder's house, before the constable of the Tower, and the 7 Q
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS. [Q.MARY.A.D. 1559]

recorder of London, Mr. Cholmley; they commanded me to tell, whom I did will to come to the English service. I answered, I would declare nothing. Whereupon I was set for in a rack of iron, the space of three hours, as I judged.

Then they asked me if I would tell them. I answered as before. Then was I loosed, and carried to my lodging again. On the Sunday after I was brought into the same place again, and there examined by the recorder of London, and they examined me. As before I had, I said, I answered. Then the lieutenant did swear by God I should tell. Then did they bind my two fore fingers together, and put a small arrow between them, and drew it through so that the blood followed, and the arrow brake.

Then they racked me twice. Then was I carried to my lodging again, and ten days after the lieutenant asked me if I would not confess that which they had before asked me. I answered, I had said as much as I would. Then five weeks after he sent me unto the high priest, where I was greatly assaulted, and at whose hand I received the pope's curse, for bearing witness of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And thus I commended you unto God, and to the word of his grace, with all them that unfeignedly sought the same. I say unto you, lead God hath confided mercy, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus Christ, to bring us all to his everlasting kingdom, Amen. I praise God for his great mercy he showed unto us. Sing Hallelujah unto the highest with me Cutbert Symon. God forgive me my fins. - all them and for all sins that are in me, and all the world, and thus I leave this world, in hope of a joyful resurrection.

A Note of CUTBERT SYMSON's Patience.

Now as touching this Cutbert Symon, this is further to be noticed, that Bonner in his consistory, speaking of Cutbert Symson, gave this testimony of him there to the people, saying, You see this man, full of the power of God, and of the spirit of God, and of the grace of God, which in him, he was a man of the great patience that ever yet came before me: for I tell you, he hath been three racked upon one day in the Tower. Also in his house he hath felt some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience broken, &c.

It is sought and said by some, that that arrow which was grated between his fingers, being tied together, was not in the Tower, but in the bishop's house.

The 4th day also declaratory of God, Cutbert Symson, after his painful racking, should go to his commutation before Bonner to be burned, being in the stocks in the bishop's coal-house, he had a very strange vision or apparition, which he himself with his own mouth declared to that learned man Mr. Aufen, to his own wife, and Thomas Symson, and to others besides, in the prison of Newgate a little before his death. The relation whereof I stand in no little doubt whether to report abroad or not, considering with myself the great diversity of men's judgments, by the reading of other martyrs, and by the frequency of racking I will not believe it, some will desire the same, some also will be offended with setting forth such uncertain things of that sort, éleeming all things to be uncertain and incredible which appear any way strange from the common order of nature.

Others will be perhaps grieved, thinking with themselves, or elic't thus reasoning with me, that although the matter were as is reported, yet, farasmuch as the common error of believing those rath miracles, fantasies, visions, dreams, and apparitions, thereby must be confirmed, it is thought more expedient for the fame to be omitted.

Thereof, and such like, will be, I know, the sayings of many. Whereunto I briefly answer, granting first, and admiring what was reported of Badl. Not every dream is inspired of a prophet. Again, neither am I ignorant that the papists in their books and legends of saints have their prodigious visions and apparitions of angels, of our lady, of Christ, and other saints; which as I will not admit to be believed as true; so will they ask me, why then they must require more to be credited by them, than theirs by us.

First, I write not this, to oblige any man precisely to believe the same, as they do their's, but only report as it hath been heard of persons known, naming also the person, on whom they reported it. Leaving the judgment thereof notwithstanding free unto the entertainment of the reader. Although it is no good argument, proceeding from the singular or particular, to the universal, to say that visions be not true in some: Ergo, none are true in none. If any shall mulct, or object again, Why should such visions be given to him, or a few other singular persons, more than to all the rest, seeing the others were in the same cause and guerd, and died also martyrs as well as he? To this I say, concerning the Lord's times and doings I have not to meddle nor make, who may work where and when it please him. And what if the Lord thought chieflie above the others with singular connexion to reform him, who is chiefly above the other, and singularly did fuller more exquisite corruptions for his fake? What great marvel herein? As if the Lord of the secrets I have not to reason. This only which hath out of the man's own mouth been received, so as I received it of the parties, I thought here to communicate to the reader, for him to judge thereof as God shall rule his mind.

The matter is this. The day before Symson was condemned, he being in the stocks, Cluney, his keeper, cometh in with the keys about nine o'clock at night (after his usual manner) to view his prison, and see whether all were present, who when he espied the said Cutbert to be there, departed again, locking the doors of the stocks after him. Within two hours after, about eleven o'clock toward midnight, the said Cutbert (whether being in a flumber, or being awake) cannot say) heard one coming in, first opening the outward door, then the second, after the third door, and one Marp, who is a man of a cowardly turn and torched that he could flee, but giving a brightnes and light most comfortable and joyful to his heart, saying unto him, Ha, and departed again. Who it was he could not tell, neither dare I define. This that he saw himself declared four or five times to the said Mr. Aufen, and to others. At the flight whereof he received such joyful comfort, that he also expresst with no little face in telling and declaring the fame.

A LETTER

From CUTBERT SYMSON to his Wife, written in the Coal-House.

DEARLY beloved in the Lord Jesu Christ, I cannot write as I do with unto you. I beseech you with my soul, commit yourself under the mighty hand of our God, trusting in his mercy, and he will surely help us, as shall be most unto his glory and our everlasting comfort, being sure of this, that he will suffer nothing to come unto us, but that shall be profitable for us.

For the collection for our fins, or a trial of our faith, or to set forth his glory, or for all together, and therefore must needs be well done. For there is nothing that cometh unto us by fortune or chance, but by our heavenly Father's providence. And therefore pray unto our heavenly Father, that he will give us his grace to consider it. Let us give him most hearty thanks for these his fatherly corrections; for as many as he loveth he correcteth. And I beseech you now be of good cheer and count the crost of Christ greater riches, than all the vain pleasures of the world. I do not doubt (I praise God for it), but that you have suffered with Christ at his Maundy, I mean, believe in him: for that is the effect, and then must you drink of his cup, I mean his crost (for that doth the crost signify unto us). Take the cup and with a good loochast, in the name of God, and then shall you before have the good wine, Christ's blood, to thy poor thirsty soul. And when you have
Ms. Thos. Hinshaw scourged by Bishop Bonner in his Orchard at Fulham.
The Martyrdom of HUGH FOXE and JOHN DEVENISH.

WITH Cutbert Symson likewise were apprehended and also suffered Hugh Foxe and John Devenish; who being brought unto their examinations with the said Cutbert, before Bonner, bishop of London, March 19, had articles and interrogatories ministrated unto them by the said officer.

The general Answers of CUTBERT SYMSON, HUGH FOXE, and JOHN DEVENISH, to the Articles propounded to them by the Bishop.

To the first article they all answered affirmatively: but John Devenish added, That that church is grounded upon the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head corner-stone, and how in that church there is the true faith and truth. To the second article they all confessed and believed. That in Christ's catholic church, there are but two sacraments, namely, baptism and the supper of the Lord; otherwise they do not believe the contents of this article to be true in any part thereof.

To the third, fourth, and fifth articles they all answered affirmatively.

To the sixth article they all answered, and denied to acknowledge the authority of the see of Rome to be lawful and good, or yet his religion.

To the seventh article they all answered affirmatively, that they have and will do still while they live; and John Devenish adding thereto, said that the sacrament of the altar, as it is now used, is no sacrament at all.

To the eighth article they all confessed, and believed all things above them acknowledged and declared to be true, and that they are of the diocese of London, and jurisdiction of the same.

These three above-named persons, Symson, Foxe, and Devenish, as they were altogether apprehended at Lillington, so they all three suffered together in Smithfield, about the 23 day of March, in whole perfect contenance the said Lord (in whose cause and quarrel they suffered) giver of all grace, and governor of all things, be exalted for ever. Amen.

An Account of the Martyrdom of WILLIAM SEAMAN, THOMAS CARMAN, and THOMAS HUDSON, at Norwich, in the County of Norfolk.

IMMEDIATELY after William Nicholl, succeeded in that honourable and glorious vocation of martyrdom three containing persons at Norwich, in Norfolk, who were cruelly put to death for the true testimony of Jesus Christ, the 19th of May, 1558, whose names are these: William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson.

William Seaman was an husbandman, of the age of 26 years, dwelling in Mendeham, in the county of Suffolk, who was divers times suffered at the command of Sir John Tyrell, knight, and at last he himself sear'd his house and other places for him; notwithstanding he somewhat mislaid of his purpose, God be praised. This Tyrell ordered Seaman to be delivered to William Baulding and James Clarke, with others, to seek for him. They, having no officer, went in the evening to his house, he being at home, took him and carried him to their master, Sir John Tyrell. This Baulding being Seaman's near neighbour, and of whom Seaman trusted as an extraordinary friend, notwithstanding, to do his master a pleasure, now became an enemy to his chief friend, and was one of the bulifst in the taking of him. And as they were going to carry him to their master, Sir John Tyrell, in the night, it is credibly reported that there fell a light between them out of the elements, and parted them, this Baulding being in company with the rest when the light fell; and although he was then in the prime of his age, yet after that time never enjoyed a good day, but pine away even unto death.

Well, for all that strange fight (as I said), they carried him to their master. Who, when he came, asked him why he would not go to mass, and receive the sacrament, and so worship it? To which William Seaman answered (denying it to be a sacrament) and said, It was an idol, and that he would not receive it. After which words Sir John Tyrell sent him to Norwich, to Hopton, then bishop, and there after conference and examination had with him, the bishop read his bloody testimony of condemnation against him; and afterwards delivered him to the secular power, who kept him till the day of martyrdom.

The said William Seaman left behind him, when he died, a wife and three children very young; and with the said young children his wife was persecuted out of the said town of Mendeham, because she would not go to hear mass, and all her corn and goods seized and taken away, by Mr. Christophere Cole's officers, he being lord of the said town.

Thomas Carman, (who, as is said, pleaded Richard Craffinfield, and the foregoing was apprehended), being prisoner in Norwich, was one time with the rest examined and brought before the said bishop, who answered no less in his Master's cause than the others; and therefore had the like reward that the others had, which was the bishop's bloody bleeding of condemnation, and delivered to the secular power, who kept him with the others until the day of slaughter, which was not long after.

Thomas Hudson was of Aisleham, in Norfolk, by his occupation a harper; who was married to a wife and three children, labouring always truly and diligently in his vocation, being thirty years of age, and bearing to good a will to the gospel, that he in the days of king Edward the Sixth, two years before queen Mary's reign learned to read English of Antony and Thomas Nickoll, at the same town, wherein he greatly profited about the time of the alteration of religion:
for when queen Mary came to reign, and had changed
the service of the church, putting in for wheat, chaff,
and darnel, and for good preaching, blasphemous crying
against truth and godliness, he was allowed, all
their ceremonies of superstition, abated himself from
his house, and went into Suffolk a long time, and then
remained travelling from one place to another, as occa-
sion offered. At last he returned back to his house at
Aylsham, where his wife and children, being holy
and troublefree with his absence.

Now when he came home, and perceived his con-
tinuance there would be dangerous, he and his wife de-
volved to make him a place among his fidgets to hide
himself in, to the he remained all the days of this
punishment, for the space of half a year, and his wife,
yike an honest woman being careful for him, used
herself faithfully and diligently towards him.

In the mean time came the vicar of the town (who
was one of the bishop's commissaries, a very wicked man,
and inquired of Thomas Hudson's wife for her husband.
Unto whom she answered, as not knowing where he was.
Then the said Berry waxed angry, and threatened to burn
her, because she would not tell where her husband was.
After that when Hudson understood it, he grew every
day more and more upon this business, and continually read
and sung plains, the people openly referring to him, to hear
his exhortations and prayers.

At last he walked abroad for certain days openly in
the town, crying out continually against the mafs and all
the company, and in the end coming home to his
house, he sat him down, having his book by him, read-
ing and singing plains continually without ceasing, for
days three and three nights together, to the great won-
der of many.

Then one John Crouch, his next neighbour, went to
the constables, Robert Marsham and Robert Lawes, in
the night, to certify them thereof: for Berry commanded
openly to watch for him, and the constables understand-
ing the fame, went to catch him at break of day, the
23d of April, 1558.

And when. Hudson saw them come in, he said, Now
mine hour is come: welcome friends, welcome.
You be they that shall lead me to life in Christ. I thank
God for it, and the Lord enable me thereto for his
mercy's sake. Then they took him and led him to Berry,
the commissary, who was vicar of the town, and the
said Berry accused him; first, Where kept his church
for four years before? To which the said Hudson
answered thus: Wherefore he was, there was the
church.

Doth not then believe, said Berry, in the sacrament
of the Mass? What is it?

Hudson. It is worms meat: my belief is in Christ
crucified.

Berry. Doth thou not believe the mafs to put away
sin?

Hudson. No, God forbid; it is a patched monster,
and a digugled puppy, more tedious a pieceing than
ever was Solomon's temple.

At which words Berry flamed, fumed, and flewed
himself as a madman, and said, Well, thou villain, thou
will write against the bishop, my god, the lord, and truth
unto, thou shalt be delivered accordingly to thy defects.
O, sir, said Hudson, there is no Lord but God, though
there be many lords and many gods. With that Berry
thrust him back with his hand. And one Richard
Cliffrar, standing by, said, I pray you, sir, be good to
the poor man. At which words Berry was more mad
than before, and would have had Cliffrar bound in a
recognizance of forty pounds for his good behaviour
both in word and deed; but his defile took no effect.
Then he asked Hudson whether he would recant, or
not. For no purpose to persuade him, took his pen and ink,
and wrote letters to the bishop thereof, and sent this Hudson
to church, where he wasarraigned and condemned. The Lord forbid! He
had rather die many deaths than do so.

Then after long talk, the said Berry, seeing it to no
purpose to persuade him, took his pen and ink, and
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had rather die many deaths than do so.
The Apprehension of certain guilty Men and Women, praying together in the Fields about Ilinton.

SECRETLY in a back clofe in a field by Ilinton, were gathered together a company of innocent persons, to the number of forty men and women. Who in private feven weeks; and before they were excaped in the meditation of God's holy word, first cometh a certain man to them unknown, who looking over unto them, flayed and faluted them, faying, that they looked like men that meant no hurt. Then one of the faid company afked the man if he could tell whole clofe that was, and whether they might be left to fit there. Yea, faid he, becaufe ye feem to be fuch perfonas as in tended no harm; and fo departed. Within a quarter of an hour after, came the confable of Ilinton, named King, with fix or feven more, one with a bow, another with a bident, and the reft with weapons. Six or feven of this company were left behind in a private place, to be ready in cafe they were wanted, while the confable, and one with him went before to view them; they both went amongt them, looking and viewing what they were doing, and what books they had; and going a little forward, and retuming back again, ordered them to deliver their books. They understanding that he was a confable, refused not fo to do. Then came up the reft of their fellows before-mentioned, who bade them fland and not depart. They answered again, they would be ready to deliver what they would have them, and they were first carried to a brewhoufe at a small distance, while some of the company went to the nearest justice; but he being not at home, they were carried before Sir Roger Cholmley. In the mean time some of the women escaped away from them, some in the clofe where they sat, and others before they came to the brewhoufe. For foy they were carried, ten with one man, eight with another, with fome more, with others lefs, in fuch a manner as it was not hard for them to escape that would. In fine, they that were in the clofe Sir Roger Cholmley, were twenty-feven, and Sir Roger and the recorder taking their names in a bill, and calling them one by one, fo many as answerfed to their names he lent to Newgate, which were twenty-two out of twenty-feven. They continued in prison seven weeks; and before they were examined, word was fent by Alexander, the keeper, that if they would hear a mas, they fhou'd all be delivered, but thirteen of them were burnt, feven in Smithfield, and fix at Brentford; two died in prifon; and the other feven, with much trouble (though God's providence) efcape d. Their names were thefe:

John Willes, Hudleys,
Thomas Hinshaw, T. Coft, haberdasher,
R. Baily, woolpacker, Roger Sandy.
Robert Willes,

The names of the feven martyrs that were apprehended amongst others, in the clofe at Ilinton, and afterwards burnt in Smithfield, were as follows:

Henry Pond,
John Floyd,
Rainol Eaaland,
John Holiday,
Robert Southam,
Roger Holland.
Matthew Ricarby,

These feven godly men had several articles adminiftered to them by bishop Bonner, in the usual forms to which they returned their answers, and which served to acknowledge the doctrine of the Romish church,

By the King and Queen.

WHEREAS divers books, filled both with hereby, sedition, and treason, have of late, and be daily brought into this realm out of foreign countries and places beyond the seas, and some also covertly printed within this realm, are dangerously spread abroad, whereby not only God is dishonoured, but also an encouragement given to disobeoy lawful princes and governors: the king and queen's majesties, for redress thereof, do by this their present proclamation declare and publish to all their loving subjects, that whatsoever, shall, after the proclaiming hereof, be found to have any of the said wicked and fetidious books, or finding them do not forthwith burn the same, without shewing or reading the same, or any other person, shall in that cafe be reputed and taken as a rebel, and shall without delay be executed for that offence, according to the order of martial law.

Given at our manor of St. James's, June the sixth. J ohn CAWOOD, Printer.
church were altogether condemned, the sentence being read against them, and to all fevers by circular magistrates being sent to Newgate the 17th of June, not long after, about the 27th of the same month brought with them and there ended their lives in the glorious cause of Christ's gospel. Their particular examinations never came to our hands, except only those of Roger Holland, which here follow in the order and manner as we have received them by the information of some that were present at the same.

The Examination and Condemnation of ROGER HOLLAND.

THIS Roger Holland, a merchant-taylor of London, was first an apprentice with one Mr. Kemp ton, at the Black Boy in Watling-street, where he served his apprenticeship with much trouble to his master, in breaking him of the licentious liberty which he had before been trained in, and brought up in, giving himself to riot, as dancing, fencing, gaming, banquetting, and wanton company; and besides all this, being a stubborn and an obstinate papist, far unlike to come to any such end as God called him unto.

His master, notwithstanding his misdeeds, trusted him with goods, and on one occasion he received the sum of thirty pounds for his master, and falling into ill company, lost every great at dice, being past all hope which way to answer it, and therefore he purposed to convey himself beyond the seas, either into France or Flanders.

Having determined with himself thus to do, he called betimes in the morning on a servant in the house, an ancient and discreet maid, whose name was Elizabeth, who professed the gospel, with a life agreeing unto the same, and at all times by her counsel and rebuking the wilful and obstinate papistry, as also the licentious living of this Roger Holland. To whom he said, Elizabeth, I would I had followed thy gentle persuasions and friendly rebukes; which if I had done, I had never come to this flame and misery which I am now fallen into; for this I have lost thirty pounds of my master's money, which to pay him and to make up mine accounts I am not able. But this much, I pray you, define my misdeeds, that she entreated my master to take this note of my hand, that I am thus much indebted to him; and if I am ever able, I will fee him paid, defining him that the matter may pass with silence, and that none of my kindred and friends may ever understand this my deed part: for if it should come to my father's ears, it would bring his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave; and I am sure he deplores it. This he considering that it might be his utter ruin, Stay, said she; and having a sum of money by which, which was left her by a kinsman at his death, who was thought to be Dr. Redman, she brought unto him thirty pounds, saying, Roger, here is thus much money, I will let thee have it, and I will keep this note. But since I do thus much for thee, to help thee, and to have thy honestly, thou shalt promise me to refuse all law and wild company, all lewdness and ribaldry talk; and if ever I know thee to play one twelvemaster at either dice or cards, thou shalt promise me to go to this my master daily.

And furthermore thou shalt promise me to report every day to the lecturer at All-hallows, and the sermon at St. Paul's every Sunday, and to call away all thy books of popery and vain ballads, and get thee the Tellam and book of servises, and read the scriptures with reverence and fear, calling unto God still for his grace to direct thee in his truth. And pray fervently to God, defining him to pardon thy former offences, and not to remember the sins of thy youth; and ever be afraid to break his laws, or offer thy life, but shail God keep thee, and I will defend thee in thy heart's desire.

After this time, within one half year God had wrought such a change in this man, that he was become an earnest professor of the truth, and detested all popery and ill company; so that he was in admiration to all them that had known him, and seen his former life and wickedness.

Then he repaired to his father in Lancaster, and brought divers good books with him, and believed them and his friends, to the last he and others began to take the sweetemies of the gospel, and left the masses, idolatry, and superstition; and in the end his father gave him fifty pounds to begin the world with.

The he came to London again, and went to the maid that lent him the money to pay his master what he paid unto her, Elizabeth, here is thy money I borrowed of thee, and for the friendship, good will, and good council I have received at thy hands, to recommence them to thee; not able, otherwise than by taking thee to be my wife; and soon after they were married, and he was in the first year of queen Mary. And having a child by her, he caused Mr. Royle to baptize it in his own house. Notwithstanding he was betrayed to the enemies, and he being gone into the country to convey the child away, that the papists should not have it in their anointing hands, Binner caused his goods to be seized on, and most cruelly fled his wife.

After this he remained cloisterly in the city, and in the country, in the congregations of the faithful, until the last year of queen Mary. Then he with the fives others before-named, were taken in, or not far from St. John's Wood, and so brought to Newgate upon May-day in the morning, 1558.

Then being called before the bishop, Dr. Chedsey, both the Harpsfield, and certain others, after many other and crafty perusals of Dr. Chedsey, allure him to their Babylonical church; thus the bishop began with him.

Holland, I for my part do well with you, and the more for thy friend's sake. And as Dr. Smith tells me, you and you were both born in one parish, and he knowest thy father to be a very honest catholic gentleman: and Mr. Docto told me that he talked with you a year ago; and found you very wilfully addicted to your own conceit. Divers of the city also have written many letters to you, that have been a great procurer of men's servants to be of your religion, and to come to your congregations; but since you are in the danger of the law, I would wish you to write a man's part: so shall you not want any favour I can do or procure for you, both for your own sake, and also for your friends, who are men of worship and credit, and with you well, and by my troth, Roger, do I.

Then said Mr. Egglestone, a gentleman of Lancashire, and near kinsman to Roger, being there present, I thank you my good lordship, your honour meancheth more unto me, and that you bereave God he have the grace to follow from your counsel.

Holland, Sir, you crave of God you know not what. I bequeath to God open your eyes to see the light of your word.

Egglestone, Roger, hold your peace, left you for the worse at my lord's hands.

Holland, No, I shall fare as it pleaseth God, for man can do no more than God doth permit him.

Then the bishop and the doctors, with Johnstone, the regifter, calling their heads together, in the end told Johnstone, Roger, how far ye? wilt thou submit thyself unto my lord, before thou be entered into the book of contempt?

Holland, I never meant but to submit myself unto the magistrates, as I learnt of St. Paul to the Romans, chap. xiii, and to him recited the text.

Chedsey, Then I see you are no anabaptist.

Holland, I mean not yet to be a papist; but the anabaptists agree in this point, not to submit themselves to any other prince or magistrate, that made that must first be learning to maintain them and their doctrine.

Chedsey, Roger, remember what I have said, and also what my lord hath promis'd, he will perform with further friendship. Take heed, Roger, for thy life.

Holland, I have this enough by your lordship.

Dr. Docto, I have yet your words in memory, though they are of no such force to prevail with me.
HE day that Henry Pond and the rest were brought forth to be again examined, Dr. Chedlsey said, Roger, you have now better considered of the church than you did before.

Holland. I consider thus much: that out of the church there is no salvation, as divers ancient doctors say.

Bonner. That is well said. Mr. Egglestone, I trust your kinman will be a good catholic man. But, Roger, you mean, I trust, the church of Rome.

Holland. I mean that church which hath Christ for her head; which also hath his word and his sacraments according to his word and institution.

Then Chedlsey interrupted him and said, Is that a Tefament you have in your hand?

Holland. Yea, Mr. Doctor, it is a New Testament. You will find no fault with the translation (I think). It is your own translation; it is according to the great Bible.

Bonner. How say you? How do you know that it is the Tefament of Christ, but only by the church? For the church of Rome hath and doth preserve it, and out of the same hath made decrees, ordinances, and true expostion.

No (faith Roger), the church of Rome hath and doth suppres the reading of the Tefament. And what a true expostion, I pray you, did the pope make thereof, when he set his foot on the emperor's neck, and said, Thou shalt walk upon the lion and the dragon shall thou tread under thy foot, Psalms xcii.

Then said the bishop, Such unlearned wild heads as thou and others, would be expostors of the scripures. Would you then the ancient learned (as there are some here as well as I) should be taught of you?

Holland. Youth delighteth in vanity. My wildnes hath been somewhat the more by your doctrine, than ever I learned out of this book of God. But (my lord) I suppose some old doctors say, if a poor layman bring his reason and argument out of the word of God, he is to be credited before the learned, though they be ever so much great doctors. For the gift of knowledge was taken from the learned doctors, and given to poor fishermen.

Notwithstanding, I am ready to be instructed by the church.

Bonner. That is very well said, Roger. But you must understand that the church of Rome is the catho-...
lie church, Roger, for thy friend's fake (I promise thee) I will thee well, and I mean to do thee good. Keeper, fee he want nothing. Roger, if thou lackest any money to pleasure thee, I will thee that he want not. This he spake unto him alone, his companions being one or other fair promiss, and he was sent to prison again.

The left Examination of Roger Holland was, when he be with his fellow-prisoners were brought into the consistory, and there all excommunicated except Roger, and ready to have their sentence of judgment given, with many threatening words and words of fright them with, fr Mr. Jarret, Mr. Eglestone, cfo; and divers others of worship, both of Cheshire and Lancashire, that were Roger Holland's kinsmen and friends, being there present, who had been earnest factors to the bishop in his favour, hoping for his safety of life. Now the bishop hoping yet to win him with his fair and flattering words, began after this manner.

Bonner. Roger, I have divers times called thee before me at my own house, and have condescended with thee, and been much pleas'd in the Latin tongue, it doth appear unto me that thou hast a good memory, and very felicitous in talk, but something over hally, which is a natural impediment incident to some men. And therefore they are not the worth men naturally. For myself I am now, and these are but hally, but mine anger is soon over. So, Roger, first I have a good opinion of you, that you will not with these fellows cast yourself headlong from the church of your parents and your friends that are here, very good catholics (as it is reported unto me). And as I mean thee good, I do, Roger, play the wise man's part, and come home with the bold fan, and say, I have run into the church of schismatics and heretics, from the catholic church of Rome; and you shall, I warrant you, not only find favour at God's hands, but the church that hath authority shall absolve you, and put new garments upon you, and kill the failing to make thee good cleer withal, that is, in so doing, as meat doth refresh, and cherish the mind, fo that thou find as much quietness of conscience in coming home to the church, as did the hungry lion that had been fed before with the hogs, as you have done with these heretics that fever themselves from the church. I give them a homely name, but they be worce (putting his hand to his cap out of reverence) than hogs: for they know the church, and will not follow it. If I should say thus much to a Turnip, a Turnip (he belted) before me, Roger, if I did not bear thee and thy friends good will, I would not have said so much as I have done, but I would have let mine ordinary alone with you. At these words his friends there present thanked the bishop for his good will, and for the pains he had taken in his and their behalf.

Then the bishop proceeded, saying, Well, Roger, how say you? Do you not believe, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth the body of Christ really and corporally, in the form of bread and wine, I mean the self-same body as was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified upon the cross, that rose again the third day. Holland, Your lordship faith, the same body which was born of the Virgin Mary, which was crucified upon the cross, the bishop, I perceive my lord's good will will not prevail, and if I should argue with thee, thou art so willful (as all thy fellows be, standing in thine own singularity and faulch conceit), that thou wouldst still talk to no purpose this seven years, if thou mightest he the bishop for a prize, but whether thou wilt confute the real and corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, or wilt not?
THESE six martyrs were of the company of those who were apprehended in a close, near Ilington (as is before mentioned), and sent to prison. Whose names are here follow:

Robert Mills,
Stephen Cotton,
Stephen Wight,
William Pikes, alias
Robert Dyce,
John Slade,
Pikes the tanner.

These six martyrs were burnt at Brentford, seven miles from London, on the 2d day of July, 1558. They had their articles ministered to them by T. Darbishire, Bonner’s chancellor, on sundry times, to which they made their affirmors much after the same manner as others have done before.

When these good men came before Bonner’s chancellor, Thomas Darbishire, and had the articles ministered unto them, and they answered unto the same; in the end the chancellor commanded them to appear before him again the 3d day of July, at St. Paul’s. Where when they came, he required of them, whether they would turn from their opinions to the holy mother church; and if not, then whether there were any cause to the contrary, but that he might proceed with the sentence of condemnation. Whereunto they all answered, That they would not go from the truth, nor relent from any part of the same while they lived. Then he charged them to appear before him again the next day in the afternoon, between one and two o’clock, to hear the definitive sentence read against them according to the ecclesiastical laws then in force. At which time he fitting in judgment, talking with those godly and virtuous men, at last came into the said chancellors, sir Edward Hatfields, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, whom after he had read the same, and being there, they sat them down over against the chancellor, in whose presence the chancellor condemned those poor innocent lambs, and delivered them over to the secular power, who received and carried them to prison immediately, and there kept them in safety till the day before the burning.

In the mean time this naughty chancellor slept not, I warrant you, but that day in which they were condemned, he made a certificate unto the lord chancellor’s office, from whence the next day after a writ was sent to burn them at Brentford, which accordingly was accomplished. Whereunto bringing, they made their humble prayers to the Lord Jesus, underefted themselves, went joyful to the stake, whereunto they were bound, and the fire flaming about them, they yielded their souls, bodies, and lives into the hands of the omnipotent God, for whole cause they did suffer, and to whose protection and help they committed them. Amen.

Among those six was one William Pikes, a tanner (as you have heard), who some time dwelt in Ipswich, a very godly man, and of a virtuous disposition, a good keeper of hospitality, and beneficial to the percelled in queen Mary’s days. In the third year of that queen, Mary, a little after Midsummer, he (then being at liberty) went into his garden, and took with him a bible of Rogers’s translation, where he, fitting with his face towards the South, reading in the said bible, suddenly there fell between eleven and twelve o’clock, at midday, four drops of fresh blood upon the bible, and he knew not from whence it came. At which he was for astonishment, and could by no means learn (as I said) from whence it should fall; and wiping out one of the drops with his finger, he called his wife and said, Is the virtue of God, wife, what meaneth this? Will the Lord have four sacrifices? I see well enough the Lord will have blood: his will be done, and give me grace to abide the trial. Wife, let us pray, for I fear the day draweth nigh. Afterwards he daily expected to be apprehended, and it came to pass accordingly, as you have heard. Thus much I thought good to write, in order to stir us up all minds in considering the wonderful works of the Lord, and reverently to honour the same.

When he was so fickle in Newgate that nobody expected him to live six hours, he expressed a great desire of martyrdom, saying, that he had been twice in perfection before, and that now he desired the Lord, if it were his will, that he might glorify his name at the stake; and so as he prayed it came to pass at Brentford.

*Veritas upon Bonner’s Effigy.*

**MUSE,** not so much that nature’s work

Is thus deformed now:

With belly blown, and head so swoln,

For I shall tell you how:

This cannibal in three years space

Two hundred martyrs flew:

They were his food, he lov’d his blood,

He feared none he killed.

It should appear that blood feeds fat,

If men lie well and fast:

For Bonner’s belly wax’t with blood,

Though he feemed to fat off.

O bloody head, beware the death

Of those that thou haft slain:

In time repent, since thou canst not

Their lives restore again.

An Account of the burning of THOMAS HINSHAW, by Bishop Bonner.

WHEN bishop Bonner found that his examinations, perquisitions, threats, and imprisonments, were to no purpose with Thomas Hinshaw, he (the said bishop) took him with him to Fulham, where immediately he after that, he gave him the burning thence all the first night with bread and water.

The next morning the bishop came and examined him himself, and perceiving no yielding in his mind, he sent Mr. Harpsfield to talk with him; who, after long talk, in the latter part of which time, calling the said Thomas Hinshaw peevish boy, and asked him whether he thought he went about to damn his soul, or no, &c. Unto which the said Thomas answered, That he was persuaded that they laboured to maintain their dark and devillish
devilish kingdom, and not for any love to truth. Then I returned his challenge, and, with a raving vengeance, told the bishop thereof. Whereat the bishop fumed and fretted, that for anger being so fierce as to speak, he said, Doth thou answer my archdeacon, thou naughty boy? I shall handle thee well enough, be assured; for he sent for a couple of hangmen and ordered a bench to be set up in the garden, where the said Thomas, without any interjection of his part, offered himself to the beating, and did abide the fury of the said Bonner, so long as the fat pranced bishop could endure with breath, and throughout the night was obliged to confess, and give place to his shameful act. He had two willow rods, but he wafted but one, and so left off.

Now after this scourging, the said Thomas Hinshaw, notwithstanding, did furlong divers conflicts and examination in sundry places. At last, he deposed before the said bishop in his chapel at Fulham, there he had procured witnisses, and gathered articles against him, which the young man denied, and would not affirm, or content to any interrogatories there and then ministered, do what they could.

About a fortnight after he fell sick of a burning ague, whereby he was delivered through much intentness unto his matter, Martin Pugin, in St. Paul's church-yard; for then the bishop thought verily he was more like to die. But he recovered in a month or more, so that the time of the mean time queen Mary died. Then he shortly after recovered health, and escaped death, being at the writing of this, both wittiness and reporter of the fame; the Lord therefore be praised. Amen.

An Account of the Suffering of JOHN WILLES, By BISHOP BONNER.

BESIDES the above-named, was scourged also by the hands of the said bishop, one John Willes, a cripple, a right faithfull and true honest man in all his dealings and conditions, who was another to the afore-aided Richard Willes, burned at Brentford, as is before said. Who also was apprehended in the fame number at Iltington, as also is mentioned before: and being brought before Bonner, and there examined, but was commanded to the Coule-house, with the afore-aided Thomas Hinshaw, where they remained one night in the stocks. From whence he was sent to Fulham, where he, with the saide Hinshaw, remained eight or ten days in the stocks; during which time he suffred divers conflicts with the said bishop, who had him often in examination, urging him, and with a flick which he had in his hand, often rapping him on the head, and ferrling him under the chin, and on the ears, saying he looked down like a thief. Moreover, after he had suffered all manner of ways to make him recant, and could not, nor at length taking him to his orchard, there within a little arbour, with his own hands beat him first with a willow rod, and that being worn well nigh to the stumps, he called for a birch rod, which a lad brought out of his chamber, and caused the said bishop to beat him. After this, the bishop asked him when he had crept to the crofs. He answered, Not since he came to the years of discretion, neither would, though he should be torn with wild horses. Then Bonner dehired him to make a crofs on his fore-head, which he refused to do. Whereupon he had him immediately to his orchard, and there calling for rods, showed his cruelty upon him, as he had done upon Thomas Hinshaw.

This done, he had him immediately to the parish church, whereupon the said Thomas Hinshaw, and Robert Wilkes, to whom there were many other people before him, ministered certain articles, asking if he would subscribe to the fame. To which he made his answer according to his conscience, denying them all except one article, which was concerning king Edward's execration. The bishop having then had liberty to ferfent a certain old priest lately come from Rome, to him in prison, to conjure the evil spirit out from him, who laying his hand upon his head, began with certain words pronounced over him, to conjure him, and he had been wont before to do. Willes marvelling at what the old man was about, said, I fear not the evil spirit is in me, and laughed him to scorn.

About this time, Willes was divers times called before Bonner, so much communication paffed betwixt them as is too tedious to recite. It is enough to make the reader laugh to see the blind and unfavourable reason with which that bishop endeavoured to delude the ignorant, some of which were in the following manner: Bonner going about to confufe Willes, not to meddle with matters of scripture, but rather to believe the men's teaching, who had more skill in the same, asked him first, if he did believe the scripture? Yea, said he, that do. Then (quoth the bishop) St. Paul saith, if the man be deceitful, let him be so also to another man. If thou wert asleep, having a wife, wouldst thou be content that thy wife should take to another man? And yet this is the scripture.

Tell me, if thou wilt believe Luther, Zuinglus, and such, then thou canst not be right; but if thou believe me, &c. thou canst not err: and if thou shouldst err, yet thou art in no danger, thy blood should be required at our hands. As if thou shouldst go to a far country, and meet with a fatherly man, as I am (the bishop), and if he should say to thee, stand thou, and he should say this, way, and thou wilt not believe him, but follow Luther, and other heretics of late days, and go a contrary way; how wilt thou come to the place thou art for? So if thou wilt not believe, but follow the leaft of other heretics, thou shalt be brought to destruction, and burn both body and soul.

As truly as thou shalt the bodies of them in Smithfield burnt, so truly their souls do burn in hell, because they have not heard the word of God.

Off-times speaking to the said John Willes, he would say, They call me bloody Bonner. A vengeance on you all: I would fain be rid of you, but you have a delight in burning. But if I might have my will, I would few up your mouths and put you in flacks and drown you.

The fame day that he was delivered, Bonner came to the stocks where he lay, and asked how he liked his lodging, and his fare.

Well (said Willes), if it would please God, I might have a little straw to lie on.

Then (said Bonner) thou wilt have no token of a christian man. And upon this his wife came in unknown to him, being very great with child, every hour expecting her labour, and intreated the bishop for her husband's liberty. The bishop desired him to depart, but that the there should stay, and be delivered in the bishop's house, unless he had her husband with her. How fayest thou (quoth Bonner to Willes), if thy wife miscarry, or thy child, or children, if the be with or two, should perish, the blood of them would he require at thy hands. Then to this agreement he came, that he should hire a bed in the town of Fulham, and her husband should go home with her the morrow after, upon this condition that his kinman there prevened (one Robert) should bring the said Willes to his house at St. Paul's the next day.

To which Willes would not agree, but infifted upon going then. At length, his wife being importunate for her husband, and Bonner seeing the would not stir without him, fearing the conceit that he should come upon his house thereby, and also probably to be troubled with a lying-in woman, bade Willes make a crofs, and say, In nomine Patriae, & Filiæ, & Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Then Willes began to say, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. No, no (said Bonner), say it in Latin; Willes understanding the matter of that Latin to be good, said the fame, and so went home with his wife, his aforesaid kinman being charged by him the next day to St. Paul's, else, said Bonner, if thou dost not bring him, thou art a heretic as well as he. Notwithstanding, the charge being no greater, his kinman did not bring him.
him, but he of his own accord came to the bishop within a few days after, where he put to him a certain writing in Latin, saying, that he expected to have no great matter, that he needed greatly to seek at, although, what the bill was, he could not certainly tell: so he subscribed to the bill, and returned home. And thus much concerning the twenty-two taken at Ilinton.

The History of RICHARD YEOMAN, Dr. TAYLOR's Curate, at Hadley.

RICHARD YEOMAN, a devout old man, was Dr. Taylor's curate, at Hadley, and well versed in the Kyries and瓜, and giving godly exhortations to the people: so when Dr. Taylor left his cure at his departure. But as soon as Mr. Newall had gotten the benefit, he put out Mr. Yeoman, and felt in a popish curate to maintain and continue his Romish religion, which now they thought fully establisht. Then he wandered from place to place, exhorting all men to stand faithfully to God's word, earnestly to give themselves unto prayer, with patience to bear the crows now laid upon them for their trials, with boldness to confess the truth before their adversaries, with an undoubted hope of life for the reward of eternal felicity. But when he perceived his adversaries to lie in wait for him, he went into Kent, and with a little packet of laces, pins and pomanders, and such like things, he travelled from village to village, telling such things, and by that theft fulfilled himself, his wife and children.

At last justice Myole, of Kent, took Mr. Yeoman and set him in the flocks a day and a night, but having no evident matter to charge him with, he let him go again. So he came secretly again to Hadley, and tarried with his wife, who kept him secretly in a chamber of the town-house, commonly called the Guildhall, more than a year. All which time the good old father abode in a chamber locked up all the day, and spent his time in devout prayer, and reading the scriptures, and in casting of wool which his wife did spin. His wife did also go and beg bread and meat for herself and her children, and by such poor means they sustained themselves. Thus the fames of God satisfied hunger and misery, while the prophets of Baal lived in jollity, and variegately pampered at Jezebel's table.

At last the king's spies, who knew not by what means perceived that Richard Yeoman was so kept by his poor wife, and taking with him the bailiff's deputies and servants, came in the night-time, and broke open five doors of the lodge at Yeoman, whom they found in bed with his wife and seeing when he had feord, he angrily cried, I thought I should find an harlot and a rogue together. And he would have plucked the cloathes off from them: but Yeoman held off the cloaths, and said to his wife, Wife, arise, and put on thy clothes. And unto the parson he said, Nay, parson, no harlot, nor rogue, but a married man and his wife, according to God's ordinance, and blest be God for lawful marriage. I thank God for his great grace, and I defy the pope and all his popery. Then they led Richard Yeoman to the cage, and set him in the flocks until it was day.

There was then also in the cage an old man named John Dale, who had sat there three or four days, because when the said parson Newall with his curate used the Bishop's service in the church, he spake openly unto him, and said, O miserable and blind guides, will ye ever blind leaders of the blind? will ye never amend? will ye never see the truth of God's word? will neither God's threats nor promises enter into your hearts? will the blood of martyrs nothing mollify your flinty faces? O obdurate, hard-hearted, pervered, and crooked generation! O damnable folk, whom nothing can do good unto.

Thee, or the like words, he spake in fervency of spirit against the superfluous religion of Rome. Wherefore parson Newall caused him forthwith to be attached, and set in the flocks in a cage, so he was kept there till for Henry Doile, a justice, came to Hadley.

When Richard Yeoman was taken, the parson called earnestly upon Henry Doile to send them both to prifon. Sir Henry Doile earnestly intreated the parson to consider the age of the men and their mean condition; they were neither persons of note nor preachers; wherefore he desired the justice to let them be punished a day or two, and so to let them go, at least Dr. Taylor was no priest: and therefore seeing he had so long fast in the cage, he thought it punishment enough for this time. When the parson heard this, he was exceeding mad, and in a great rage called them pestilent heretics, unfit to live in the commonwealth, and therefore they must be executed. Wherefore I beseech thee, sir, (quoth he) according to your office, defend holy church, and help to suppresse these heretics, &c. which are false to God, and thus boldly doth he attempt, to the evil example of others, against the queen's gracious prerogatives. Sir Henry Doile seeing he could do no good in the matter, and fearing also the danger of meddlig too much in it, made out the writ, and caufed the constables to carry them to Bury gaol. For now all the juries, though ever so many, were afraid of a shaven crown, and found in as much awe of them, as Pilate did of Anna and Caiphas, and the pharisaical brood, who cried, Crucify him, crucify him; if thou let this man go, thou art not Caesar's friend.

Wherefore whatsoever their confidences were, yet (if they would escape danger) they must needs be the prophets and valets. So they took Richard Yeoman and John Dale pinned out, and bound them like thieves, set them on horseback, and bound their legs under the horses' bellies, and so carried them to the Bury gaol, where they were laid in irons; and because they continually rebuked popery, they were thrown into the lowest dungeon, where John Dale, through sickness of the prifon, and evil keeping, died in prifon, whole body, when he was dead, was thrown out and buried in the fields. He was an old man of forty or fifty years, a weaver by his occupation, well learned in the holy scriptures, faithful and honest in all his conversation, redfast in confession of the true doctrine of Christ set forth in king Edward's time; for which he joyfully suffered prifon and chains, and from this worldly dungeon he departed in Christ to eternal glory, and the blest paradise of eternal felicity.

After that John Dale was dead, Richard Yeoman was removed to Norwich prifon, where after fast and evil keeping, he was brought to the scaffold over again. Then he boldly and confidently confessed himself to be of the faith and confession that was set forth by king Edward VI. and from that he would in no wife vary. Being required to submit himself to the holy father the pope. I defy the pope of Rome, and his delectable abominations: I will in no wise have to do with any, nor any thing that appertaineth to him. The chief articles objected to him, were his marriage and the mass sacrifce. Wherefore when he continued steadfast in confession of the truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burnt, but most cruelly tormented in the fire. So he ended his poor and miserable life, and entered into the blest bosom of Abraham, enjoying with Lazarus the comfortable quietness that God had prepared for his elect saints.

The Story of JOHN ALCOCK.

THIS young man was by occupation a sheerman, and came to Hadley to seek work; he being in church one Sunday, and parson Newall coming by with the proceccion, would not once move his cap, nor shew any sign of reverence, but stood back with the hont. The parson reproved him, when he was almost out of church, in the church door, ran back again, and caught him, and called for the constable.

Then came Robert Rolfe, with whom this young man had wrung, and said, What hath he done, Mr. Parson, that you are in such a rage with him?
He is an heretic and traitor (quoth the parson), and defineth the king's proceedings. Wherefore I command you in the king's name, have him to the stocks, and confute the fornication. Well (quoth Rolfe) he shall be forthcoming, proceed in your business, and be quiet.

Have him to the stocks, quoth the parson.

I am contable, quoth Rolfe, and I may bail him, and with that shall not be put in the stocks, but he shall be forthcoming: for so the good parson went forth with his holy procession, and so to mass.

In the afternoon Rolfe said to this young man, I am for thee, for truly the parson will fetch thy definition, if thou take not good heed what thou answerest him.

The young man said, Sir, I am for thy that it is my hap to be troubled with you. As for myself, I am not for thee, but I commit myself into God's hands, and I trust he will give me mouth and wisdom to answer according to right.

Well, quoth Rolfe, ye beware of him, for he is malicious and a blood-sucker, and beareth an old hatred against me, and he will handle you the more cruelly, because of displeasure against me.

I cannot in the young man: he shall do me no wrong, said to me, than God will give him leave; and happy shall I be if God will call me to die for his truth's sake.

Then they went to the parson, who at the first asked him, Fellow, what fayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?

I say, quoth he, as ye use the matter, ye make a shameful idol of it, and ye are false idolaters, priests, all of you.

I told you (quoth the parson) he was a stout heretic.

So after long talk, the parson committed him to prison, and the next day he rode up to London, and carried the young man with him: and so the young man came no more to Hatley, but after a long imprisonment in Newgate, where after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not submit himself to all the counsels of the pope, and to be reconciled to the Romish religion, he was cast into the lower dungeon, where with ill keeping and sickness of the house, he died in prison. Thus died he a martyr of God's truth, which he heartily confessed, and received the garland of a well-fought battle at the hand of the Lord. His body was cast out, and buried in a dunghill; for the papists would in all things be like themselves: therefore they would not so much as fuller the dead bodies to have convenient burial.

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The History of THOMAS BENBRIDGE, Gentleman and Martyr, wrongfully condemned and put to death for the Testimony of Christ.

THOMAS BENBRIDGE, a gentleman, (unmarried) in the diocese of Winchelsey, although he might have lived a gentleman's life, in the wealthy possessions of this world; yet to follow Christ had rather enter into the perfection of life in the Lord's kingdom, than here to enjoy present pleasures with uncertainties of conscience. Wherefore manfully standing against the papists for the defence of the sincere doctrine of Christ's gospel, he spurned not himself to be confirmed in the truth of the same. For which cause he was apprehended for an adversary to the Romish religion, was with all to examine before the bishop of Winchelsey, where he fulfilled certain certain conflicts for the truth against the said bishop and his colleague, for which he was condemned, and for time after brought to the place of martyrdom, by Sir Richard Peckfall, sheriff.

When standing at the stake, he began to untie his points, and to prepare himself; then he gave his gown to the keeper, being belike his master. His jerkin was laid on with gold lace, fair and brave, which he gave to Sir Richard Peckfall, the high-sheriff. His cap of velvet he took off from his head and threw it away. Thus lifting his mind to the Lord, he made his prayers.

That done, being now fastened to the stake, Dr. Scatton wished to recant, and he should have his pardon; but when he saw it prevailed not to speak, the said dreaming doctour wished the people not to pray for him, that he would recant, no more than they would pray for a dog.

Mr. Benbridge, standing at the stake with his hands together in such manner as the priest holdeth his hands in his Memento, the said Dr. Scatton came to him again and exhorted him to recant: unto whom he said, Away, Babbe, stand away.

Then said that one that stood by, Sir, cut out his tongue, and another being a temporal man, railed on him worse than Dr. Scatton did, who (as is thought) was set on by some other.

Then when they saw he would not yield, they took him on the stocks, and then another being temporal man, railed on him worse than Dr. Scatton did, who (as is thought) was set on by some other.

The fire was set to a piece of his head, whereat he did not flinch at all. Then it came on the other side, and took his leg, and the other rackings of his body being leathered, the fire to pierce the faker, so that the insensible heat thereof made him to cry, I recant: and suddenly he thrust the fire from him. And having to these of his friends by that witheld his life, they flapped it to the fire, and then to take it from him also, who for their labour were sent to prifon. The sheriff also of his own authority took him from the stake and sent him to prifon again, for which he was sent unto the Fleet, and lay there some time. But before he was taken from the stake, the said Dr. Scatton wrote articles to have him furthered unto him, as touching the pope, the sacrament, and such other truth. But the said Mr. Benbridge made much ado before he would further him, infomuch that Dr. Scatton ordered them to set to fire again. Then with much pain and grudg of heart he seemed to take it on a man's back. Then he being done, he had his gown given him again, and so was led to prifon. Being in prifon, he wrote a letter to Dr. Scatton, and recanted those words he flatted at the stake, unto which he had sublerced: he was grieved that ever he falsified unto them. Whereupon expressing his conscience, he was the same day seven-night after burnt indeed, where the vile tormentors did rather broil than burn him. The Lord give his enemies repentance.

An Account of the Martyrdom of JOHN COOKE, a Sawyer, ROBERT MILES, alias PLUMMER, Sheerman, ALEXANDER LANE, a Wheelwright, JAMES ASHLEY, Bachelor.

THE examination of these above-mentioned persons, being severally called before the bishop of Norwich, and Sir Edward Walgraves, with others, partly upon these articles following.

First, Sir Edward Walgraves called John Cooke to him, and said, How doth it happen that you go not to your church?

Cook. I have been there.

Sir Edw. What is the cause that you do not think now in these days?

Cook. Because the sacrament of the altar is an abominable idol, and the vengeance of God will come upon all them that do maintain it.

Sir Edw. O thou rank traitor, if I had as good commission to cut out thy tongue, as I have to do here this day, thou shouldst be faine to have it done.

Cook. But the bishop commanded the constable to take him away, saying, he was both a traitor and a rebel.

Then he called Robert Miles, and said, How leapeth it, that you will not go to church?

Miles. Because I will follow no false gods.

Then said the bishop, Who told thee that it is a god?
The First Examination of Alice Driver, before Dr. SPENSER, the Chancellor of Norwich.

FIRST, the coming into the place where she should be examined, with a fulling countenance, Dr. Spenser said, Why, woman, doth thou laugh us to scorn?

No. 55.

Driver's Wife. Whether I do or no, I might well enough, to see what fools ye be.

Then the chancellor asked her wherefore she was brought before him, and why she was laid in prison.

Dri. Wherefore? I say, I need not tell you; for you know it better than I.

Spen. No, by my troth, woman, I know not why.

Dri. Then have you done me much wrong thus to imprison me, and know no cause why; for I know no evil that I have done, I thank God, and I hope there is no man that can accuse me of any notorious fact that I have done, justly.

Spen. Woman, woman, what facetious thou to the injured facetious one? Doth thou not believe that it is very flesh and blood, after the words be spoken of consecration?

Driver's wife at those words held her peace, and made no answer. Then a great chuff-headed priest that stood by, spake, and affid her why she made not the chancellor answer. With that the said Driver's wife looked upon him affurly, and said, Why, priest, I come not to talk with thee, but I come to talk with thy master: but if thou wilt I will talk with thee, commanded thy master to hold his peace. And with that the priest put his tofe in his cap, and spake never a word more. Then the chancellor bid her make answer to that he demanded of her.

Dri. Sir, pardon me though I make no answer, for I cannot tell you what you want; for in all my life I never heard nor read of any such facetious in all the scripture.

Spen. Why, what facetious have you read, I pray you?

Dri. I have (I thank God) read God's book.

Spen. Why, what manner of book is that you call God's book?

Dri. It is the Old and New Testament. What call you it?

Spen. That is God's book indeed, I cannot deny.

Dri. That same book have I read thoroughly, but yet never could find any such facetious there; and for that cause I cannot make you answer to that thing I know not. Notwithstanding, for all that, I will grant you a facetious, called the Lord's updater: and therefore seeing I have granted you a facetious, I pray you shew me what a facetious is.

Spen. It is a sign. And one Dr. Gafcoin being by, confirmed the same, that it was the sign of a holy thing.

Dri. You have said the truth, sir. It is a sign indeed, I must needs grant it: and therefore seeing it is a sign, it cannot be the thing signified also. Thus far we do agree; for I have granted your own saying.

Then flood up the said Gafcoin, and made an oration with many fair words, but little to the purpose, being both offensive and odious to the minds of the godly. In the end of which long tale, he asked her if she did not believe the omnipotency of God, and that he was almighty, and able to perform that he spake. She answered, Yes; and said, I do believe that God is almighty, and able to perform that he spake and promis'd.

Gafcoin. Very well. Then he said to his disciples, "Take, eat, this is my body:" Ergo, it was his body.

For he was able to perform that he spake, and God ueth not to lie.

Dri. I pray you did he ever make any such promise to his disciples, that he would make the bread his body?

Gaf. Tho' be the words. Can you deny it?

Dri. No; they be the very words indeed, I cannot deny it; but I pray you, was it not bread that he gave unto them?

Gaf. No, it was his body.

Dri. Then was it his body that they did eat over night?

Gaf. It was his body.

Dri. What body was it then was crucified the next day?

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Gaf.
Gofe. It was Christ's body.

Dri. How could that be, when the discipules had eaten him over night? except he had two bodies, as by your argument he had; one they did eat over night, and he was crucified the next day. Such a doctor, such a doctrine! Be you not ashamed to teach the people, that Christ had two bodies? In the said of Luke, " He took bread and brake it to his discipules, and he said, Take, eat this in remembrance of me." St. Paul faith, 1 Cor. xi. "Do this in remembrance of me: for as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall shew the Lord's death till he come." and therefore I marvel you blith not before all these people, to lie so manfully as you do.

With that Gacfoin held his peace, and made her no anser; for, as it seemed, he was ashamed of his doings. Then the chamberliff lift up his head off from his cushion, and commanded the gaoler to take her away.

Dri. Now ye he not able to reli the truth, ye command me to prifon again. Well, the Lord in the end shall judge our cause, and to him I leave it. So away the went with the gaoler.

The Second Examination of ALICE DRIVER.

The next day the came before them again, and the chamberliff then asked her what she said to the blesed facrament of the altar?

Dri. I will say nothing to it: for you will neither believe me nor yourselves: for yesterday I asked you what a facrament was, and you said, it was a sign; and I agreed thereto and said it was the faith, confirming it by the scriptures, so that I went not from your own words; and now you come and ask me again of such a facrament as I told you I never read of in the scriptures.

Sproe. Thou liest, naughty woman, we did not say that it was a sign.

Dri. Why, matters, be ye not the men that you were yesterday? Will ye eat your own words? Are ye not ashamed to lie before all this multitude here present, who heard you speake the fame?

Then stood up Dr. Gacofin, and said, she was deceived; for there are three churches, the malignant church, the church militant, and the church triumphant. So he would fain have made matter, but he could not tell which way.

Dri. Sir, is there mention made of so many churches in the scripture?

Gofe. Yea.

Dri. I pray you where find you this word [church] written in the scripture?


Dri. I pray you, sir, shew the place where it is written.

Gofe. I cannot tel the place, but there it is. With that he directed him to look in his New Testament: then he stumbled and fought against him for one; but at that time he had none, and that he knew well enough, though he seemed to search for it. At last she said, Have you none here, sir?

Gofe. No.

Dri. I thought so much indeed, that you were little acquainted withal. Surely you are a good doctor. You fav you sit here to judge according to the law, and how can you give judgment, and have not the book of the law with you? At which words Dr. Gacofin was out of countenance, and asked her if she had one. No, said she. Then, said he, I am as good a doctor as you.

Dri. Well, sir, I had one, but you took it from me (as you would take me from Christ, if you could), and since you would not suffer me to have any book at all for charity. But you may well know (I thank God), that I have entertained the fame; else I could not have answered you (to God's glory it be spoken) as I have. Thus he put them all to silence, to that one looked on another, and had not a word to speake.

Dr. Have you no more to say? God be honoured. You be not able to reli the Spirit of God in me, poor woman, you have no honest power in you, are not brought up in the university as you have been, but I have driven the plough before my father many a time, yet notwithstanding, in the defence of God's truth, and in the cause of my master Christ, by his grace I will not fail my faith till the foot of any of you, in the maintenence and defence of the fame; and if you have a thousand lives, you should go for payment thereof. So the chamberliff rose up, and read the sentence of condemnation in Latin, and committed her to the secular power, and so she went to prifon again as joyful as the bird of day, praising and glorifying the name of God.

Martyrdom of ALEXANDER GOUGH and ALICE DRIVER.

THIS Alexander Gouche was examined chiefly of the facrament and other ceremonies of the popish church. And for that his belief was, that Christ was ascended into heaven, and there remaneth, and that the facrament was the remembrance of his death and passion, and for refusing the mass, and the pope to be superior to Christ himself, and of all the churches, for these causes was he condemned, and died with Alice Driver, at Ipswich, the 4th of November, which was the Monday after All-Saints, 1558.

These two persons being come to the place where the place was set, by seven o'clock in the morning, notwithstanding they came this many miles, and were beloved in heaven, which is fix miles from Ipswich, being at their prayers, and prizing of psalms both of them together, for Henry Dowel, being then sieriff, was very much offended with them, and defiled the bailiffs of Ipswich to bid them make an end of prayer: they knewing upon a broom flag, one of the bailiffs, who were named Richard Smart, commanded them to make an end, saying, On, on, have done; make an end, nail them to the place; yet they continued in prayer.

Then said the bailiff, Come off, have them to the fire.

Then the said Gough, and Alice Driver, said, Why, Master Sheriff, and Master Bailiff, will you not suffer us to pray?

Away, said Sir Henry, to the place with them. The sieriff answered, Take hold of them, if you forbid prayer, the vengeance of God hangeth over your heads. Then they being tied to the place, and the iron chain being put about Alice Driver's neck, Q (said she) here is a goodly handkerchief, blest be God for it.

Then divers came and took them by the hands as they were bound standing to the place. The sieriff cried, Lay hands on them, lay hands on them. With that a great number ran to the place. The sieriff fecing that, let them all alone, so that there was not one taker. There was one Bacon, a basset, or a turkey, alone them, who having then a frize gown upon him, fold it immediately, saying, It flunk of heretics; with other foul words. Within three or four weeks after this, God's hand was upon him, and he died very miserably in Ipswich.

Although our history hath apace (the Lord be praised) to the happy death of queen Mary, yet the dead not so soon but that some were burned before her death, and more would have been burned soone after, if God's providion had not prevented her with death. In the number of them which flourished in the famous month when Queen Mary died, were three that were burned at Bury, whose names were the, Philip Hunstre, John David, and Henry David, his brother.
Concerning the burning of these three, here is to be noted that Sir Clement Higham, about a fortnight before the queen died, set out for a walk for the burning of them, notwithstanding that the queen was then known to be past remedy of her sickness.

As Account of Mrs. PREST, Martyr.

ALTHOUGH in such a great number of persons, as in sundry parts of this realm were put to death for the queen Mary's time, it be hard excus'd to recite every particular person that suffered, but that some can only be either unknown, or omitted; yet I cannot pass over a certain poor woman, I mean Mrs. Preft, burned at Tyburn. She was a gentlewoman, who dwelling some time about Cornwall, having a husband and children there, much addicted to the superstition of poverty, was many times rebuk'd by them, and driven to go to the church, to their idols and ceremonies; to confession, to follow the crofs in procession, to give thanks to God for robbing Antichrist again in a realm, &c. which when her spirit could not abide to do, she made her prayer to God, calling for help and mercy, and so at length lying in her bed, about midnight, she thought there came to her a certain moody spirit that would give her a fright. Whereupon in short she, the began to grow in contempt of her husband and children, and so taking nothing from them, but what she had on, departed from them; seeking her living by labouring and spinning as well as she could, here and there at times, in which time she became cast under her mind as well as she could against their poverty; however, she at that time was brought home to her husband again. Where at last she was accounted by her neighbours, and brought over to Exeter, to be presented to the bishop and his clergy. The name of the woman, who had her in examination, was Dr. Trouble- rick. His chancellor (as I gather) was Blackstone. The chiefhill whereupon she was charged and condemned was for the sacrament (which they call) of the star, and for speaking against idols, as by the declaration of those who were present, I understand, who report the talk between her and the bishop on this wife: 

Bishop. Thou foolish woman, I hear say, that thou hast spoken certain words against the most blessed sacrament of the altar, the body of Christ. Ite. for shame. Thou art an unlearned person, and a woman: wilt thou meddle with, in the discussion of the world cannot define? Wilt thou talk of such high mysteries? Keep thy word, and meddle with that thou hast to do. It is no woman's matter, at cards and not to be spoken of. And if it be as I am informed, that art woman, be burned.

Woman. My lord, I trust your lordship will hear my speech.

Bishop. Yes, marry, for that cause I fent for you.

Woman. I am a poor woman, and do live by my husband's getting a penny truly, and of what I get, I give part to God, and the other part to her husband.

Bishop. That is well done. Art thou not a man's wife?

Woman. And here the bishop entered into conversation about her husband.

To whom she answered again, declaring that she had a husband and children; and that them not. As she was at liberty, she refused neither husband nor children: but now standing here as I do, said the, in the name of Christ and his truth, where I must either forsake my husband, or my husband and children, I am contented to fliick only to Christ, my heavenly spouse, and renounce the other.

And here the making mention of the words of Christ, "He that leaveth not father or mother, sister or brother, husband or wife, &c. the bishop inferred, that Christ spake that of the holy orders, who died because they would not sacrifice to the false gods.

Woman. Surely, sir, and I will rather die than I will do any worship to that idol, with which your mafs you make a god.

Bishop. What, heretic, will you say that the facra- ment of the altar is a foul idol?

Woman. Yes, truly, there was never such an idol as your sacrament is made by your priests, and com- manded to be worshipped of all men, with many fond phantasies, with which Christ did command it to be eaten and drank in remembrance of his most blessed passion for our redemption.

Bishop. See this prattling woman. Doth thou not hear, that Christ did say fay over the bread, "This is my body;" and this likewise, "This is my blood;" and, "This is my blood;"

Woman. Yes, forsooth, he said so, but he meant that it is body and blood, not carnally, but sacramentally.

Bishop. Lo, the hath heard prating among these new preachers, or heard some peevish book. Alas, poor woman, thou art deceived.

Woman. Nay, my lord, what I have learned was of godly preachers, and of godly books which I have heard read. And if you will give me leave, I will de- clare a reason why I will not worship the sacrament.

Bishop. Marry, say on, I am sure it will be goodly hear.

Woman. Truly such gear as I will lose this poor life of mine for.

Bishop. Then you will be a martyr, good wife.

Woman. Indeed, if the denying to worship that bread be my martyrdom, I will suffer it with all my heart.

Bishop. Say thy mind.

Woman. You must bear with me, a poor woman.

Bishop. So I will.

Woman. I demand of you, whether you can deny your creed, which doth fay, That Christ doth perpetually sit at the right hand of his Father, both body and soul, until he come again; or whether he be in heaven our Advocate, and to make prayer for us unto God his Father? It he be so he is not here on earth in the piece of bread. If he be not here, and he do not dwell in temples made with hands, but in heaven, what, shall we fik him here? If he did offer his body once for all, why make a new offering? If with once offering he made all perfect, why do you with a fale offering make all imperfect? If he he be to be worshipped in Spirit and in truth, why do you wor- ship a piece of bread? If he be eaten and drank in faith and truth, if his flesh be not profitable to be among us, why do you fay you make his flesh and blood, and say it is profitable for body and soul? Alas, I am a poor woman, and can do no more. But if you will do as you, I would live no longer. I have said, fir.

Bishop. I promise you, you are a jolly protestant. I pray you in what schools you have been brought up?

Woman. I have upon the Sundaies vifited the fermans, and ther I have been trained in good order. And now I have fixed in my bread, that death shall not separate them.

Bishop. O foolish woman, who will waife his breath upon thee, or such as thou art? But how chancehit that thou wentest away from thy husband? if thou went an honest woman, thou wouldst not have left thy husband and children, and run about the country like a fugitive.

Woman. Sir, I laboured for my living; and as my master Christ counfelleth me, when I was perfecuted in one city, I fled into another.

Bishop. And where hadst thou any prospect? Woman. My husband and my children. For when I would have them to leave idolatry, and to worship God in heaven, he would not hear me, but he with his children rebuked me, and troubled me. I fled not for the profit of nor for theft, but because I would be no partaker with him and his, of that foul idol the mafs; and wherefoever I was, as oft as I could, upon Sundaies and holidays, I made excuses not to go to the popish church.

Bishop. Belike then you are a good housewife, to fly from your husband, and the church.

Woman. My housewifery is but small; but God give me grace to go to the true church.

Bishop. The true church, what doun thou mean?

Woman. Not your popish church, full of idoles and abomin-
unto fains, and fay they can pray for us? Do you not make holy water and holy bread to fay devoutly? Do you not confound me more about the holy water? And you fay, you come for my profit, and to fave my foulds, no, one hath faved me. Farewell, you with your forna- tion. Much other talk there was between her and them, which here were too tedious to express.

Then she gave the bishop a leave to go, and liberty granted by the bishop, as is before mentioned, the went into St. Peter's church, and there found a cunning Dutchman that had made new notes to certain fine images which were set figured in king Edward's time, to whom the said, What is this? He told me that to make them new notes within a few days shall all lose their heads. The Dutchman accused her, and laid it hard to her charge. And she fied unto him, Thou art accursed, and are they images. He called her whore. Nay, said the, thy images are whores, and thou art a whore-hunter; for death is God fay, You go a whoring after strange gods, some of your own making? and thou are one of them. She fied was fent for and clapped falf, and from that time fhe had no more liberty.

During the time of her imprisonment, divers referring to visit her, some fent by the bishop, some of her voluntary will; amongst whom was one Daniel, a preacher of the gospel, in the days of king Edward, in those parts of Cornwall and Devonshire: when he was in the press, the people therefore that were revoluted from that which he preached before through the grievous imprisonments, as he said, as fear of persecution which he had partly sustained by the cruel justities in those parts, carnally exhorted him to return with Peter, and to be more constant in professing.

Moreover, there referred to her a certain gentlewoman, the wife of one Walter Ralwy, a woman of noble wit, and of a good and godly opinion; coming to the press and talking with her, she said she was cred to the gentlewoman; and when she came to the same article, he ascended, there the fluid, and bid the gentlewoman to seek his blessed body in heaven, on earth, and told her plainly that God dwelteth not in temples made with hands, and the sacrament used in anything else but a remembrance of his blest passion; and yet, said the, as they now use it, it is but an old, and far wide from any remembrance of Christ's body; which, said the, will not continue, and so take it, God fmitted. So that as soon as the came home to her hus- band, the declared to him, that in her life she had heard a woman (of such simplicity to look on) talk so gaily, so perfectly, so sincerely, and so carnally; in- fomuch, that if God were not with her, she could not speake to those, to which she could not be able to answer, though I can read, and the cannot.

Allo there came to her one William Keke, and John his brother, not only brethren in the flesh, but also in the truth, and men in that country of great credit; with father, R. Keke, all his life suffered and ready for the gospel. These two good and faithful brethren were present with her, both in the hall, and also at the prison, and (as they reported) they never heard the like woman, of so godly talk, so faithful or so constant; and as godly practices fhe gave them.

This is the good man who in many ways tried, but by hard imprisonment, threatenings, taunts and forced, called an anabaptist, a mad woman, a drunkard, a re- negade. She was proved by liberty to go whither she would; she was tried by fire, with many false per- sons; she was tried with her husband, her goods and children; but nothing could prevail, her heart was fixed, she had cast her anchor, utterly contemplating this wicked world; a rare example of constancy to all professed Christ's gospel.

Yet by my information, it is fo reported to me, that albeit she was of such simplicity, and without learning, yet you could declare no place of scripture, but she would tell you the chapter; yea, she would not you the names of all the books of the Bible. For that William Keke, and John his brother, said fies out of her wits, and talked of the scripture as a dog

unto fains, and fay they can pray for us? Do you not make holy water and holy bread to fay devoutly? Do you not confound me more about the holy water? And you fay, you come for my profit, and to fave my foulds, no, one hath faved me. Farewell, you with your forna- tion. Much other talk there was between her and them, which here were too tedious to express.

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Thus fill the cried, and would give no answer to them, but with much patience took her cruel death, and was with flames of fire consumed; and so ended this mortal life, as confiant a woman in the faith of Christ, as ever was upon earth. This woman, more picturesque in her words and looks, more heinous in her appearance, as a man might behold; of a very little and short stature, somewhat thick, about 54 years of age. She had a cheerful countenance, so lively, as though she had been prepared for the day of her marriage to meet the Lord. Too much proffered her in words and deeds, and no proffer in apparel, meat and drink, and would never be idle, but a great comfort to as many as would talk with her; good to the poor; and in her trouble she would take no money, because (said she) I am going to a city where money beareth no matter; whilst I am here, God hath promised to feed me. Thus was her mortal life ended. For whose confiency God be everlastingly praieth. Amen.

The Persecution and Martyrdom of RICHARD SHARPE, THOMAS BANION, and THOMAS HALE.

RICHARD SHARPE, weaver, of Bristol, was brought the ninth day of March, 1556, before Mr. Dalby, chancellor of the city of Bristol, and after examination concerning the sacrament of the altar, was perused by the said Dalby and others to recant; and the 29th of the said month was enjoined to make his recantation before the presbyters in his parish church. Which when he had done, he felt in his conscience such a tormenting hell, that he was not able quietly to work in his occupation, but decayed and changed both in colour and liking of his body; who shortly after Sunday came into his parish church, called Temple, and after high mass came to the choir door, and laid with a loud voice, Neighbours, bear me record that yonder idol (and pointed to the altar) is the greatest and most abominable that ever was: and I am forry that ever I denied my Lord God. Then the confabules were ordered to apprehend him, but none stepped forth, but suffered him to go out of the church. After, at night, he was apprehended and carried to Newgate, and shortly after he was brought before the lord chancellor, denying the sacrament of the altar to be the body and blood of Christ, and said, it was an idol; and therefore was condemned to be burned by the said Dalby. He was burnt the seventh of May, 1557, and died godly, patiently, and constantly, confessing the articles of our faith.

An Account of THOMAS HALE, Martyr.

The Thursday night before Easter, in the year 1557, came one Mr. David Harris, alderman, and John Stone, to the house of one Thomas Hale, shoemaker of Bristol, and caused him to ride out of his bed, and brought him forth from his door. To whom the said Thomas Hale said, You have bought my blood these two years, and now much good may it do you. He being committed to the watchmen, was carried to the house of Thomas Foster, of Avebury, and there he was brought before Mr. Dalby the chancellor, committed by him to prison, and after by him condemned to be burned for saying. The sacrament of the altar was an idol. He was burnt the 7th day of May with the aforesaid Richard Sharpe, patiently embracing the fire with his arms. They were both bound back to back.

An Account of THOMAS BANION.

THOMAS BANION, a weaver, at the commandment of the commissioners, was brought by a constable, the 18th day of August, 1557, before Mr. Dalby, chancellor of Bristol, who committed him to prison for saying there was nothing but bread in the sacrament, as they used it. Wherefore, the 20th day of August, he was convicted by the said Dalby to be burnt for denying five of their sacraments, and affirming two.

Isaiah 39:8-9 (KJV)

And when the servant who had been sent... so he yielded the bond to him. And when this servant was no more there to... and he yielded him the bonds. And when this servant was no more there to overlay him.
This Catherine Tinley was the mother of one Robert Tinley, dwelling in Maidstone, which Robert was in trouble of his bodie, and in his mother coming to visit him, asked him how he took the place of scripture which he had seen, not by reading of the scripture (for the had yet in manner no talle of reli-
gion), but had found it by chance in a book of prayers, "I 11 take your Spirit upon all thee, and your eyes and your daughters shall prophesy; your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And also upon the fervants, and upon the maids in those days will I pour my Spirit, and they shall prophesy."

When that nothing was yet expounded to her, she began to take hold of the gospel, growing more and more in zeal and love thereof, and so continued unto her martyrdom.

Among such women as were burned at Canterbury, it is recorded of a certain maid, and suppos'd to be this Alice Snoth mentioned in this book, or else to be Agnes Snoth above-mentioned, that when she was brought to be executed, she being at the stake, called for her godfather and godmothers. The justice hearing her, sent for them, but they durst not come. Nowithstanding the justices willed the meffenger to go again, and to shew them that they should incur no danger thereof.

Then they hearing that, came to know the matter of their siring. When the maid saw them, she asked them what they had promised for her, and so the immediate thirty-first, she did not discover the commandments of God, and required of them, if there were any more that they had promised in her behalf; and they said, No.

Then said she, I die a christian woman, bear witness of me, and she was consumed in fire, and gave up herself joyfully for the testimony of Christ's godly, in the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly, and also to the flapping of the fandrous mouths of such falsely do quarrel against the faithful martyr, for going from that religion wherein by their godfathers and godmothers they at first baptized.

The History and Condemnation of John Hunt, and Richard White, who escaped the Fire by the Death of Queen Mary.

Besides thes three martyrs above-named, there were several other imprisoned in divers parts of the realm, whereas some were but only examined, some examined but not condemned, certain were both examined and condemned, but for lack of the writ, escaped.

Others were also, both condemned, and the writ also was brought down for their burning, and yet by the death of the chancellor, the bishop, and of queen Mary, happening together about one time, they were happily and marvellsfully were preferred, and lived many years after. In the number of whom was the John Hunt, and Richard White, imprisoned at Salisbury. Touching which history, something is here to be shewed.

These two good men, and faithful fervants of the Lord, had remained a long time in prison at Salisbury, and other places throughout, the space of two years and more. During which time they were often called to examination, and manifold ways were impugned by the bishops and priests. All whole examinations, as I thought not much needful here to procure or to search out, for the length of the volume, so neither again did I think it good to leave no memory at all of the fame, but some part to express, namely, of the examination of Richard White, before the bishop of Salisbury, the bishop of Gloucester, with the chancellor and other priests, not unmindful to be healed, as he was.

The bishop of Salisbury at that time was Dr. Capon, the bishop of Gloucester was Dr. Brooks. Thech, with Dr. Geffery, the chancellor of Salisbury, and a great number of priests sitting in judgment. R. White was brought before them from the bishop of Gloucester, who had the examining of him begun thus.
Is this the prisoner?

Chancellor. Yea, my lord.

Brookes. Friend, therefore camest thou hither?

White. No, my lord, you did not examine me, but recommended me to the Lollards' Tower, and that no man should speak with me. And now I do require mine accuser.

Then the Registrator said, the mayor of Marlborough appeared to you for words that you spake there; and for that I commanded you to be conveyed hither to prison.

White. You had the examination of me at Marlborough. Say what I have said, and I will answer you.

Chancellor. Thou hast confessed thy faith before thou departest; and therefore say thy mind freely, and be not ashamed to do so.

White. I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, because it is the power of God to salvation unto all that believe; and St. Peter faith, "If any man do ask thee a reason of the hope that is in thee, make him a direct answer, and that with meekness." Who shall have the examination of thee?

Chancellor. My lord of Gloucester shall have the examination of thee.

White. My lord, will you take the pains to wet your coat in my blood? Be not guilty thereof, I warn you beforehand.

Brookes. I will do nothing contrary to our law.

White. My lord, what is it that you do request at my hands?

Brookes. I will pose thee upon certain articles, and principally upon the facetrum of the altar: how doth thou believe of the bleffed facetrum of the altar? Believest thou not the real, carnal, and corporal presence of Christ in the face, even the very face Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was hanged on the cross, that suffered for our sins? And at these words they all put off their caps, and bowed their bodies.

White. My lord, what is a facetrum?

Brookes. It is the thing itself which it representeth.

White. That cannot be; for he that representeth a prince cannot be the prince himself.

Brookes. How many facetrum findest thou in the scriptures called by the name of facetrum?

White. I find two facetrum in the scriptures, but not the name of facetrum. But I think St. Augustin gave them the first name of facetrum.

Brookes. Then thou findest not the word facetrum in the scriptures.

White. No, my lord.

Brookes. Did not Christ say, This is my body? and are not his words true?

White. I am sure the words are true; but you play by me as the devil did by Christ: for he said, If thou be, &c. Matt. iv. For it is, &c. Psal. xci. But the words of Christ do not make it plain left out, which are these: Thou shalt walk on the lion and the asp, &c. These words the devil left out, because they were spoken against him; and even so do you recite the facetrum.

Brookes. Declare thy faith upon the facetrum.

White. Christ and his facetrum are alike, because of the same; for in Christ there are two natures, a divine and an human nature; so likewise in the facetrum of Christ's body and blood there be two natures, in which I divide into two parts, that is, external and internal. The external part is the element of bread and wine, according to the saying of St. Augustine. The internal part is the invisible grace, which by the same is represented. So there is an external receiving of the same facetrum, and an internal. The external is with the hand, the eye, the mouth and the ear. The internal is by the Holy Ghost in the heart, which worketh in me faith; whereby I apprehend that the whole of my faith is wholly unto my salvation. If this be true, believe it; and if it be not, reprove it.

Dr. Hepkins. This is Oecolampadius's doctrine, and Hooper taught it the people.

Brookes. No, but that after the words of confirmation there is the natural presence of Christ's body.

White. My lord, I will answer you, if you will answer me to one question. Is not this article of our belief true? He that believeth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty: if he be come from thence to judgment, lay fo.

Brookes. No. But if thou wilt believe the facetrum, I will prove to thee that Christ was both in heaven and in earth at one time.

White. As he is God, he is in all places; but as for his manhood, he is but in one place.

Brookes. St. Paul faith, 1 Cor. xv. "Left of all he was seen of me," &c. Here St. Paul faith he saw Christ, and St. Paul was not in heaven.

White. St. Paul's chief purpose was by this place to prove the resurrection. But how do you prove that Christ, when he appeared to St. Paul, was not in heaven; like as he was seen of St. Stephen, sitting at the right hand of St. Augustine faith, the head that was in heaven, did cry for the body, and members which were on the earth, and said, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" And was not Paul taken up into the third heaven, where he might see Christ? as he was afterwards, 1 Cor. xv. For there he doth but only say, he saw Christ, but concerning the place he speaketh nothing. Wherefore this place of scripture proveth not that Christ was both in heaven and earth at one time.

Brookes. I told you before he would not believe. Here be three opinions, the Lutherans, the Oecolampadins, and we the Catholics. If you the Oecolampadins have the truth, then the Lutherans and we the Catholics be out of the way. If the Lutherans have the truth, then you the Oecolampadins and we the Catholics be out of the way. But if we the Catholics have the truth, as we have indeed, then the Lutherans and you the Oecolampadins are out of the way, as you are indeed, for the Lutherans do call you heretics.

White. My lord, you have troubled me greatly with the facetrum.

Brookes. Did not I tell you it was not possible to remove him from his error? Away with him to the Lollard's Tower, and dispatch him as soon as you can.

This was the effect of my first examination. More examinations were laid after this, which I have no time now to write out.

Amongst many other examinations of the aforesaid Richard White, it happened one time, that Dr. Blackstone, chancellor of Exeter, sat upon him, with divers others, who alleging certain doctors, as Chrysostom, Cyprian, Tertullian, against the said Richard White, and being reproved by him for his false patching of the doctors, fell into such a trembling and shaking, (his conscience being accuited him) that he was faint, and the blood stood and flowed out of his hands upon his knees to flay his body from trembling.

Then the said John Hunt and Richard White, after many examinations and long captivity, at length were called for, and brought before Dr. Geffrey, the bishop's chancellor, there to be condemned, and so they were. The high sheriff at that present was Sir Anthony Hungerford, who being then at the elections, was there charged with these two condemmed persons, with other malefactors there condemned likewise the same time, to see their death.

In the mean time Mr. Clifford, of Bofco, in Wiltshire, for-in-law to the said Sir Anthony Hungerford, the sheriff, came to his father, exhorting and counsel-ling him in no cause to meddle with the death of these two innocent men, and if the chancellor and priests would needs be inflant upon him, yet he should first require
require the writ to be sent down, De combaraendo, for his discharge.

Sir Anthony Hungerford hearing this, and under-
standing justice Brown to be in the town the same time,
went to him to ask his advice and counsel in the matter,
who told him that without the writ sent down from the
superior powers, he could not be discharged, and if the
writ were sent down, they might by the law do his
charge.

The sheriff understanding by Justice Brown, how far
he might go by the law, and having at that time no writ
for his warrant, let them alone, and the next day after
taking the evidence.
The chancellor all this while marvelling what the
sheriff meant, and yet disdaining to go unto him, but
looking rather the other should have come first to him,
at last hearing that he was rid away, took his horse and
rid after him; who at length overtaking the sheriff,
declared unto him how he had committed certain con-
demned prisoners to his hand, whose duty had been to
have seen execution done; the matter, he said, was great,
and therefore willed him to look well into it how he
would answer the matter. And thus began he fiercely
to lay to his charge.

A good reader, by the way, the close
and covert hypocrisy of the papists in their dealings;
who in the form and style of their own sentence con-
demnatory, pretend a petition unto the secular power,
in the wounds of Jesus Christ, that the rigour of the
law may be mitigated, and that the innocent be spared.
And he says, in how with their doings and deal-
ings, when this chancellor, (as you see) is not only con-
tended to give sentence against them, but also hunteth
after the officer, not suffering him to spare them,
although he would? What dissimulation is this of men,
going and doing contrary to their own words and pro-
fession? Let us return to our matter again.

The sheriff hearing the chancellor’s words, and seeing
him so urgent upon him, told him again that he was no
baby, which now was to be taught of him. If he had
any writ to warrant and discharge him in burning those
men, then he had it; but he had not; nor did I give you a writ, with my hand
and eight more of the close set unto the fame? Well,
quoth the sheriff, that is no sufficient discharge for me;
and therefore as I told you, if you have a sufficient writ
and warrant from the superior powers, I know then what I have to do; otherwise, if you have no other writ but that, I tell you, I will neither burn them
for you, nor any of you all, &c.

Where note again (good reader) how by this it may
be thought and supposing, that the other poor faine and
martyrs of God, such as had been burned at Salisbury
before, would have been likewise without authority or
sufficient writ from the superiors, but only from the in-
formation of the chancellor and of the close, through the
uncircumspect negligence of the sheriffs, who should
have looked more subserviency into the matter. But
this I leave and refer unto the magistrates. Let us
return to the story again.

Doctor Geffery, the chancellor, thus sent away from
the sheriff, went home, and there fell sick upon the fame,(for anger belike) as they signified unto me, who were
the parties themselves, both godly and grave persons,
who were then condemned, the one of them, which is
Richard White, being yet alive to do. Why, faith the
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The cruel method by which Mr. Nicholas Burton, an Englishman, was tortured in the Inquisitorial Prison at Cadiz, in Spain, previous to his Martyrdom.
After the aforesaid John Fetti had thus him in prison for the space of fifteen days, hanging in the field sometimes by the limbs, and sometimes by the neck, sometimes by the limbs and sometimes by both, it happened that one of his children, a boy of the age of eight or nine years, came unto the bishop's house to see if he could get leave to speak with his father. At his coming thither, one of the bishop's chaplains met with him, and asked him what he would have. The child answered, that he came to see his father. The chaplain asked again who was his father. The boy then told him, and pointing towards Lollardi's Tower, showed him that his father was there in prison. Why, said the priest, thy father is an heretic, and a child of a heretic. He was brought up and instructed by his father in the knowledge of God, answered and said, My father is no heretic; for you have Baldwin's mark.

With that the priest took the child by the hand, and carried him into the bishop's house, and there amongst them, and most humbly, and without all pity, foamed and scourged, being naked, this tender child, that he was all in a gore of blood, and then in jolly brag of their catholic tyranny, they caufed Cluny, having his coat upon his arm, to carry the child in his shirt unto his father being in prison, the blood running down his heel.

At his coming unto his father the child fell down upon his knees, and asked his blessing. The poor man then beholding his child, and seeing him so cruelly arived, cried out for sorrow, and said, Alias, Will, who hath done this to thee? The boy answered, that as he was feeking to see his father, a priest with Baldwin's mark took him into the bishop's house, and there he was handled. Cluny therewith violently plucked the child away out of his father's hands, and carried him back again into the bishop's house, where they kept him three days after they had killed him.

Bonner (minding to make the matter whole, and somewhat to appease the poor man, for this their horrid fact) determined to release him; and therefore caufed him early in the morning to be brought out of Lollardi's Tower into his bedchamber, where he found the bishop bathing of himself against a great fire, and at his first entering into the chamber, Fetti said, God be here, and peace. God be here, and peace! said Bonner; that is neither God speed, nor good morrow. If you kick against this peace (said Fetti), then this is the place that I seek for.

A chaplain of the bishop's flanding by, turned the thing upon the head of my father, and said, What do you think of what you have done? What have we here, a player? Whilf Fetti was thus flanding in the bishop's chamber, he spied hanging about the bishop's bed, a great pair of black beads; whereupon he said, My lord, I think the hangman is not far off: for the halter, perishing to the ends, is here already. At which words the bishop was in a marvelous rage.

Then he immediately after spied also flanding in the said bishop's chamber in the window a little crucifix. Then he asked the bishop what it was, and he answered that it was Christ. Was he handled so cruelly as he is pacified my lord? said Bonner. Yes, that he was, said the bishop. And even so cruelly will you handle him as come before you: for you are unto God's people as Caiaphas was unto Christ.

The bishop being in a great fury, said, Thou art a vile heretic, and I will burn thee, or else I will spend all that I have upon thee. Nay, my lord, said Fetti, thou hast better give it to some poor body, that he may pray for you. But yet Bonner besharking himself of the danger that the child was in by their whipping, and what peril might ensue thereupon, thought better to discharge him; which thing was accordingly done.

Whereupon, after this and such like talk, the bishop at last discharged him, willing him to go home, and carry his child with him; which he did, and that with a heavy heart, to see his poor boy in such extreme pain and grief. But within fourteen days after the child died, whether through his cruel floggings or any other inhumanity of the priests, I refer the truth thereof unto the Lord, who knoweth all secrets, and also to the discreet judgment of the reader. But however it was, the Lord yet used their cruel and detestable fact as a means of his providence for the delivery of this good poor man and faithful churlian; his name therefore be ever praised. Amen.

An Account of the cruel Handling and Burning of NICHOLAS BURTON, an English Merchant, in Spain.

I THINK it not amiss in this place to mention the story of Nicholas Burton, being such as is not unworthy to be known, as well for the example of his singular constancy, as also for the notation of the extreme dealing and cruel revenge of those catholic inquisitors of Spain, who under the pretended viölor of religion, do nothing but seek their own private gain and advantage, with crafty rifling and spoiling of other men's goods, as by the nothing of this story may appear.

In the year of our Lord 1560, this Nicholas Burton, citizen sometime of London, and merchant, dwelling in the parish of Little St. Bartholomew, peaceably and quietly following his traffic in the trade of merchantize, and being in the city of Cadiz, in the part of Andalusia, in Spain, there came into that town, not I, but he was they term them, a familiar of the fathers of the inquisition. Who asking for the said Nicholas Burton, feigned that he had a letter to deliver into his own hands; by which means he spake with him immediately. And having no letter to deliver to him, then the said promoter, or familiar, at the request of the devil his master, whole meffenger he was, invented another lie, and said, that he would take lodging for London in such ships as the said Nicholas Burton had freighted to laden, if he would let any; which was partly to know where he loaded his goods, that they might attack them, and chiefly to detraet the time until the ferjeant of the inquisition might come and apprehend the body of the said Nicholas Burton; which they did incontinent.

He then well perceiving that they were not able to burden or charge him that he had written, spake, or done any thing there in that country against the ecclesiastical laws of the land of the same realm, but asked them what they had to lay to his charge that they did to arreft him, and bade them to declare the cause, and he would answer them. Notwithstanding they anwered nothing, but commanded him with cruel threatening words to hold his peace, and not to speak one word to them.

And so they carried him to the filthy common prison of the town of Cadiz, where he remained in irons fourteen days amongst thieves.

All which time he so inquired the poor prisoners in the word of God, according to the good talent which God had given him in that behalf, and also in the Spanish tongue to utter the same, that in short space he had well reclaimed several of those superstitious and ignorant Spaniards to embrace the word of God, and to reject their popish traditions.

Which being known unto the officers of the inquisition, they conveyed him laden with irons from thence to a city called Seville, into a more cruel and traiter prison called Triana, where the said fathers of the inquisition proceeded against him secretly according to their accustomable cruel tyranny, that never after he could be suffered to write or speak to any of his nation; so that to this day he is still in his accusation.

Afterward, the 20th of December, they brought the said Nicholas Burton, with a great number of other prisoners, for professing the true christian religion, into the city of Seville, to a place where the said inquisitors fat in judgment, which they call Auto, with a canvas tent, whereat in divers parts was painted the figure of a
The fellow being glad to hear this news, and supposing that his goods should be restored unto him, and that he was called in for that purpose to talk with the other that was in prison, to confer with him about their mutual account; he brought, through a little misunderstanding, hearing the inquirers call out a word, that it should be useful for him to talk with the prisoner, and being therefore more than half perjured, that at length they meant good faith, did so, and repaired thither about the evening. Immediately on his coming, the goler was forthwith charged with him, to shut him up close in such a pension where they appointed him.

The party hoping at the first that he had been called for about some other matter, and seeing himself, contrary to his expectation, cast into a dark dungeon, perceived at length that his mind, his name, his fortune, and himself far otherwise than he supposed it would have done.

But within two or three days after he was brought into the court, where he began to demand his goods; and because it was a device that well served their turn, without any more circumstance, they bid him say his Ave Maria: "Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tu

The fame was written word by word in the eye of the prisoner, and was more talk of claiming his goods, because it was needful, they commanded him to print again, and entered an action against him as a heretic, foralmuch as he did not say his Ave Maria after the Romish fashion, but ended it very impulsively, for he should have added moreover; "Sung was Maria mater Dei, deo unicóssimus," by abbreviating, whereof it was evident enough (said they) that he did not allow the mediation of saints.

Thus they picked a quarrel to detain him in prison a longer season, and afterwards brought him forth upon their stage divulged after their manner, where每逢 his goods was given, that he should lose all the goods which he piled for, though they were not his own, and beheld this suffered a year's imprisonment.

In the year 1560 several other Englishmen suffered in Spain, among whom John Baker and William Burgess were apprehended, and burnt the second day of November in the city of Seville.

Mark Bruges, an Englishman, master of an English ship called the Minion, was burnt in a city in Portugal.

William Haker, a young man about the age of fifteen years, was burnt in the inquisition at Seville, for that he of his absolute authority would command restitution to be made thereof, but the booty was so good and great, that it was very hard to come by it again.

At length, after he had spent four whole months in suits, requests, and alms, to no purpose, he received this answer from them, that he must sue better evidence, and bring more sufficient certificates out of England for proof of this matter, than those which he had previously presented to the court. Whereupon the party forthwith polled to London, and with all speed returned to Seville again with more ample and large letters testimonial, and certificates, according to their requests, and exhibited them to the court.

Notwithstanding the inquirers still shifted him off, excusing themselves by lack of leisure, or that they were engaged in other weighty affairs, and with such answers put him off for four months after.

At last, when the party had well spent all his money, and therefore filled more earnestly for his dispatch, they referred the matter wholly to the bishop. Of whom, when he repaired into him, he got this answer, that for himself, he knew what he had to do; howbeit he was but one man, and the determination appertained to the other commissioners as well as unto him; and thus by polling and pitting it from one to another obtained the priest's countenance. Yet for his importunity's sake, they being resolved to dispatch him, it was on this sort: one of the inquirers, called Gacoc, a man very well experienced in these practices, willed the party to resort unto him after dinner.

A Treatise cunning thieves that were scourged by the Papists, for the Cause of the Gospel.

AFTER this bloody slaughter of God's saints and fervents that were misled and disturbed, let us now proceed to the cause of religion as to the fashion of such as for the cause of religion have been, though not put to death, yet whipped and scourged by the enemies of God's word, first beginning with Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax, who about the time of Anne of France, being an Englishman, foriter than twenty years, being an Englishman, foriter than twenty years, being an Englishman, foriter than twenty years, being a Fleming and friar, for their faithful standing to Christ and his truth, as by the holy and examination of them both may appear.

The Scourging of RICHARD WILMOT and THOMAS FAIRFAX.

AFTER the first recantation of Dr. Crome, for his heretic which he made the first Sunday in Lent, at St. Thomas's Acre, being the Merecers' chapel, his heretic
The Scourging of R. Wilmot and T. Fairfax.

...Wilmot said, Because their doctrine and living is not agreeable to his word.

Then I said to him, Sir, I never heard but that all men should learn of the prophets and priests, because they are learned men, and have been taught and brought up in learning all the days of their lives. Wherefore they must needs know the truth, and our fathers did believe their doctrine and living, and I think they did well, for the world was better off then than it is now.

Wilmot answered, I will not say so: for we must not believe them because they be bishops, neither because they are learned, neither because our forefathers did follow their doctrine. For I have read in God's book, how that bishops and learned men have taught the people false doctrine, and likewise the priests from time to time, and indeed those people our forefathers believed as they taught, and as they thought, so thought the people.

But for all this Christ calleth them false prophets, thieves, and murderers, blind leaders of the blind, willing the people to take heed of them, lest they should fall away from the truth.

Moreover we read, that the bishops, priests, and learned men have been commonly refiners of the truth from time to time, and have always perverted the prophets in the old law, as their successors did pervert our Saviour Christ and his disciples in the new law. Will you then say, that we credit them no further than God will have us, neither follow them nor our forefathers otherwise than he commandeth us. For Almighty God hath given to all people, as well to kings and princes, as bishops, priests, learned and unlearned men, a commandment, and law, unto which he will have all men to bow. Therefore if any bishop or priest preach or teach, or prince or magistrate command any thing contrary to his commandment, we must take heed how we obey them. For it is better for us to obey God than man.

Marry, sir, quoth Lewis, you are an holy doctor indeed. By God's blood, if you were my master, I would tell you about your busines a little better, and not suffer you to look upon books, and so would your master if he were wife. And with that in came his master, and a young man with him, who was a servent to Mr. Daubney, in Warrington.

"His master," said one, what was the matter.

Lewis said, that he had a knaves boy here to his servant, and how that if he were his, he would rather hang him than keep him in his house.

Then his master being somewhat moved, asked his fellows what the matter was.

They said, they began to talk about Dr. Crome.

Then his master asked what he had said, swearing a great oath, that he would make him tell him.

He said, that he trusted he had said nothing, wherewith either he or Mr. Lewis might justly be offended, I pray (quoth Wilmot), ask him what I said.

Marry, said the servant, I told him, that Dr. Crome did preach and teach nothing but the truth, and how that if he recanted on Sunday next he would be forry to hear it, and that if he do, he is made to do it against his conscience. And more he said, that we must not follow our bishops doctrine and preaching; for, faith he, they be hinderers of God's word, and I say that to you, and how that Cromwell (that traitor) did more good in setting forth the bible, than all our bishops have done these hundred years; thus reporting the matter worse than it really was.

His matter hearing this, was in a great fury, and said to him, that other things he could be anger or burned, swearing that he would take away all his books and burn them.

The young man (Mr. Daubney's servent) standing by hearing this, began to speak on his part unto Lewis, and his talk confirmed all the sayings of the other to be true.

This
This young man was learned, his name was Thomas Fairfax. Lewis hearing this man's talk as well as the other's, went his way in a rage to the court.

On the next day they heard, that the said Wilmot and Fairfax were sent for to come to the lord mayor. The meffenger was Mr. Smart, the sword-bearer of London. They were despatched with all speed to the mayors, and the captain commanded to fit down to dinner in the hall; and when dinner was done, they were both called into a parlour, where the mayor and sir Roger Cholmley was, who examined them severally, the one not hearing the other.

The effect of their discourse was this: Sir Roger Cholmley said to Wilmot, that my lord mayor and he had received a commandment from the council, to send for him and his company, and to examine of certain things which were laid to their charge.

"You, sir, said Cholmley, did you not make a proclamation in the church, what countryman art thou? He answered, That he was born in Cumbria, and in such a town. Then he asked him, how long he had been in the city. He told him.

Then he asked what learning he had. He said, little learning and small knowledge. Then (digressively) he asked how long he had known Dr. Crome. He said, about two years. Then he called him a lying boy, and said that (the said Wilmot) was his son.

The other said unto him, that was unlike, for that he never saw his mother, nor the like. Cholmley said he believed he never saw his mother, and what he said to be true. Then he asked him how he liked his sermon that he made at St. Thomas' church in the city. He said that indeed he heard him not. He said yes, and the other nay. Then said he, What say you to his sermon made at the Grofs the last day, heard you not that?

Wilmot. Yes, and in that sermon he deceived a great number of people.

Cholmley. How so?

Wilmot. For that they looked that he should have recant heretics; but he, his doctrine that he taught before, and did not, but rather confirmed it.

Cholmley. Yes, sir, but how say you now to him? For he hath recanted before the council; and hath promis'd on Sunday next to be at the Grofs again; how think you of that?

Wilmot. If he do so, I am more forry to hear it; and said, he thought he did it for fear and safeguard of his life.

Cholmley. But what say you? Was his first sermon hereby or not?

Wilmot. Nay, I suppose it was not hereby. For if it were, St. Paul's epistle to the Hebrews was hereby, and Paul an heretic that preached such doctrine; but God forbid that any christian man should to think of the holy apostle; neither do I think.

Cholmley. Why, how knowest thou that St. Paul wrote those things that are in English now, to be true, whereas Paul never wrote English or Latin?

Wilmot. I am certified that learned men of God, that did seek to advance his word, did translate the same out of the Greek and Hebrew into Latin and English, and that they durst not presume to alter the sense of the scripture of God, and fail will and testament of Christ Jesus.

Then the lord mayor, being in a great fury, asked him what he had to do to read such books, and said, that it was a pity that his matter did suffer him so to do, and that he was not fitter to work, and in fine said unto him, that he had spoken evil of my lord of Winchester, and bishop Bonner, thole reverend and learned fathers and counsellors of this realm, for which his fact he saw no other but he must suffer, as was due to the fame. And Mr. Cholmley said, Yes, my lord, there is such a sort of heretics and traitorous knaves taken now in France by my lord Rich, that is too wonderful to hear. They shall be sent to the bishop shortly, and shall be hanged and burned all.

Wilmot. I am forry to hear that of my lord Rich, for that he was my godfather, and gave me my name at my baptism.

Cholmley. As he did not these twelve years.

Wilmot. If he knew that you were such a one, he would do the like by you, and in so doing he should do God great service.

Well, sir, said Cholmley, because you are so full of your scripture, and so well learned, we consider you lack a grace. "Therefore, "he saith, "you shall go to a place where you shall be most quiet, and I will give you to study how you will answer to the council of the things which they have to charge you with, of els it is like to cost you your body joint. I know my lord of Winchchester will handle you well enough, when he believes thus much. Then was the officer that had that charge taken to him, and the Comper, in the Pouertie, and the other Comper, to the other Comper, not one of them to fee another; and thus they remained eight days. In which time they made great full to the lord mayor, and to sir Roger Cholmley, to know their offences, and that day might be delivered.

At length they procured the wardens of the company of drapers to labour with them in their suit to the mayor. The mayor went with them to the council, and there they should find no grace at Wicheller's hand, and sir Anthony Brooke, the mayor of the city had suffered death, and that they should have the law.

At length, through much intreathy, he granted them this favour, that they should not die as they had defended, but should be tied to a cart's tail, and be whipped three times through the streets, their house to be home that day, and went another day, and the mall and wardens of the company petitioned on their knees to have this open punishment relased, forsooth such as they were servants of so worshipful a company, and that they might be punished in their own hall before the lord mayor, being the certain of the company, which a length was granted.

The next day they appeared before the matter in the hall, their own matters being present, where they were charged with hereby and treason, for which, they were told, they deferred death, and this was declared with long procees by Mr. Brooke, the matter of the company, declaring what labour and fuit the mayor and wardens had made for them, to save them from death, which they (as he said) had delvered, and from open flame, which they should have had, being judged by the council of lawyers. The three days were at a cart's tail, and from these two dangers they had labour'd to deliver them, but not without great trouble and charge. For (said he) the company hath promis'd to the council for this their mercy towards them, an hundred pound, notwithstanding we must fee the punishment of the rest within ourselves for their offences. After this and many other words, he commanded them to prepare themselves to receive their punishment.

Then they were put afunder, and flipp'd from the waft upward one after another, and had into the midst of the hall, where they were wont to make their fires; there was a great ring of iron, to which there was a rope tied fall, and one of their feet tied fall to it.

Then came down two men disguised in mummen apparel, with vifors on their faces, and they beat them with great rods till the blood flowed out of their bodies. As fair as he could, he could not lie in his bed for six nights after, for Brooke layed the tyrant with them, so that with the pain and fear, they were never in health afterwards, as the said Wilmot with his mouth hath credibly informed us, and we can do no less than tell the fact.

Thus have we briefly declared this little tragedy, wherein we may note the malice of the enemies at all times to those who profess Christ, and take his part at what estate or degree forever they be, according to the apostle's saying, It is given unto you not only to believe, but also to suffer with him." To whom be honour and glory. Amen.
The Scourging of THOMAS GREEN, Printer, written by his own Hand.

I. The reign of queen Mary, I, Thomas Green, being brought before Dr. Story by my master, whose name is John Green, a printer, for a book called Antichrist, which had been distributed to certain honest men; he asked me where I had the book, and said I was a traitor. I told him I had the book of a Frenchman. Then he asked me more qualitatively, and said he would tell him no more. He said, it was no heresy, but treason, and that I should be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and so he called for Cluny, the keeper of the Lollards' Tower, and bid him set me in the stocks; and he took me out, and carried me to the Coal-house, and there I found a Frenchman lying in the stocks; and he beat him, and put a bolt and a fetter on my right leg, and another on my right hand, and so he set me close fettered in the stocks, and took the Frenchman away with him, and there I lay a day and a night. On the morrow after, he came and said, Let me flit you, and go your leg, because you shall not be lame; and he made as though he pitied me, and said, tell me the truth, and I will be your friend.

And I said, I had told the truth, and could tell no other. Then he put only my leg in the stocks, and so went his way, and there I remained six days, and would not confess to nothing.

Then Dr. Story went for me, and asked whether I would tell him the truth, where I had the book. I said I had told him, of a Frenchman. He asked me where I came acquainted with the Frenchman, where he dwelt, and where he delivered me the book. I said, I came acquainted with him in Newgate, I coming to my friends, who were put in for God's word and truth's sake, and the Frenchman coming to his friends also, we talked together, and became acquainted one with another, and did eat and drink together there with our friends.

Then Story scoffed at me, and said, Then there was brother in Christ, and brother in Christ; and reviled me, and called me an heretic, and asked me if I had the book of him in Newgate. I said no; and I told him, as I went on my business in the street I met him, and he asked me if I knew him, and I him also; so falling into discourse, he showed me that book, and I denied him that he would let me have it.

In this examination Story said, it was a great book, and asked me whether I bought it, or had it given me. I told him I did not buy it, and he knew it was a false book, and had stolen my master's money. And I said, a little money served, for I gave him but four-pence, but I promised him, that at our next meeting I would give him twelve-pence more. And he said, that was boldly spoken for such a book as spake both treason and heresy.

Then Story required me to bring him two sureties, and watch for him that I had the book of, and I should have it answered. I made him answer, I would bring no sureties, nor could I tell where to find them. Then, said he, this is but a lie; and so called for Cluny, and bid him lay me in the stocks, and set me as a thief; and saying, he would make me tell another tale at my next coming: and so I lay in the stocks day and night, but only when I eat my meat, and there I remained ten days before I was called for again.

Then Story sent for me again, and asked if I would yet tell him the truth, I said, I neither could nor would tell him any other truth than I had done already. And while I was there standing, there were two brought, which I took to be prisoners.

Mrs. Story fall in a rage, and more a great oath, that it was a good deed to put a hundred or two of these heretic knaves in a house, and I myself (said she) would set it on fire. So I was committed to prison again, where I remained fourteen days, and came to answer.

Then Story sent for me again, and called me into the garden, where I found with him my lord of Windsor's No. 56, chaplain, and two gentlemen more, and he told them all what they had said and done. They said, the book was a wondrous evil book, and had both treason and heresy in it. Then they asked me what I said of the book. And I said, I knew not evil or good.

At which they were chafed, and said he would hang me up by the hand with a rope; and said also, he would cut out my tongue, and mine ears also from my head. After this they alluded two or three things unto me out of the book. And I answered, I had not read the book throughout, and therefore I could give no judgment of it.

Then my lord of Windsor's chaplain and the other two gentlemen took me aside, and intreated me very gently, saying, Tell us where you had the book, and of whom you obtained it. I answered, I cannot answer, that I had told all I could to Dr. Story, and began to tell it them again: but they said, they knew that already; so they left that talk, and went again with me to Story.

Then Story burdened me with my faith, and said I was a Frenchman. Whereupon the chaplain asked me how I did believe. Then I began to rehearse the articles of my belief, but he bid me let that alone. Then he asked me how I believed in Christ. I made him answer, that I believed in Christ who died and rose again the third day, and fitteth on the right hand of God the Father.

Whereupon Story asked me mockingly, What is the right hand of God? I made him answer, I thought it was his glory. Then said he, So they say all. And he asked me when he would be weary of sitting there. Then informed him, I could not give him chaplain, although I did not know me what I said of the mafs. I said I never knew what it was, nor what it meant, for I understood it not, because I never learned any Latin, and since the time I had any knowledge, I had been brought up in nothing but in reading of English, and with such men as have taught the word of God with many more questions, which I cannot rehearse.

Moreover, he asked me if there were not the very word of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, in the mafs, after the preest had consecrated it. And I made him answer, As for the mafs I cannot understand it, but in the New Testament I read, that at the apostles flood looking after the Lord, when he ascended up into heaven, an angel said to them, Even as ye fee him ascend up, so shall he come again. And I told them another sentence, where Christ faith, The poor shall have you always with you, but I cannot answer that.

Then Mr. Chaplain put many more questions to me, to which I made no answer. Among others, he brought Chryfotom and St. Hierome, for his purpose. To whom I answered, that I neither minded nor was able to answer their doctors, neither knew how to call them right, or no; but to that which is written in the New Testament I would answer. Here they laughed me to scorn, and called me fool, and said, they would reason no more with me.

Then Dr. Story called for Cluny, and bid him take me away, and let me fall, and let no man speak with me. So I was sent to the Coal-house, where I had not been a week, but there came in fourteen prisoners: but I was still kept alone without company, in a prison called Salt-house, having upon my leg a bolt and a fetter, and my hands manacled together with irons, so there continued ten days having nothing to lie on, but bare fumes or a board.

On a time whilst I lay there in prison, the bishop of London coming down a pair of stairs on the backside undrew, in his hose and doublet, looked through the grate, and asked wherefore I was put in, and who that was who put me in.

I made him answer, that I was put in for a book called Antichrist, by Dr. Story. And he said, You are not ashamed to declare wherefore you were put in, and said it was a wicked book, and bid me confess the truth to him. I said, I would be true to him already, and desired him to be good unto me, and help me out of prison, for they had kept me there a long time.
time. And he said, he could not meddle with it; Story had begun, and must end it.

Then he told me, I should be shipwrecked like a ship and burnt, and he said I must first, and went my way with my keeper to the Lollards' Tower, where I remained two or three days, and so was brought before the keeper Clunny, by the commandment of the commissioners, to Christ's-Hospital, sometime the Grey-Friars, and was set on the rack, where for some time the correction of thieves and vagabonds; and for some time, too, to Trianian, the porter, and put into a flinking dungeon.

And after a few days, I finding friendship, was let out of the dungeon, and lay in a bed in the night, and walked in a yard by the day-time, and so remained prisoner a month and more.

At length Dr. Story came and two gentlemen with him, and called for me, and I was brought before them. Then he said to the gentlemen, Here cometh this man, and he had the book called Antichrist; and began to tell them how many times I had been before him, and said, I have intreated him very gently, and he would never tell me the truth, till it was found out by others. Then said he, it were a good deed to cut out thy tongue, and thine ears off thy head, to make thee an example to all other heretic knaves. And the gentlemen said, Nay, that were pitty. Then he said, I would not become an honest man: and I said, Yes, for I have offended God many ways. Whereupon he bidden me with his heel; I told him that I had made an answer of my faith before my Lord Windsor's chaplain, as much as I could.

So in the end he commanded me to be frittered, le flinding by me, and called for two of the beadle and the whips to whip me; and the two beadle came with a cord, and bound my hands together, and the head of the cord to a stone pillar. Then one of my friends, called Nicholas Priefman, hearing them call for whips, hurled in a bundle of rods, which seemed something to pacify the mind of his cruelty; and they stung me with them. But in a little while, they were whipping of me, and a gentleman asked me if I would go onto my master again, and I said nay. And he said, I perceive now he will be worse than he was before: but let me alone (saith he). I will find him out if he be in England. And in with many other things, which I cannot rehearse, when they had done whipping of me, they bid me pay my fees, and go my ways.

Dr. Story commanded that he should have an hundred fripes, but the gentlemen so intreated, that he had but forty, which might have my will, I would strike out his tongue.

A LETTER

From STEPHEN COTTEN to his Brother, declaring how he was beaten twice by Bishop BONNER, before he was burnt at Brentford.

BROTHER, in the name of the Lord Jesus, I commend me unto you, and I do heartily thank you, for your godly exhortation and counsel in your letter declared to me. And albeit I do perceive by your letter you are informed that our business is in number, so we are of contrary facts, conditions, and opinions, contrary to the good opinion you had of us at your last being with us in Newgate; be you assuaged, good brother, in the Lord Jesu, we are all of one mind, one faith, one assured hope in the Lord Jesu, whom I trust we altogether with one spirit, one brotherly love, do daily call upon for mercy and forgiveness of our sins, with earnest repentance of our former lives, and by whose precious blood-sedding we trust to be saved only, and by nothing else. Wherefore, good brother, in the name of the Lord, seeing these impudent people, whose minds are altogether bent to wickedness, envy, uncharitableness, evil speaking, do go about to slander us with untruth, believe them not, neither let their tongues be suffered to wound us with their reproaches. And I trust one day to see you again, although now I am in God's prison, which is a joyful school for them that love
The Scourging of John Harris, Robert Williams, &c.

The Scourging of James Harris.

In this society of the scourged professors of Christ, was also one James Harris, of Billecra, in Essex, a freeling of age of eighteen years; who being apprehended and sent up to Bonner in the company of Margaret Ellis, by Sir John Mordaunt, knight, and Edmund Tyrrel, justice of peace (as appeareth by their own letters before mentioned), was by Bonner divers times hastily examined. In which examining there was charged upon him to have come to his parish church for the space of one year or more. Whereunto he granteed, confessing therewith, that once, for fear, he had been at the church, and there had received the popish sacrament of the altar, for which he was heartily sorry, desiring the most holy communion to be administered to him. After this, and such like answers, Bonner (the better to try him) persuaded him to go to confession. The said, somewhat to his request, conferred to go, and did. But when he came to the priest, he stood still, and said nothing. Why, quoth the priest, sayst thou nothing? What then? quoth the priest. Thou must confess thy sins, said the priest. My sins, quoth he, be so many, that they cannot be numbered. With that the priest told Bonner what he had said; and he, of his accustomed devotion, took the poor lad into his garden, and there, with a rod, taken from off a cherry-tree, did most cruely whip him.

The Scourging of Robert Williams, a Smith.

Robert Williams, who being apprehended in the same company, was so tormentor after the same manner with rods in his harbour, who there submissively and yielding confessing of his own free will, in the form of the law, after being with jeering refused to do: whereupon he was cruelly sought for, but could not be found, for that he kept himself close, and went not abroad but by stealth; and now in the mean time of this persecution, this Robert Williams departed this life, and so escaped the hands of his enemies. The Lord therefore be honoured for ever. Amen.

And forasmuch as I have begun to write of Bonner's scourging, by the occasion thereof cometh to mind to inter by the way, his beating of other-boys and children, and drawing them naked through the neddles, in his journey, rowing towards Fullham. The story, though it touch no matter of religion, yet because it sheweth something of the nature and disposition of that man, and they reftlethisrender, were perhaps with other doleful stories, I thought not to omit.

Bonner, passing from London to Fulham by water, having John Willis and Thomas Hinshaw above-mentioned with him, both prisoners for religion, by the way as he went, he called the Sergeants of the law who were with him, his chaplain, in the barge, and being about the middle of their orisons, they eloped some young men swimming and washing themselves in the Thames, over against Lambeth, or a little above: unto whom he went and gave very gentle language, and fair speech, until he had let his men on land.

That done, his men ran after the boys to get them, as the bishop commanded them before, beating some with nettles, drawing some through bulbes of nettles naked, and some they made to leap into the Thames to save themselves, that it was marvellously they were not drowned.

Now as the children for fear did cry, and as this skirmish was between them, immediately came a greater lad therin, to know what the matter meant that the boys made such a noise. Whom when the bishop espied, he asked who that was, and whether in their doings or not. Unto whom the young fellow made answer stoutly, Yea. Then the bishop commanded him to be taken also: but he ran away with speed, and thus avoided the bishop's blieving. Now when the bishop saw him run away, and another man sitting upon a rail in the way where he ran, he desired him likewise to stop the boys: and because he would not, he commanded his man to fetch that man to him also; but he hearing that, ran away as fast as he could, and by leaping over the ditch, escaped the bishop in like manner.

Then the bishop, seeing the success of his battle to prove no better, cried to a couple oferry-boys to run and hold him that left ran away. And because they said they could not (as indeed it was true), therefore he caused his men to take and beat them. The boys running that, leapt into the water to save themselves; notwithstanding they were caught, and in the water by the bishop's men held and beat.

Now, after the end of this skirmish, the bishop's men returned to their maller again into the barge, and he and Harpsfield his chaplain, went down the river, and forthwith the rest of their service, as clean without malice, as an egg without meat. The Lord give him repentance (if it be his will), and grace to become a new man. Amen.

The Whipping of a Beggar at Salisbury.

Unto thee above specified, is also to be added the miserable whipping of a poor starved beggar, who, because he would not receive the sacrament at Eccle in the town of Colingborow, was brought to Salisbury with bills and glasses to the chancellor Dr. Geffery, who cast him into the dungeon, and after caused him miserably to be whipped by two catch-poles. The fight whereof made all godly hearts to rue it, to see such tyranny to be flowed upon such a timple and silly wretch: for they that saw him have reported, that they never saw a more foolish creature. But what pity can move the hearts of merciless papists.

Besides the above-named, divers others also suffered the like scourgings and whippings in their bodies for their faithful standing in the truth. They may be said, that the pride in the priests of the old school, and in the scoundrels in the Agas, 'Which departed from the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus.'
Another Treatise of such as being pursed in Queen Mary's Time, were in great Danger, and yet through the good Providence of God, nearthly were preserved.

ALTHOUGH the secret purpose of Almighty God, which didpleth all things, suffered a great number of his faithful servants both men and women, and that of all ages and degrees, to fall into the enemy's bands, to abide the brunt of this persecution, to be tried with rods, with whips, with racks, with fetters, withfamine, with burning of hands, with plucking off beards, with burning also both hand, beard, and body, &c.

Yet notwithstanding some there were again, and that a great number, who miraculously by the merciful providence of God, against all men's expectation, in safety, were delivered out of the fiery rage of this persecution, either by quitting the realm, or shifting of place, or the Lord fo blinding the eyes of the persecutors, or delaying the opportunity of time, or working some such means or other for his servants, as not only ought to fit them up to perpetual thanks, but also may move all men both to behold and magnify the wondrous works of the Almighty.

About this time it began to be known that queen Mary was sick, divers good men were in hold in divers quarters of the realm, some at Bury, some at Salisbury, as John Hunt, and Richard White, of whom we have treated before, and some at London, amongst whom was William Living, and his wife, and John Litchal, of whom something remained now condescendingly to be touched.

An Account of the Persecution and Deliverance of WILLIAM LIVING, with his Wife, and of JOHN LITHAL, Ministers.

ABOUT the latter end of queen Mary's reign, she then being sick, came one Cox, a promitor, to the house of William Living, about six o'clock, accompanied with one John Laurence, of the Greyhound. They being not ready, they demanded some buttons, saying, they should be as well paid for them as any; and he would come about three hours after for them again.

In the mean time he procured one Mr. Dean, the confiable, and George Hancock, the beadle of that ward, and searching his books, found a book of a notorious called the work of Joanna de Sacco Baco de Sphera, with figures, some round, some triangle, some quadrangular, which book, because it was gilt, seemed to him the chief book there, and that he carried open in the street, saying, I have found him at length. It is no wonder the queen be sick, feating there be such conjurers in priy corners; but now I trust he shall conjure no more; and fo brought him and his wife from Shoe-lane through Fleet-street, into St. Paul's church-yard, with the confiable, the beadle, and two others following them, till they entered into Darbishire's house, who was bishop Bonner's chancellor: and after the confiable and they had talked with Darbishire, he came forth, and walked in his yard, and said to him,

What is your name?

Lr. William Living.

Darb. What are you? a priest?

Lr. Ye.

Darb. Is this your wife that is come with you?

Lr. That she is.

Darb. Where were you made priest?

Lr. At Osnard.

Darb. In what bishop's days?

Lr. By the bishop of Lincoln, that was king Henry's spiritual father in Cardinal Wolsey's time.

Darb. You are a scharistim and a traitor.

Lr. I say no, I would be forty that were true. I am certain I never was a traitor, but always have taught obedience according to the tenor of God's word; and when tumults and schisms have been flirred, I have prev'd God's word, and allug'd them as in the time of king Edward.

Darb. What, you are a schismatic? You be not in the unity of the cathedral church: for you pray not as the church of Rome doth: you pray in English.

Lr. We are certain we be in the true church.

Darb. There be that doubt thereof, forasmuch as there is but one true church. Well, you will speak against me, and in my face with you again; to know the church of Rome, and to be a member thereof.

Lr. If the church of Rome be of that church whereof Christ is the head, then I am a member thereof, for I know no other church but that.

Darb. Well, Cluny, take him with thee to the Coal-house.

Then he called Cluny again, and spake secretly to him, but what he said I know not.

Then said Cluny, Wilt thou not come? and plucked me away violently, and brought me to his own house in Paternoster-row, where he robbed me of my purse, my girdle, and my platter, and a New Tallerment of Geneva, and then brought me to the Coal-house to put me in the stocks, saying, Put in both your legs and your hands; and except you fine with me, I will put a collar about your neck. What is the fine? quoth I; forty fillings, quoth he; I am sure able to pay it, said I.

Then said he, You have friends that are able; I dined it; and fo he put both my legs into the stocks till supper-time, which was ag a clock, and then a coat of my wife's brought me meat, who seeing me fit ther, said, I will give you forty pence, and let him go a liberty: and he took her money, and presently let me forth in his sight, to eat my supper. And at five o'clock, he put me in the stocks again, and I remained till two o'clock the next day, and he let me forth till night. This woman above-mentioned was Grin' first wife, a brother dwelling then in Aldersmanbury, and afterwards in Cheape.

On the Thursday following, in the afternoon, as I called to the Lillards' Tower, and there put into the stocks, having the honour to put my leg into that hole which Mr. John Philip's leg was in, and so lay all that night, nobody coming to me either with meat or drink.

At eleven o'clock on the Friday, Cluny came to me with meat, and let me forth, and about one o'clock he brought me to Darbishire's house, who drew forth a scroll of names, and asked me if I knew none of them: I said, I knew none of them but Fletcher. And I knew not what to say, and prayed they would not inquire thereof and farther. And with this came forth two godly women, who said, Mr. Darbishire, it is enough; and fo became furitices for me, and paid to Cluny fifteen fillings for his fees, and bade me go with them.

And thus much concerning William Living. After this came his wife to examination, whose answer to Darbishire, the chancellor, here likewise follow.

The Examination of JULIAN LIVING, Wife to WILLIAM LIVING.

Darbishire.阿, forsooth, I see by your going you be one of the fillers.

Julian. I wear not my gown for sithedr, neither for innmetry, but to keep me warm.

Darb. Num? No, I dare fay you be none: is that your husband?

Julian. In aye.

Darb. Is he a priest?

Julian. No, he faith no maif.

Darb. What then? he is a priest. How dareth thou marry him?

Then he fвед me a roll of certain names of citizens. To whom I answered, I knew none of them. Then said he, You shall be made to know them.
Then said I, Do no other but justice and right, for the day will come, that thou shalt answer for it. 

Darn. Why, woman, think'st thou not that I have a soul? 

Tom. Yes, I know you have a soul; but whether
it be to salvation or damnation, I cannot tell. 

Darn. Ho, Cluny, have her to the Lollards'-Tower. And so he took me, and carried me to his house, where was one Dale, a promoter, who said to me, Aar, good woman, wherewith be you here? 

If I be not ashamed, quoth Dale, to tell wherefore you come hither. 

No, quoth I, that I am not; for it be for Christ's Testament. 

Chrift's Testament? quoth he. It be the devil's Testament. 

O Lord, quoth I, God forbid that any man should speak any such word. 

Well, well, said he, you shall be ordered well enough. You care not for burning, quoth he. God's blood, there be some other means found for you. 

Then, quoth I, how wilt thou bring me? quoth he. 

Then, quoth I, my hope is in none but God. 

Then said Cluny, Come with me; and so I went to the Lollards'-Tower. On the next day Daribshire went for me again, and inquired of those citizens that he inquired of before. 

I answered, I knew them not. 

Where were you, quoth he, at the communion on Sunday was Sunday? 

I said, In no place. 

Then the confable of St. Bride's being there, made me say for me. 

And Daribshire demanded of him, if he would be bound for me. 

He answered, Yeas. And so he was bound for my appearance betwixt that and Christmas. 

Then Daribshire said, You be confable, and should give your counsel. 

So I do, quoth he. For I bid her go to mafs, and to say as you say. For, by the mafs, if you say the crow is white, I will say so too. 

And thus much concerning the examination of William Living, that be his wife, whom although they feel her delivered through the request of women, his fear, yet it was no doubt, but that the deady sickness of queen Mary abated and bridled, rather than the cruelty of those papists, which otherwise would never have let them go.

A traitorous fellow indeed, we have had—somewhat to do to get you. To whom he answered, that he was a true man to the queen's majesty than he. For you, saith he, are commanded by God to keep holy the Sabbath day, and you seek to hear your neighbour's blood on the Sabbath day. And therefore that you must answer it to God. But he said, Come on, you villain, you must go before the council. So Lithal was brought into St. Paul's church-yard to the bishop's chancellor, by John Avales, saying, that they had there caught the chiefest of their fellows, and do caused him to be called to examination before Dr. Daribshire, who began with him in this wife: 

Chaw. What countryman are you? 

Lith. I am an Englishman, born in Staffordshire. 

Chaw. Where were you brought up? 

Lith. In this our country of England. 

Chaw. In what university? 

Lith. In no univerisy, but in a free-school. 

Chaw. We had certain books from your house, and writing, wherein is both treason and hereby. 

Lith. Sir, there is neither treason nor hereby in them. 

Then the chancellor asked for certain other men that I knew. 

Lith. If you have aught to lay to my charge, I will answer it; but I will have no other man's blood upon my head. 

Chaw. Why come you not to the church? Of what church be you, that you come not to your own parish church? 

Lith. I am of the church of Christ, the fountain of all goodnes. 

Chaw. Have you no minimlers of your church, but Christ? 

Lith. We have others. 

Chaw. Where be they? 

Lith. In the whole world, disperced, preaching and professing the gospel and faith only in our Saviour Jesus, as he commanded them. 

Chaw. You boast much every one of you of your faith and belief: let me hear therefore the effect you believe. 

Lith. I believe to be justified really by Christ Jesus, according to the saying of St. Paul to the Ephesians, without either deeds or works, or any thing that may be invented by man. 

Chaw. Faith cannot save without works. 

Lith. That is contrary to the doctrine of the apostles. 

Chaw. John Avales, you and the keeper have this flow. 

Lith. I know none the apostles had, and therefore I will see none. 

Cleny and John Avales. Come and kneel down before the rood, and say a Paternoster, and an Ave in the worship of the five wounds. 

Lith. I am forbidden by God's own mouth to kneel to any idol or image; therefore I will not. 

Then they pulled me with great extremity, one having me by one arm, and the other by the other; but God gave me at that present time more strength than both the, his name be praised for it. 

Then when they could not make me kneel before the rood, neither to see the mafs, there gathered a great company about us, and all against me. Some sit on the ground, and said, Fie on thee, heretic; and others said, it was a pity I was not burned already. 

Then they carried me to Lollards'-Tower, and hanged me in a great pair of shocks, in which I lay three days and three nights, till I was so lame that I could neither lie nor move. 

Then I offered the keeper some money and gold that I had about me, to releas me out of the shocks: and he said, I would not be ruled by him, either to see mafs, or to kneel before the rood, and therefore I should tie there still. But I said, I would never do the thing that...
that should be against my conscience; and though you have laid my body, yet my conscience is whole, I praise God for it. So shortly after he let me out of the stocks, more for the love of my money (as it may be thought), than for any other affection, when he had got leave of Mr. Chancellor to come to me, to bring me such things as were needful for me, and there I lay five weeks and odd days. In which time divers of my neighbours and friends made suit to the chancellor for my deliverance; the bishop, as they say, was his most earnest friend, and found my neighbours being there, about twenty of them, the chancellor feit for me out of Lollards’ Tower to his own house, and said as follows—

Lith. Here are some of thy neighbours who have been with me to interreat for thee, and they have informed me that they have been talking of thee, and of thee among them, and I think it be God’s will that I should deliver thee before my lord come home. For if he come, and thou go home again, I shall be burned for thee: for I know his mind already in that matter.

Lith. I give you hearty thanks for your goodness, and for your friendship; hereby I feit for your worship, and shall be bound for him in body and goods.

Chan. I will require no such bonds of you, but that two of you will be bound in twenty pounds a piece, that he shall come to answer when he shall be called.

Lith. Where find you, Mr. Chancellor, in all the faces of the world, who can be a better judge for the profession of his faith? Which profession you have heard of me, that all our justification, righteouns-ness, and salvation, cometh only and freely by the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and all the inventions and works of men, he ever so glorious, be accounted nothing.

Chan. Lo, where he is now. I put no such matter to you: for in that I believe as you do: but yet St. James faith, “That a man is justified by works.”

Lith. St. James spake to them that brasted themselves of faith, and showed no works of faith; but O, Mr. Chandler; remember, I pray you, how all the promises and promises of the holy scripture, even from the first promise that God made to Adam, and even to the latter end of the Revelation of St. John, do testify that in the name of Jesus, and only by his name shall men be saved, and have saving faith from all their sins and offences. Israfael faith, chap. ixv. “I am bound of them that fought me not, and am manifest to them that ask not after me:” but against Israel he faith, “All day long have I stretched out my hand to a people that believe not.” And when the sinner asked St. Paul, what he should do to be saved, the apostle said, Acts xvi. “Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, and all thy household.”

Again, St. John faith in the Revelation, that there was none, neither in heaven nor on earth, neither under the earth, that was able to open the book, nor the seals thereof, but only the Lamb Jesus, our only Saviour.

And St. Paul faith, Heb. ix. “With one offering hath he made perfect for ever that are sanctified.”

Chan. With vain glory you rehearse much scripture, as all the rest of you do: but you have no more understanding than my sheep. But to the purpose. Will you have your neighbours fall into enter into bonds for you, or not?

Lith. By my mind they shall not. Wherefore I defere you that you would not bind me, but let me serve God with my conscience freely, for it is written, Rev. xii. “They that lead into captivity, shall fall into captivity, and they that strike with the sword, shall perish with the sword.”

Allo it is written in the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, Matt. xvi. “That whoso doth offend one of these little ones, which believe in me, it be better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the depth of the sea.” Of which I am afflied by his holy Spirit that I am one. Wherefore be you well afflied that such mercy as you feit, unto you shall be flewed the like.

Chan. You have said well. But you should not bind me, but that I must needs have something to bring for your deliverance. Then he called two of his neighbours, Thomas Daniel and Saunders Maybe, who offered themselves to be bound, and called me before them, and said, I have a letter of his own hand-writing, will be put at the hand of his majesty, as a memorial against the regiment of women, for which I could not make them to be hanged, drawn, and quartered: but on my faith will he no more hurt than I mean to my own soul.

Lith. I defere you that be my neighbours and friends to sign to such bonds for me: for I know not the danger thereof, but I defere you some other; a goeth against my conscience that ye should do.

Chan. Why, I will not bind you to do any thing against your conscience.

Then they made the bond, and sealed it to, and willed me that I should seal to it also, and I said that I would not, neither could I observe the bond, and therefore I would not set my hand.

Chan. It is a pity that thou haft so much favor flewed thee: yet for these honest men’s feikes, I will discharge thee.

Notwithstanding all these diffumbling words of thine, Darbishire, pretending for favour of his fortunes is set me at liberty, it was no such thing, nor any zeal of charity that moved him so to do: but only fear of the time, understanding the dangerous and irrecoverable fickness of queen Mary, which then began to become visible: for as he thought that there might be danger whereby they daft not do what they would: for the Lithai was not likely to have escaped so easily.

Moreover, there was one Edward Drew, priest, and Apoline, his wife, compelled to fly from their dwelling at a town called Brede; and the man being very old, they left him to help himself. At last he was taken and cast into Coldcheffer-castle, where he remained till queen Elizabeth came to the regal feast, and by the alteration of religion he was delivered. His wife, good woman, was in great care for him, and to her power did what she could to succour him.

William Brown, parson of Little Stanham, in the county of Suffolke, made a sermon in the said town, after the burial of our good king Edward, and in his sermon he said, There goeth a report that our good king Edward did set a beast upon the head of a priest, that had, in his preaching, one Robert Blomefeld, an adversary to the truth, being then confiante of the town, and bade unto Sir John Herningham, knight, (the chief lord of the town) immediately ride forth, and brought home with him one Edward Golding, who was then under-siefter, for the said book, which he professed to be of high divinity.

So the said Golding and Blomfeild sent for certain men of the same town, and examined them for the sermon: whereupon they made but a small answer. Then the sefheriff made a bill, and so terffied the men, that two or three of them set to their hands, and one of them afterwards enjoyed himself after, but it was a gris to him till he died.

Then they took men with them to the parson’s house, and in the night they took him, and with watch- men kept him till it was day. And then should he have been carried the next day to the council: but the said Robert Blomfeild was taken so sick, that he was like to die: so that he could not carry him for his life.

Then the said sheriff sent him to Ipswich again, and there he was for a time. Then he was sent to Ber- prizon, and from thence to the council, and then into the Fleet; and he lay in prison from the beginning of
of harvest till near Christmas, and said, God gave him fish sufficient to make when he was examined, that he was delivered with quietness of conscience. And having his liberty, he came again to the aforesaid town; but because he would not go to masts, his living was taken away, and he and his wife were constrained to fly here and there for his life and conscience. In the fall of the year, the queen Mary's reign God took him out of this life in peace.

Where moreover is to be noted, that this Robert Blaselande above-mentioned, immediately after he had apprehended the said Brown, fell very sick, and although at that time he was a wealthy man and of great substance (beside his land which was better than twenty pounds a year), after this time God plagued his household, that his eldest son died, and his wife had a pining sickness till she departed this life also.

Then he said another, a rich widow: but all would not help, and nothing would prosper; for he before pining sickness, being full of blues and fevers, whereby he wafted away both body and goods, till he died.

So when he died, he was above nine-score pounds in debts, and it was never heard of any repentance he had; but a little before his death, he threatened a good man, one Simon Harlton, to put him forth to the officers, because he did wear no surplice when he said service. Wherefore it is pity such faults of popery are left to the enemies to take chrillians in. God take them away, or else confound them: for God knoweth they be the cause of much blindness and strife amongst men.

Furthermore, out of the said town were confined to fly Robert Boela and John Trapne, because they would not go to masts and receive their sacrament of the altar.

The Persecution of ELIZABETH YOUNG.

YOU heard before the scourging of Thomas Greene, how he was troubled and beaten by Dr. Suny, for a certain book called Antichrist, which he receivd of a woman, because in no cafe he would detect her.

This woman was one Elizabeth Young, who coming from Ewden to England, brought with her divers books, and dipt heem abroad in London; for which the being at length apprehended and laid fast, was brought to examination before the catholick inquisitions of heretical pravity. Some of which examinations have come to our hands, and are as follow:

The First Examination of ELIZABETH YOUNG, before Mr. Hussey.

W. WHERE was you born, and who were your father and mother?

E. Young. Sir, all this is but vain talk, and very superficial. It is to fill my head with fantasies, that I should not be able to answer unto such things as I came for.

You. Have you not, I think, put me in prifon to know who is my father and mother. But, I pray you, on what account?

E. Young. Wherefore wentest thou out of the realm?

You. To keep my conscience clean.

E. Young. When wast thou at masts?

You. Not these three years.

E. Young. Then wast thou not there these three years before this?

You. No, sir, nor yet three years before that:

For if I were I had evil luck.

You. How old art thou?

E. Young. Forty and upwards.

You. Twenty of those years thou went to masts.

E. Young. Yes, and twenty more I may, and yet come home as wife as I went thither first, for I under-

stand it not.

You. Why wilt thou not go to the masts?

E. Young. Sir, my conscience will not suffer me: for I had all the world should accuse me, than mine own conscience.

You. What if a louce or a flea fluck upon thy skin,
Martin. I delivered thee and thy husband both; and I thought then that thou wouldest have done otherwise than thou dost now. For if thou hadst been before any other bishop in England, and said the words that thou didst before me, thou hadst tried a faggot; and though thou didst not burn then, thou art like to burn out worse now.

Young. Sir, I promised you then, that I would never be fed with an unknown tongue, and no more will I yet.

Martin. I shall feed thee well enough. Thou shalt be fed with that (I warrant thee) which will be little to thine chafe.

Young. Do what God shall suffer you to do: for more you shall not. And then he arose, and so departed, and went to the keeper's house, and asked his wife, whom he had so suffered to come to this traitorous place, as he called her. Then said the keeper's wife, As God receive my soul, there came him neither man, nor child to ask for her.

Martin. If any man, woman, or child, come to ask for her, I charge thee on pain of death, that they be killed; and give her one day bread, and another day water.

Young. If you take away my meat, I trust that God will take away my hunger: and so he departed, saying, that was too good for her; and then she was shut up under two locks in the Clink, where she was before.

The Third Examination of Mrs. E. YOUNG, before Dr. MARTIN.

Martin. ELIZABETH, wilt thou confess these things that thou hast been examined upon; for thou knowest that I have been thy friend, and in so doing I will be thy friend again; giving her many fair words, and then demanding of her how many gentlemen were beyond the seas.

Young. It is too much for me to tell you how many are on the other side.

Martin. No, I mean but in Frankfort and Emden, where thou hast been.

Young. Sir, I did never take account of them; it is a thing that I looked not for.

Martin. When shall I have a true word come out of your mouth?

Young. I have told you the truth, but because that it foundeth not to your mind, therefore you will not credit it.

Martin. Wilt thou yet confess? And if thou wilt, that which I have promised I will do; and if thou wilt not, I promise thee thou must go even hence to the rack, and therefore confess.

Young. I can say no more than I have said.

Martin. Well, forasmuch as the will confess no more, have her away to the rack, and then she will be marred.

Then sequestrated a priest that sat there, and said, Woman, take an oath, and confess: wilt thou be hurt for other men?

Young. I can confess no more than I have. Do with my carcasse what you will.

Martin. Did ye ever hear the like of this heretic? What a stout heretic is this? We have the truth, and we know the truth, and yet look whether he will confess. He is no robber, but the truth must needs to the rack, and therefore away with her, and so commanded her out of the door, and called her keeper unto him, and said to him, There is no remedy, but this heretic must be racked; and talked with him more, but what it was I knew not.

Then he called her in again, and said, Wilt thou not confess, and keep thee from the rack? I adjive thee so to do: for if thou wilt not, thou knowest not the pain yet, but thou shalt do.

Young. I can confess no more; do with my carcasse what you will.

Martin. Keeper, away with her. Thou knowest what I said. Let her know the pain of the rack. And if he departed, thinking no evil, but that she should have gone to the rack, till she saw the keeper turn toward the Clink again. And thus did God alienate their hearts, and diminish their tyrannous power unto the time of further examinations: for the way was brought before the bishop, the dean, and the chancellor, and other commissioners, first and last, thirteen times.

The Fourth Examination of Mrs. E. YOUNG, before the bishop of London, Dr. ROGER CHOLMEY, Dr. COOK, the Recorder of London, Dr. RUPED, and Dr. MARTIN.

FIRST, the being presented by Dr. Martin before the bishop of London, Dr. Martin began to declare against her, saying, The lord chancellor hath sent you here a woman, who hath brought books over from Emden, where all these books of hereby and treason have been printed, and hath therewith filled all the bad with treason and false error, and yet the confessor who translated them, nor who printed them, nor yet who sent them over. Wherefore my lord chancellor committeth her unto my lord of London, to do with her as he shall think good. For the will confess nothing but that she brought these said books in Amsterdam, and so brought them over to sell for gain.

Dr. Cook. Let her head be trusted in a small line, and make her confess.

Martin. The book is called Antichrist, and so was also called, for it speaks against Jefus Christ, and the queen. Besides that, it hath a certain link of the annabapists, for the refuseth to swear upon the four evangelists before a judge: for myself and Mr. Hugh have had her before us four times, but we cannot bring her to oath and therefore my lord chancellor would have that she should abjure the faith, and doth not full a great while; for the law hath in the Clink a good while, where she had too much liberty.

Then said the bishop, Why wilt thou not swear before a judge; that is the right trade of the ambashions, of forswearing. My lord, I will not swear that this book is mine.

No, said the bishop; and why?

Young. My lord, Christ faith, that whatsoever is more than yea, or, or Nay, it cometh of evil. And moreover, I know not what an oath is: and therefore I will take no such thing upon me.

Then said Cholmeley, Twenty pounds it is a man woman's clothes, twenty pounds it is a man.

Bannor. Think you so, my lord.

Cholmeley. Yea, my lord.

Young. My lord, I am a woman.

Bishop. Swear her upon a book, seing it is but a question asked.

Then said Cholmeley, I will lay twenty pounds it is a man.

Forced Dr. Cook brought her a book, commanding her to lay her hand thereon.

Young. No, my lord, I will not swear, for I know not what an oath is. But I say that I am a woman, and have children.

Bishop. That we know not, therefore swear.

Young. I lay the ill-favoured where, by thy hand upon the book; I will lay on mine; and so he laid his hand on the book.

Young. So will I not.

Then the bishop spake a word in Latin out of St. Paul, as concerning a woman.

Young. My lord, if you speak to me of St. Paul, then speak English, for I understand you not.

Bishop. I dare swear that thou doest not.

Young. My lord, St. Paul faith, that five words spoken in a language that may be understood, are better than many a faire tongue. Cook. Swear before us, whether thou be a man or a woman.

Young. If you will not believe me, then fend for weep into a secret place, and I will be searched.

Cholmeley. I will have an ill-favoured where.

Bishop. How believest thou in the sacrament of the altar?

Young. If it will please you that I shall declare my faith, 5
Youth. Why, thou art a woman of fair years; why shouldst thou meddle with the scriptures? It is necessary for thee to believe, and that is enough. It is more fit for him to meddle with thy diffulties, than to meddle with the scriptures. Doth thou believe? I would hear it; for it cannot be good, in that thou art brought to prison. Young. Sir, if it will please you to hear, I will declare it unto you. But I pray you that you will take your pen and write it, and then examine it; and if you find any thing therein that is not fit for a christian woman, then teach me better, and I will learn it.

Cham. Well said. But who shall judge between thee and me?

Young. The scripture.

Cham. Wilt thou fland by that?

Young. Yes, sir.

Cham. Well, therefore come out of the door a little while, for I am busy, and will call for thee anon again.

Then he called me again and said, Now, woman, the time is too long to write. Say thy mind, and I will bear it in my head.

Then Elizabeth began, and declared her faith to him as the had done before to the bishop.

Cham. Woman, faith and faith I do allow, but do not thou believe that thou dost receive the body of Christ, really, corporally, and substantially.

Young. These words, really and corporally, I understand not; as for substantially, I take it, you mean that I should believe that I should receive his human body (which is upon the right hand of God, and can occupy no more places at once), and that I believe not.

Cham. Thou must believe this, or else thou art damned.

Young. Sir, can you give me belief?

Cham. No, God must give it thee.

Young. God hath given me a true faith or belief. The chancellor then declaered a text of St. Paul in Latin, and then in English, saying, I could make thee believe, but thou hast a cankered heart, and wilt not believe. Who can then make thee to believe?

Young. You said even now, that faith or belief cometh of God, and I believe, and then may not I believe an untruth to be true?

Cham. Doft thou not believe that Christ's flesh is flesh in thy flesh?

Young. No, sir, I believe not that; for my flesh will putrefy and rot.

Cham. Christ said, My flesh is flesh in flesh. Young. When I receiveth him hearthly, shall have a fleshly resurrection.

Cham. Christ's faith in St. John, chap. vi. "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Young. Christ spoketh to the Caperneites, saying, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall not have life in you; and the Caperneites murmured at it, and his disciples all murmured, saying among themselves, This is an hard saying, and who can abide it?" Christ understood their meaning, and said, "Are ye also offended? Will ye also go away? What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up to heaven, from whence he came? Will ye believe on him? He is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing." I pray you, sir, what meaneth Christ by that?

Cham. O God forbid. Would you have me to interpret the scriptures? We must leave that for our old ancestors, which have studied the scriptures a long time, and have learned faith.

Young. Why, sir, have you not the Holy Ghost given and revealed unto you?

Cham. No, God forbid that I should so believe; but I hope, I hope: but you say you are of the Spirit. Will you say that you have no profit in Christ's flesh?

Young. Sir, we have our profit in Christ's flesh, but not as the Caperneites did underlie it; for they understand that they must eat his flesh as they did eat ox flesh and others, and drink his blood, as we drink wine or beer out of a bowl. But so we must not receive it: but our profit that we have by Christ, is to believe that.
that his body was broken upon the cross, and his blood shed for our sins; that is the very meaning of Christ, that so we should eat his flesh, and drink his blood, when he said, "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Christ. How doth thy body live, if Christ's flesh is not in thy flesh?

Young. Sir, I was a body before I had a soul; which body God had created, and yet it could not live, till God had breathed life into me, and by that life doth my body live. And when it shall please God to dissemble my life, no flesh will offer itself unto the place from whence it came, and through the merits of Christ my soul will offer itself to the place from whence it came.

Christ. Yea, but if thou dost not believe that Christ's flesh doth in thy flesh, thou canst not be save.

Young. Sir, I do not believe that.

Christ. Why, doth not Christ say, "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed?" Canst thou deny that?

Young. I deny not that; for Christ's flesh and blood is meat and drink for my soul, the food of my soul. For whosoever believeth that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, hath died and shed his blood for his sins, his soul feedeth thereon for ever.

Christ. When thou receivest the sacrament of the altar, dost thou not believe that thou dost receive Christ's body?

Young. Sir, as often as I receive the sacrament, I believe, that spiritually and by faith I receive Christ. And of this sacrament, I know Christ himself to be the author, and none but he. And this same sacrament is an embellishment to my conscience, and an augmenting to my faith.

Christ. Why, did not Christ take bread and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, "Take, eat ye all hereof; for this is the bread of the New Testament in my blood, which shall be shed for many." Now, I pray thee, sir, let me ask you one question: Did he give the cup the name of his blood, or the wine that was in the cup?

Then he was very angry, and said, Dost thou think that thou hast an hedges-priest in hand? Yea, sir, I take you not to be a hedges-priest; I take you for a doctor.

Christ. So me thinketh, thou wilt take upon thee to teach me.

Young. No, sir, but I let you know what I know; and by argument one shall know more. Christ said, "As often as you do this, do it in remembrance of me; but a remembrance is not of a thing present, but absent. Likewise St. Paul faith, "So oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew forth the Lord's death till he come," then we must not look for this here, until his coming again at the latter day. Again, is not this article of our belief true, "He fitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead?" But if he come not before he come to judgment, how then is he present in your sacrament of the altar? Wherefore I believe that the human body of Christ occupied no more than one place at once; for when he was here, he was not there.

The Sixth Examination of Mrs. Young, before the Chancellor.

Christ. WOMAN, the last time that thou wast before me, our talk was concerning the sacrament.

Young. Sir, true it is, and I truth that I said nothing that you can deny by the scriptures.

Christ. Yes, thou wilt not believe that Christ's flesh is fleshy in thy flesh.

Young. No, sir, God hath given me no such belief, for it cannot be found by the scriptures. Christ. Wilt thou believe nothing but what is in the scripture? Why, how many sacraments dost thou find in the scripture?

Young. The church of Christ doth set down two.

Christ. I will as well find seven by the scriptures, as thou shalt find two.

Young. Sir, I talk not to you thereof, but I say that the church of Christ feareth out two, and I have been taught one more.

Christ. What are those two?

Young. The sacrament of Christ's body and blood, and the sacrament of baptism.

Christ. What fayest thou by the sacrament of wedlock?

Young. I have not heard it called a sacrament, but the holy unction of matrimony, which ought to be kept of all men that take it upon them.

Christ. How fayest thou by priestis? Is it good that they should marry? Is it to be kept of them?

Young. I come not hereby to reason on such matter, for I am no divine, and also it is not part of my faith.

Christ. Can you not tell? You shall tell before you go.

Young. Then you must keep me a good while, for I have not studied the scriptures for it.

Christ. No, why, you will not be ashamed to fay unto the highest mystery, even to the sacrament at the first dish, and you are not afraid to argue with the best doctor in the land.

Young. God's mysteries I will not meddle with, but all things that are written, are written for our edification.

Christ. What fay you by prayers for the dead? Is it not meet that if a man's friend be dead, his friend can pray for him? Actor, is it not so?

Young. There is no christian man that will commend his friend or his foe unto the devil. And whether it be good for him when he is dead or no, none I am, that it is good when he is alive.

Christ. Then thou allowest not prayer to be good for them when they are dead, and lying in purgatory. Is it not meet that prayer be made unto God for them?

Young. Sir, I never heard in the scriptures of purgatory, but in the scripture I have heard of heaven and hell.

Christ. Why, you have nothing but the skirmises of the scriptures. Our ancient fathers could find out in the bottom of the scriptures that there is a purgatory. Yea, they could find it in the New Testament, that a priest should take the sacrament, and go to the altar, and be covered with it. But as for me, I am sure that this could never be found in the Bible nor New Testament, as far as ever I could hear.

Christ. Whom dost thou hear read either the Bible or New Testament, but a fort of felicitates, bawdy bishoppes, and hedge-priests (which have brought into the church this absurd and ridiculous, which was never heard of in any place in the world, but here in England), which hath deceived the king and all the nobility, and all the whole realm.

Young. Sir, it is a vile name that you give them all. Yea, and there are all the hedge-knives now, that they come not to their answer.

Young. Answere, sir? Why, they have anfwered both with the scriptures, and also with their blood: and then where were you that came not forth with some in their time? I never knew any of you that were troubled, but two, and that was not for God's word, it was for their disobedience.

Christ. No, I pray you? Did you not know that we were hanged, killed, burned, and beheaded?

Young. Sir, I never knew that any of you ever was hanged, killed, burned, burned, or beheaded.

Young. No? Did you never hear that the bishop of Rochester lost his head for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome?

Young. Then he died not for God's word.
Chap. 1. Well, thou wilt believe nothing but that which is written in God's word. Where canst thou find the Sabbath written in the Scripture, by the name of the Sabbath? For the right Sabbath day will prove to be Saturday. Or, where canst thou find the articles of the creed in the Scripture by the name of the articles? Or where canst thou find in the Scripture that Christ went down into hell.

Young. What place or part in the Scripture can you find to dispense any of these things?

Chap. What priest lieth thou lain within that thou shouldest more scripture? Thou art some priest's woman, I think, for thou wilt take upon thee to reason, and teach the butt doctor in all the land.

Young. I was never yet priest's wife, nor yet priest's woman.

Chap. Have I touched your conscience?

Young. No, sir, you have not touched my conscience, but beware you hurt not your own.

Chap. Thou hast read a little in the Bible or Testament, and thou thinkest that thou art able to reason with a doctor, that hath gone to school thirty years; and, before God, I think if I had talked thus much with a Jew as I have done with thee, he would have named me this time. But I may lay by you as Christ lieth by Jerusalem, saying, God will never send his word by other men than he hath chosen and gathered, and that thou hast not got nor gotten the same together, even as I have gotten, and the same gathered and given to her, but thou wilt not do it. And so, I will give you together in one faith, and you will not do it: and therefore your own blood be upon your own head, for I can do no more but teach you. Thou hast not the knowledge of the things that ever I heard; for thou believest nothing but what is in the Scripture; and therefore thou art damned.

Young. I do believe all things written in the Scripture, and all things agreeable to the Scripture, given by the Holy Ghost to the church of Christ, for forth and for ever and for ever shall the church of Christ, and shall I be damned because I will not believe an untruth.

Then the chancellor called the keeper, saying, Cluny, take her away, thou knowest what thou hast to do with her. And so she departed, and was brought again to the flock-house, and there she lay certain days, and both her hands manacled in one iron, and afterwards she was removed into the Lollard's Tower, and there she remained with both her feet in the flocks and thorns till the next time of examination.

The Seventh Examination of Mrs. YOUNG, before the Chancellor and the Bishop's Scribe.

Chap. WOMAN, thou hast been twice before me, but we could not agree, and here be certain articles that my lord the bishop of London would have thee make oath to, which I thought were there by thee such as the words: Full, how many sacraments dost thou allow? Young. Sir, as many as Christ's church doth allow, and that is two.

Then said the scribe, Thou wert taught feven before kings Edmund's days.

Chap. Which two sacraments be those that thou dost allow? Young. The sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and the sacrament of baptism.

Chap. Dost thou not believe that the pope of Rome is the head of the church, and under God in earth?

Young. No, sir, no man can be the head of Christ's church: for Christ himself is the head, and his word is the governor of all that be of that church, wherefore they be scattered abroad.

Chap. Dost thou not believe that the bishop of Rome can forgive thee all thy sins heretical, detestable and damnable, that thou hast done from thine infancy unto this day?

Young. Sir, the bishop of Rome is a sinner as I am, and no man can forgive me my sins, but he only that is without sin, and that is Jesus Christ, who died for my sins.

Chap. Dost thou not know that the pope fent over his jubilee, that all that ever were to have prayer and confession to the church, and to have their sins forgiven them?
Young. I know no other body that he hath, but that body whereof he meant when he said, "This is my body which shall be broken for you." Whereby he plainly meaneth that body and no other, which he took of the virgin Mary, having the perfect shape and proportion of a human body.

Story. Thou haft a wife body: for thou must go to the stake.

Dean. Art thou content to believe in the faith of Christ's church? But to ask of thee what Christ's church is, or where it is, it let it pass.

Young. Sir, to that church I have joined my faith, and I purpose never to turn, by God's help.

Dean. Wouldst thou not be at home with thy children with a good will?

Young. Sir, if it please God to give me leave.

Dean. Art thou willing to confess thyself to be a foolish woman, and to believe as our holy father the pope of Rome doth, and as the lord cardinal doth, and as my lord the bishop of London shine ordinary doth, and as the king and queen, and all the nobility in England do; yea, and the emperor, and all the noble persons of Christendom?

Young. Sir, I was never wise, but in few words I shall make you a brief answer how I do believe all things that are written in the scriptures, given by the Holy Ghost unto the church of Christ, let forth and taught by the church of Christ. Hereon I ground my faith, and not on man.

Then said Story. And who shall be judge?

Young. Sir, the scripture.

Story. And who shall read it.

Young. He unto whom God hath given the understanding.

Bishop. Woman, be reformable; for I would thou were gone, and matter dean here hath earnestly sued for thee.

Dean. Woman, I have sued for thee indeed, and I promise thee, if thou wilt be reformable, my lord will be good unto thee and I will not trouble thee any more.

Young. I have been before my lord bishop, and before matter chancellor three times, and have declared my faith.

Dean. And yet I know that matter chancellor will say that thou art a general heretic.

Story. Away with her.

Bishop. Matter dean, you know that I may not tarry, nor you neither. Let her keeper bring her home to your own chamber room at four o'clock in the afternoon, and if she find her reformable, then let her go, but if I should the fatt were gone.

Then said the dean. With a good will, my lord; and so she was sent unto the place from whence she came, until it was four o'clock in the afternoon.

The Ninth Examination of ELIZABETH YOUNG, before the Dean, after which she was delivered.

Dean. Art thou a fool now, as thou wert to-day?

Young. Sir, I have learnt but small wisdom since.

Dean. Dost thou think that I am better learned than thou?

Young. Yes, sir, that I do.

Dean. Thinkest thou that I can do thee good?

Young. Yes, sir, and, if it please God, that you will.

Dean. Then I will do thee good indeed. What dost thou receive when thou receivest the sacrament which Christ left among his disciples the night before he was betrayed?

Young. Sir, that that his disciples did receive.

Dean. What did they receive?

Young. Sir, that that Christ gave them, they received.

Dean. What answer is this? was Christ there present?

Young. Sir, he was there present; for he instituted his own sacrament.

Dean. He took bread and he brake it, and he gave it to his disciples, and said, "Take, eat, this is my body which shall be broken for you." When thou receivest it, dost thou believe he received his body?

Young. Sir, when I receive, I believe that through faith I do receive Christ.

Dean. Dost thou believe that Christ is there?

Young. Sir, I believe that he is there and by faith I do believe him.

Dean. He also took the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to his disciples, and said, "Drink ye all thereof; this is the cup of the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins." When thou dost receive it after the institution that Christ ordained among his disciples, the night before he was betrayed, dost thou believe that Christ is there?

Young. Sir, by faith I believe that he is there, and by faith I do believe that I do receive him.

Dean. Never was I haft answered me, remember what thou sayest, that when thou dost receive according to the institution of Christ, thou dost receive Christ.

Young. Sir, I believe Christ not to be absent from his own sacrament.

Dean. How long wilt thou continue in that belief?

Young. Sir, as long as I do live, by the help of God, for it is, and hath been my belief.

Dean. Wilt thou say this before my lord?

Young. Yea, sir.

Dean. Then I shall deliver thee. Why, thou callest thyself woman, or art thou not fit to have thy name written before my lord of London and me upon Friday next?

Young. Sir, you asked me no such question.

Dean. Then you would stand in disfratation how many bodies Christ had.

Young. Sir, indeed that question you did ask me.

Dean. Who shall be the feretices that thou wilt appear before my lord of London and me upon Friday next?

Young. Sir, I have no feretices, nor know I where to have any.

Then said the dean unto two women that stood there, who had earnestly sued for her, saying, "Women, will ye be her feretices, that they shall appear before my lord of London and me, upon Friday next? Women. Yea, sir, and it please you.

Dean. Take heed that I find you no more a babler in the scripture.

Young. Sir, I am no babler in the scripture, nor yet can any man burden me therewith.

Dean. Yes, I have heard of you well enough what you are.

Then said he to the two women, what if a man should touch your conscience, do ye not feel a little of hereby also?

Women. No, sir.

Dean. Yes, a little of the being-pain, or else wherefore have ye two so earnestly sued for her?

The one woman answered, because that her children were like to perish, and therefore God put me in mind to sue for her.

Then said the other woman, and I provided her child a nurse, and I am threatened to stand for the keeping of her child; and therefore it flanched me in mind to sue for her out.

Dean. Woman, give thanks unto these honest women, who have so earnestly sued for thee, and I promise thee to have I. These great hereticians will receive nothing but God's truth and faith, and so be rote and departed.

Young. Sir, God be praised, and I thank you for your goodness and their's also, and so went away; and upon the Friday next, because she was accused, her two feretices went thither, and were discharged.

The Persecution of ELIZABETH LAWSON.

IN the town of Bedfield, in the county of Suffolk, dwells an ancient godly matron, named Elizabeth Lawson, about the age of sixty years, who was apprehended as an heretic by the confablers of the same town, named Robert Kitrich, and Thomas Elias, in the year
1595, because she would not go to church to hear Mass, and receive the sacrament, and believe in it.

First, they laid her in a dungeon, and after that she was carried to Tyburn and, from thence to Bury prison, till at last she was condemned to be burnt. In the mean time Sir John Sylliard had her house unto his house, he being high sheriff that year, where she was hardly kept, and wrapped in irons, till at length when they could, by a false pretence to recant, she was sent again with shameful revilings.

Thus she continued in prison the space of two years and three quarters. In the mean time there were burnt her son and many more, whereby she would often say, “Good Lord, what is the caufe that I may not yet come to the house of my children? Well, good Lord, thy blessed will be done, and not mine.”

Not long after this (most happily) followed the death of queen Mary, after whom succeeded queen Elizabeth. At which time this Elizabeth Lawfow remained yet still in Bury prison, till at last she was bailed upon sureties, or else she could not be delivered. For the being a condemned person, neither the temporality, nor yet spiritual authority would discharge her without sureties. Now she being abroad, and her famities made all they could to get her out of her prison, she was sent again in prison, except she would them discharge.

Then she got a supplication to go unto the queen’s majesty, and came to a friend of her’s to have his consent therein; who wished her to stay a while, because she was in the world, and with her advice she might get a better and safer course (for it was a little before Christmas), and to tarry until summer. In the mean time God broke the bond, and shortened her journey; for he took her home to himself out of this life in peace.

Then the old woman, long before the went to prison, had the falling sickness, and told a friend of her’s, one Simon Harlton, after she was apprehended, that the never had it more, but lived in good health and joy of heart, through our Lord Christ.

She had a very unkind husband, whom, while she was in prison, told her repent, and would not help her; and after she was out of prison, the returned home unto him, yet would he shew her no kindnes, nor help her neither; and yet the house and land that he dwelt in he had by her; wherefore as long as she lived the said Lawton was maintained by the congregation.

The said Elizabeth Lawton also had a fifte, wife to one Robert Hollon, in Mickfield, in the same county of Suffolk, who likewise was perfecuted and driven out from house to house, and a young man her son with her, because they would not go to the church to hear Mass, and receive the sacrament of the altar.

An Account of the Persecution of THOMAS CHRIS- TENMASS AND WILLIAM WATS.

In this perilous rage of queen Mary’s reign were two men perfecuted, one called Thomas Christenmas, the other William Wats, of Tunbridge, in Kent. As these two men travelled from place to place, not resting two nights together in one place, they happened to go to Rochester in Kent, where they at the town’s end met with a damsel of eight years of age, but whether she went, they knew not. It was then night, and they being determined to live continently, he would not tell where, but could not tell where, they feared to the bloody calotises. At last they devised to ask the damsel whether there were any heretics in the town, or no? and the said, Yea. They asked her where. She answered them to the Quebec, saying, telling them the name, and where the town was. Shortly after, they were there and, when they beheld themselves better, and God so moving their hearts, they went to the child again, and asked her how she knew that the innkeeper (of whom she spoke first) was an heretic. Marry, quoth the, well enough, and his wife also. How knownest thou, pretty maiden? said they; I pray thee tell us. How know I? said the, marry, because they go to the church; and those that will not hold up their hands there, they will prefer them, and he himself goes from house to house, to compel them to come to church. When these two men heard this, they gave God praise, and avoided the greater part of the afternoon of that day (of good bringing up, as it should seem) to God’s marvellous providence towards them.

In the last year but one of queen Mary’s reign, William Wats lived at Seale, in Kent, where being apprehended, by a false pretence, to recant, he was sent to prison again with shameful revilings.

As dinner-time the confabulat took Wats to a virtual house, where after they had well filled themselves, they fell asleep, supposing their prisoner had been sure enough under their hands. Wats’s wife being in the house with her husband, and very careful for his well-doing, feeling them all fall asleep, defied her husband to go away, as God had given him an opportunity; but he refusing to long that at last a stranger hearing something of the dispute, asked what the matter was, and why she was so earnest with her husband: the wife told him, and he said the stranger to Wats. Father, go away in God’s name, and let them alone; and he had opened the way unto thee. Upon which words he went his way, and his wife departed from him, and went home to her house at Seale, thinking her husband had gone another way. Now as she was going in at her house, and saw his bisho and confabulat, she immediately came in the said Wats also, and they all being amazed theart, willed him in all haste to get him away; for they thought there would be search for him immediately.

Then Wats said, he would eat meat first, and also pray, which he did, and afterwards departed thence.

As soon as he was out of doors, and had hid himself in a holly-bush, immediately came the said confabulat with thirty persons into the said house to search for him, where they searched the house, and burned his books, his cels, and made great havoc; and as they were searching, the confabulat cried, I will have Wats, I will have Wats, I tell thee, I will have Wats; but God be thanked Wats could not be found. And when they saw it needless to search for him, in the end they took his wife, and let her in a pair of box, where she remained two days, and she was very bold in the truth, and at last delivered through the providence of God, whose name be glorified in all his works. Amen.

Mr. DABNEY.

THERE was at London a certain godly perforn, a painter, named Dabney, whom John Ayles in the time of queen Mary had brought before Bonner to be examined for his faith. It happened the same time, when the said Dabney was there, that the bishop was occupied with examining of others, so that he was bid to stand by, and to wait the bishop’s leisure. Upon the same, or not long after, suddenly came word to the bishop to prepare him with all speed, the general procession tarried for him. The bishop hearing this, that setting all business apart, bethought himself with all possible speed to the church, there to furnish procession. By reason whereof Dabney, who newly came to the house, took things left alone, while every man else was busi in preparing and setting themselves forth according as the case required.

To be short, as the time called on, Bonner, with his household makes all possible haste to the procession. Dabney being left alone, came down to the outward court near the gate, and there beholding that none came to himself, looking for nothing less than to escape that danger. The porter, who was only left at home, seeing the man walk alone, supposing he had been some citizen left there behind, and waiting for opening the gate, went and opened it for him, and desired him what was the matter. Yes, said he, with a good will, if you will let me out. With all my hearts, quoth the porter, and I pray you to do.
And thus the said Dabney taking the opportunity offered of God, being let out by the porter, escaped out of the wolf's mouth. The procision being done, when the bishop returned home, Dabney was gone, and could not be found. Witn. For though he was not, by positively John Avales laid wait for him: who, after long searching, when he could not get him, at length received fifteen crowns of his wife to let him alone when he should see him, and so that man escaped.

ALEXANDER WIMHURST, Priest.

A LIKE example of God Almighty's goodnesse towards his afflicted servants in that dangerous time of persecution in the year of our Lord, 1558, in the reign of that holy and right worshipful Prince King Edward VI, in the time of that holy and godly Bishop of Oxford, Alexander Wimhurst, a priest, sometime of Magdalen college, in Oxford, and then a papist, but since an earnest enemy to Antichrist, and a man better instructed in the true fear of God. It happened that one had recommended him to bishop Bonner for religion, upon what occasion I do not understand. According to the old manner in such cases provided, he sent forth Robi Caly, otherwise called Robin Papili, one of his wheelers, to bring in the game, and to cause this filthy poor man to appear before him. Little Robin, like a proper man, beloved the wheels, and when he had seen what he had brought him, brought him along by Cheap-side, not suffering him to talk with any of his acquaintance by the way, though they were some of his old friends of Oxford that offered to speak unto him.

When they came into St. Paul's, he espied Dr. Cheddeley there walking up and down, and, because he was able in such a cafe to do pleasure, and for that he had been of his old acquaintance in Oxford, he was very desirous to speak to him ere he went through. Cheddeley, perceiving that Robi Caly did attend upon him, said, that he durst not meddle in the matter. 'You may meddle,' said he, 'but if you meddle, I shall not answer.' Then did the said Robi, (alluded to the words of Christ that Peter in the last chapter of St. John you remember, brother, what is written in the gospel:)

"When thou wast young, thou didst gird thyself, and wast like unto a bride, and wast comfortable in thy days: but when thou art old, thou shalt stretch forth thine hands, and another shall gird thee, and take away thy comeliness." (Thus, with a promise and assurance, he might easily have accomplished so small a request, if he had liked it.)

Thence he was carried to Story and Cook, commissi- foners, there to learn what should become of him. Before them he behaved himself boldly and stoutly, as to his love to his religion, and would not suffer any question very cruelly. When they had bated the poor man's fill, they asked him where his whore was. She is not my whore (said he), but my lawfull wife. She is thy whore, said they. She is not my whore (said he again), I tell you. So when they perceived that he was not likely to talk with them, nor attributed to them so much as they looked for at his hand, according to the ordinary manner, they commanded him to prison. And now mark well the providence of God in his preservation.

He made a journey from London to sovereign's Pater-norolle-row, from thence to be carried to Lollard's Tower, out of hand, but that Cluny, (as it happened) his wife and his maid, were so earnestly occupied about present burdens, that they had not leisure then to lock up their prisoner. In the hall where Alexander sat was a strange woman, whose husband was then present in trouble for religion, which perceived by some occasion or other, that this man was brought in for the like caufe. Alack, good man, faith he, if you will you may cramp the crutch hands of your enemies, forsook me in the day that should look unto you. God hath opened the way unto you for a deliverance, and therefore lofe not the opportunity thereof, if you be wife. Being persuaded with such and such like words, he went out of doors, and escaped their hands.

BOSON's Wife.

THIS good woman being at Richmond with her mother, was greatly urged to go to church. At length, through great importunity, she came; being in the church, and sitting with another in the pew, contrary in all things to the doings of the Papists, she beheld herself so, that when they kneeled, she stood, when they turned forward, she turned backward, &e.

This being notorious in the church, the confidable and church-sarden attached her in the queen's name; likewise in the next day at Kingston, which accordingly they did, and happened; to meet the officers crowling the river, by which they apprehended her, not by her actions, but at that time the officers had no power to speak to them, though afterwards they flung and flung herself too. When she heard that, she said to herself, as was declared by the waterman upon the boat. Whereupon the good woman taking her journey to London, escaped their cruelty.

JOHN DAVIS, under Twelve Years of Age.

IN the year 1546, and the last year of king Henry the Eighth, John Davis, a child of twelve years and under, who dwelling in the house of Mr. John, aof, apothecary, in the town of Wovercett, his uncle, since sometimes to read in the Testament and other English books, and thereupon to appear the next day at Kingston, which accordingly they did, and happened; to meet the officers crowling the river, by which they apprehended her, not by her actions, but at that time the officers had no power to speak to them, though afterwards they flung and flung herself too. When she heard that, she said to herself, as was declared by the waterman upon the boat. Whereupon the good woman taking her journey to London, escaped their cruelty.

JOHN DAVIS, under Twelve Years of Age.
Mistress Roberts, a gentlewoman, living (as I understand) in the town of Hawkhurst, in the county of Kent, being a woman of great goodness, and no less constant in that which she had lost, did, as I understand, keep herself during all the brut of Queen Mary’s time, that she never came to their popish feces, nor polluted her conference with their idolatrous and beastly ceremonies. At the time of the business of Anne Boleyn, called Sir John Gilford, who being as constant on the contrary side to set forward the proceedings of Queen Mary, thought to prove matters by this gentlewoman, in forcing her into the church. And first leading her wife, he attempted her by fair words and gentle persuasions to conform herself to the prince’s laws, and to come, as other christian people did, to the church. Notwithstanding, the constantly perfiling in the fineness of the truth, would by no persuasions be done therein against her conscience; and so kept at home a certain time, till again Mr. Gilford thinking that she did not give him such officers and servants to her, by force and power to haul her out of her house to the church, and so did. Where, by the way, the great grief of conscience sowned, and so of necessity was brought home again, and falling into an ague, was for that time dispensed with. When she had recovered her health again, he came in a way to compel her to come to church whether she would or no. But, (as the proverb goes) who can prevent that which God would have done? For when Mr. Gilford had purposed as pleased him, the Lord did dispose it for this good woman, that as he was coming up stairs towards her chamber, suddenly his old disease the gout seized him, and so terribly tormented him, that he could go no further; and so he, that purposed to carry her to the church against her will, was forced himself to be carried home to his house on account of his pain, protesting and fearing more that he would never from henceforth trouble that gentlewoman more, and no more he did.

Mrs. Anne Lacy.

Mistress Anne Lacy, widow, in Nottinghamshire, was in great danger in queen Mary’s time, inasmuch that the process was set out against her, and the ready to have been apprehended, being so nearly pursued, that she was driven to hide her Bible and other books in a dunghill. Mr. Lacy, her brother, was that thing, and other help is paid, for this innocent charge, that the profession of all his hard-hearted enemies was disappointed: for before the judges came, God took away Henry the Eighth out of this life. By reason whereof the force of the law was then stayed: however, being given the same arms at the bar before the judges, who were Portman and Marven: who when they perceived that they could not burn him, would have him presently whipped. But Mr. Bourne declared to the judges, how he had whipping enough. After that he had lain a while in prison, being in ordinary, his wife anointed his legs herself with an ointment, which then were stiff and numbed with iron, till at length when Mr. Bourne and his wife saw they could not win him to the belief of their sacrament, they put him away, lest he should infect their son Anthony, as they thought, with heresy.

That John Davis was mercifully preferred, after he had Indited imprisonment from the 14th day of August till within seven days of Easter, who is yet alive, and a profitable ministration this day in the church of England: blessed be the Lord.

Mrs. Roberts.

Crossman’s wife.

She lived at Titham Longrow, in Norfolk, and for not going to church, was fought for at her house by the contable of the hundred, who when he came to her house, the being at home with a child fucking in her arms, kept a corner on the one side of the chimney, and they seeking about the chambers, the child never cried (although before they came it did) as long as they were there, and so by this means the Lord preferred her.

The Congregation at Stoke, in Suffolk.

There were some likewise that avoided the violent rage of the adversaires by means only of their number, and mutual according in godliness, wherein they did to be done, and at length concluded none well could be troubled: whereof we have an example in a certain town in Suffolk, called Stoke. After the three sharps years of queen Mary’s persecutions being past, yet notwithstanding the inhabitants of the town flocked, especially the women, came not to their church to receive the consciences: which, according to the popish manner, the sacrament: who, if they had been but few, they could by no means have escaped imprisonment. But because there were so many, the papists thought it best not to lay hands upon them. Only they appointed them fifteen days to come after Easter, to receive sacrament, as many as would, should receive the sacrament; those that would not, should stand to the peril that would follow. Of this company, which were many, giving their hands together, the chief were these: Eve, an old woman of sixty years of age; Alice Coker, her daughter; Elizabeth Dyer, and Ann Cottle; Alice Spencer; Henry Canker; Joan Fouke; Agnes Spaulding; John Steyre, and his brother; John Foxe.

These, after the order was taken for their not coming to the church, took counsel among themselves what was best to be done, and at length concluded by promise one to another, that they should not receive at all. Yet some of them afterwards, being persuaded with fair promises that the communion should be ministered unto them according to king Edward’s book, went to the parish priest (whole name was Cotes), and asked him after which fort he would minister the sacrament. He answered to such as he favoured, that he would give it after the right form, the rest should have it after the popish manner.

To be short, none did communicate, but only John Steyre and John Foxe; of which the one gave his wife leave to do as the thought best. The other went about with threats to compel his wife, saying, that otherwife he would divorce himself from her. As for the rest, they withdrew themselves from church, referring to their written company, only Foxe’s wife tarried till at home, in heaviness, whose husband prafticed with the curate in the mean time, that the next day after he should give her the sacrament, which was the seventeenth day after Easter. But the very same day, unknowing wherein he had been, he went secretly to her company, and with tears declared how violently her husband had dealt with her. The other women bade her notwithstanding to be of good cheer, and said, that they would make their most earnest prayers to God both for her and her husband: and indeed when they had done, the matter took very good success. For the next day after, Goodman Foxe came of his own accord unto them, a far other man than he was before, and bewailed his own rashness, praying them that they would forgive him, promising ever after to be more strong in faith: to the great rejoicing both of them and his wife.

About half a year after this, the bishop of Norwich...
The Congregation in London.

No less wonderful was the preservation of the congregation in London, which from the first beginning of queen Mary to the latter end thereof, continued, notwithstanding whatsoever the malice, device, searching, and inquisition of men, or fratichefs of laws could work to the contrary. Such was the merciful hand of the Lord, according to his accustomed goodnesse, ever working to prevent the devices of men, and the plots of the Lord, many and great examples appeared in the congregation which I now speak of. How often, and in what great danger did he deliver them!

First, In Black-friars, when they should have reforsed to sir Thomas Comyns, for the watch there was kept, the congregation through God's providence the watchman was prevented, and they delivered.

Again; they narrowly escaped about Allgate, where spies were laid for them: and had not Thomas Simfon, the deacon, espied them, and bid them depart themselves away, they had been taken. After which two hours, the constables coming to the house after they were gone, demanded of the wife what company had been there. To whom, to exclude the matter, made answer again, saying, that half a dozen good fellows had been there at breakfast as they went a madding.

Another time also about the Great Conduit, they passing there through a very narrow alley, into a clothworker's loft, were espied, and the Shirreffs sent for: but before they came, they having privy knowledge thereof, immediately shifted away out of the alley, John Avales standing alone in the midst, and having at them.

Another like escape they made in a ship at Billinggate, belonging to a certain good man of Leigh, where in the open sight of the people they were assembled together, and yet through God's mighty power escaped.

Beautiff Ratcliff and Redriff, in a ship called Jesus ship, twice or thrice they assembled, having there closely, after their accustomed manner, both sermon, prayer, and communion, and yet through the protection of the Lord they returned, although not espied, yet untaken.

Moreover, in a cooper's house in Pudding-lane, fo near were they to peril and dangers, that John Avales coming into the house where they were, talked with the man of the house, and after he had asked a question or two, departed; God so working, that either he had no knowledge of them, or no power to take them.

But they never espied more hardly, than once in Thames-street in the night-time, where the house being belted with enemies, they were delivered by the means of a mariner, who being at that present in the same company, and seeing no other way to avoid, pluckt off his flobes and saw to the next boat, and so rowed the company over, using his flobes instead of oars; and God so worked it, that they were not discovered.

What should I speak of the extreme danger which that goodly company was in at the taking of Mr. Rough, their minifter, and Cuthbert Simfon, their deacon, had not God's providence given knowledge before to Mr. Rough in his sleep, that Cuthbert Simfon should leave behind him at home the books of all their names, which he was not to carry about with him; whereof mention is made before.

In this church or congregation there were sometimes forty, sometimes an hundred, sometimes two hundred, sometimes four hundred of men. About the latter time of queen Mary it is greatly increased. From the beginning, which was about the first entry of queen Mary's reign, they had divers minifters first, Mr. Scamier, then Tho. Fauce, after him Mr. Rough, then Mr. Benham, and lastly, Mr. Benham; concerning the delivereance of which Mr. Benham (being now bishop of Coventry and Lichfield) in God's mighty providence most notably is to be commended.

The story is thus:

One time when seventy ministers were burnt in Smithfield, a proclamation was issued out, strictly forbidding all persons whatsoever either to salute, or pray for the prisoners as they came to the stake: the godly people hearing this, great numbers of them assembled together, resolving to comfort and encourage them by their prayers; and when they came towards the stake, well guarded by officers armed with bills and guns as usual, the whole congregation ran in upon them, killing and embracing them, (not minding the officers and their weapons) and carried them to the stake, and mangled them to death, and thus prevented the officers could do to prevent it.

This done, and the people giving place to the officers, the proclamation was read with a loud voice to the people in the names of the king and queen, That no man should hinder the congregation from speaking a word among them. Mr. Benham, then minifter of the congregation, feing the fire set to the martyrs, turned his eye to his people and said, We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot chuse but lay, God strengthen them; and then he boldly said, Almighty God! From whom we have received that right, With all the people with one consent, and one voice, said, Amen, Amen. The noise whereof was so great, that the officers could not tell what to say, or whom to accuse. And thus much concerning the congregation of the faithful assembling together at London in the time of queen Mary.

Another time, as Mr. Benham was going through St. Catherine's, intending to take a walk in the air, he was forced by two or three men to go along with them. Mr. Benham being asked at the saddle-horses of the matter, required what their purpose was, or whither they would have him go. They answered, that by the occasion of a man there found drowned, the coroner's Inquest was called and charged to sit upon him, of which inquest he must of necessity be one. &c. He endeavored to escape, but was overcome with force and left experience in such matters, and if it would please them to let him go, they would meet with another more fit for their purpose. But when with this they would not be satisfied, he further urged, that he was a scholar in the university of Oxford, and therefore was priviledged from being of any inquest. The coroner demanded the sight of his privilege. He said, if he would give him leave, he would fetch it. Then said the coroner, The queen must be revered without delay; and so he was carried to the river and drowned.

Then a book was offered him to swear upon; upon his opening it, he found it to be a popish primer, and refused to swear thereon, and declared moreover what superition in the book was contained. What, said the coroner, I think he shall have an heretic among us. And upon that, after much reasoning, he was conducted to the custody of an officer till further examination; by occasion whereof he hardly could have escaped, had not the Lord helped where man was not able. What followed? As they were thus contending about matters of life and death, and of the utmost importance, he being, dissembling and repealing the order and calling of that inquest, for that it was (as he said) pertaining to his office; and therefore the other coroner and his company in that place had nothing to do. And so the first coroner was enraged and displeased; by reason whereof Mr. Benham espied their hands.
EDWARD BENNET.

A BOUT the second year of queen Mary, Edward Bennet, then dwelling at Queenhithe, was des-

troyed by Mr. Tingle, then prisoner in Newgate, to

him a New Testament. He procured one of
Mr. Coverdale's translation, wrapt it in a handker-

chief, saying to George the keeper, who asked him
what he had, that it was piece of powdered beef.

Let me add, that it was only a small part of one

bought him to sir Roger Cholmeley, who examined

him why he did so, saying that book was not lawful,

and committed him to Wood-street Comptroller, where

he continued twenty-five weeks.

Dr. Story convicted him of the prison to examine other persons. Bennet looking out at the grate, spake

to him, desiring him to be good unto him, and to help

him out, for he had long lain in prison. To whom

Dr. Story answerved, Wast thou not before me in

Christ's church? Yes forsooth, said Bennet. Ah, said

Story, what canst thou say? Martyr, I will help thee out;

come, said he to the keeper, turn him out. I will help him; and so

took Bennet with him, and brought him to Cluny, in

Paternoster-row. And bade him bring him to the Coal-

house, and there he was in the Stocks a week.

Mr. Dugdale, however, says, he was in a house of

confined with him, and after he was discharged, and

brought him to Newgate, for twenty-four times, but

fear he was not confined.

Then he asked him if he could take away his

fist. No, said Bennet; I do not so believe, the

and Harphort laughed at him, and mocked

him, asking him if he did not believe that whatever

the priest bound here in earth, should be bound in

heaven, and whatsoever he looeth in earth should

be looed in heaven. No, said Bennet; but I believe

that the minister of God, preaching God's word truly,

and generally, did come to him to talk with him, and

fist asked him, if he was confined? No, said Bennet.

He asked him if he would be confined? No, said he.

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and generally, did come to him to talk with him, and

fist asked him, if he was confined? No, said Bennet.

He asked him if he would be confined? No, said he.

Then the bishop putting him aside, said he should go

to Fulham and be whipped.

Mr. Ruffell, a priest, then came to him lying in the

Coalhouse in the Stocks, and brought Cranmer's

reconciliation, saying, that he had recanted. My faith

said the other, liech in no man's book, but in him

which hath redeemed me. The next Saturday, Bennet

will five others were called for to come to mass in the

next Sunday. This mass was being done, and they coming out,

five of them were taken. Bennet was not amongst

ed. Bennet being behind, and coming toward the gate,

the porter, opening to a company going out, asked if

there were no prisoners there. No, said they. Ben-

net standing in open fight before him, with other ferv-

edy there by reason that Bonner made many

priests that day, when the gates were opened, went out amongst them and so escaped.

Again, in the last year of queen Mary, the fame Bennet

being taken again with the twenty-four beyond filling,

and brought to sir Roger Cholmeley, the people

come very thick, did offer some of them, to the

number of eight, which were being brought as among

was Bennet. Then he knocked at the gate to come in,

the porter said, that he was none of the company. He

said, Yes, and knocked again. Then there stood by

congregation, named Johnson, who said, ed, Edward, they then found no more from God go-

thy way. And so he take the warning as sent of

God, with a quiet conscience efchewed burning.

JEFFERY HURST, Brother-in-law to GEORGE MARSH, Martyr.

IN the town of Shakerley, in Lancashire, dwelt one

Jeffery Hurst, the son of an honest yeoman, who had

besides him eleven children, the said Jeffery being the

eldest child; and their father being willing to bring

them up so, that they should be able another day to

help themselves, he did bind this Jeffery apprentice

unto the craft of nailing, to make all kind of nails, which occupation he learned, and served out the time of

seven years, which being expired he gave himself at

times to learn of his other brethren which went to

school; and as he was very willing to the same, for

God in him, wherein he persevered and went forwards in such path, that he was not cut off, and

indifferently, and in longer continuance came by more

knowledge; and so having the Bible and divers other

books in his house, did come to knowledge in the

preaching.

After this he took to wife the sister of Mr. George-

Marsh, and was a publick preacher; and as before, and being very familiar with him, did greatly

amend his knowledge. Now when queen Mary was

entered the fifty year of her reign, he kept himself away

from their doings, and came not to the church: where-

upon he was for and called heretic, and Lollard, and

so for fear of further danger he was pressed to

leave his wife and child, and fly into Yorkshire,

and there being not known, did lead his life, returning

sometimes by night to comfort his wife, and bringing

with him some preacher or other, who used to preach

in the streets, and in the fields, and called as before.

By this year ended and by the year of the reign of

queen Mary. Then it chanced that the said Jeffery Hurst, after the death of his father,
came home and kept close for four or eight weeks.

There dwelt not far off, at Morefields, a certain

danse, the which was named Thomas Le-

lond, who hearing of him, appointed him to go to his father's house where he then dwelt, to

tie for the house for books, and to search for him also, and so he did. Jeffery and his company having

knowledge of their coming, took the books which were in the house, and the next day, which was the

first day of the second month of Tindal's translation, and divers others, and threw them all underneath a

shab or vat, carrying also the said Jeffery under the same, with a great deal of

and underawe him; for as it chanced they had the

more time, because when the justice came about to

do the door, he fled and would not enter; for a kiss

he had sent for Hurst's mother's handmaid, Mrs. Sha-

kerley; and then with her content intended to go

forwards.

In the mean time, Jeffery by such as were with

him, was willing to lay in his window the Testamen

of king James, and a little book containing the third

part of the second Epistle of the Ephesians, and a

Codex, to try what they would say upon them.

This done, Mrs. Shakerley came. Unto whom the

justice immediately declared the cause of his coming,

and how he was ready to attempt any such thing against

any of her tenants for her sake, but notwithstanding

he must needs execute his office. And again you must

fist he note this, that a shabbed sheep is able to

infect a great number; and especially having, as he hath,

so many brethren and sisters, he is able to mar them

all, if he be not looked to in time. And thus con-

cluding, the justice did say he would come in, let himself in a chair in the middle of the

house, and pending for Ralph Parkinson, his priest, and

one of his men, and one of Mrs. Shakerley's men, about the house, to search and rifle the chells (who

did so), in the mean time he talked with Hurst's moth-

er, and administering the sacraments according to God go-

thy way. And so he take the warning as sent of

God, with a quiet conscience efchewed burning.

[Q.J.A.D.1558.] THE PERSECUTION AND PERSERVATION OF E. BENNET AND J. HURST. 677

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from hearing the service. Also it was observed in the same justice, that as he sat in his chair at service time, his manner was on a willow bark to keep his knees, for that, he could not be suffered to have his knees, and to put the same upon a firing also. Witness thereof Edward Hurst, with others.

For fear of concerning Henry Brown, one of the four chosen men before-mentioned, this is also to be noted, that the said Henry Brown, dwelling in the town of Pinnington, in the fame parish, 1654, had a little boy, who as he was playing in the town, one Glave’s wife gave unto him a pair of beads made of wood for him to play with. The little boy, being glad thereof to have such a fine thing, went home and shewed them to his father. His father seeing the beads took them and burnt them, and when he had done so, went forth and asked who had given unto his little boy such a pair of beads.

That I did, said Glave’s wife.

Well, said he, I have burnt them.

Hast thou fo? said the, and thrust him from her. They shall be the dearest beads that ever thou sawest, and immediately went and committed unto the justice, how Brown had burnt her beads.

At this the justice was very angry, and directed his letter unto the constables of the said town, by his own hand fubscrib’d; the title of which supererogation on the backside was this, To the constables of Pinnington, and those that are there, for your service.

This done, the constables according to their charge brought him before the justice at the time appointed; and when the justice came to talk with him, he was in such a heat, that he called him thief, and said that he had robbed his neighbour in burning of her bead, and that there were rings and other jewels on them, and that he might as well have picked her purse, wherefore (said he) I will lay thee in Lancaster dungeon for this trick.

Whilst they were thus talking, there came all his friends from the parish from their work, saying, Is the master doctor Brown, that will burn beads? I pray you, sir, let us have him here and preach: I will give you a quarter’s wages, faith one; and I will give you money, faith another, and he shall be master doctor, with much delight and rejoicing at this poor man.

He hearing this, spake again boldly, and said, Did you fend for me to make a laughing-flock of me? You he in office, and ought rather to come to the church, and fee fitch papist abolished yourself, than to trouble me for doing my duty: but I tell you plainly, that you do not come to church, and therefore the said Jeffery Hurst, as he delivered the matter to the justice, it was noised that the queen was dead, and within fourteen days after the said Jeffery Hurst had his two books sent home, and nothing was said unto him.

It followed after this that God’s word began to take place, and the queen’s visitors came down into that county, who chose four men in the parish, to wit, Simon Smith, Jeffery Hurst, Henry Brown, George Eecerffey, which four were protestants, to fee the queen’s proceedings take place; who according to their power did so, notwithstanding it little prevailed; and therefore the said Jeffery Hurst, being greatly griev’d with the office, fell sick, in which sickness he feared God to call him, making a very godly end, God have the praise for it.

Now to return to the aforesaid Thomas Lelond again, he continued still in his office, did very seldom come to the church, but said he was the devil, and might not labour, and there kept with him for Ralph Parkin-

forn, his priest, who said (as it was said) administer the communion unto the people, and fing masses unto his matter: yes, and (as the same reported) did a prettier feat he that ever begot two children by a fan-

rant in his house, his matter knowing it, and saying nothing for that he would not lose his good masses-prief.

Furthermore, this was noted in the same justice Le-

lond’s behaviour at church time, he had a little dog which went about with him; and all the said dog had a collar full of bells, so that the noise of them molested and troubled others as well as himself,
virgin Mary, and as he did hang on the cross, as you say? But St. Paul faith, "You shall shew the Lord's death till he come." This doth argue, that he is not here, as you would have us to believe.

Chedley. I will prove that Christ is here present under the form of bread, but not in quantity and quality.

Kenna. Yes he is here present in quantity and quality.

Chedley. He is here present under a form, and not in quantity and quality.

Yes, said Kenna.

No, said Chedley.

I will prove the contrary, said Chedley.

And these two doctors were so earnest in this matter, and the one to such a degree as seeming to contend to fiercely one with the other, that they foamed at the mouth, and one was ready to fit in another's face, so that in great fury and rage the two doctors rose up from the judgment seat, and Dr. Kenna departed out of the church in great rage and fury immediately.

Wood. Behold, good people, they would have us to believe, that Christ is naturally, really, in quantity and quality, present in the sacrament, and yet they cannot tell themselves, nor agree within themselves how he is there.

There were the people made a great shout, and the mayor stood up and commanded the people to be quiet, and to keep silence. And the God that did deliver St. Paul out of the hands of the high priests, by the contention that was between the Pharisees and Sadducees, so in these two doctors do we see not at that time of the mouths of the bloody popes, by means of the contention of these two doctors. Blessed be the name of the Lord, who hath promised to lay no more upon his people than he will enable them to bear, and in the midst of temptation can make a way for them (how, and in what, I am pleased to escape out of all dangers.)

Many other-like examples of God's helping hand have been declared upon his elected saints and children, a remarkable instance of which may be seen in Simon Grineus, mentioned in the commentary of Melancthon, in his own words as followeth.

The History of SIMON GRINEUS, collected out of Melancthon's Commentaries upon the tenth Chapter of Daniel.

WHEN I was (faih he) at the assembly holden at Spire, in the year of our Lord 1599, by chance Simon Grineus came thither unto me from the university of Heidelberg, where he had such a buttong, that he was born of Vienna, in a famous, defend and maintain many defeatable errors. When the sermon was done, he followed Faber out of the church, and fated him reverently, telling him that he had something to say to him: the bishop was willing to talk with him.

Then Grineus said unto him, that he was very sorry that man of such learning and authority should openly maintain such errors as were both contumelious against God, and also might be refused by the manifest testimonies of the scriptures. Ireneus writeth, (faih he) that Polycarpus was wont to flay his ears whenever he heard any erroneous and wicked doctrine. With what mind then (think you) would Polycarpus have heard you argue and reason what is it that the mouth eateth, when he gnaweth the consecrated host? Who would not bewail such ignorance and blindness of the church? With this the bishop broke off his talk, and asked his name. This man, diffluent nothing, gently told him that his name was Grineus.

This bishop, as many well know, was also timorous and fearful in the company of learned men. Wherefore he hearing the learning, eloquence, and fervent zeal of Grineus, he received him not as he was fained as though he had been sent for by the king, and that he had no leisure now to reason upon this matter.
matter. He pretended that he was very decorous of acquaintance and longer talk with Grineus, intreating him, that, both for his own private cause, and also for the commonwealth, he would come again the next day unto him, and so fished him his lodging, and appointed an hour when he would call upon him, telling that he had spoken unkindly, promised so to do.

When he was departed from the bishop, he immediately came to us, and was fearfully fat at the table (for it was supper-time) reciting part of the talk he had with the bishop unto me, and others there present, when, fitting with my company, I was suddenly called out of the parlour by a certain ancient fatherly man, who spoke a singular gravity in his countenance, words, and behaviour, spoke unto me, and said, that the ferjeans would by and by come unto our lodging, being commanded to take this present, toarry Grineus to prison, whom the bishop had accused to the king; commanding that Grineus should immediately depart out of the town; and exhorting me, that we shoud in no case delay the time; and so bidding me farewell, departed. But what old man this was, I neither knew then, nor ever after could understand. I returning again to my company, bade them arise, and told them what the old man had said unto me.

And by and by, we inked Grineus in the midst of us, carried him through the street to the river Rhene; and after the kiss of the lips, and the lecture, Grineus with his companion were carried over in a small boat, returning again to our lodging, we understood that the ferjeans had been there, when we were but a little way gone out of the house. Now in what danger Grineus would have been, if he had been carried to prison by this cruelty of the bishop, every man easily may conjecture: wherefore we judged that not cruel intent and purpose of his was disapproved by God's merciful providence. And as I cannot say what old man it was that gave me that warning, even so I must to the ferjeans. For this good purpose, except Grineus had been covered and defended by angels, through the marvellous providence of God, he could never have escaped.

Concerning the truth of this matter, there are many good men yet alive who know the fame, and also present when this circumstance happened. Therefore let us give thanks unto God, who hath given us his angels to be our keepers and defenders, whereby with more quiet minds we may fulfill and do the office of our state.

With fithe like examples of God's mighty and mercifully, the church of Christ in all ages abounds, as by manifold experience appears, as well among the Germans, as in other places and ages: but in no place more, nor at any time more plentiful, than in the particular instance of the queen Mary, in this realm of England, as partly hath been already shewn, and will hereunto be added.

The Lady Catherine, Duchess of Suffolk.

STEPHEN GARDINER, bishop of Winchester, furnishing the lady Catherine, baroness of Willoughby and Eynsham, and the dowager of Suffolk, to be one of his ancient enemies, because he knew he had defered no better of her,devised, in the holy time of the first Lent in queen Mary's reign, a holy practice of revenge, first, by touching her in the person of her husband, Richard Berty, esquire, for whom he sent an attachment, and made such at his devotion) to the sheriff of Lincolnshire, with a special letter, commanding must strictly the fame sheriff to attach the said Richard immediately, and without bail to bring him up to London to his Lordship. Mr. Berty being clear from this charge, from the queen, could not conjecture any cause of this strange process, unless it were some quarrel for religion, which he thought could not be so fierce as the processes pretended.

The sheriff, notwithstanding the commandment, ventured only to take a bond of Mr. Berty, with two sureties, in a thousand pounds, for his appearance before the bishop on Good-Friday following: at which day Mr. Berty appeared, the bishop then being at his house by St. Mary the Venerable, and the said Lydia came to the defence when the bishop underlyed a gentleman of his name, that he came out of his gallery into his dining-chamber in great rage, where he found a crowd of suitors, saying he would not that day hear any, but came forth only to know of Mr. Berty, how he being a soubise, dark fo arrogantly set at light two former precedes of the queen.

Mr. Berty answered, that notwithstanding my lord's words might seem to the rest somewhat sharp towards him, he had needed great comfort of them. For whereas he before thought it extremely hard to be attacked, having used no obinacy or contumacy, now he gathered of these words, that my lord meant not otherwise but to have used some ordinary proced: none however, came to his hands.

Yes, marry, said the bishop, I have sent you two soubises to appear immediately, and I am sure you received them, for I committed the trust of them to no worse a man than Mr. Solicitor; and I shall make you an example to all Lincolnshire for your obinacy.

Mr. Berty showing the receipt of the two soubises, humbly prayed his lordship to remember, that he had not ill intended, and the punishment till he had good trial thereof, and then, if it please him, to double the pain for the fault, if any were.

Well, said the bishop, I have appointed myself this day according to the holiness of the fasten, and I will not further trouble myself with you; but I join you in a thousand pounds not to depart without leave, and to be here again to-morrow at seven of the clock. Mr. Berty came at the time appointed, at which time the bishop had with him Mr. Serjeant Stampford, to whom he introduced the said Mr. Berty, because Mr. Serjeant was towards the lord Wriothesley, late earl of Southampton, and chancellor of England, with whom the said Mr. Berty was brought up. Mr. Serjeant gave a very friendly account of Mr. Berty, of his own knowledge, for the time of their conversation together. Whereupon the bishop caufed Mr. Berty to be brought in, and made a falte lam (as God would, without fire) before he would defend to the quarrel of religion, he first desired Mr. Berty to defend this matter.

Bishop of Winchester. The queen's pleasure is, that you shall make present payment of 5000 pounds, due to her father by Duke Charles, late husband to the duchess your wife, whose executor he was.

Berty. Pleadeth it your lordship, that debt is in-falid, and is, according to that inflamation, truly answered.

Bishop. Taff, the queen will not be bound to inflamens in the time of Kett's government: for so I esteem the late government.

Berty. The commitment was appointed by king Henry the Eighth : besides, the same was, by special commissions, confirmed in king Edward's time; and the lord treasurer being an executor also to the due Charles, fully and wholly, took upon him, before the said commissions, to discharge the same.

Bishop. If it be true that you say, I will flaw you faflor. But of another thing, Mr. Berty, I will admonish you, as meaning you well. I hear of your evil religion, yet I can hardly think evil of you, whose mother I know to be as godly a catholic as any within this land; your father, a most noble, wealth, edulcorated. If I should disallow, I might be counted as a censor of his error. Besides, partly I know you myself, and understand of my friends enough to make me your friend: wherefore I will not doubt of you; but I pray you, if may ask the question of my lady your wife, is she as you say? and you may say the same, when she caufed, in her progress, a dog to be caried in a pocket, and called by my name? or do you think her hands now false enough, who said when
The Duches of SUFFOLK and her Husband preferred. 681

Accordingly embarked at Dover, about the beginning of just the first year of her reign, leaving the duchess behind, who, in the same month that her husband, followed, taking barge at Lion-key, very close with her, the first of January ensuing, not without some danger.

None of the persons who accompanied her, except Mr. Robert Cranwell, an old gentleman, whom Mr. Berry, before her marriage, had given money for that purpose, were made privy to her departure till the first instant she met with her, an infant of one year old, and the meanest of her servants, for the imagined the best would not adventure that fortune with her. They were in number four men, one a Greek born, who was a rider of horses, another a footman, the fourth a fool, a kitchen-maid, a gentlewoman, and a she-bear.

As she departed her house called the Barbican, between four and five o'clock in the morning, with her company and baggage, one Atkinson, a herald, keeper of her house, hearing a noise, rode and came out with a torch in his hand, as she was going within the Moor gate; wherewith being amazed, she was forced to leave a mail with necessaries for her young daughter, and a milk-pot with milk, in the same gate-house, commanding all her servants to hasten forward to Lion-key: she took with her her great lady, and her child, as soon as she was clear of her own house, and the herald to follow, the flux into the Charing-house jilt by. The herald coming out of the duchess's house, and seeing nobody stirring, nor apprised (though by the mail inquesting that she was departed, returned and carried the herald back to the place where she was left in the mail, the duchess lifted into the frets, and proceeded on her journey, the knower the place only by name where she should take her boat, but not the way thither, nor any that was with her. Likewise her horse, having disengaged themselves, none but one knew the way to the said Lincove.

So the appeared like a mean merchant's wife, and the reste like mean servants, walking in the streets unknown, the took the way that leads to Fishbury field, and the others walked the city frets as they lay open before them, till by chance, more than the deftention, they met all suddenly together a little little together, from whence they passed directly to Lion-key, and there took barge in a morning so milky, that the fleeter's man was lost to launch out, but that they urged him. So soon as the day permitted, the council was informed of her approach, and she was brought in with her house to inquire of the manner thereof, and took an inventory of her goods, besides further order desiv'd for search and watch to apprehend and lay her.

The name of her departure reached Leigh, a town at the Land's End, before her approaching thither.

By Lord Goddrem, a gentleman of an old acquaintance of Cranwell's, whither the said Cranwell brought the duches, naming her Mrs. White, the daughter of Mr. Gosling, for such a daughter he who never was in that country. She there reported herself, and had no garments for her daughter, having left her own in the mail at Barbican.

When the time came that the should take ship, being constrained that night to lie at an inn in Leigh, where she was again almost betrayed) yet notwithstanding by God's good working the elapsed that hazard; at length, as the time was come, she left aboard, and carried twice into the seas, almost into the coast of Zealand, by contrary wind were driven to the place from whence they came; and at the last recoil, certain persons came to the shore, suspecting she was within that ship; yet havral examined one of her company that was on shore for three days, she told them that she had in his tale only the appearance of a mean merchant's wife to be on shipboard, he ceased to search any further.

To be short, so soon as the duches had landed in Brabant, she and her women were appareled like the women of the Netherlands with white capes; and she and her husband, took their journals to the City of Cleveland, and being arrived at a town called Sonto, took a house there, until they might further devise some future place where to settle themselves.
About five miles from Santon, is a free town called Wefell, under the said Duke of Cleve's dominion, and one of the Hans Towns, privileged with the company of the Steel-yard in London, whither divers Walloons were lured for religion, and had for their minister one Francis Perufell, then called Francis de Rivers, who had received some courtesy in England at the deceased Duke's castle. Mr. Berty being then too weak to travel with him, he sent up a letter to the magistrate for protection from the magistrates for his, and his wife's abode at Wefell; which was the sooner procured, because the state of the duchess was not discovered, but only to the chief magistrate, earnestly bent to shew them pleasure in the state of the duchess. In the mean while at the town of Santon was a matter, that the duchess and her husband were greater personages than they gave themselves forth: and the magistrates not very well inclined to religion, the bishop of Arnes also being dean of the great minister, ordered one of the servants that was there to be brought to him; and was afterwards in February, on foot, without hiring either horse or waggon, for fear of disclosing his purpose, meant privately that night to get to Wefell, leaving the rest of his family at Santon.

After they had traveled one English mile from the town, they came to an open place where a long frost and ice before concealed, was thawed, which doubled more the weariness of those new lacquies. But being now on the way, and overtaken with the night, they lent their two servants (which only went with them) to a village as they puffed, to hire a car for their ease, but met at the house. In the meantime Mr. Berty was forced to carry the child, and the duchess his cloak and rapier. At last between six and seven o'clock of a dark night, they came to Wefell, and repairing to the inns for lodging, and some repose; after such a painful journey, found happy entertainment for going from inn to inn, until they found a good place; there they were refused by all the inn-holders, suspecting Mr. Berty to be a haunch-knight, and the duchess to be his woman. The child for cold and fullness cried pitifully, the mother wept as fast, and the heavens rained as fast as the clouds could pour down. In all this favour of hospitality, resolved to bring the duchess to the porch of the great church in the town, and to buy coals, victuals, and draw for their miserable repose there that night, or at least till by God's help he might provide some better lodging. But his food not much Dutch, and by bad weather and late season of the night, he could not happen upon any that could speak English, French, Italian, or Latin; till at last going towards the church-orch, he heard two or three talking Latin, to whom he approached, and offered them two silver to bring him to some Wallon's house.

By these boys, and God's good conduct, he chanced at the first upon the house of Mr. Perufell. Supposing that night, who had procured them the protection of the magistrates of that town. At the first knock, the door not being open, he himself went to the door and opening it, asked Mr. Berty who he was. Mr. Berty said, an Englishman, that sought for one Mr. Perufell's house. The Wallon defrayed Mr. Berty to stay a while, then went back, and told Mr. Perufell, that the same English gentleman, of whom he had told them, had come there, and was very desirous to speak with him. Whereupon Mr. Perufell came to the door, and beholding Mr. Berty, the duchess, and their child, their faces, apparel, and bodies so far from their old form, deformed with dirt, weather, and heaviness, could not bear them to speak with him for tears. At length recovering themselves, they saluted one another, and forth together entered the house, God knew them with joy; Mr. Berty changing his apparel with the good-man, the duchess with the god-wife, and their child with the child of the house.

Within a few days, and after two or three months, meanly, they hired a very fair house in the town, and did not delay to shew themselves what they were, and so good a fort as their present condition permitted. This was by this time through the whole town, what discovery the new-keepers had shewn them, and their excellency. For which, as following a preacher in the pulpit openly in sheep's clothing, to shew that great insolvency toward strangers, by allegory of fudracy places out of the holy scriptures, discoursing of how not only princes sometimes are received in the dunghill, but even more princes, in the dunghill, in the shape of men, and that God of his justice would make them stranger one day in another land, to have more sense of the afflicted hearts of a stranger.

The time thus passing forth, as they thought then, was thus happily pasted, suddenly a watch-ward came from the John Mafin, then quaker of Maastricht, ambassador in the Netherlands, that my lord Raget had resigned an errand to the baths that way; and whereas the duke of Brunswick was shortly with ten enigmas passed by Wefell for the service of the house of Alteid against the French king, the said duchess and her husband thought it was a bad day for them, and accordingly, under so heavy a burden of fasting, they concluded that day.

At which time, in the midst of their despair, that came suddenly to them, letters from the Palatinate of Villy, that the king of Poland was informed of their hard estate by a baron, named Joannes Alaco, who tormented them so in England, offering them the great council. That provision unlooked for, greatly revived their spirits. Yet considering they should remove from many of their countrymen and acquaintances, to a place so far distant, a country not frequented by the English, and perhaps upon their arrival not finding what day hence for victual for them, they should be worse than the beginning, they advised thereupon with one Mr. Careus, late bishop of Chichester, that if he would vouchsafe to take some pains therein, they would make him a fellow of that journey. So finding him agreeable, they sent with letters of thanks to the king and other of their friends in England (to a few that they had left of many), to solicit for them, that the king would vouchsafe under his seal, to affurne of the thing which he bore honourably by letters had offered. That favour, by the forwardness of the Palatinate, was at length granted as ushered. Upon which assurance the said duke and he, with Mr. Berty, and Christinel, began their journey in April, 1557, from the castle of Wincenheim, where they before lay, towards Frankfurt. In which their journey, it was too long here to describe what dangers fell by the way, upon them and their whole company, by reason of the landlord's captain, who, under a quarrel pretended for a jewel of Mr. Berty's, set upon them in the highway with his horsemen, threatening their hoar-spears through the waggon where the women and children were; Mr. Berty having but four horsemen along with him. It is what has happened that the captain's horse was slain under him.

Whereupon a rumour was spread immediately through the towns and villages about, that the landlord's captain should be slain by certain Wallonians which exclaimed the countrymen the more hereby, that the captain being motioned by his wife to give himself by the twistiness of his horse, and to reach some town thereby for his refuge, he foding, was in worse case than before; for the townsmen and the captain's brother, supposing no life but that of the horse, had been slain, preferred to capture him, that he had been there, and they closed among them, had not he (as God would have it) escaped a ladder leaning to a window, by which he got into the house. 
houl, and went up into the garret, where, with his dagger and rapier he defended himself for a time; but as the burgher-mocker coming thither with another magistrate, Mr. Berry knowing himself to the order of the law. Mr. Berry knowing himself to be clear, and the captain to be of the guard, was the more bold to submit himself to the judgment of the law, upon condition that the magistrate would receive from him the arms that he had in his hand from the rage of the multitude. Which being satisfied, he willingly delivered up his weapons, and peaceably surrendered himself into the hands of the magistrate, and so was committed to safe custody till the truth of his cause could be tried.

Then Mr. Berry wrote a letter to the Landgrave, and another to the earl of Excbagh, dwelling about eight miles off, who came early in the morning to the town, where the duchess was brought with her waggon, Mr. Berry also being in the same town under custody.

The earl, who had some intelligence before of the duchess, after he had come and had shewn her such courtesy as he thought belonged to her estate and dignity, the townsmen perceiving the earl behave himself so honourably and with the most justice and reverence towards the magistrate and the duchess, began to solicit his intercession for the duchess, and more especially for the himself attached and the duchess, having the king's absolute power of government over the said earldom, continued in honour, peace and plenty, till the death of queen Mary.

THOMAS HORTON, Minister.

THOMAS HORTON used often to travel between Germany and England, for the benefit and furniture of the poor English exiles there: for he journeying on a time between Andernicht and Cologn, chanced to be taken by certain røvers, and was led by them away, was in no little danger: and yet this dexterity of his was not so great, but the present help of the Lord was greater to aid and deliver him out of the same.

THOMAS SPRAT, of Kent, Tanner.

He had been some time a servant to one justice Brent, a heavy persector, and therefore forsaking his master for religion's sake, he went to Calais, accompanied by one William Porrege, who was afterwards a minister from whence they used often for their necessary affairs to have recourse to England.

In the fourth year of queen Mary they landed at Dover, and taking their journey together towards Sandwich, furnish'd with the three miles from Dover, they happened to meet justice Brent, the two Blachenden, and other gentlemen with their servants, to the number of ten or twelve horses. One of the Blachenden happened to know William Porrege, the other had only heard of his name.

Sprat first espying his master Brent, was much surpris'd, saying to his companion, yonder is Mr. Brent, God have mercy upon us. Well, quoth Porrege, seeing there is no remedy, let us go on our way. And so thinking to pass by them, they kept them at a distance, Sprat also following his face with his cloak.

One of Mr. Brent's servants knowing Sprat, called out to his master, saying, Yonder is Thomas Sprat; and adding, they all followed his steps, and called for Thomas Sprat to come to them. They called you, said William Porrege, now there is no remedy, but we are taken: and so would have pursued him to go to them being called, for that there was no escaping from so many horsemen in those plains and downs, where was no water save by a mile, but one hedge about a flane's throw off. All this notwithstanding, Sprat stayed, and would not go. Then they called again, getting fill on horseback. Ah, sirrah, quoth the justice, why come you not hither? And thus his companion moved him to go, seeing there was no hope of getting away. Nay, said Sprat, I will not go to them, and therewith took to his legs, running to the hedge that was next him. They seeing that, set spurs to their horses, thinking it impossible for him to escape their hands. Where the hedge was sett through the buffer they were at his heels, and struck him with their swords, one of the Blachenden (both of them haters of God's word) cruelly crying. Cut one of his legs off.

He had no sooner got through the hedge, but one of justice Brent's servants (a fellow that had some time been his fellow-servant) followed him on foot: the rest rode up the other side of the hedge to meet him at the end.

While they were following Sprat, only one remained with William Porrege (which was one of the Blachenden, but not he that knew him), who began to question him, not asking what was his name (as God would have it) for then he had been known and taken: but from whence he came, and how he got into Sprat's company, and whither he was going: but from Calais, and Sprat came over with him in the paffage-boat, and they were both going to Sandwich: and so without any more questions he let him depart. But to return.

As Sprat was pursu'd on the one side of the hedge by his old fellow-servant in his boots, and on the other side by horsemen, his fellow-servant cried out, You had as good tarry: for we will have you, we will have you: yet notwithstanding he still kept his course till he came to a deep down-hill at the end of the hedge, down which he ran from them, for the horsemen could not fol- low him without fetching a great compass about. After he had ran almost a mile he got into a wood, but by that time they were just behind him: but night coming on, and it beginning to rain, they pursu'd him no further. And thus by the providence of God they both got clear.

Not long after this, one of the two cruel Blachenden was murdered by his own servant.

JOHN CORNET.

THIS young man was apprentice to a musician at Colchester, and being sent by his master to a wedding (in the second year of queen Mary), in a town hard by, called Rough-hedge, was requelled by a company there of good men (the confablers being present), to sing some songs of the scripture: he happened to sing a song, called, News out of London, which tailed against the masts, and against the queen's majesty. Whereupon the next day he was accused by the parson of Rough-hedge, called Tackley, and committed, first to the confablers, where his master gave him over, and his mother forsook and curst him. From thence he was sent to Justice Cannall, and then to the earl of Oxford, where he was first put in irons and chains, and after that he was manacled, that the blood spurted out of his fingers' ends, because he would not confess the names of those who allure him to sing. After that, he was sent again to Rough-hedge, and there whipped till the blood followed, and banished the town for ever.

THOMAS BRYCE.

He being in the house of John Seal, in the parish of Horting, the bailiff and other neighbours were sent by sir John Baker, to search for, and apprehend him, and though they per-ed knew his figure and the colour of his clothes, yet they could know nothing to know him, though he stood before their faces. So miraculously did the Almighty dazzle their eyes, that they
they asked for him, and looked on him, yet notwithstanding he quietly took his bag of books, and departed out of the house without any hand laid upon him.

Also another time, about the second year of queen Mary’s reign, Thomas Bryce, his eldest brother, coming then from Wofford, meeting together at their father’s house, as they travelled towards London, to give warning to one Springfield there, which else was like to be taken unaware by his enemies, who was a pilot in Gadebridge, making his way into company with a promoter, who dogged and followed them again to Graveford, into the town, and laid the house for them where they were, all the way they should go to the water’s side, so that it had not been possible for them to have been missed. For the presence of those perfidious, not God’s providence either, as was dispensed for his servants, through the offer of the inn, who conveyed them under cover by a secret passage, whereby they took barge a mile out of town, and so in the end both the lives of them, and also Springfield, were preferred, through God’s gracious protection.

GERTRUDE CROKAY.

GERTRUDE CROKAY, dwelling in St. Catherine’s, by the Tower of London, and being then in her husband’s house, it happened in the year 1556, that the pope’s child new St Nicholas went about the parish. Which, being underlaid, flur her door against him, not suffering her to enter into the house.

The next thing in order was, the bishop being then mother of the said St. Catherine’s, the next day came to her with twenty at his tail, thinking like to affright her, and asked why she would not the night before let in St. Nicholas, and receive his blessing, &c. To whom the answering thus: Said St. Nicholas, I know not that St. Nicholas is in heaven. Yes, quoth Mallo, here was one that represented St. Nicholas.

Indeed Sir, (said she) here was one that was my neighbour’s child, but not St. Nicholas: for St. Nicholas is in heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him, to have made my pure body by them: for I have heard of men robbed by St. Nicholas’s clerks, &c. So Mallo perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and she for that time escaped.

The same year, 1557, a little before Whitmas, it happened that the said Gertrude answered for a child that was baptiz’d of one Thomas Saunders, which child was chidrenfled secretly in a house after the order of the service-book in king Edward’s time; and that being from known as a common scoot, the law being nothing thereof, went beyond the sea into Güeldersland, to see certain lands that should come to her children in the right of her first husband, who was a stranger born: and being there about a quarter of a year, at length coming home by Antwerp, she chanced to meet with one John Johnson, a Dutchman, alias John de Villa, of Antwerp, slippor, who seeing her there, went out of malice to the Margrave, and accused her of being an anabaptist, whereby she was taken and carried to prison. The cause why she did this she claimed that she had been married to her husband, a piece of money which was not his due, for a ship that Mr. Crokay bought of him, and because he could not get it, he wrote this displeasure. Well, the being in prison, lay there a fortnight. In which time she saw some that were prisoners there, who privately, were drowned in Rhinwine-waters, and after secretly put in facts and cast into the river. Now live, good woman, expecting to be so serve, took thereby such fear, that it brought the beginning of her sickness at length.

This last, was the called before the Margrave, and charged with anabaptity: which she there utterly denied, and detected the error, declaring before him in Dutch her faith boldly, without any fear. So the Margrave hearing the same, in the end being well pleased with the profession, at the flint of some of her friends delivered her out of prison, but took away her book, and so the came over into England again.

THOMAS ROSE, a Preacher.

He was a Devonshire man, born in Ermouth, and being made priest in that country, was brought out of it by one Mr. Fabian, to Pollet, in the town where the said Mr. Fabian was parson, and in a little time after his means was placed in the town of Hadley, where he first coming to some knowledge of the gospel, was brought to see Mr. Roker, who brought him and others to the church of God, and upon took occasion to inveigh against purging, going to faints and images, about the time that Mr. Latimer began to preach at Cambridge, in the time of Bishops and Arthur; inasmuch that many embracing the doctrine of the scripture and the church, and forsaking surgery and other points, and the number of them increas’ing, the adversaries began to flir against him, so much that Mr. Bate (who afterwards became a godly zealous man) was then brought to preach against the said Thomas Rose, notwithstanding this, he continued still very vehemently against images, and the Lord blessed his labours, that many began to convince how they might deface and destroy them, and especially four men, whose names were, Ring, Debnam, Mad, and Gard, who uniformly refuted his sermons, by their lives and words. And afterwards, the said Mr. Rose was directed to destroy the road of the court of Dover, which held three of them their lives, who were hanged in chains, because they would not accuse Thomas Rose as their counsellor. The said Roke had the cost of the road brought to him in the court of Dover, and the said Roke was said to have done many great miracles, yet being in the fire, could not help himself; but burned like a block, as indeed it was.

At this time there were two more enemies in Hadley, William Warwick, and John Clear, his brother: who complained to the council, that an hundred men were not able to fetch Thomas Rose out of Hadley, who then was upon examination of his doctrine committed to the commissaries keeping. And indeed such was the zeal of a number towards the truth then in that town, that they were much offended that their minister was to be taken from them, and had therefore by force brought him from the commissary, if certain villeins had not otherwise persuaded them, who at length with more quiet placed him in his office again: which enraged the two brothers, Walter Clear and John Clear, that they complained to the council, as aforesaid; whereupon a frencat at arms was sent from the council to arrest Thomas Rose and bring him before them. Then his adversaries laid to his charge, that he was privy to the whole council of the court of Dover, which he was committed to prison in the bishop of Lincoln’s house in Holborn, where he remained from Shrovetide to Whitsunday, and great part of the time in the flocks.

The flocks was very high and large, so that day and night he lay with his back on the ground, upon a little straw, with his heels so high, that the blood was fallen from his feet, which were so numbed that he could hardly feel them for a long time. By this treatment he fell sick, and the keeper oft heard him cry and say through to his better friends: but the Bishop of Dunfermline, the bishop flattered her, and gave her a pair of paradise, and, bade her go home and pray, for the might not see him, which pierced the hearts both of the mother and the son. At this time also certain men of Hadley, with the same reason, was to say to the bishop, but might not be suffered, till at length they gave the keeper four shillings, and yet them not to speak to him, or see him, otherwise than through a grate. And thus continued he till Midsummer in prison, then he was removed to Lambeth, in the first year that Dr. Cranmer’s congregation, who used him much more courteously.
The First Examination of THOMAS ROSE, at St. Mary Overy's, before the Bishop of Winchelsea.

Refe. I wonder, my lord, that I should be thus troubled for that which by the word of God hath been established, and by the laws of your realm hath been allowed and permitted. I am writing so noticeably in your book De vera obedientia, confirmed.

Bishop. Ah, sirrah, hast thou gotten that?

Refe. Yes, my lord, I thank God, and do confess myself much thereby confirmed. For as touching the doctrine of supremacy, and the bishop of London's authority, no man hath said further. And as I remember, you confesst, that when this truth was revealed unto you, you thought the feasls to fall from your eyes.

Bishop. Thou liest like a varlet, there is no such thing in my book: but I shall handle thee, and such as thou art, well enough. I have long looked for thee, and at length have caught thee. I will know who are thy maintainers, or else I will make thee a foot lenger.

Refe. My lord, you shall do as much as pleasest God, and no more, yet the law is in your hand; but I have God for my maintainer, and none other. At these words one of the servants stepped forth, and said, My lord, I heard this man preach by Norwich, in Sir John Robllar's house, and in his prayer he desired God to turn the queen Mary's heart, or else to take her out of the world: and this was in king Edward's time.

Refe. My lord, I made no such prayer, but next after the king, I mentioned her in this manner, saying, Ye shall pray for my lady Mary's sake, that God will vouchsafe to show her with His Spirit, that the graciously may perceive the mysteries contained within his holy laws, and so render unto her heart purified with true faith, and true and loyal obedience to her sovereign lord and king, to the good example of the inferior clergy. And this, my lord, I clearly answered in mine own hand-writing to the council.

Unto this he said little, but turning his face to those that were by him, this is he, said the bishop, that my lord of Norwich told me had gotten his maid with child.

Refe. This is no hereby, my lord, although it be a lie. Indeed certain wicked persons raised this report of me, for the hatred they bare to the doctrine which I preached: but for pursuance of myself herein I had no less than the council that should be due and diligent examination of this matter in the D country.
country, by men of worship appointed for that purpose, who would tell you, that God, that I am not clear from such wickedness, and indeed they have cleared me from it; and therefore I doubt not but all good men will see the mischievous device of mine adversary, who, when other means failed, by such finifter means, went about to draw me into discredit and hatred, but God, who is the helper of the innocents, the scourge of men's hearts, hath and doth defend me, and hath laid open things that were hid, to their shame. One of the chief reporters of this, that I should so abuse myself, was no Mr. Clark, servant, and in some affimation within the old lord treasurer of England, required and taken for a certain warrant he had bargained himself in the Tower. Then the bishop commanded that I should be carried to the Tower and kept safely; where I lay till the week before Whitisbury. After which time I was twice called, when the bishop came to the Tower about other prisoners. Notwithstanding, the bishop had no great talk with me, but spake friendly. One Sir Richard Southwell, knight, however, still accused me for my prayer, and said I did put a difference between Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, for that I prayed in King Edward's faith, and you know that this contumacy of the Elizabethan, that which was well begun upon her. Upon this the bishop said little. But in the week before Pentecost, I was conveyed from the Tower to Norwich, there to be examined by the bishop and his clergy, as concerning my faith, the manner whereof here followeth.

The Second Examination of THOMAS ROSE, before Dr. HOPKINS, Bishop of Norwich, in the Presence of Sir W. WOODHOUSE, Mr. STEWARD the Chancellor, Dr. BARRET, with divers others 1556.

AFTER I was prefented by my keeper, the bishop immediately asked me what I was. I told him I had been a minister.

Bishop. What is this to the purpose? Were you a friar or a priest? Rose. A friar I never was, but a priest have I been, and beneficed by the king's majesty.

Bishop. Where were you made priest? Rose. In Exeter, in the county where I was born. Then the bishop required of me my letters of orders. I told him I knew not where they were, for they were things of me not greatly regarded.

Bishop. You must now be examined: thus say you, will you submit yourself to the order of the church of England? Rose. My lord, I trust I am not out of the order of Christ's church in England, neither do I know myself an offender thereagainst.

Bishop. Why? since you have here preached most damnable and devilish doctrine. Rose. Not so, my lord. The doctrine by me here preached was both true, sincere, and holy. But, indeed, the doctrine that is now set forth is most wicked and damnable, yea, and that both against God's laws and against the church; for as for the doctrine by me preached, it is grounded upon the word of God, set out also by the authority of two most mighty kings, with the consent of all the nobility and clergy of the same: so that I preached nothing but their lawful proceedings, having their lawful authority under their broad seal for confirmation of the same, for which my doing you cannot justly charge me. And since the law ceased, I have kept silence; so that the council which sent me unto you, have not charged me therewith. Wherefore you do me open wrong to hurthen me with that wherein I am case.

Chancellor. What, sir? you are very captious; answer then my lord after such a fort? Rose. Sir, I answer for myself, and according to the truth; wherewith ye ought not to be offended, if ye be of God.

Chancellor. Thou art an evil man. Waft thou not abjured before now?
answered, that they did not only abhor the teaching of such gross doctrine, but also would detain themselves, if they should so think.

At which two principal points, wherein they fully confirmed my doctrine which I ever taught, I was not a little rejoiced and rejoiced, but marvellously encouraged. Whence, on their approbation of them again, what manner of body they then discern, and the body of the sacrament? Forsooth, said they, not a visible, palpable, or circumcissible body, for that is always at the Father's right hand; but in the sacrament it is invisible, and can neither be felt, seen, nor occupy any place; but there be the incompleteness of God's holy word, they know not how.

And for this they brought in St. Augustine, although by them not truly understood, yet would admit no other fener than their own, but would take upon them to confirm it for Mr. Fin Luther, Melanthon, Bucer, and Calvin: so that I, perceiving their obstinacy in that behalf, gave them over for that time, and afterwards talked with Dr. Barret, whom I also found of the same opinion. For, said he, if you would differ from the fathers of the primitive church, of which St. Augustine is, you shall be contented to die out of the favour of God. Well, I gave this opinion, and so persevered in their errors; however, to bring them to confesse that openly which they had granted privately, I granted them according to the scriptures, and my former professions, a preference, although not as they supposed.

After all this, the honourable earl of Suffolk came to me, and that gentle knight Sir William Westenham, with great persuasions: to whom, after long talk, I said, That I would do all that I might, having my conscience, which I would no wise pollute: and neither have I, as knoweth God, by whom all men must be judged.

The Last Examination of Thomas Rose before the Bishop.

NOW to come to my last appearance, the bishop forthwith demanded of me, whether I was resolved as he had heard say. To which I answered, that as I always had said before, even so I was now. Then by low bowing my knee, I gave him my due reverence, and the rather for that the honourable earl of Suffolk was there. At this some who would be counted great gospellers, were (contrary to all Christianness) in a great state of howling for me, that the statute and all the statutes were cast forth for the establishment of Christ's true religion, and that according to the doctrine of Christ's holy apostles, and the faithful fathers of the primitive church, I did not only obey them, but most earnestly embrace and believe them. Yes, and yet to the further heat of the question I told them that I believed, and could justly be proved by God's holy word, by the heretofore preached or taught untruly, either for lack of learning, unwarily, or through ignorance, yet by better knowledge, when I shall justly be tried and examined by the same, I shall not refuse (the thing perfectly proved) to revoke the name, provided always the word of God herein be my judge.

All this spake I (as God knoweth) to keep them from supposing that which I went about, and that they should have no occasion to judge me of obstinacy. Then said I, moreover, all the means of force confesse, that the doctrine by me heretofore preached, had, besides the authority of God's eternal veracity, the authority of two most noble and mighty princes, with the advice and counsel of all the nobility and clergy of the land, and that with great deliberation from time to time, with open disputation and controversy, enabled also by parliament with the consent of the two houses and commons of the same, and that without any reliance or gain saying established, as a religion most pure and perfect, most earnestly and sincerely preached by the principal bishops and doctors, and that before the king's majesty, on his behalf, both in the west, and his office, did the like with all the rest, and in the zeal of God, and with a pure conscience, did set forth the same.
as the only and absolute truth of God, and the just and must true proceedings of my sovereign lord and king: and I had then my head where it now standeth, betwixt mine ears, altogether applying the same, to apprehend with all diligence that which I was taught and confessed, as an absolute truth, and a thing unto me most desirable, and well willing, without any defile to hear the contrary, till now, through this my captivity, I am compelled to hear the contrary part speach, who are both Heathen and such as my lord font unto me.

After several long private disputations had happened betwixt us, at length I have heard of them a contrary doctrine, which I never before had heard, and therefore must confess mine own ignorance in the same: for, quite through the communion of those two preachers, (meaning the bishop's two chaplains) to confess Christ's natural body, with his full complete members, is in due order and proportion of a perfect man's body, to be present at the right hand of God the Father, and that without return from thence, until the last judgment, and also that after the words pronounced by the priest, there remaineth no such gross profuse of flesh, blood, bones, hair, and nails, as was wont to be preached; but that after I had demanded of them what manner of body they affirmed to be present, they said, 'By the word of life, and through the word of life, which neither can be felt or seen, nor that hath any distinction of members, but such a body as occupieth no place, but is there they know not how: necessity compelled me to confess my ignorance in that before, and therefore I did not say that I was meaning therein, neither was it in my thought they should do for my wish their confession, and my silence after that. I perceived their horrid blasphemies, for they thought in this I had well discharged at that, and my confidence, in confessing them, in open and direct, to confess the same, and to grant a presence, but not as they supposed: for I only said, that Christ, after the words pronounced, is present in the lawful use and right distribution of his holy supper; which thing never denied, or any godly man that I ever heard of. For, said I, Eustochius Emmatius, a man of singular fame and learning, about three hundred years after Christ's ascension, faith, that the conversion of the visible creatures of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is like unto our conversion in baptism, where nothing is outwardly changed, but all the change is inwardly, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost, which fashioneth and frameth Christ in the heart and mind of man, as by the example of Peter, when he saw the fish brought forth, which hath tossed their confidence, that they openly, with meastern repentance, confessed their sins, saying, Men and brethren, what shall we do? Repent and be baptized every one of you,' said Peter, in the name of Jesus Christ, that this term of pardon was turned into Christ three thousand persons; in whom Christ was so fashioned and formed, as that he dwelt in every one of them, and they in him; and after the like manner, said I, is Christ present in the lawful use and right distribution of his holy supper, to this very one that I am withal, and we are two, and he is this same Christ, who to the three thousand before was turned into Christ three thousand persons. But in the heart and mind of man, the other, and the other, and the other, and every single one, and therefore I have a gross, carnal, or fleshly dwelling.

And I must say, (as God knoweth) he carnally or grossly to be in the sacrament, but according to the scriptures, and my former prettation, that is, to the spiritual nourishment of all such as worthily come unto that holy supper, receiving it according to his holy institution.

And thus I ended; such as this papists most maliciously and slanderously named a recantation; which I never meant nor thought, as God knoweth.

Nowafter I had thus concluded my speach, the bishop taking me by the hand, said, Father Roft, you may be as well satisfied in God's cause, as we will be; and go to you at our coming home (for he was about to take his journey in visitation of his diocese), and they feared much at this very time, left queen Mary should have miscarried in her child-travail, which was looked for, being then accounted very great with child, so that they were not so fierce as they had been, and more apprehensive of some fir, if I should have faltered, and therefore were glad to be rid of me, so that they were not so fierce as they might be; and the night following I was only commanded to mine own lodging.

On the morrow, when the bishop was ready to ride in visitation, he saluted me before him, and perceiving that sir William Woodhouse did bear me great favour, said, he was forry for me and my expects, and therefore wished that I was somewhere where they might spend no more money till his return. Why, my lord, said I, sir William, I will not be the money gatherer, but promise you, if you see now you break up house; and hereupon was home with sir William, that good knight, who not gently entertained me, and I had great liberty. Upon this that pappish priests of the college of Christ's church in Norwich, because they gave me at liberty is sir William's abstinence, which had been from home for a night, blazed it abroad that sir William was bound for me in body and lands. At his coming home, therefore, I asked sir William if he were so bound for me, he said, I am not so bound, but he would do it as much as he could to your service, you may have been here five miles from me before this, I now truft, fir, as you are not bound for me, I may go and visit my friends. Go when you will, said sir William; for I told the bishop I should not be the money gatherer, but promise you, I am here to you, I might have been an hundred miles from you before this. I now truft, fir, as you are not bound for me, I may go and visit my friends. Go when you will, said sir William; for I told the bishop I should not be the money gatherer, but promise you, I am here to you, I might have been an hundred miles from you before this. I now truft, fir, as you are not bound for me, I may go and visit my friends. Go when you will, said sir William; for I told the bishop I should not be the money gatherer, but promise you, I am here to you, I might have been an hundred miles from you before this.
what the matter mean, and required them to wait upon him to the schools, according to their duty. So they did.

And as soon as Dr. Sands, the headings go before him, of the regent board, with great ingratiation, do declare, that he had found nothing in his sermon, but what he was ready to justify, and their case was all one with him: for they had not only concurred, but consented to that which he had spoken.

Andthus Sir John Gates chide them how benevolently he had been to the university, and their unthankfulness to him, in came Mr. Mitch with his conspirators, about twenty in number. One laid hands on the chair to pull it from him; another called him traitor. Whereas he perceiving how they used violence, and being of great courage, proposed to his dagger, and had dispatched some of them as God's enemies, if Dr. Bill and Dr. Blith had not fallen upon him, and prayed for God's fake to hold his hands and be quiet, and patiently to bear that great wronged wrong. As he was persuaded by them, and after that they were ceased, he ended his oration; and having some money of the university's in his hands, he there delivered the same every farthing. He gave up the books, reckonings, and keys pertaining to the university, and withal yielded up his office, praying God to have mercy upon them, that give them better and more thankful hearts, and to repair home to his own college.

On the morrow after there came unto him one Mr. Gerningham, and Mr. Thomas Mildmay. Gerningham told him, that it was the queen's pleasure, that two of the gowns should attend upon him, and that he must be carried prisoner to the Tower of London, with the duke. Mr. Mildmay said, he marvelled that a learned man would speak so unadvisedly against so good a prince, and willingly run into such danger. Dr. Sands answered, I shall not be afraid of bonds, but if I could do as Mr. Mildmay can, I needed not to fear bonds: for he came down in payment against queen Mary, and armed in the field, and now he returned in payment for queen Mary; before a traitor, and now a great friend; I cannot with one mouth blow hot and cold after this manner.

Upon this his flabell was robbed of four very good geldings, the bell of them Mr. Huddifalke took for himself, and hung it on his horse's head. An inventory was taken of all his gowns by Mr. More, headless for the univeritie. He set upon a lame horse that haled to the ground; which thing a friend of his perceiving, prayed that he might lend him a nag. The women of the guard were contented. As he departed forth at the town's end, some papistes referred thither to jeer at him, and some of his friends to mourn for him. He came in the rank to London, the people being full of out-cries. And as he came in at Bishoptone, one like a woman came to Mr. More's house and a Bone and hit him on the breast, with such a blow, that he was like to fall off his horse. To whom he mildly said, Woman, God forgive thee. Truth is, that that journey one evil intreating so mortified him, that he was more ready to die than to live.

As he came through Tower-hill-freet, one woman standing at her door, cried, Fri' on thee, thou knave, thou knave, thou traitor, thou heretic. Whereat he faint. Look, the dreadful heretic, said they, laughed at this jear. A woman on the other side of the flve snerred; and a woman upon the other side of that flve snerred. As she worthy to be called a woman, rapping upon this gentle- man whom thou knowest not, nor the cause why he is thus treated. Then the flve, good gentleman, God be thy comfort, and give thee strength to stand in God's cause, every one. As he was passing through the streets of London, he took a yellow and smooth to the Tower, the first prisoner that entered in that day, which was St. James's day. The women of the guard took from him his borrowed bag, and
and what else ever he had. His man, one Quinting Susintoun, brought after him a Bible, and formi tinct, and such like things. The Bible was lent to him, but the tincts and such like were oftentimes the yeoman of the guard.

After he had been in the Tower three weeks in a bad prison, he was brought up into Nun's-Bower, a better prison, where he was put along with Mr. John Bradford.

At the day of queen Mary's coronation their prison door was set open, ever flut before. One Mr. Mitchell, his old acquaintance, who had been prisoner before in the same place, came in to him, and saith, Master Sands, there were such songs in the lower, that neither gates, doors, nor prisoners are looked to this day. Take my cloak, my hat, and my spurs, and get you gone, you may go out of the gates without questioning, fare youself, and let me do as well as I can. A rare friendship; but he refused the offer, saying, I know no cause why I should be in prison. And to do thus were to make myself guilty. I will expect God's good will, yet must I think myself much obliged to you: and so Mr. Mitchell departed.

While Dr. Sands and Mr. Bradford were thus in close prison twenty-nine weeks, one John Bowler was their keeper, a very perverse papist, yet by often perilling of him, for he would give ear, and by gentle using of him, at length he began to mislike papistry, and to favour the truth. And thus they met, finding their fortune on a Sunday when they had mass in the chapel, he brought up a service book, a manche, and a glass of wine, and there Dr. Sands minstered the communion to Bradford and to Bowler. Thus Bowler was then professedly a man of God, and by God's grace. And the old Duke of Norfolk sent forth with a number of men to apprehend him; that room might be made in the Tower for him and other his accomplices, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Bradford, were call in one prison. There was with nine other prisoners were sent into the Marshalsea.

The keeper of the Marshalsea appointed to every preacher a man to lead him in the street; he caused them to go far before, and he and Dr. Sands came behind, whom he would not lead, but walked familiarly with him. Yet Dr. Sands was known, and the people everywhere prayed God to comfort him, and to strengthen him in the truth. By that time the people's minds were altered, papistry began to be unfavoured. After they paased the bridge, the people without at Dr. Sands' house, and the vain people would set you forward to the fire. You are vain as they, if you being a young man will stand in your own conceit, and preser your own judgment before that of so many worthy prelates, ancient, learned, and young. To you a poor man, a sinner, a banished man, you shall find me a severe keeper, as one that utterly disdains your religion. Dr. Sands answered, I know my years to be young, and my learning but small, it is enough to know Christ crucified, and he hath learned nothing which he might not the grace of God that is in papistry. I will yield unto God, and not unto man: I have read in the scriptures of many godly and courteous keepers: God may make one; if not, I trust he will give me strength and patience to bear your hard usage. Then said the keeper, you have received much from Dr. Sands to your religion? Yes, quoth the doctor, by God's grace. Then said the keeper, I love you the better for it; I did but tempt you: what favour can I thee, you shall be sure of, and I shall think myself happy if I may die at the stake with you. He was as good as his word, for he trusted the doctor to walk in the fields alone, where he met with Mr. Bradford, who was also a prisoner in the King's-Bench, and had found the same favour from his keeper: he laid him in the bell chamber in the house: he had found the same manner of men to lay fectors on him, as others had. And, as he was frequent, he put Mr. Sanders in along with him, to be his bed-fellow, and sunny times after suffered his wife, who was Mr. Sands's daughter of Eges, a gentlewoman beautiful both in body and soul, to refer to him. There was great respect to Dr. Sands, and Mr. Sanders; they had much money offered them, but they would receive none. They had the communion three or four times, and the common was communicants; Dr. Sands gave such exhortation to the people, (for at that time he was young, he was thought very eloquent) that he moved many tears, and made the people abhor the mafs, and defy all popery.

When Mr. Wyatt with his army came into Southwark, he sent two gentlemen into the Marshalsea, to Dr. Stag, saying, that Mr. Wyatt would be glad of his company, and advice, and that the gates should be set open for all the prisoners. He answered, Tell Mr. Wyatt, if this refrain you, or if it will take a chance, if it nor, if it will fall. For my part, I was committed here, and I shall be discharged by like order, or I will never depart. So answered Mr. Sanders, and the rest of the prisoners, being there prisoners.

After that Dr. Sands had been nine weeks prisoner in the Marshalsea, by the mediation of Sir Thomas Holcroft, knight marshal, he was set at liberty; for Thomas Holcroft, being knight marshal, was set at liberty; for Thomas Holcroft, being knight marshal, and the queen gave audience to him at last, that if the queen would grant him his delivery, he would not be against it; for that was for Thomas's last request. In the mean time he had procured a way of the privy chamber to move the queen in it; who was very ready to speak with Sir Thomas Holcroft, and he would do it. The queen where Holcroft would like it. The next time that the bishop went into the privy chamber to speak with the queen, Mr. Holcroft followed, and had his warrant for Dr. Sands; he was ready, and prayer the two ladies, when the bishop should take his leave, to put the queen as mind of Dr. Sands. So they did, and the queen said, Winchetscher, what think you of Dr. Sands, is he not sufficiently purified? As it please your majesty, saith Winchetscher. That he spake, remembering his former promise to Sir Thomas Holcroft, that he would do nothing but as Dr. Sands, if the queen should like to discharge him. saith the queen, Then truly, we would that he were set at liberty. Immediately Mr. Holcroft offered the queen the warrant, who subscribed the same, and called Winchetscher to put his hand, and so he did. The warrant was given to the knight marshal again, by Sir Thomas Holcroft. As the bishop went forth of the privy chamber door, he called Mr. Holcroft to him, commanding him not to set Dr. Sands at liberty, until he had spoken with him, and at least with Sir Thomas Holcroft, with each one bound in good faith, that Dr. Sands should not depart out of the realm without his consent. Mr. Holcroft immediately met with two gentlemen of the North, friends, and cousins to Dr. Sand, who told him that Sir Thomas Holcroft had given him such a liberty. After dinner, the same day, Mr. Holcroft sent for Dr. Sands to his lodging at Westminster, requiring the keeper to accompany him. He came accordingly, finding Mr. Holcroft alone walking in the garden. Mr. Holcroft imparted his long suit, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken, to Dr. Sands, much rejoicing that it was his good hap to do him good, and to procure his liberty, and that nothing remained, but that he would enter into bonds with his two facies, and at the earliest instant take his departure, and send him. Mr. Holcroft answered, I give God thanks, who hast moved your heart to mind me so well, and I think myself most bound unto you. God shall require, and I shall never be found unthankful. But as you have dealt friendly with me, I will also deal plainly with you. I came a freeman into prison; I will not go forth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends, so I will not hurt them. And if I be set at liberty, I will not tarry six days in this realm, if I may get out. Therefore I may not get free of the Marshalsea again, and there you shall be free of me. This answer Mr. Holcroft much misliketh; he told Dr. Sands that the time that would not long continue, a change would shortly come, the flate was but a clock, and it would strike the hour, and the bell would ring. And that his cousin Sir Edward Bray would gladly give him and his wife
his house, where he should never need to go to church, and the lady there was a zealous gentlemaness, who hated propriety. Adding, that he would not so deal with him to lose all his labour. When Dr. Sands could not be removed from his former saying, Mr. Holcroft said, Seeing you cannot be altered, I will change my purpose and will undertake to bring you to justice. I will go to liberty: and seeing you have a mind to get over sea, get you gone as quick as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there, you write nothing to me hither, for so you may undo me. His friend, Mr. Potter, who had comprehended the keeper to take no fees of him, saying, Let me answer Winchelsea as I may. Dr. Sands returning with the keeper to the Marshalsea, tarried all night, and on the morrow he gave a dinner to all the prisoners, most of whom he invited his bed-fellow, and some fellow-servants, if it had so pleased God. When he took his leave, he said, Mr. Sanders, farewell, with many tears and kisses, the one falling on the other's neck, and so departed, clearly delivered without exception of the keepers' orders, and going by Kensingh, and there talked with Mr. Bradford, and Mr. Farrar, bishop of St. David's, then prisoners. They comforted them, and they praised God for his happy deliverance. He went by Winchelsea's house, and there talked with the keeper. He had a visit from William Banks, who had visited there one night. The next night he shifted to another friend's house, and there he heard that search was made for him. Dr. Watson and Mr. Christopherfon coming to the bishop of Winchelsea, told him, that he had let the young heretic in England at liberty, and that he had of all others most corrupted the university of Cambridge, namely, Dr. Sands. Whereupon the bishop, being chancellor of England, sent for all the constables of London, commanding them to watch Dr. Sanders, and to apprehend him, and whosoever of them should take him, and bring him to him, he should have five pounds for his labour. Dr. Sands suppmting the matter, conveyed himself by night to one Mr. Berty's house, a stranger, who was in the Marshalsea prisoner with him awhile; he was a good protestant, and dined in Mark-lane. There was he fix days, and had one or two of his friends that repaired to him. Then he removed to one of his acquaintances in Cornhill; he caused his man Oliver to be his warnings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into Ely, to Mr. Sands's father-in-law, where his wife was.

At going to bed he found that a pair of hose which he had newly bought were too long for him: he defined that the woman of the hose to send for somebody that could cut them two inches shorter. The wife required the boy of the hose to carry them to the next tailor; which he accordingly did; and he chanced (for God so provided) to go to the very perfon that felt them, whose name was Benjamin, a good protestant in Birch-lane; and the boy desired him to cut the hose. Said he, I am not thy tailor's master. Said the boy, Because you are our next neighbour, and my master's tailor dwellth afar off, I came to you, last late in the night, for he must put them on betimes in the morning. So the tailor took them, and going upon them, knew his handy work, and said, These are not thy master's hose, they belong to Dr. Sands, I made them for him in the Tower. The boy conveyed it to he so. Said he, go to thy mistress, pray her to fit till twelve o'clock; it will require some time to make the hose and speak with the doctor for his good. At midnight the good wife of the hose and Benjamin came to Dr. Sands's chamber: the good woman desired him not to be furprised at their coming. He answered, that he was the most happy man in the world, and that they should be done. Then Benjamin told him that he was the man that made his hose, and by good chance they came to his hands. God used the means, he might admonish him of his danger, and advise him how to escape it, telling him, that all the constables of London, of whom he was one, watched for him, and some were so greedily, they prayed him, if he took him, to let them have the care of him. The man at the Marshalsea, and he should have the five pounds. It is well known (quoth Benjamin) that your man hath provided two gildings, and that you intend to ride out at Aldgate to-morrow morning, and there then you are free to be taken if you please. If you ride without me, then you shall escape their hands. Let your man walk all the day to-morrow in the street where your horses stand, booted and ready to ride. The good man's servant of the hose shall take the horses, and carry them to Bethnal-green, and so to London, and so to Bethnal-green, and so to Moregate. There they went forth until they came to Bethnal-green, where the horses were ready, and Mr. Hurlestone to ride with him as his man. Dr. Sands pulled on his boots, and taking leave of his friend Benjamin, with tears they kissed each other: he put his hand in his pocket and took out a part of the great part of that little he had, but Benjamin would take none. Yet since that, Dr. Sands remembered him thankfully. He rode that night to his father-in-law Mr. Sands, where his wife was; he had not been there two hours, but it was told Mr. Sands, that there were two of the guard which would that night apprehend Dr. Sands, and so they were appointed.

That night Dr. Sands was guided to an honest farmer near the sea, where he tarried two days and two nights in a chamber at a country house. After he fell asleep one James Mower, a shipmaster, who dwelt at Milton Shore, where he expected wind for the English fleet ready into Flanders. While he was there, James Mower brought to him forty or fifty mariners, to whom he gave an exhorition: they liked him so well, that they promised to die for it, before that he should be apprehended.

The sixth of May, being Sunday, the wind served. He took his leave of his bolt and holles, and went towards the ship, which he thought was herring, and was bare, and had been married eight years, he gave her a fine handkerchief and an old royal of gold in it, thanking her much, and said, Be of good comfort, before that one whole year he pass, God shall give you a child; a boy. And it came to pass, that that day, and the following day, one day, God gave her a fair child.

At the shore Dr. Sands met with Mr. Heac, of Kent, who had his eldred fon there, who, upon the liking he had to Dr. Sands, lent his fon with him, who afterwards died in his father's house in Frankfurt. Dr. Sands and Mr. Coxe were both in one ship, being on Cockreel's ship, and were within the kenning, when two of the guard came thither to apprehend Dr. Sands. They arrived at Antwerp, being bid to dinner by Mr. Locke. And at dinner time one George Gilpin, being in the forepart, taking Dr. Sands by the arm, and saying, I am come to him, and rounded him in his ear, and said, king Philip hath sent to make search for you, and to apprehend you. Hereupon they rode from their dinner in great haste, and went out of the gate leading to Stadcraft, where they found the ship, where the Sands came, came to him, and gathered some one day, gone safe to Augsburg, in Cleveland, where Dr. Sands tarried fourteen days, and then travelled towards Strauburg, where after he had lived one year, his wife came to him. He fell sick of a flux, which kept him in great pain. His most kind master, Sir John, being a child which died of the plague. His wife at length fell into a consumption, and died in his arms; no man had a more godly woman to his wife.

After this, Mr. Sampson went away to Emanuel, a man faithful in Huntingdon, to Mr. Grinnell went into the country to learn the Dutch tongue. Dr. Sands still remained
that furnishe, or for what other cause I know not, being offered by Sir John Wyat to his lady Elizabeth after, as the time lying in her house at Albridge, she saw the riling of Wyat, sent to her three of her countrymen to wit, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Hales, then master of the horse, and Sir Thomas Cornwall, with their retinue and troop of horse, and the number of two hundred and fifty who at their bidding were provid'd coming, found her at the same time fast in bed, and very feeble and weak of body. Whither when they came, ascending up to her grace's chamber, they desired one of her ladies, whom they met, to declare to her the cause of it. Whereat there were divers come from the court who had a message from the queen. Her grace having knowledge thereof, was right glad of their coming; however, being then very sick, yet the night far spent (which was eight o'clock) she requed them by the messenger, that they should attend her in the morning. To this they answered, that they must needs see her, and would so do, in what case the sooner the worse. Whereat the lady being upred, went to show her grace their words, but they told her, coming nothing as soon as she into her grace's chamber unbidden.

At whose sudden coming into her bed-chamber, her grace, being greatly amazed, said unto them, it is a woful matter that it might not have pleased you to come yesterday morning? They made answer, that they were right sorry for to see her in that case; and I (said the) am not glad to see you here at this time of the night. Whereunto they answered, That they came from the queen to deliver her message and that which was to this effect, that the queen's pleasure was, that she should be at London about the seventh day of that present month. Whereunto they added, Certainly no creature can be more glad than I am to come to her majesty, being right sorry that I am not at this time to wait on her, as you yovself are of fear. Indeed we see it true, said they, that you do say for which we are very sorry. Although, we thank our undervel, that our commision is such, and so farre, us that we must needs bring you with us, either alive or dead. Whereint he being amazed, sorrowfully said, That their commision was very true; but yet notwithstanding he hoped it would be otherwise, and so it was. Yes verily, said they. Whereupon they calling for two physicians, Dr. Craig and Dr. W. Deane, desiring whether he might be removed thence with life, or no. Whereupon answer and judgment was, that there was no impediment in their opinion to the contrary, but that she might travel without danger of life.

In conclusion, they desired her to prepare against the next morning, at nine o'clock to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the queen's letter for her. After much talk, the messengers declaring how there was no prolonging of times and days, dispersed to their chamber, being entertained as before their worship.

The next morning, at the time preferred, they had her forth as she was, very faint and feeble, and in such case that she was ready to faine three or four hours between them. (And that thought she could not be satisfied, what a heavy house there was, to behold the irreverend and doleful dealings of these men, but especially the fear and captivity of their innocent lady and maidens.

Now to proceed in her journey from Albridage; they first came to Redborne, where she was guarded all night. Thence to St. Alban's, to Sir Ralph Rowlet's house, where she tarried that night, both feeble in body, and comfortless in mind.

Thence they passed to Mr. Dox's house at Mytch, where she tarried in the morning, whereon they came to Highgate, where the being very sick, tarried that night and the next day. During which time of her abode, there came many purveyors and messengers from the court, but for what purpose I cannot tell. From that place she was conveyed to the court, where
suffered to write to the queen's majesty, he answered, that he durst not permit that: adding, that in his judgment it would rather hurt, than profit her grace in so doing.

But the other lord, more courteous and favourably, (who was the earl of Suffex) kneeling down, told her grace that she should have liberty to write, and so he was a true man, he would deliver it to the queen's highness, and bring an answer of the same, whatsoever thereof. Whereupon the writer, although he could in no case be satisfied to speak with the queen, to her great discomfort, being no offender against the queen's majesty.

And thus the time and tide passed away for that feast, they privately appointing all things ready that she should go to the next tide, which fell about midnight; but for fear she should be taken by the Thames, they were not in a great hurry. So they stayed till the next day, being Palm-Sunday, when about nine o'clock these two returned again, declaring that it was time for her grace to depart. She answered, if there be no remedy, I must be contented, willing the Lord to dispose. Being come forth into the garden, she called her eyes together, and asked, thinking to see the queen, which he could not. Whereas the said, the marvelled much what the nobility of the realm meant, which in that fort would suffer her to be so much into captivity, the Lord knew whither, for she did not much. At the main time the presenterment was given throughout London, that every one should keep the church, and carry their Palms, while in the mean season she might be conveyed without any concourse of people to the Tower.

After they had taken her charge with the two afore-aided lords, three of the queen's gentlewomen, a woman of her own, her gentleman usher, and two of her grooms lying and hovering upon the water a certain space, for that they could not float the bridge, the bargemen being very unwilling to float the same so soon as they did; whereby the king told them, for the corn of the boat stuck upon the ground, and the water was so shallow, that the boat being under the bridge, there layed again a while. At landing the first layed, and refused to land at those stairs where all the boatmen and offenders customably used to land, neither would he, nor go off the boat over her shoes. The lords were gone out of the boat, and refused why she came not. One of the lords went back again to her, and brought word she would not come.

Then said one of the lords, who shall he nameles, that she should not chafe; and because it did then rain, he offered her to sit under his shelter, and have her hand with a good dath, refused. So floating out, having one foot upon the fairs, flait, Here landeth as true a subjued, being prisoner, as ever landed at these fairs: and before thee, O God, I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone.

To whom the same lord answered again, that if it were so, it was the better for her. At her landeth there was a great multitude of their fervants and warders flanding in their order. What needed all this, said she? It is the tide, said some, so be to when any prisoner is to be quoth she, my cause, I befeech you that they may be quoth. Whereat the poor men knecked down, and with one voice desir'd God to preserve her grace, who the next day were releas'd of their old coats.

After this, passing a little further, the fat down upon the man in the carriage, and to the double, to whom the lieutenant then being said, Madam, you were bell to come out of the rain, for you fit unhomelikely. She then replying, answered again, it is better fitting here, than in a worfe place; for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me. With that her gentle- man under her went, the demanding of him what he meant by her so uncomfortably, feeing the took him to be her comfort, and not to dismay her, especially for that she knew her truth to be such, that no man should have cause to weep for her. But forth she went into prison.

The doors were locked and bolted upon her, which

--greatly

by the way came to meet her many gentlemen to accom- company her highness, who were very forry to see her in such a situation. But especially a great multitude of people were overjoyed to see her; her sister lamented and bewailed greatly her absence. Now when she came to the court, her grace was there flut up, and kept a close prisoner a fortnight, which was till Palm-Sunday, seeing neither king nor queen. nor lord, nor friend, for that time, but only the then lord chamberlain, sir John Gage, and the victual-cham- berslain, which were attendant unto the doors. About which time sir William Scultlowe was called before the council. To whose charge was laid, that he knew of Wyatt's rebellion, which he flatly denied, pro- testing he had neither been with his friends, nor with any traitors and rebels; but being flatly examined, he was in conclusion committed to the Tower.

The Friday before Palm-Sunday, the bishop of Winchelsea with nineteen others of the council (who shall be hereafter) came unto her grace from the queen's majesty, and burdened her with Wyatt's con- spiracy; which the utterly denied, affirming that she was altogether guileless therein. They being not con- tented with this, charged her grace with businesse made by sir Peter Carew, and the rest of the gentlemen of the court, the utterly denying, cleared her innocency therein.

In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared unto her, that it was the queen's will and pleasure that she should go unto the Tower, while the matter was further tried and examined.

Whereat she being amazed, said, that she trusted the queen's majesty would be a more gracious lady unto her, and that her highness would not otherwise conceive of her, but that she was a true woman; declaring further- more to the lords, that she was innocent in all those businesse wherein they had burdened her, and declared them therefore to be a further conspiracy against her, that she might send her prisoner, that she being a true woman in thought, word, and deed, towards her majesty, might not be committed to so notorious and dolorous a place; protesting that she would request no favour at her hand, if the lords' highness would not send her prisoner unto any such kind of matter as they laid unto her charge, and therefore in fine defined their shoreships to think of what she was, and that she might not so extremly be dealt withal for her truth.

Whereat the lords answered again, that there was no remedy, for that the queen's majesty was fully determined that she should go unto the Tower. Where- with the lords departed, with their caps hanging over their eyes. But not long after, within the space of an hour or the same; came four of the aforesaid lords of the council, which were the lord treasurer, the bishop of Winchelsea, the lord brewar, the earl of Suffex, with the guard; who warding the next chamber to her, excluded all her gentlewomen and yeomen, ladies, and gentlewomen; except that for one gentle- woman, three gentlewomen, and two grooms of her chamber, who were appointed in their rooms, three other men of the queen's household, and three waiting women to have attendance likewise upon her, that none should have access to her grace.

At which time there was an hundred northern fol- dies with white coats, watching and warding about the gardens all the day long; and a great fire being made in the midst of the hall, two certain lords were watching there also with their band and company.

Upon Saturday following, two lords of the council, (the one was the earl of Suffex, the other shall be named) came and certified her grace, that the must go forthwith into the Tower, the house being prepar- ed for her, and the tide now ready, which was too late for no body. In heavy mood her grace requested the lords that she might tarry another tide, trusting that the next should be better and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied, that neither time nor tide was to be delayed.

And when her grace requested him that she might be

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greatly discomforted and dismayed her grace. At which time the called by the gentlewomen who had been for her book, desiring her to suffice her to build her foundation upon the lands, but upon the rock, whereby all blasts of blustering weather should have no power against her. The doors being thus locked, and the clock shut up, the lords had great conference how to keep her ward and watching his daughter for that in behalf, agreeing straitly and circumstantly to keep her.

Then of one, which was the lord of Suff, swearing, said, My lords, let us take heed, and do not more than our commissary will bear us out in, whatsoever happen here, by this. And therefore that the king our master's daughter; and therefore let us use such dealing, that we may answer it hereafter, if it shall so happen; for just dealing (quoth he) is always answerable; whereas unto the other lords agreed that it was well said of him, and her depart, and so departed. Two weeks commandment was that she should have masts within her house. One Mr. Young was then her chaplain, and because there were none of her men so well learned to help the priest to fay masts, the man fayed forth that day.

The next day two of her yeomen, who had gone long to school before, and were learned, had two abies provided, and delivered them, so that upon the abies they should help the priest. One of the said yeomen, holding the abie in his hand, pretending ignorance of Latin, said to the priest, making as though he could answer no further.

It would make a pitiful and a strange story, here by the way to touch and recite what examination and rackings of poor men there were to find out the knife that should cut her throat; what shifting, what lords, the enemy, in what they might wash their goodly white rochetts in her innocent blood; but especially the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor, who within five days after came unto her with divers others of the council, and examined her of the talk that was at Ashbridge, between her and Sir James Acroft, concerning her removing from thence to Dunnington caille, requiring her to declare what she meant thereby.

At the first she being so suddenly afled, did not well remember any such house; but within a while, well advanced in life, she told how she had some remembrance that I have such a place, but I never lay in it in all my life. And as far as that hath moved me thereunto, I do not remember.

Then, to enforce the matter, they brought forth Sir James Acroft, and Sir John Winderham demanded of her what she said to that man. She answered, that she had little to say to him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the Tower: but, my lords, said she, you do examine every mean prisioner of me, wherein methinks you do me great injury. If they have done evil, and offended the queen's majesty, let them answer for it accordingly. I beseech you, my lords, join not me in this for with any of these offenders. And as concerning my going into Dunnington caille, I do remember that Mr. Hobby and mine officers, and you Sir James Acroft, had such talk; but what is that to the purpose, my lords, but that I may go to mine own house at all times?

The lord of Arundel kneeling down, said, Your grace faith true, and certainly we are very sorry that we have troubled you about so vain matters. She then said, My lords, you do fite me very narrowly; but whereas I am so agitated, you shall not do more to me than God hath appointed; and God forgive you all.

At their departure, sir James Acroft kneeled down, declaring he was fared to die the day in which he should be brought as a prisoner in her grace. But I affure you, my lords, I have been marvellously pleased and examined touching your highness, which, the Lord-knew, is very strange to me: for I take God to record, before all your honours, I do not know any thing of that crime that you have laid to my charge, and will charge it upon my death, if I should be driven to face a trial.

That day, or theseabouts, divers of her own officers, who had made provision for her diet, brought the same to the outer gate of the Tower, the common way all officers receiving it; which was no slight grief unto the gentlemen, the bringers thereof. Wherefore they desired to speak with the lord-chamberlain, who was then standing at the outer gate of the Tower. In his presence, they declared unto his lordship, that they were much afraid to bring her grace's diet, and to deliver it to such common and desperate persons as those who received it, beseeching his honour to consider her grace, and to give such order, that her viands might at all times be delivered by men that might be appointed for that purpose. Yea, first, said he, who appointed this office? They answered, her grace's council. Council, said he, there is none of them which hath to do either in that cafe, or any thing else within this place; and I assure you, for that she is a prisoner, the shall be served by the lieutenant's men, as other threescore are. One of the gentlemen on this told him, that they trusted for more favour from his hands, considering her perfomage; and added, that they imagined the queen and her council would be better to her grace than so; and that they desired they might have the means of words of the lord-chamberlain respecting their lady and mistres.

On this he swore by God, striking himself upon the breast, that if they did either frowns or flog at him, he would have them the moon. Thus taking their leave, they, they, they assured God to bring him into a better mind towards her grace, and departed from him.

Upon which occasion, her grace's officers made great suit unto the queen's council, that some proper person might go to the Tower, and command them how her diet should be delivered, and that it might no more be delivered by the common soldiers of the Tower: which being reasonably considered, was by them permitted; and one of her gentlemen, her clerk of the kitchen, and her two purveyors, were appointed to bring in her provision once a day: these officers, however, continued to wait upon them in those occasions.

The lord chamberlain himself being always with them, circumstantly and narrowly watched and learned what they brought, and took care that they should have no talk with any of her grace's waiting servants, and to guard him so in such an out. At the said suit of her officers, were sent by the commandment of the council to wait upon her grace, two yeomen of her chamber, one of her robes, two of her pantry and every, one of her buttery, another of her cellar, two of her kitchen, and two other men, all which continued with her the time of her trouble.

The constable, being at the first not very well pleased with the coming in of such a company against his will, would have had his men fill to have served with her grace's men; which her servants would not do means fuller, desiring his lordship to be contented, for that orders were given, that no stranger should come within their offices. At which answer being false, he broke out into these threatening words, Well, I will handle you well enough. Then he went into the kitchen, and commanded them to be Gosset and Snyders, and said, that his cook should come thither and dres it. To that her grace's cook answered, My lord, I will never suffer any stranger to come about her diet, but her own sworn men, as long as I live. He said they should. But the cook said, his lordship should come thither, and see if any poor servants very grievedly, though afterward he was otherwise advised, and they were more courtesly used at his hands. And good cause why. For he had good cheer, and faced of the belt, and her grace paid well for it. Wherefore he used himself afterward more reverently toward her grace.

Having been a whole month there in close prision, and being on that account uneasy, the sent for the lord-chamberlain and the lord Chandos to come and speak with them. When they were come, the request was made that they might have liberty to walk in some place, for the
that she felt herself not well. To which they answered, that they were right sorry that they could not satisfy her grace's request, for that they had commandment to the contrary, which they had nothing to do with, that she need not think about it, but walk into the queen's lodging. No, nor yet that, they answered, could by any means be obtained without a further suit to the queen and her council. Well, said she, my lords, if the matter be so hard that they cannot do it, I will find a way, and they shall know I will be so fierce, God comfort me, and so they departed, the remaining in her old dungeon still, without any kind of comfort but only God.

The next day lord Chandos came unto her grace, declaring that he had found a way, and that he had liberty. Some of them contended thereunto, others differed, for that there were so many prisoners in the Tower. But, in conclusion, they did all agree that her grace might walk into those lodgings, to that he and the lord chamberlain, and three of the queen's gentlemen, did accompany her, the windows being shut, and the not suffer to look out at any of them: whereof she contented herself, and gave them thanks for his good-will in that behalf.

Accordingly there was liberty granted to her grace to walk in the Tower, as she pleased, but that the garden was not so much comfort as to her as the walk in the Tower. The garden was pleasant and acceptable. At which times of her walking there, the prisoners on that side were diligently commanded not to speak or look out of the window into the garden, till her grace was gone out of the room, leaving their keepers watching the doors for that time. Thus her grace with this small liberty contented herself in God, to whom be praise therefore.

During this time, there used a little boy, a man's child in the Tower, to refer to their chambers, and to bring her grace flowers, which he liked little to the other prisoners confined there. Whereupon some evil and fulsome persons, thinking to make something out of this, on a time called the child unto them, promising him faggots and apples, and asking him if he had been with the earl of Devonshire, not ignorant of the child's offer willing him. The boy answered, that he would go by and by thither. Further, they demanded him, when he was with the lady Elizabeth's grace. He answered, every day. They then asked him what the lord Devonshire sent by him as a challenge to them, to go know what he will give to carry to her. Such was the cruelty of the child, though only four years of age. This fame was a crafty boy, said the lord-chamberlain. How say you, my lord Chandois? I pray you, my lord, said the chamberlain, he brought you the grapes you promised me. No matter, answered he, though it were better for me more to the lady Elizabeth, or the lord Courtenay. The boy answered, I will bring my lady my mistrees more flowers. Whereupon the child's father was commanded to permit the boy to come no more up into their chambers.

The next day as her grace was walking in the garden, the child peeping in at a hole in the door, called unto her, Mistrees, I can bring you no more flowers. At which the child, said nothing, understanding thereby what was done. Wherefore the chamberlain highly rebuked his father, and the boy, telling him to put the child out of the house. Alas, poor in- fant! said the father. It is a crafty knave, said the lord-chamberlain; let me fee him here no more.

The day of May, the confabul of the Tower was discharged from Towerhill, and Captain Benfield placed in a room, a man unknown to any of them but what they done. Wherefore the chamberlain highly rebuked his father, and the boy, telling him to put the child out of the house. Alas, poor in- fant! said the father. It is a crafty knave, said the lord-chamberlain; let me fee him here no more.

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servants standing on the other side, which were very
delicous to see her. Whom when she beheld, turning
to one of her men standing by, she said, Yonder I see
certain of my men: go to them and say these words
from me, Tamquam ovo, that is, Like a heap to the
fire.

So the paffing forward to Windfor, lodger that night
in the dean of Windfor's house, a place more meet for
a prief than a princes.

And from thence her grace was guarded and brought
the next night to Mr. Dormer's house, where, as was the
usual custom, they were entertained to one and
some another, so far that Sir Henry was greatly
moved therewith, and troubled the poor people very
vexely, for shewing their loving hearts in such a
manner, calling them rebels and traitors, with such
vexel.

Beside, as she passed through the villages, the
townsmen rang the bells, as being joyful of her com-
ing, thinking indeed that it had been otherwise than
it was, as the fequel proved after to the fald poor men.
For immediately the said Sir Henry hearing the sound,
went his fadors thither, who apprehended some of
the ringers, letting them in the stocks, and otherwise
molesting some others for their good wills.

On the morrow, her grace passing from Mr. Dorm-
er's there (for it was the time of her abode there, a
strict watch kept), came to my lord of Tame's house,
whence she lay all night, being very princeely entertained
both by knights and ladies, gentlemen and gentle-
men. Whereat Sir Henry Benfield grumbled, and was
highly offended, faying unto them, that they could not
not what they did, and were not able to answer their
clamors in that behalfe, letting them to understand, that
she was the queen's prisoner, and no otherwise; advising
them therefore to take heed and beware of alter-claps.
Whereunto the lord of Tame answered in this wise:
That they did not know what they did; they were
in communion as well as he, adding with warrant, that
her grace might and should, while in his house, be
merry.

The next day, as the should take her journey from
Richmond towards Woodstock, the lord of Tame with
another gentleman being at tables, playing, and drop-
ing vie crowns, the lady Elizabeth paifing by, stayed,
and said the would fee the game played out, which Sir
Henry Benfield would not permit. The game run-
ing long about, and they playing drop vie crowns,
Come hither, sir; I will carry, faith she, and will fee
this game out.
After this, Sir Henry Benfield went up into a cham-
ber, where was appointed for her grace a chair, two
cushions, and a foot carpet, very fair and prince-like,
wherein premitiously he sat, and called one Barwick,
his man, to pull off his boots. Which as soon as it
was known among the ladies and gentlemen, every one
mudered thereat, and laughed him to scorn, observing
his indifferency manners in that behalfe, as they might
very well.

When supper was done, he called my lord, and
willed him that all the gentlemen and ladies should
withdraw themselves every one to his lodging, mar-
velling much that he would permit there such a large
company, considering the great charge he had com-
mitted to him.

Sir Henry, quoten my lord, content yourself, all shall
be avoided, your men and all. Nay, my soldiers,
quoten Sir Henry, shall watch all night. The lord of
Tame answered, There is no need. Well, said he,
need or need not, they shall do, minifying per-
haps the company, which God kneweth was without
hope.

The next day her grace took her journey from thence
to Woodstock, where she was included, as in the
Tower of London, the soldiers guarding both within
and without the walls, every day, to the number of its
forty, without the walls forty, during the time of
her imprisonment there.

At length she had gardens appointed for her to walk
in, which was very comforable to her grace. But al-
ways when she recreateth her selve therein, the dogs
her grace locked up, in as strict a manner as they were
in the Tower, being at least five or six locks between
her lodging and her walks; for Sir Henry himself
keeping about him two men, that he did not see her.
Whereupon he called him her jailor; and he kneeling down
her grace not to call him so, for he was appointed
there to be one of her officers. From such officers (qua-
good) Lord deliver me.

And he used her, as he were digrefiting, or rather refec-
ting the reader, if he be lawful in so ferious a fay to
recite a matter incident, and yet not impertinent to
the fame; occasion here moveth, or rather inforcteth me
to touch briefly what happened in the fame place and
time, by a certain merry conceited man, being then about
the castle, who observed the strict and strong keeping
of his lady and mistref, by the said Sir Henry Benfield,
with so many locks and doors, with foles, watch and guard
about her, as was stranget and won-
derful, espiet a great in the ward where her grace was,
and whether to refresh my apprefted mind, or to recy
her trait handling by Sir Henry, or else both, he took
up his neck, and followed her grace without as it
was going into her lodging.

Which when the faw, the alked him what he would
do with it, defining him to let it alone. The man
answered, I would be such a man, Sir, ye may be
satisfied, ye may not, for I cannot tell whether he be one of the
friends or not. I will carry him to Sir Henry Benfield
(God willing) to know what he is: so leaving her grace,
he went with the goat on his neck, and carried it in
Sir Henry: who when he faw him coming with it, slid
him half angrily, what he had there.

Unto whom the man answered, faying, Sir, I can-
tell what he is. I pray you examine him, for I found
him in the place where my lady's grace was walking,
and what talk they had I cannot tell. For I under-
fand very well that I was observing the ftrict a
stranger, and I think verily a Welshman, for he hath
white frize coat on his back. And forsomuch as be-
ing the queen's subjef, and perceiving the ftrict a
charge committed to you, that no stranger should have access
to her without sufficient licence, I have here found
a stranger (whom I cannot tell) in the place where
her grace was walking: and therefore the needful
discharge of my duty, I thought it good to bring
this ftranger to you, to examine as you see cause; so
he let him down. At this Sir Henry leaped much
displeased, and said, Well, I will never lose this
fay, and so they departed.

Now to return to the matter from whence we have
digrefited, after her grace had been there a time, she
applied to the council for leave to write to the queen.
This at last was permitted: so Sir Henry Benfield
brought her pen, ink, and paper; and finding that she
while the wrote (which he strictly observed), being
sometimes weary, he would carry away her letters,
and bring them again when she called for them.
When she had finifhed, he would fain have been mediocre
to the queen with the fame. Whereupon her grace
requested her good servant, whether one of her own
people should care them, and that she would neither trust him, nor any
of his with them.

Then he answered again, faying, None of them shall
be fo bold (he thought) as to carry her letters to
her in her present situation. Yes, said he, I am afraid
I have none so fitly as to deny my request in that be-
half, but will be as willing to serve me now as before.
Well, said he, my commiffion is to the contrary, and
I may not fo fuffer it. Her grace replying again, said
You charge me very often with your connivance,
praying I may duly answer the cruel dealings you
use towards me.

Then he kneeling down, desired her grace to think
and consider how he was a servant, and put in trust there
the queen to ferve her majesty; proceeding, that if he
ought to do it, she might do it; but as her grace
as now he did the queen's highness. For which affift
her grace thanked him, defining that the might
never
never have need of such fervants as he was; declaring further to him, that his doing: towards her were not good or answerable, but more than all the friends he had stand by.

To whom Sir Henry replied, and said, that there was no remedy but his doing must be brought forward, and so they were. But Sir Henry made good account, therefore he was the cause—which moved her grace to say, that he would not permit her letters to be carried for or five or four days after the writing thereof. But in fine he was content to fend for his grammar from the tow of Woodlock, demanding of him where he and his enterprize were. What was his grace’s letters to the queen, or no; and he answered, yes, for that I will with all my heart. Whereupon Sir Henry, half against his stomach, took them unto him.

Then about the eighth of June came down Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, sent by the queen to her grace, for that she was the consort and minister of the, and letting her blood, tarried there and attended on her grace five or six days. Then the being well amended, they returned again to the court, making their good report to the queen and council of her grace’s behaviour and humility towards the queen’s highness. Which her majesty hearing, was pleased with it; and her grace being present, looked black in the mouth, and told the queen, they marveled much that she submitted not herself to her majesty’s mercy, considering that she had offended her highness.

About this time, her grace was requested by a secret friend of hers to submit herself to the queen’s highness, which would be well taken, and to her great quiet and advantage. Unto whom she answered, that she would never submit herself to them whom she never offended. For (quoth he) if I have offended and am guilty, I then crave no mercy, but the law, which I am certain I should have the better of. Whereunto Sir Henry, said to me, I will not; for if you have offended, I will not give you any mercy, for if you have offended, I will not give you any mercy. For if you have offended, I will not give you any mercy.

About this time there was a great confusion among the bishops and gentlemen, touching the marriage of her grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some stranger, that she might go out of the realm with her portion, some saying one thing, and some another.

-A lord (who shall be here namelessly) being there, as I left, said, That the king should never have any quiet commonwealth in England, unless her head were served from her shoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards answered, saying, God forbid that their king and master should have that mind to content to such a miserable.

This was the apprehension to the Englishmen, speaking after that fort against their own country. From that day the Spaniards never left off their good persuasions to the king, that the like honour he should never obtain, as he stood in deliverance of Lady Elizabeth’s grace out of prison; whereby for the great lengths that this grace was prolonged, there is a plain and evident example of the good clemency and nature of the king and his counsellors toward her grace (praised be God therefore), who moved their hearts therein. Then hereupon the was sent for shortly after to come to Hampton-Court.

But before her removal away from Woodlock, we will say a little to declare in what dangers her life was, during the time she remained there: first through fire, which began to kindle between the boards and ceiling under the chamber where she lay, whether by a spark of a fire getting accidentally into a crevice, or whether for the want of that means thereof, the Lord doth know. Neverthelesse a worshipful knight of Oxfordshire, which was there joined the same time with in Henry Benfield in keeping that lady, (who then took up the boards and quenched the fire) venturously supposed it to be done for the purpose.

Furthermore it is thought, and affirmed (for truth) of one Paul Penny, the queen’s confidential servitor, a notorious ruffian, and a barberly wretch, that he was appointed to affiance the said lady Elizabeth, who both faw the man being often in her sight, and also knew thereof. Another one of the privy chamber, a great man about the queen, and chief darling of Stephen Gardiner, named James Balf, came to Blandenbridge, a mile from Woodlock, with twenty or thirty privy coats, and sent for Sir Henry Benfield to come and speak with him. But as God would, who disposeth all things as he pleaseth, so it happened, that a little before, the said Sir Henry Benfield was sent for by post to the council, leaving scribbled word behind him, with his brother, that no man, whatsoever he was, though coming with a note of the queen’s hand, or any other warrant, should have access to her before his return again. By reason whereof it fell out, that Mr. Benfield’s brother, coming to him at the bridge, would suffer him in no cafe to come in, who otherwise (as is supposed) was appointed violently to murder the innocent lady.

In the life of Stephen Gardiner we declared before, how the queen by Elizabeth in the Tower, a writ came down, subscrib’d with certain handwriting fit for her execution: which if it were certain, as it is reported, Winchefter (no doubt) was deviser of that mischievous drift: and double-fleas the fame Abikhophel had brought his impious purpose that day to pass, had not the fatherly purpose of the righteous God stirred up Mr. Bridges, lieutenant the fame day of the Tower, to come in haste to the queen to give certificate thereof, and to know further her content touching her sister’s death. Whereupon it is followed, that all that device was disappointed, and Winchefter’s devilish platform, which he said he had cafe, through the Lord’s great goodness came to no effect.

There moreover is to be noted, that during the imprisonment of this lady and prince, one Mr. Edmund Tremaine was on the rack, and Mr. Smithwikhe, and others in the Tower were examined, and divers offers made to them to accuse the good lady, being in her captivity. Howbeit, all that notwithstanding, no manner could be proved by all examinations, as the same time lying at Woodlock had certain intelligence by the means of one John Gayer; who under a colourable presence of a letter to Mr. Cleve from her father, who let it in, and gave them secretly to understand of all this matter. Whereunto, being departing out from Woodlock, wrote these lines with her diamond in a glass window:

Much suspected by me;
Nothing proved can be.

Quoth Elizabeth, Prisoner.

And thus much touching the troubles of lady Elizabeth, at Woodlock. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the same time, the lord of Tame hallowed to the queen, and became surety for her, to release her from Woodlock to his house, and had obtained a grant thereof. The possession thereof was made accordingly, and all things ready in expectation of her coming. But through the procurement either of Mr. Benfield, or by the advice of Winchefter her mortal enemy, letters came over night to the contrary: whereby her journey was stopped.

Thus this worthy lady, oppressed with continual sorrow, could not be permitted to have recourse to any friends she had, but still in the hands of her enemies was left desolate, and utterly destitute of all that might refresh a doeless heart, fraught, full of terror and trialment. Whereunto no level, if the hearing upon a time, out of the good garden at Woodlock, Master Thomas, pleasently, with herself to be a milkmaid as she was, saying that her cafe was better, and life more merry than hers, in that state as he was.

Now after these things thus declared, to proceed further there where, we left before, if Henry Benfield and
his soldiers, with the lord of Tame, and Sir Ralph Chamberline, guarding and waiting upon her, the first night from Woodstock she came to Ricor. In which journey such a mighty wind did blow, that her servants were fain to hold down her cloaths about her, in such sort that her hood was twice or thrice blown from her head. Thereupon the deferring to return to certain gentleman's house there near, could not be suffered by Sir Henry Benifield so to do, but was constrained under an hedge to ride to the house, and to give the woman her horse and urging her to an house, whereof she had twice or thrice blown from her head.

After this, the next day they journeyed to Mr. Dorer's, and so to Colbrooke, where she lay all that night at the George, and by the way coming to Colbrooke, certain of her grace's gentlewomen and yeomen met her, to the number of three hundred, much to all their comfort, who were as much for her as the commons against the king, in which they were commanded in the queen's name immediately to depart the town, to both their's, and her grace's no little envies, which could not be suffered once to speak with them. So that night all her men were taken from her, having her gentlewomen, three guardsmen, as well as he could.

The next day following, her grace entered Hampton Court on the back-side into the prince's lodging; the doors being shut upon her, and the guards with soldiers as before, the guards at the gate, before any had recourse unto her: at length came the lord William Haward, who used her grace honourably. Whereat she took much comfort, and requited him to be a means that she might speak with some of the council. To whom without any more ado, the lord of Winchelfe, and the lord of Arundel, the lord of Shrewsbury, secretary Peter, who with great humility humbled themselves to her grace. She again likewise saluting them, said, My lords, I am glad to see you; for methinks I have been kept a great while from you, forlorn and alone. When you were gone, the queen was left in the house and the grace; that I may be delivered from prison, wherein I have been kept a long time, as to you my lords be well known.

When the had spoken, Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchelfe, kneeled down, and requested that she would submit herself to the grace's grace, and in so doing he had no doubt but that her majesty would be good to her: the made answer, That rather than she would do, she would lay in prison all the days of her life; adding, that the craved no mercy at her majesty's hand, but rather desired the time to come, and that when she had come to speak with the queen, that she may be delivered from prison, wherein I have been kept a long time, as to you my lords be well known.

The bishop of Winchelfe came again unto her grace, and kneeling down, declared that the queen did not say that the time was not yet for herself, not contending that the had offended: so that it should seem that the queen's majesty had wrongfully imprisoned her grace.

Nay, quoth the lady Elizabeth, it may please her majesty to punish me as she thinkest good.

But Gardiner soZEEN her majesty willed her to tell you, that you must tell another tale before that you be set at liberty.

Her grace answered, that she had as soon be in prison with honesty and truth, as to be abroad, furbolged by her servants. Whereupon, I have said, I will stand unto, for I will never believe myself.

Winchelfe again kneeled down, and said, Then your grace hath the advantage of me and other lords for your wrong and long imprisonment.

What advantage I have (quoth he) you know; taking God to record, and hearken no advantage at your hands for your dealing with me, but God forgive you and me also. With that the rest kneeled, desiring her grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed, the being fait locked up again.

And at last the queen sent for her grace, at ten o'clock at night to speak with her: for she had not seen her for two years before. Yet for all that, she amazèd at the suddenness of the meeting, thinking it had been worse than afterwards it proved, desiring her gentlewomen and gentlewomen to pray for her, and the queen could not tell whether ever she should see them again or no.

At which time Sir Henry Benifield with Mrs. Clarentius coming in, her grace was brought into the garden, unto a stairs door that went into the queen's lodging, her grace, goes to speak with her, her gentilmen, ladies, and her gentilmen going before her, and no grace, and none wondering where her gentlewomen and gentlewomen being commanded to fly, all saving one woman, Mrs. Clarentius conducted her to the queen's bed-chamber where her majesty was.

And at this sight, whom her grace kneeled down, and declared God to prefer her majesty, not misusing but that she should prove herself as true a subject towards her majesty as ever any did, and declared her majesty even so to judge of her; and said, that she should not find her to the contrary, whatsoever it.

To whom the queen answered, You will not confess your offence, but stand stoutly to your truth, I pray God it may so fall out.

If it doth not, (quoth the lady Elizabeth) I request neither favour nor pardon of your majesty's hand, nor self, except you do confess you truly and in your truth. Believe you will not confesa but that you have been wrongfully punished.

I must not pay for it (she pleads your majesty) to you.

Why then (said the queen) belike you will to other. For now, for as long as I have been in prison I have been the burden, and must bear it. I humbly beseech your majesty to have a good opinion of me, and to me to be your true subject, not only from the beginning hittherto, but for ever, as long as life lasteth, and is they departed with very few comfortable words of the queen, in English: but what she said in Spanish, God knoweth. It was thought that king Philip was then behind a cloth, and not seen, and that he shewed himself a very great friend in that matter, &c.

Thus her grace departing, went to her lodging again, and that day seven-eight was released of Sir Henry Best and his men, the fairest and most gentle, and for her grace being set at liberty from imprisonment went into the country, and had appointed to go with her Sir Thomas Pope, one of queen Mary's council, and one of her gentlewomen, Mr. Gage, and thus frietly was she looked after all queen Mary's time; this is the discourses of her highness's imprisonment.

Then there came to Lambheve, Mrs. Jerneingham and Mr. Norris, gentlewomen, queen Mary's pages, who took away from her grace, Mrs. Arith to the Flint, and three other of her gentlewomen.

To which thing was no little trouble to her grace, saying, that the thought they would fetch all away at the end. But God be praised, shortly after was fetched away Gardiner, through the merciful providence of the Lord's goodmen, by occasion of whose opportune decease it pleased God to take of his grace, her father's grace, excellent princes, and the wealth of England was preferred. For this is credibly to be supposed, that the said wicked Gardiner, of Winchelfe, had long laboured his wish, and to this only most principal mark bent all his device to take this our happy and dear sovereign out of the world; to give of his words and doings before notified, may sufficiently appear.

But such was the gracious and favourable providence of the Lord, to the preservation not only of her majesty, but also of the miserable and woful fate, which whole life and power of this gentleman, or perhaps because he was a noted and excellent physician, and the wealth of England was preferred. For this is credibly to be supposed, that the wicked Gardiner, of Winchelfe, had long laboured his wish, and to this only most principal mark bent all his device to take this our happy and dear sovereign out of the world; to give of his words and doings before notified, may sufficiently appear.
both he and all the flares and traps of his pernicious counsel said against, another, were turned to a net to catch himself; according to the word, "The mischief he delib'd the other, fell upon his head.

After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death also and dropping away of other her enemies, where by little and little her jealousy decreased, fear diminished, hope of comfort began to appear as out of a dark cloud: and now, as they had at last assurance of peace, safety, yet more gentle entertainment daily did grow unto her, till at length in the month of November, and seventeenth day of the same, three years after the death of Stephen Gardiner, followed the death of queen Mary.

Although this history following be not directly appertaining to the former matter, yet the fame may here not unsparingly be inferred, for that it doth discover and shew forth the malicious hearts of the papists to the lady Elizabeth in the time of queen Mary her sister, which is reported, by sundry honest persons, of unquestionable credit.

The matter whereof is this.

Soon after the tir of Wyat, and the troubles that happened to the lady Elizabeth for that cause, it happened that one Robert Farrer, a haberdasher of London, dwelling near the said queen Mary, in a tavern called the Rose tavern, where chanced to meet him with Lawrence Shiriff, grocer, dwelling also not far from thence; they drinking together as good friends (as they had been for a long time before), Farrer being a little elevated, and not very careful, and who as it were present, began to talk against the lady Elizabeth, and that Shiriff had been one of the chief doers in this rebellion of Wyat, and before all be done, flee and all the heretics shall well understand it. Some of them hope that the shall have the crown, but she and they (I trust) that of shall have their heads, or be tried with flags before the come to it.

Lawrence, the grocer, being sworn servant to the lady Elizabeth, could no longer bear these scandalous expositions of his old acquaintance concerning his mistress, but to his friend, I have loved thee as a neighbour, and have had a good opinion of thee, but in this I delive thee; and I tell thee I am her grace's fryera servant, and she is a princess, and the daughter of a noble king, and it do not become thee to call a jilt; and for this saying, I say thou art a knave, and I will complain of thee.

Do thy works, Farrer, for what saith, I will, I will say again; and so Shiriff went out of his company.

Shortly after, the said Shiriff, taking an honest neighbour with him, went before the commissioners to complain, who fat then at bishop Bonner's house near St. Paul's; Bonner desired them then-chief commissioner, the lord Maudont, to John Baker, one of his council, to bid the bishop, Dr. Story, Dr. Harpsfield, and others, being present.

Mr. Shiriff coming before them, declared the manner of Farrer's talk against the lady Elizabeth. Bonner answered, Peradventure you took him worse than he meant.

Ye, my lord, said Dr. Story, if you knew the man as I do, you would say there is not a better catholic, nor an honest man in the city of London.

Well, said Shiriff, my lord, she is my gracious lady and mistress, and she has suffered that for a varlet as he is should call so honourable a princes by the name of jilt: and I saw yesterday at court that my lady cardinal Poole, meeting her in the chamber of presence, had lain down on his knees and killed her hand; and I saw also that king Philip meeting her, made such obedience, that his knee touched the ground; and then methinks were too much to suffer such a varlet this is, to call her jilt, and to with them to head-high, shall with her grace to enjoy the possession of the crown, shall find it unto her, as in the right of her inheritance.

Yes, say they, quoth Bonner. When God fextend unto her, let her enjoy it. But truly (said he) the man that spoke the words that you have reported, meant nothing against the lady Elizabeth your mistress, and no where do we; but he like an honest and zealous man

fear the alteration of religion, which very good man ought to fear: and therefore (said Bonner), good man, go your ways home and report well of us to your mistress, and we will find for Farrer and will rebuke him for his rash and indifferent words, and we trust he will not do the like again. And thus Shiriff came away, and Farrer had a flap with a fox's tail.

Queen Mary, being long sick before, upon the 21st of November, in the year above mentioned, about three or four o'clock in the morning, yielded her life to nature, and her kingdom to queen Elizabeth her sister. Concerning whole death, some fay that she died of a tymanpy, some (by her great fighting before her death) fupposed the died of thought and sorrow. Whereupon her coming before her fighting, and desirous to know the cause, to him they shew them the more readily; and fiter conflation unto her, feared, as they said, that the took that thought for the king her husband, who was gone from her. To whom the answering, said, Indeed that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pierceth my oppressed mind; but what that was, she would not express to them.

However afterward the opened the matter more plainly to Mr. Rife and Mrs. Clarencius (if it be true what they told me, who heard it of Mr. Rife himself), who the lady Elizabeth was with her, told her, that they feared the took thought for the king, her husband, from her. Not that only, said the, but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calaia lying in my heart, &c. And here is an end of queen Mary, and of her perfections.

Of which queen this truly may be affirmed, and left in story for a perpetual memorial or epitaph, for all kings and queens that shall succeed her to be noted, That before her never was read in the history of any king or queen of England, since the time of king Lucius, under whom in state of peace, by hanging, beheading, burning, and imprisoning, so much christian blood was spilt, and so many Engishmen's lives lost within this realm, as under the said queen Mary for the space of four years was to be seen, and I beeffect the Lord never may be seen hereafter.

A brief Declaration, shewing the Unprosperous Success of Queen Mary in persecuting God's People, and how mightily God wrought against her in all her Affairs.

A queen Mary during all her reign was such a vexe ment adversary against the sincere professors of Christ and his gospel; for which there be many who do highly esteeme her. But the intent therefore that all men may understand, how the blessing of God did not only not attend her proceedings, but contrariwise rather how his manifest displeasure ever wrought against her, in plaguing both her and her realm, and subverting all her councils and attempts, whatsoever the thought in hand, we will before a little time therein, to survey the whole course of her actions, and consider what success she had in the same. Which being well considered, we shall never find any reign of any prince in this land, or any other, which did ever flow in it (for the length of time) so many arguments of God's wrath and displeasure, as were to be seen in the reign of this queen, whether we behold the thorness of her time, or the unfortunate events of all her purposes, who seemed never to purpose any thing that came luckily to pass, neither did any thing frame to her purpose, whatsoever she took in hand touching her own private affairs.

Of good kings we read in scripture, in shevving mercy and pity, in seeking God's will in his word, and subverting the monuments of idolatry, how God blessed their ways, in which he was. In the same, we may see all their proceedings, as we see in king David, Solomon, Jofaphat, Zechariah, with such others; Mnaells made the streets of Jerusalem to swim with the blood of his subjects; but what came of it, the text doth telth.
Of queen Elizabeth, who now reigneth among us, this we must needs say, which we fee, that in sparing the blood, not only of God’s servants, but also of God’s enemies, hath doubled now the reign of queen Mary her sister with, as it were, the more and more, whereby it is hard to say, whether the realm of England felt more of God’s wrath in queen Mary’s time, or of God’s favour and mercy in these blessed days of queen Elizabeth.

Great deal, speaking his mind in the council of the Parliaments concerning Christ’s religion, gave this reason, that if it were not of God, it could not stand. So may it be said of queen Mary and her Romish religion, that if it were so perfect and catholic as they pretend, and the contrary faith of the gospellers were so defective and heretical as they say, then the cause of the getting to catholic a queen, such a necessarie pillar of his spouse the church, continued no longer, till she had utterly rooted out of the land this heretical generation? yea, how chanced it rather, that Almighty God, to spare these poor heretics, rooted out queen Mary to found her throne, after the last reigned but only five years and five months?

Further, how God blessed her ways and endeavours in the mean time, while she thus perceiving the true favours of God, remaineth to be discussed. Where the beginning of this king and his mother was placed, where the first was to found for the title of the crown, and yet had wrought no re-refinance against Christ and his gospel, and also had promised her faith to the Suffolk men, to maintain the religion left by king Edward her brother, so long went with her, and so much by the means the gospellers brought her to the poxification of the realm. But after that, the breaking her promise with God and man, began to take part with Stephen Gardiner, and had given over her fuperincuity to the pope, by and by God’s blessing left her, neither did any thing thrive well with her afterwards, during the time of her government.

For first, the greatest and finest ship she had, called Great Harry, was burnt; such a vessel as was not to be matched in these parts of Europe.

Then would the need be bring in King Philip, and by her strange marriage with him, to make the whole realm of England subject to a stranger. And all that not withstanding, that she either did, or was able to do, she could not bring to pass to set the crown of England on his head. With King Philip came in the pope and his popish maids; with whom also her purpose was to rally against the monks and nuns to their places, neither lacked there any attempts to the utmost of her power; and yet therein God kept her of her will, that it came not forward. After this, what a famine happened in her time here in her land? The like whereof hath not been in England, inomuch that in fundry places her poor people were forced to lie upon acres for want of corn.

Furthermore where other kings are wont to be renowned by some worthy victory and valour archived, let us now see what valiant victory was gotten in this queen Mary’s days. King Edward the Sixth, her blest brother, how many rebellions did he suppressing in Devonshire, in Norfolk, in Oxfordshire, and elsewhere? What a famous victory was got in his time in Scotland, by the singular working (no doubt) of God’s blest hand, rather than by any expectation of man? King Edward the Sixth, when the fractious bands were in the conclave by princely puissance purchased Calais unto England, which hath been kept English ever since, till at length came queen Mary, the eleventh likewise from the said king Edward, who left Calais from England; and this queen’s were very small, and what the lofsca were let other men judge.

Hicherto the affairs of queen Mary have had no great success, as you have heard; but never had any woman worse in her time, but queen Mary.

For finding one of these two must needs be granted, that either fine was with child, or not with child, if she were with child, why was it not seen? If the were not, how was the realm deluded? And in the mean while, where were all the prayers, the solemn processions, the devout

masles of the catholic clergy? Why did they not prevail with God, if their religion were so godly as they pretend? If, their masles, indeed, able to fetch Christ from heaven, and to reach down to pray for him, why were they not able to fetch Christ to help her in her travaile, if the said child indeed? If, or, how then came it, to put all the catholic church of England into cry, and was it so deeply deceived? Queen Mary, after her manifold plagues, and deaths, and deprivations, which well adored, with her of God’s disfavour provoked against her, should not yet cease her persecution, but still continued long and more to revenge her catholic zeal upon the Lord’s faithful people, putting fire to their poor bodies and soul and hall dozens. Whereupon God’s wrathfull indignation and displeasure was upon her, long and furious, and God’s discipline upon her, to touch her more near with private misadventures and calamities. For after that he had taken from her the fruit of children (which chiefly and above all things delighted), then he bereft her of her, that, which of all cares, things she had, called the greatest of all their honours, and staff of comfort, that is, withdrew from her the nation and company, even of her own husband, by whose marriage she had promised before to herself, whole body of such joy and felicity; but the omnipotent Governor of all things so turned the wheel of her own fortune against her, that her high building fell down and her felicities came all to nothing; her hopes before confounded, her purposes disappointed, and the all becaused to degloration; who seemed neither to have the favour of God, nor the hearts of her subjects, nor even the body of her friends. As it was, her marriage by him while she had him, neither could enjoy him where he was married, nor yet at liberty to marry any other whom she might. Now observe the woeeful adversity of this queen, and learn hence what the Lord can do, when man’s wilfulness will needs refit him, and will not be ruled.

At last, when all these fair admonitions, would take no place with the queen, nor move her to revoke her bloody laws, nor to lay the tyranny of her priests, no yet to spare her own subjects, but that the savants of God, they drewdaily by heaps most pitifully as fogs to the mouth, it so pleased the heavenly Majesty, that Almighty God, when no other remedy would forge feasonably to cut her off by death, who in her life feste regard the lives of others, giving her throne, which fire subdued to the destruction of Christ’s church and people, and by the hand of her executioner, which would guide the fame, after she had reigned here the space of five years and five months. The shortage of whole reign, scarce we find in any other story of king or queen since the conquest or before (beoming come to their own government), have only king Richard III.

And now, as I said, as this may I thought to insinuate, touching the unlucky and displeasable reign of queen Mary; not for any devotion to her place and state-royal, whereunto she was called of the Lord, but to this only intent and effect, that forbiddeth as much as the would needs for herself to work and thrive against the Lord and his proceedings, all readers and rulers-may not only see how the Lord did work against her therefore, but also by her may be advertised and learn what a dangerous thing it is for men and women in authority, upon blind zeal and opinion, to follow the false notions of the effusion of Christian blood, left it prove in the end with them (as it did here), that while they think to pervert heretics, they humblest the fame fong as did the Jew in percutting Christ and his true members to death, to their own confusion and destruction.

QUEEN MARY, being dead and gone, we will now leave her, and treat of those under her whom the chief instriments in this perfecion, the bishop...
and clergy, to whom she, as a true catholic, gave all the execution of her power, as did queen Alexandra to the Princes under the time of the Macabees, of whom Josephus thus writeth: the only retained to herself the grand title of the kingdom, but all her power she gave to the Princes to poltifs, &c. Touching which prelates and priests, here is to be noted in like manner the wonderfull and miraculous Providence of Almighty God, which had the revolters taken, as he had threatened, to be cut off, had they offered them not to escape unvisited: first beginning with Stephen Gardiner, the arch-perfector of Christ's church, whom he took away about the midst of the queen's reign; of whose poisoned life and thinking end, permutsh and apocalyptic death he was touched before, I have elsewhere relate thereof.

After him dropped away others also, some before the death of queen Mary, and some after, as Morgan, bishop of St. David's, who sitting upon the condemnation of bishop Farrer, and unjustly usurping his room, not long after was struck by God's hand in such a strange manner that his meat would not go down in his mouth and pulse up again, sometimes as his mouth, sometimes blown out of his nose, mortally nauseous to behold, and so continued till his death.

I have note moreover, that when Mr. Leguion, being that yeartime in the courts burning, had broken away the cail of the said bishop, from his parson's house, named Matthew Harbottel, into his own custody, the cattle coming into the sheriff's ground, divers of them would never eat meat, but lay bellowing and roaring, and so died.

And when a stroke of God's hand was brought upon the cruel perfector of the holy faintes of God, bishop Thornton, suffragan of Dover, who after he had exercised his cruel tyranny upon so many pious men at Canterbury, at length coming upon a Saturday from the chapter, he looked to break Canterbury to Borne, and there upon Sunday following looking upon his men playing at bowls, fell suddenly in a palsy, and so had to bed, was willing to remember God: Yea, I do, said he, and my lord cardinal too, &c.

After him succeeded another bishop or suffragan, ordained by the after cardinal. It's reported that he had been suffragan before to Bonner, who, not long after being made bishop or suffragan of Dover, broke his neck falling down a pipe of tapers in the cardinal's chamber at Greenwich, as he had received the cardinal's osing.

John Cooper, of the age of 44 years, dwelling at Watham, in the county of Suffolk, a carpenter by trade, a man of a very honest report, and a good housekeeper, a harbinger of strangers that travelled for conference, and one that favoured religion, and there was no ill said of him.

This man being there, came unto him one William Fenning, a serving-man, dwelling in the said town of Watham, and understanding that the said Cooper had a couple of fat bullocks, and did desire to buy them of him, because he had brought them up for his own use, and if he should sell them, he must be compelled to buy others, and that he would not do.

When Fenning saw he could not get them (for he had often tried), he said, he would sit as much in his light, so he departed, and went and accused him of his high-treating in those words he was charged with were unjustly taken away queen Mary, that then the devil would take her away. Of these words did this Fenning charge him before for Henry Doiel, knight (unto whom he was carried by Mr. Timperley, of Hincham, forlorn, and one Gregory (a fellow of whome, confabile, which words Cooper flatly denied), and said he never spoke them: but that did not avail.

Notwithstanding that, he was arraigned at Bury, before for Clement Higham, at a Lent assize, and there this Fenning brought two vile men, that witnessed to the speaking of the aforesaid words, whose names were Richard White, of Watham, and Grimwood, of Hitham, in the said county of Suffolk. Whose testimonies were received as truth, although this good man, John Cooper, had said what he could to declare himself innocent therein, but to no purpose, God knows. For his life was determined, as in the end appeared by sir Clement Higham, who made him to retract, which he could not, nor escape, for an example to all heretics, as indeed he thoroughly performed: for immediately he was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was speedily performed loon after, to the great grief of many a poor and distressed man. The said good Cooper is bereft of his life, and leaves behind him his wife and poor children, with goods and cattle to the value of 300 marks, all which substance was taken away by the said for Henry Doiel, sherrif, but his wife and poor children were left to the wide world in their cloaths, and suffered not to enjoy one penny of that they had fore laboured for, unless they made friends to buy it with money of the said sherrif, so cruel and greedy was he and his officers upon such things as were there left.

Now, this innocent man being dead, his goods spoiled, the price of a week, but he was friended and comforted, and all things husbeld, and nothing feared of any part of the Lord, who surely doth revenge the guilty man's blood, would not hold so suffer it, but at length began to punish it himself. For in the harvest following, as the said for Grimwood, of Hitcham, one of the witnesses before mentioned, and labouring hard, and in health, and bearing no danger, faddened his bowells fell out of his body, and thus most miserably he died: such was the terrible judgment of God, to show his displeasure against his bloody act, and to warn all men by these his judgments to repentance. The Lord grant us to honour the fame, for his mercy's sake. Amen.

In the story of Mr. Bradford mention was made before of Mr. Woodrofe, who being the sherrif, used much to rejoice at the death of the poor faintes of Christ, and so far was he in his office, that when Mr. Rogers was in the said cart going towards Smithfield, in the way his children were brought unto them, the people making a lane for them to come; Mr. Woodrofe had the carman's head broken, because of his stepping his cart, but what happened? He was not come out of his office the space of seven or eight years, till his dying day.

Likewise for Sir George Eagles, it is thought by some, that the said Ralph was afterward attached himself, arraigned, and hanged.

Who, being at the bar, before the judges, and a great number of people, spake these words: This is most unjustly fallen upon me, for that I have betrayed the innocent blood of that good and just man George Eagles, who was here condemned in the time of queen Mary through my procurement, when I fold his blood for a little money.

Among other perfectors, there came also to our hands the cruelty of one Mr. Swingfield, an alderman's deputy about Thames-street, who hearing one Angel's wife, a midwife, that kept herself from their popish church, to be at the labour of one Mrs. Walter, at Crooked-lane end, took with him three more, and belew the house where she was. And so did Bonner's officers, big with child, twenty-eight weeks gone, so laid her in Lollards Tower; where, the same day she came in, through fear, and a fall at her taking, she was delivered of a male child, and could have no women to affit her in that needful deed. Lying there five, six, seven, she was delivered under, utterures of friendship, and of Merle, who hearing her story thereof, charged her with felony, and sent her to Newgate. The cause was, because that she having a woman at her house that died in labour, and the child also, and so charged her with both their deaths.

But when for Roger Cholmeley her tell her tale, he delivered her; and not much more than ten
tied, and in the end cruelly burned, as in his story now fully already declared.

But immediately after the fire was put unto him (for was the fearful stroke of God's justice upon this blasphemous rafter), that he was there presently, in the sight of all the people, fricken with a frenzy, whereby he had before been charged by the high priest and God, who in this furious rage and madness casting off his clothes with all the rest of his clothes, cried out unto the people and said, Thus did James Abbis the true servant of God, who is fayed, but I am damned. And thus he was brought to the town of Bury, still crying out, the James Abbis was a good man and faved, but he was damned.

The sheriff then being amazed, caused him to take and tied in a dark house, and by force compelled him again to put on his clothes, thinking thereby within a while to bring him to some quietac. But all manners withstanding as soon as they were gone, he continued his former raging, and casting off his clothes, cried as he did before, James Abbis is the servant of God, and is faved, but I am damned.

At length he was set at a cart, and brought home to his master's house, and within half a year or thereabouts, he being at the point of death, the priest of the parish was sent for: who coming unto him, brought with him the crucifis, and their houling holt of the altar; and the priest, seeing he was dead, and thinking he might die, he cried out that the priest, with such others as he was, was the cause of his damnation, and that James Abbis was good man and faved. And so shortly after died.

Clark, an open enemy to the gospel and all godly preachers, in four Edward's days hanged himself in the Tower of London.

The great and notable papist, called Troling Smith, of late fell down suddenly in the street, and died.

Dale, the promoter, was eaten into his body with lies, and so died, as it is well known of many, and confi fi ed by his fellow John Avales, before credible witnesses.

Alexander, the keeper of Newgate, a cruel enemy to those that lay there for religion, died very miserably, being to fowlon, that he was more like a monstir than a man, and so rotten within, that no man could abide the smell of him. This cruel wretch, to hastea the pot lambins to the slaughter, would go to Bonner, Sory, Cholmley, and others, crying out, Rist my prifon, Rist my prifon. I am too much pelted with these here.

The son of the said Alexander, called James, having left unto him by his father great fubblance, within three years waited all to nothing: and when some marvelled how he spent these goods to fall: O, faid he, evil gotten, evil spent; and shortly after, as he went in Newgate-market, he fell down suddenly, and there whereby died.

John Peter, fon-in-law to this Alexander, and an horrible blasphemer of God, and no lefs cruel to the said prisoners, roote away, and so most miserably died. Who commonly, when he would affirm any thing, either it true or false, used to say, If it be not true, I pray God I rot ere die. Witnesses the printer hereof, with divers others.

And what a notable spectacle of God's sovereign judgment have we to consider in Sir Ralph Ellerkere, who as he was defirous to fee the heart taken out of Adam Damilip, whom they most wrongfully put to death: so shortly after the said Sir Ralph Ellerkere being fain of the French, they fell to mangling him, and after they had cut off his privy members, would not fo much as let him be attended unto, so he was that cut out of his body.

Stephen Gardiner, hearing of the pitiful end of Judge Hales, after he had drowned himself, taking occasion thereby, called the following and proffession of the gospel a doctrine of desperation. But as judge Hales was ver forth not to have the heart cut out of his body committed to papistry: so whofo well considereth the end of doctor Pendleton, (which at his death full for膨胀 that ever he had yielded to the doctrine of the papists as he did) and likewise the miserable end of the most part of the...
God's severe Punishment on cruel Persecutors, &c.

Mary A.D. 1558.

for him by a special letter to repair to London out of Essex; he writing again to the bishop of London, fought many points to the last, and writ the counsel but to continue till in his perfecting progress. The copy of whole letter I have also in my hands (if need were) to bring forth.

It happened in the first year of queen Elizabeth, that one W. Jaques, a very poor man, and poor in his One Mr. Hugh Aparry, then a wheel-taker for the queen, dwelling at Greenwich; who being newly come to him, and having no book there to look upon, being deinous to occupy himself studiously, looked about the house, and found a primmer in English, wherein he read on a winter evenning. While he was reading, there sat one John Apowel, that had been a serving-man, about thirty years of age, born in Wales, whom the said Mr. Hugh gave meat and drink unto, till such time as he could get a service. And as William Mauldon read the book, John Apowel mocked after every word, with contrary and fouling words irreverently, inasmuch that he could no longer abide him for grief of heart, but turned to him and said, John, take heed what thou doest; thou dost not mock me, but thou mockest God: for in mocking of his word, thou mockest him: for the Lord is the substance of that which he speaketh, and therefore whosoever mocketh God, shall be punished.

Then Mauldon fell to reading again, and still he proceeded on in his mocking; and when Mauldon had read certain English prayers, in the end he read, Lord have mercy upon us, Christ have mercy upon us, &c.

And as Mauldon was reading, there sat also with a flaut suddenly said, Lord have mercy upon us.

With that Mauldon said, What ailest thou, John? He said, I was afraid.

Whereof wast thou afraid? said Mauldon.

Nothing, said John, but I thought God would not tell him. After this, when Mauldon and he went to bed, Mauldon asked him what he was afraid of.

He said, when you read, Lord have mercy upon us, &c. methought the hair of my head stood upright, with a great fear which came upon me.

Then said Mauldon, John, thou mayst fee, the evil spirit could not abide that Christ should have mercy upon us. Well, John, said Mauldon, repent and amend thy life, for God will not be mocked. If we mock and jest at his word, he will punish us.

Also you use ribaldry and words, and swearing very much in the face of God; if you will not confess your life, So I will (said he) by the grace of God, I pray God I may. Amen, said the other, with other words, and so went to bed.

On the morrow, about eight o'clock in the morning, John came running down out of his chamber in his trowsers and shirt, all fire and furrow, and with his mischief as if he would have thrown her down. Whereas the shrieked out, and called her servants to help her, and took by strength and carried him up unto his bed, and there bound him; for they perceived pitty that he was out of his right mind.

After that, as he lay, almost a day and a night, his tongue never ceased, but he cried out of the devil of hell, and his words were ever still, O the devil of hell; now the devil of hell, I would see the devil of hell, there he is, there he goeth, &c.

Thus used Mr. Mauldon, a commoner, about six days, that his manser and all the family being weary of the noise, agreed with the keepers of Bedlam, and gave a piece of money, and set him thither.

This is a terrible example to you that he mockers of God: therefore repent and amend, lest the vengeance of God overtake you in like manner. Witness hercelf, William Mauldon, of Newtoning.

The same William Mauldon changed afterwards to dwell at a town six miles from London, called Wallamseal, where his wife taught young children to read, which was in the thirty years before 1564, and the fourth year of queen Elizabeth's reign. Unto this school, amongst other children, came one Benfield's daughter, named Dennis, about the age of twelve years.

As
As these children were talking together, they happened among other talk (as the nature of children is to be busy with things) to fall into conversation of God, and to reason among themselves, after their childish discretion, what he should be. Some answered one thing, some another. Among whom, when one of the children had said, He was a good old Father, Descended of God, and a great life, with all sobriety, and merciful compassion towards their own children, that they need not greatly any other instructions to be given them in this story: yet for as examples frequently operate more effectively on the minds and practices of men, and also partly confounding with myself how thefts, above all sorts of men in the whole realm, in time past ever had not need of such wholesome rebukes and admonitions, to leave their inordinate riot of drunkenness, and other heathen pleasures of life, I thought it may not be improper here to set before their eyes a strong example, not of a strange and foreign person, but one of their own coat, a yeoman of the guard, as feigned by me, but brought to me by God's providence, for a warning to all curriers, and of very truth no less to all persons in the world. Therefore, for as much as the story is true, so is the name of the party unknown, being called Christopher Landefale, living in Hackney, in Middlesex: the order of whose life, and manner of his death, being worthy to be made, it as follows.

William Swallow, the cruel tormentor of God's Eagles, was shortly after to be proclaimed as God, thus all the birds of the air, the storks, the crows, went off, his eyes almost closed up, that he could not see. I trust, however, the gospel of Christ being now received in the queen's court amongst the curriers and servers of her guard, hath framed their lives and manners, far better than the life of God, with all sobriety, and merciful compassion towards their own children, that they need not greatly any other instructions to be given them in this story: yet for as examples frequently operate more effectively on the minds and practices of men, and also partly confounding with myself how thefts, above all sorts of men in the whole realm, in time past ever had not need of such wholesome rebukes and admonitions, to leave their inordinate riot of drunkenness, and other heathen pleasures of life, I thought it may not be improper here to set before their eyes a strong example, not of a strange and foreign person, but one of their own coat, a yeoman of the guard, as feigned by me, but brought to me by God's providence, for a warning to all curriers, and of very truth no less to all persons in the world. Therefore, for as much as the story is true, so is the name of the party unknown, being called Christopher Landefale, living in Hackney, in Middlesex: the order of whose life, and manner of his death, being worthy to be made, it as follows.

This Landefale, who was married to an old woman of considerable property, lived notwithstanding a state of whoredom with a younger woman, by whom he had two children, a son and a daughter, whom he kept in his own house till his decease. It was a customary for him, when he should have been serving God on the sabbath-day, to be riding or walking about his field, neither he nor any of his house coming to church after the English service was again received. Besides this, he was a great sourcer, and a great drunkard, as also of contempt for every good man, and thus bad treatment to a poor currier, whom, when he had made drunkards, he would have a call him father, and he would call them his sons; and of these sons, by report, he had above forty. Hence, a man that would drink freely, he would take great notice of him, and spend his money cheerfully with him in ale or wine, but mostly in wine, to make him the sooner drunk. These blessed sons of his would have great cheer oftentimes, both at his own house and in taverns: and not long before his death, he was very much disfigured with liquor, at a tavern opposite to his house, when he learned that the currier, nor could he arise till helped up, and carried home. This father of drunkards, as he was a great feaster of the rich and wealthy of Hackney, and others, so to his poor neighbours and tenants fared little the better for his wealth, and after his death, when his wife had sold his goods, and had mortgaged his house to him, and she was left by his will with very poor stock, so to be brought up.

On the contrary, this currier, having married a poor woman, and had two children, a son and a daughter, whom he kept in his own house till his decease. It was customary for him, when he should have been serving God on the sabbath-day, to be riding or walking about his field, neither he nor any of his house coming to church after the English service was again received. Besides this, he was a great sourcer, and a great drunkard, as also of contempt for every good man, and thus bad treatment to a poor currier, whom, when he had made drunkards, he would have a call him father, and he would call them his sons; and of these sons, by report, he had above forty. Hence, a man that would drink freely, he would take great notice of him, and spend his money cheerfully with him in ale or wine, but mostly in wine, to make him the sooner drunk. These blessed sons of his would have great cheer oftentimes, both at his own house and in taverns: and not long before his death, he was very much disfigured with liquor, at a tavern opposite to his house, when he learned that the currier, nor could he arise till helped up, and carried home. This father of drunkards, as he was a great feaster of the rich and wealthy of Hackney, and others, so to his poor neighbours and tenants fared little the better for his wealth, and after his death, when his wife had sold his goods, and had mortgaged his house to him, and she was left by his will with very poor stock, so to be brought up.
Besides this, there was a marriage in Landesdale's house, and the guests that came to the marriage gave the poor man money as they passed, and repaid the tax, but Landesdale disdained to contribute anything to his benefit, nor withstanding that he had promised to Mr. Seales, one of the guests, five guineas for riding more pru on him, he neither paid him nor did that necessary.

To short, the next day poor Lazarus departed this life, and was buried in Hackney church-yard; upon which Landesdale did not so much as believe a winding-sheet towards his burial. And thus much concerning the end and death of Lazarus. Now let us hear what became of the rich gluton.

About two years after, the said Landesdale being full of liquor (as his custom was), came riding in great haste from London on St. Andrew's day, 1668, and as was reported by tho' few who saw him, reeling to and fro, with his hat in one hand, and carrying by a ditch, tumbled him into, some say that the horse fell upon him, but that is improbable. True it is, however, that the horse, more sober than his master, came home, leaving him behind. Whether he broke his neck with the fall, or was drowned, (though the water was scarce a foot deep) under the bridge; or whether it is, he was there found dead. Being thus found dead in the ditch, the coroner (as is the custom) sat upon him: and how the master was managed to save his goods, the Lord knoweth; but the goods were saved, and the poor horse was killed.

The neighbours hearing of this man's death, and considering the manner thereof, said it was justli fallen upon him, that, as he suffered the poor man to lie and die in a ditch near his own house, fo his end was to die in a ditch likewise. And thus, Christian reader, in this story before your eyes the true image of an rich gluton and poor Lazarus; by which we may discern what happeneth in the end to such voluptuous epicures and atheist, who, being void of all sense of religion, and fear of God, yield themselves up to all profligacies of life, neither regarding honesty at home, nor preferring a life of vice abroad.

Chrift our Saviour faith, Matt. v. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy:" but judgment without mercy shall be executed on them which have showed no mercy, &c. and St. John faith, I John iv. "He that feeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, is a stranger and a father of God in him." Again, Isaiah crieth out against such profane drunkards, "Woe be unto them that rise up early to follow drunkenness, and to them that are content until night, till they be set on fire with wine. In the midst of wheat fields are hares and lutes, tabrets and pipes, and wine: but they regard not the works of the Lord, and consider not the operation of his hands," &c. Woe be unto them that are strong to pour out wine, and expert to set up drunkenness.

The punishments of such as are dead, are wholesome documents to such as are alive. Therefore, as the story above exemplified may serve to warn all courtiers and women of the guard; so by what followeth, I would admonish all gentlemen to take heed in time, and forfae their outrageous feasting and blasphemyng of the Lord and God.

In the reign of King Edward, there was in Cornwall a certain luyt gentleman, who rode in company with other gentlemen, and their servants, to the number of about forty horsemen. This youngringer entering into conversation with some of them, began to swear most obstinately, blaspheming the name of God, with other boisterous ribaldry. This young gentleman was so much able to abide the hearing of such blasphemyng abomination, told him in gentle words, that he should give answer and account for every idle word. The gentleman, offended thereof, said, Why takest thou pleasure in life, for me? take thought for thy winding-sheet. Well, thou art much acquainted with me, with nothing to fear, no warning; for as soon cometh a lamb's skin to the market as an old sheep's. God's wounds, faith he, care not for me; raging still after this manner worse and worse in words, till at length, on their journey, they came riding over a large bridge, standing over a piece of an arm of the sea. Upon which bridge this gentleman fiewer spurreth his horse in such a manner, that he sprang clean over with him on his back; who, as he was going, exclaimed, Horfe and man, and all to the deade. This terrible story happening at a town in Cornwall, was by the people been told and retold here, but for the remonstrance of Mr. Heynes, a minister, who was both the reprehender of his swearing, and witnesse of his death. Ridley, then bishop of London, also preached and declared the same fact and example as Paul's, and said, if the gentleman I could by no means obsta of the party and witnesse aforesaid, for dread of those, (as he said) of his kindred whom re- mained in the said county.

Having now sufficiently admonished, first the couriers, then the gentleman, now thirdly, for a brief ad- monition to the lawyers, we will here inter the strange end and death of one Henry Smith, a student of the law.

Henry Smith, having a godly gentleman for his father, and an ancient protestant, living at Camden, in Glou- cestershire, was virtuously brought up by him in the knowledge of God's word and sincere religion; wherein he flewed himself, and began, even in his carpenters pre- professor, that he was called by the papists praying Smith. After thef good beginnings, he went to be a student of the law in the Middle Temple, London, where, by ill company, he began to be perverted to popery, and after going to Louvain, was more deeply grounded in the same. When returning from thence, he brought with him parchmen, a crucifix, with an Agnus Dei, which he used commonly to wear about his neck, and had in his chamber images, before which he was wont to pray; besides divers other popish tracts, which he brought with him from Louvain. Now what end followed this I should be unwilling to declare, but that the notority of the fact was such, as amazed almost the whole city of London. The end was this.

A short time after his return, this Henry Smith became a boy, and a varlet of that religion which he once professed. In his bed-chamber, in Mr. Clement's parish without Temple-bar, as he was going to bed in the evening, having stripped himself naked, he tied his shirt (which he had torn for that purpose) about his privies, and with his girdle or garter fringed and his head covered with the sheet, taking with him a number, with his other idolatrous tracht, in a window by an door. And thus being dead, and not thought worthy to be interred in the church-yard, he was buried in a lane called Folkew-lane.

Foreign Examples.

HOMEISTER, the great arch-papift, and chief matter-pillar of the pope's falling church, as he was on his journey towards the council of Ratifon, to dispute against the defenders of Christ's gospel, suddenly in his journey, not far from Ulmes, was prevented by the stroke of God's hand, and there miserably died, with horrible roaring and crying out.

Another example we have of one Arnoldus Bonelius, a young man of the university of Louvain, well commended for lapsing into the deceptions mil popish erroris and heresies, whilst he was in his journey, not far from Ulmes, was prevented by the stroke of God's hand, and there miserably died, with terrible roaring and crying out.

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in himself a long time, till at length being overcome with defeat, and not having in the popish doctrine wherewith to raise up his soul, he went out of the city on a time to walk, accompanied by three other students of the same universitie, his special familiars. As they returned home again, Arnoldus, through fasting, as it were through the looking glass, and others thinking no ill, went forwards, and in the mean time Arnoldus suddenly took out his dagger, and struck himself into the body.

His fellows seeing him think down, and the wound, where he stood, he was well fared in, but wound, came running to him, took him up, and brought him into an house near at hand, and there exhorted him, as well as they could, to repent his fact; who then by outward gesture seemed to give sign of repentance. Notwithstanding, he elippitely cut off of friends there by, and not speaking to them, to have a knife hanging at his girdle, violently plucked out the knife, and with main force stabbed himself to the heart.

Johannes Sleidanus, in his 2nd book, giveth a relation of Cardinal Credentius, the chief president and moderator of the council of Trent, Anno 1552. The story of whom is certain, the thing that happened to him was strange and notable, the example of him may be profitable to others, such as have grace to be warned by other men's evils.

On the 26th day of March, in the year aforesaid, Credentius, the pope's legate, and vicegerent in the council of Trent, was sitting all day long until dark night, in writing letters to the pope. After his labour, when night was come, thinking to refresh himself, he began to rise; behold there appeared to him a mighty black dog, of a huge bigness, his eyes shining with fire, and his ears hanging down well near to the ground, and fright began to come towards him, and couched under the table. The cardinal, not a little startled at the sight thereof, somewhat recovering himself, called to his servants, who came and did as he bid them. He took a candle, and to seek for the dog. But when the dog could not be found, neither then, nor in any other chamber about the cardinal thereupon with a sudden concit of mind, immediately fell into such a sicknesse, that his physicians, which he had about him, with all their art and industry could not cure him. And so in the town of Verona died this popish cardinal, the pope's holy legate, and president of this council, wherein his purpos was (as Sleidan saith) to recover and heal again the whole authority and doctrine of the Romish see, and to fix the same for ever.

There were in this council of Trent, besides the pope's legates and cardinals, 24 bishops, doctors of divinity 62. And thus was the end of this popish council, by the provident hand of the Almighty, dispatched and brought to an issue to night.

The council of Trent, being then dissembled by the death of this cardinal, was afterward notwithstanding collected together about the year of our Lord 1562, against the erroneous proceedings of which council other writers there is more enough. So much as pertaineth only to my story, I thought proper hereunto to add an account of two adverbulous filthy bishops belonging to the said council, one of whom referring to an honester wife, was slain by the jolt stroke of God with a bear spear. The other bishop, who used to creep through a window, in the same window was frightly taken and hanged in a gin laid for him on purpose, and so contrived, that in the morning he was seen openly in the street hanging out of the window, to the wonder of all that paffed by.

The town of Antwerp lived one, named John Vander Warfe, of good estimation amongst the chief of that place. Who, as he was of a cruell nature, so he was of a perverse and corrupt judgment, and a false perverter of Christ's flock, with greedinesse seeking and lording innocents and honest men. He was sent by water, for which he was much commendened by the bloodye generation. By force he was called a blood hound, or bloody dog. By others he was called a filipad, that is to say, filthead, for he being a florerespondently, and of little stature, did ride commonly with a great broad hat, as a country churl.

This man being weary of his office, whereon he had continued above twenty years he gave it over; because he was now grown rich and wealthy, he intended to pass the residue of his life in ease and plenty. As a point of finisso, for the confession of the faith, to the call of our lady Ouranega, to make a feast, which feast is usually kept on the Sunday following the assumption of our lady. The same day about one o'clock in the afternoon, he began with great loads with wine, and rode compendiously in his waggon with his wife a gentle-woman sitting on her, and his fool. As soon as the waggon was come without the gates of the city, on the wooden bridge being at that time made for a ship, with ropes or barriers on each side for the safety of the pathers (as they say in the old fable of man), the horse flowed still, and would by no means go forward, wherefore the driver of the waggon could do.

Then he cried out to him that guided the waggon, saying, Ride on, in the name of a thousand devils ride on. The poor man answered, that he could not make the horse go forward. By and by, while they were talking, sudenly arose, as it were, a mighty whirlwind, with a terrible noise (the weather being very fair, and wind flirring before), and toft the waggon into the torre ditch, the ropes that tied the horses being broke almanac manner the same manner as they had done sharp knife, the waggon being also cast upside down by the fall whereof he had his neck broke, and was flayed up in the mire. His wife was taken up alive, she died in three days after. But the gentlemans and his fool, by God's providence were preferred from his harm.

The fool hearing the people say his matter was dead, said, And was not I dead, was not I dead too? This happened in the year 1559. Witness heretofore not only the printer of the same story in Dutch, dwelling then in Antwerp, whose name was Francis Triaet, a good man, and afterward mayor of that city, but also divers Dutchmen here in England, and a great number of English merchants who were at that time Antwerp.

In the year 1565, there was in the town of Gaunt, in Flanders, one William de Wever, accused and impeached by the provost of St. Peter's, in Gaunt (who had his cloister a prien and place of execution), and the dy said William was called to the place of judgemen, the provost sent for Mr. Giles Brackelman, principal advocate of the council of the city of Gaunt, and judge of St. Peter's, in Gaunt, with other rulers of the town, to sit in judgment upon him; and as they sat in judgment, Mr. Giles Brackelman reafioned with the said William de Wever upon divers articles of his fault.

One whereof was,

That if he should call upon them, the Lord did both fee it and hear it; and therefore he dare not give his glory to none other but God. The third and chief"
God's severe Punishment against cruel Persecutors.

About the borders of Suevia, in Germany, there was a nunnery of Cistercian monks, founded in the days of pope Innocent the Second, by a noble baron, about the year 1110. This cell, in process of time, was enlarged with more ample embellishments, finding many great and liberal benefactors belonging to the same; as emperors, dukes, and rich barons.

The cell's of Montford had bestowed upon it great privileges, upon this condition, that they should receive with free hospitality any strangers, either hispanem or Jews, for one night's lodging. But this hospitality did not last long, for the Breviary of one of the monks, who took upon him to play the part of the devil, raving and raging in his chains, near the room where the strangers lay, in a frightful manner, in the night-time to terrify the guests; by reason whereof no stranger nor traveller durst there abide; and thus he continued for a long time.

At length it happened, that one of the cells of Montfort, a benefactor to that abbey, coming to the monastery, was there lodged; when night came, and the cell at rest, the monk after his wonted manner began to play the devil. There was first a ramping, ramming, and spitting of fire, roaring, thundering, bawling of boards, and rattling of chains, enough to make a man flark mad. The ear hearing the sudden noife, and peradventure afraid at first, though he had not the art of conjuring, seeing a goodly fire; coming to his sword, he laid about him so well, and still followed the noife of the devil so clofe, that at last the jetting devil was slain by the ear in earnest.

A LETTER,

Written to Henry II. King of France.

CONSIDER, I pray you, sir, and you shall find that all your affictions have come upon you, since you have set yourself against those who are called Lutherans.

When you made the edict of Chaffenubriant, God sent you war; but when you ceased the execution of your last edict, and as long as you were an enemy to the pope, and going into Alumny for the defence of the Germans afflicted for religion, your affairs proffered as you would with a deal of ramming, ramming, and spitting fire. On the contrary, what hath become upon you since you were joined with the pope again, having received a favr from him for your own safeguard? And who was it that caused you to break the truce? God hath turned in yours own prosperity into such affictions, that they touch not only the face of your own person, but of your kingdom also.

To what end came the enterprize of the duke of Guife in Italy, going about the service of the enemy of God, and purporting after his return to destroy the valierys of Piedmont, to offer or facrifice them to God for his victoires? The event hath well declared, that God can turn upside down our councils and enterprizes; as he overthrew of late the enterprize of the confible of France at St. Quentin's, having vowed to God, that at his return he would go and destroy Geneva, when he had gotten the victory.

Have you not heard of L. Poncher, arch Bishop of Tours, who made application for the erection of a court called Chamber Ardent, wherein to condemn the protestans to the fire? Who afterwards was struck with a disease contrary to the fire of God; which began at his feet, and so attended upon the head, that one member after another was obliged to be cut off, and so he miferably died without remedy.

Also one Caffellans, who having enriched himself by the gospel, and forking the pure doctrine thereof to return unto the sect again, went about to pervert the Gherifians at Orleans, and by the hand of God was stricken in his body with a disease unknown to the physicins, the one half of his body burning as hot as fire, and another cold as ice; and so most miserably lamenting and crying, ended his life.

There are other infinite examples of God's judgments worthy to be remembered; as the death of the chancellor and legate of Paris, who was the first that opened to the parliament the knowledge of heresies and profanities, and about the first commisions to put the faithful to death, swearing and horribly blaspheming God. When dead, his face was found pierced and gnaws afUNDER with worms.

Also one named Claude de Affes, a counsellor in the said court, the same day that he gave his opinion and consent to burn a faithful christian (although it was not done indeed as he would have it), after he had dined, he began to mummur and to complain of his misfortune, and even in the very room where he was accorded with a disease called an appellosy, whereof he immediately died.

Peter Lifs, chief president of the said court, and one of the authors of the aforefaid burning-chamber, was deposed from his office, for being known to be out of his wits and bereaved of his understanding.

Likewise John Andrew, bookbinder to the palace, spying for the president Lifer, and of Brucelard the king's solicitor, died in a fury and madness.

The inquisitor John de Roma, in Provence, his flesh fell from him by piece-meal, so thinking that no man could come near him.

Also John Minierius, of Provence, who was the cause of the death of a prodigious great number of men, women and children, at Cabriiers, and at Merindol, died with bleeding in the lower parts, the fire having taken his body, blaspheming and defiling God: besides many others; whereof we might doubt, were a recital, which were punished with the like kind of death.

It may please your majesty to remember yourself, that you had no sooner determined to fet upon us, but new troubles were moved by your enemies, with whom you could come to no agreement; which God would not suffer, forasmuch as your peace was a perversion which you pretended against God's fervars as also your cardinals cannot subsvert through their cruelty the course of the gospel, which hath taken such root in your realm, that if God should give you leave to destroy your people thereby, you should be almost a king with out subjects.

Tertullian hath well said, that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the gospel. Wherefore to take away all these evil coming of the riches of papists, which cause so much forerone, fadomy, and inconst, wherein they allow large hear, feeding their idle belyes, the best way were to put them from their launds as justly as the old sacrificing Levites were, according to the express commandment which was given to Josua. For as long as the commandment of God took place, and that they were void of ambition, the purity of religion remained whole and entire, but when that began to aspire to principalities, riches and worldly honours, despising the abomination and defolation that Christ foretold.

It was even so in the primitive church, for it flourished and continued in all pureness, as long as the martyrs were of small wealth, and fought not their particular profit, but the glory of God. But since the pope began to be prince-like, and to usurp the domination of the empire under the colour of a fetic donation of Constantine, they have turned the spiritures from their true fene, and have attributed the service to themselves, which was God's. Wherefore your majesty may feize with good right upon us, and the temporalities of the benefices, and that with a safe confidence to employ them to their true and right use.

First, For the finding and maintaining of the faithful ministers of the word of God, for such livings shall be sufficient to support them in the care shall require. Secondly, For the entertainment of their good justice that give judgment. Thirdly, For the relieving of the poor, and maintenance of colleges to instruct the poor youth in that which they shall be most apt unto. And the rest, which is infinite, may remain for entertainment of your own estate and power, to the great cemenent of your poor people, which alone are the burthen, and poollis in a manner nothing.

In doing this, an infinite number of men, and even of your nobility, who live by the cruces, would employ
The Story and End of the French King.

WHOSOEVER was the author or author of this letter above prefixed, herein thou feelest (good reader) good counsel given to the king; if he had the grace to receive and follow the fame, no doubt but God would have saved and preserved, and might not have been troubled in the realm in a blest state from much disturbance, but also had continued himself in all flourishing felicity of princely honour and dignity. But instead of that, he was so outrageous against the protestants, that he threatened Anne du Bourg, one of the high court of parliament in Paris, that he would give him burning with his eyes. But how he came short of his purpose, the sequel of the story will make appear, in the following manner.

King Henry being in the parliament-house, which was kept at the Friar Augustine's at Paris, because the paint was in preparing against the marriage of his daughter, and hearing, and having heard the opinion in religion of Anne du Bourg, counsellor in the law, a man eloquent and learned, he caused the said Anne du Bourg and Loys du Baux, counsellors, to be taken prisoners by the constable of France, who apprehended them, and delivered them to the said Anne du Bourg, who carried them to prison. Against whom the king being full of wrath and anger, among other things, said to the said Anne du Bourg, These eyes of mine shall see thee burn: and so on the 15th of June, comission was given to judges to make their process.

And the said Anne du Bourg's head was near to the prison where the foreaid prisoners were committed, entered into the law; and therein engaging as the manner is, had broken many laws very valiantly, running as well against the count of Montgomery, as divers other persons. Whereupon he was highly commended by his confessor. And because he was thought to have done enough, they defied him to leave off with prais: but he being...
The History and Martyrdom of JOHN WHITMAN.

JOHN WHITMAN, Shoemaker, about the age of 19 years, born in Ticon, a town in Brabant, after his coming over into England, dwelt in Rye, in the county of Sussex, being married 33 years; always a profitor of the gospel, as well in the time of freedom as in the time of persecution. About 1573, unknown to his friends in Rye, undertook with some others, to sail to Hamburg, a city in the Realm of Germany, and might not be suffered to have the use thereof; in what better cafe was he than miserable Tarsus, over whose head the apples continually hung, yet being starved with hunger he could never touch them? If a man had as strong a body as Sampson had, and besides were as whole as a fish, as the proverb is, yet if he were kept in bands, what should it avail him? Yea, rather, if it be well considered, it is a hurt to him, if continuance of torment and pains may be a hurt. If a man had as many children as Gideon the judge had, and many more, to fulfill him they might be his ease, and the fear of God, and good manners and knowledge, had he not been more happy without them, than to have them? If a man had as much knowledge of God as St. Paul had, and durst not profane it openly with his mouth, as he is commanded, but for fear of death should declare the contrary, flatter the word of God, and deny Christ, which is forbidden, should it not rather be a furtherance to his damnation than otherwise? And to be stoned, if any man had all these gifts together, or generally all the gifts of fortune, the body, the mind, and all the rest, yet if he were kept in bands, what should they profit him? Verily nothing at all. For felicity is not in having, but in using, not in possessing, but in knowledge, but in doing.

But alas, our natural mother England, which hath been counted the freest, the richest, and of late the most grand and mighty nation of the earth, hath been the scene whereof violent by tyrants forced to want the use of all the gifts and benefits with which God had endued her. Her natural and loving children would not be fruitful in the flesh, whereby they might relieve and succour her or themselves; but whatsoever they had, was either by open force, or by crafty dealing pulled from them. And sure this had been tolerable, if none other mischief had been there with intended.

It is a gentle thief (if thieves may be counted gentle) that only robbeth a man of his goods, and refraineth violent hands from his person. For such losses, with labour and diligence, may by recovered. He may be called a merciful thief, that only killeth the aged parents, and wallet no force on the children.

Nature hath made all men mortal, and that in like space; and to kill the parents, is as it were a prevention of a short time, if it were to the uttermost enjoyed. But these tyrants were more ungentle than common thieves. For they were contented not only to have the goods of the people; but they would have it delivered to them by the owners.
would never have paffed on his judge, nor ye should have felt the sweetness of his mercy. For commonly the people regard but things present, and as ther thing presents, yt pass, nor paft, all things to produce, unless they be warned by exceeding instances.

Beside this, it is most evident, that he had determined to make this noble conquest alone with his own hand and mighty power, and would not that it should be done by man, lest man should impugn any part of the glory of this victory to his own strength, or to his own doers; for that the terror should fore run the stroke in so glorious a conquest, and so particular men’s opinions, of the triumphs fo worthy.

Neither did this almighty power work this when man that he would have it distributed, that is, as soon as the enemy began to see the force of their forces, and fought as a victory to confound a few defiered people, or to destroy a perfectly united army; but he suffered them to make their force as great as was possible, to work whatsoever mischief by furnishing, famine, pestilence, hunger, hanging, burning, or otherwise could be imagined.

Neither would this most provident wisdom do it as of seacon: but as the good husbandman do not envy his tree, till he hath rendered his fruit; so would he root out these pestifent tyrants, till the most profite might be made thereof.

When he had given sufficient leisuro to all kind of men to declare themselves who were crocodiles, some time lying in water, at some time on land, that is, boogepellers and papists; who were spies and spouters, whether they had a life of their own, or whether they were christians or epiroics, who were calumians, that could turn themselves into all colours, with protestants, papists, with papists, papists; with Spaniards, Spaniards; with Englishmen, Englishmen; who did, as Gauthor, that could apply the name of authority, who were married, that followed Mary’s mad affections; who were weathertocks, that did turn with every wind; who were mativs, that could bite and bare not; who were cow, ever barking; who were foxes, that would promise much, and perform nothing; who could bind themselves with many oaths, and do clean contrary; who were Cains, that fought the innocent Abels death; who were the wolves that worried the lambs; and finally when he had suffered the spiritual traveling in fine out their version, and every man plainly to declare that he was inwardly; then doth he work this most victorious conquest. And with his words he seethem plainly to say thus unto us: Ye fee, my people, what I have done for you, not for your enemies, which nothing regarded the benefit, but for your friends, and have deserved most grievous punishment for your unthankfulness; but of most infinite mercy, and for my glory, which I will have opened to all the world in these later days of the fear of evil doers, and to the comfort of the weak doers. Provoke no more my wrath: ye see what I follow fit: be hereafter more prudent and wise that ye were before: ye may, if ye will, be more circumspect in time to come, than ye have been in the time past: it may, if ye lift, put me to less trouble, and I will attempt and help those who have disbelieved mine, and my land of England’s enemies, and all the crafts, sutles, and policies that have been or may be used by them, or any like hereafter, but I have also taken away their head and captain, and delivered a great number of them, that ye ye have not ever been troubled with them, and some of them have I left, the ye may make them spectacles and examples, to the morr and fear of their posterity. Love me, and own me, and love you: seek my honour and glory, and I will give you your commodity and safety. Talk in my ways and comenances, and I will be with you for ever. Should ye consider the wonderful mercy that it hath pleased God to urge us towards us, in the deliverings of this realm and us his people, out of the hands of those cruel tyrants, as we cannot but do, unless we will declare
declare ourselves to be the most unthankful people that ever lived, we must needs judge it not only worthy to be cursed, but also so far to exceed the deliverance of the children of Israel out of Egypt from the tyranny of Pharaoh, and from the powers of Holofernes and senachrib. For it is not read that either Pharaoh or the other he fought any other thing, that was to be done. Goodness and mercy shall follow them all their days; they forced them not to commit adultery, and to serve false gods, as thehe English tyrants did.

But, besides, if we will note the wonderful works of God in handling this matter, we shall well perceive, that far much greater than to this is the benefit of church and people, than perceive all men of the first do. For he hath not only dispatched the realm of the chief personnages and head of these tyrants, but also, as it were declareth, that he minded me that either they or their doings should continue. For in that place, done by tyrants tyrannically be all laws, reason and equity, of no force; yet because insubordination should follow on this, what is tyrannously done, and what is not tyrannously done, he hath provided that this question needeth not to come in question. For he altogether blotted their eyes, and suffered them to be consumed in their own ground, which, as it cannot longer than they are propped up with rope, sword, and faggot.

For her first parliament, wherein they grounded and wrought a great part of their tyranny, and wherein they meant to overthrow whatsoever king Edward the third had a right to, was God's glory brought to light. For God's power, his justice, and his might, was of no force or authority, which he had by his bitter revenge, that her enemies' stomache could not be emptied, nor her malice spued on the people by any good robber, the committed a great disorder. She by force and violence taketh from the commons their property, his property, his mill, his lands, and customs, and unto the advantage of the whole realm, they should not have of course of the power of knights and burgesse for the parliament. For the well knew, that if either christian men, or true Englishmen, should be elected, it was not possible for that to succeed which the intended. And, therefore, by force and violence, as soon as they were chosen, did enjoin them to obey her; and after her threats, to meet to serve her malice affection.

Wherefore that parliament was no parliament, but may be justly called a conspiracy of tyrants and traitors; for the greater part, by whose authority, and whose proceedings in that court, by their power and their power, and by their voices, and by their voices, and by their malice, were ordained, and not only the burgesse being orderly chosen, and lawfully returned, but all others, and to them could they see of their purpose, was disorderly and unlawfully put out, and others without any order of law put in their places. Doctor Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, a christian bishop and a true Englishman, being lawful and orderly called to the parliament, and placed in the lords' house in his degree, was in his robes by violence thrust out of the house. Alexander Nowell, with two others, all three being burgesse for others thres, and christian men and true Englishmen, and laymen chosen, returned, and admitted, were by force put out of the house of commons: for which cause, the said parliament was also a meeting of the commonalty, and he president of the parliament holden at Coventry in the 13th year of king Henry the sixth, it most manfully appeared. And the third parliament, called in the time of her husband, and of her evil grace, wherein they were ordered not to obey her; her husband and father the king had brought to pass for the restitution of the liberty of the realm, and for extinguishing the usurpation of the authority of the bishop of Rome, of papal and of none authority. For that the title and title of the supreme head of the church of England, which by a false title, the supreme head of the church of England being king Henry, was ordained that it should be united and annexed for ever to the imperial crown of this realm, was emitted in the writs of sum-
had ordained. But he that fitteth on high, and laugh-
eth at his misdeeds, would not suffer that the mal-
cious have joy, and most cruel dealing, injustice should
have success. He took upon him the protection of you.
He only hath been our Joshua, that preferred you from
this wicked Athalia. He only was the Joadia that
destroyed this cruel Athalia. He only hath made
you a nation, and hath given you a name, that thou
mayest be called his people, a people near to his heart,
Marana. No earthly creature, therefore, can claim the
smallest merit: no man's force, no man's counsel,
no man's aid, hath been the cause thereof. Therefore,
the greater his benefits have been toward you, the more
are bound that you remember him, and give him glory
and honour. You see his power, what he is able to do:
he alone can save, and he can destroy; he can pull down,
and he can set up: If you fear him, and seek to do his
will, then will he favour you, and prefer you to the
end from all enemies, as he did king David. If you
now fall from him, or juggle with him, look for no
more favour than Saul hath hec bew to him. But I have
a good hope, that both his justice and benefits be so
printed in your heart, that you will never forget them,
but seek by all means to have the one, and to
remember the other. I trust also, your wisdom
will not only consider the ends of this late most flatter
vivitation, but also to your uttermost power endeavour
to root them out.

And farreinuch as besides this infinite mercy poured
out of God's grace and good will, his desire is,
to constitute your highness to be our Deborah, to be
the governor and head of the body of this realm, to have
the charge and care thereof, it is requisite above all
things, as well for his glory and honour, as for your
discipline, quietness and safety, to labour that the same
body now at the full be cleansed, made whole, and then
kept in good order. For, if the body of man be cor-
rupted and disfaced, he is not able to manage his things
at home, much less to do any thing abroad: so if the
body of the realm be corrupted and out of order, it shall
necessarily be the common misfortune of the nation.
misfortunes require, nor yet prosper in itself. But this may
not be done with piece and patching, cobbling and
titching, as was used in time past, whilt your most
noble father and brother reigned. For, if a man
cut off one head of the serpent Hydra, and destroy not
the whole body, many will grow instead of that one;
and as in a corrupt body that hath many discaes,
if the physician should labour to heal one part, and
not the whole, it will in short time break out afores:
so, unless the body of a realm, or commonwealth,
lack of discipline, quietness and safety, the common
laws and statutes that can be devised shall not profit it.
We need no foreign examples to prove it: I look upon
this realm itself, it will plainly declare it. And as it
is not enough to cleanse the body from it's corruption,
but that we must also preserve it, to prevent it to
keep it from reformation; for naturally of itself it is disposed
to putrefaction: so after the body of a realm is purged,
unless there be godly ordinances for the preservation
thereof ordained, and duly minified, it will return
to the old state. For this body, which is the people,
is universally naturally disposed to evil; and without
compulsion will hardly do what is their duty.
This must your grace do, if you mind the advance-
ment of God's glory, your own quietness and safety,
and the wealth of this your politic body. And they
be not hard to bring to pass, where good will
voluntarily take to hire a little pain. The realm will
soon be purged, if vice and self-love be utterly con-
demned. It will be in good fature preferred, if there
three things—God's word truly taught and preached,
you the law of godly order, and justice rightly
ministered, may be perfectly con-
stituted. And without this foundation, let men ima-
gine what it pleaseth them, the spiritual house of God
shall never be well framed or built, nor the public
state of your realm will prosper. But that by
God's good hand, and the unity and charity that ought
to be among the members thereof, and which knitted
them together, is soon extinguished. Where the youth
is neglected, there can no good success be hoped:
and more than the husbandman can look for for a good crop
where bread is not sown. And where the place is not
truly and rightly ministered, there the more
and statutes be heaped together, the more they will be
temned. And surely, if this thing could not without
exceeding charges be compassed, (and God forbid
the charges thereof may take upon them too much)
where God's glory and the wealth of the realm
may be furthered) yet ought it not to be neglected. What
charges did David, and Solomon his son, employ to
build the stately house of God? How much more charges
thou, in the building of thy house, to build and let up
the lively house of God? But verily, I am afraid
that it shall not be chargeable to do this. Yet,
there was a great deal of superfluous charges, which otherwise
your grace shall be forced to sublinate, till then be cut
away, and so your revenues, by means most pro-
fitable, and to no good person hurtful, increased.

Therefore, for God's sake, noble queen, let not the
opportunity, now by God offered, be by your grace
omitted. A physician can in nothing to much decline
his goold will and cunning, nor purchase himselfe's grace
affirmation, as when he findeth his patient thoroughly
sick and weakened, and doth restore him to his peace,
health and perfection. Likewise, if a prince should
defire of God, a thing whereby he might declare his
zeal that he细微th to God, or whereby he might
win such a christian confidence from God, as to make
him, as to come into no more filthy corruption, as this realm
England at present is, not to destroy it, as did Cæsar,
but to make it, as did Romulus.

If your grace can bring this to pass, (and I am
one of all doubt you may quickly you shall do more
the any of your predecessors did before you. All men
confess, that you are not only for proximity of blood
preferred, but rather of God specifically and ordained.
And as the queen of Sheba came from far off to see the
glory of king Solomon, a woman to a man, even so
shall the greatest shall the greatest princes and kings marvel at the virtue of queen Elizabeth.
The shall we, your subjects, be most bound to praise God,
and to think ourselves most happy, that coming
suddenly from the world, be forthwith preferred to be
believed, ris of extremest calamity, and brought in
the greatest felicity, and it shall be, besides, an
example for all evil princes, to leave their predication
of Christ and his members, to cast from their tyranny,
wherewith they continually opprest their poor subjects.
And so all people, not only we of this your realm,
but the whole world, shall have sufficient example for
your grace's health, and increase of honour.

This oration of Mr. Hales being premised, now let
us prosecute the disputation between the papists and
protestants at Westminster. The copy whereof here
followeth.

The Conference or Disputation, had and begun at Wes-
mminster the last Day of March, upon certain Que-
tions or Articles of Religion proposed, and also of the
breaking up of the same, by the Papists' Default, at the
First Beginning of Queen ELIZABETH.

So it pleaseth the queen's most excellent majesty,
having heard of the diversity of opinions in certain
matters of religion amongst sundry of her loving sub-
jects, and being very desirous to have the same reduced
to some godly and christian concord, (by the advice
of the lords, and others of the privy council,) for
the good of the church, and also for the
knowledge of the very truth in certain matters of diff-
tence) to have a convenient chosen number of the best
learned of either part, and to confer together their op-
inions and reasons, and thereby to come to
some agreement; this was by her ma-
jesty's commandment, certain of her privy council
declared this purpose to the archbishop of York (being
also one of the same privy council,) and required him to
Forasmuch as it is thought good unto the queen's most excellent majesty, with the advice aforesaid, that according to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts, for avoiding of much alteration in words; and that the said bishops would, because they were in authority of degree superior, first declare their opinions in the matter, with their reasons in writing. And the said number, being also the men of good degree in schools, and some having been in dignity in the church of England, if they had any thing to say to the contrary, should the same day declare their opinions in like manner, and so each of them should deliver their writings to the other, to be considered what were to be improved therein, and the same to declare again in writing at some other convenient day, and the like order to be kept in all the rest of the matters. All this was fully agreed upon with the archbishop of York, and for also signified to both parts.

And immediately hereupon, divers of the nobility and states of the realm understanding that such a meeting and conference was intended, concerning such matters as were to be confirmed by parliament according to the declaration of these learned doctors; they petitioned her majesty that the particulars of this conference might be put to read their assertions in the English tongue, and that in the presence of them, of the nobility, and others of her parliament-house; for the better satisfaction, and enabling of their own judgments, to treat and conclude of such laws as might depend hereupon.

This, also, being thought very reasonable, was signified to both parties, and fully agreed upon, and the day appointed for the first meeting to be on Friday in No. 81. they
they have before professed, but also pervert the fame by all means they can. We do not doubt; but through the equity of the queen's most excellent majesty, we shall in these disputations be treated more gently than in years late past, when we were contended most unjustly and fearfully afflicted in manner of men. As for the judgment of the whole controversy, we refer unto the most holy scriptures, and the catholic church of Christ (whose judgment unto us ought to be most sacred); notwithstanding by the catholic church we understand not the Romish church, wherein our adversaries attribute such reverence, but that which St. Augustine and other fathers affirm, ought to be fought in the holy scriptures, and which is governed and led by the Spirit of Christ.

It is against the word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayers and administration of the sacraments.

By these words (the word of God) we mean only the written word of God, or canonical scriptures.

And in the church of the primitive church, we mean the order most generally used in the church for the space of 500 years after Christ, in which times there lived the most notable fathers, as Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Chrysostom, Hierom, Ambrose, Augustine, &c.

This section above written hath two parts. First, That the use of the tongue not understood by the people, in common prayers of the church, or in the administration of the sacraments, is against God's word.

The second, That the same is against the use of the primitive church.

The first part is most manifestly proved by the fourteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Corinthians, almost throughout the whole chapter. In which chapter St. Paul treateth of this matter Ex professo, purposely. And although some do cavil that St. Paul speaketh not in that sense of preaching, yet is it most evident to any indifferent reader of understanding, and appeareth also by the exposition of the best writers, that he plainly there speaketh not only of preaching and prophesying, but also of prayer and thanksgiving, and generally of all other public actions, which require any language in the church or congregation. For of praying he saith, I will pray with my spirit, and I will pray with my mind; and of thanksgiving (which is a kind of prayer) thou givest thanks well, but the other is not erlied. And how shall he which occupieth the room of the unlearned, fall down to the giving of thanks, when he understandeth not what thou sayest? and in the end defending from particulars to a general proposition, concludes, that all things ought to be done to edification. Thus much is clear by the words of St. Paul, and the ancient doctors, Ambrose, Augustine, Hierom, and others, do to understand this chapter, as it shall appear by their testimonies which shall follow afterward.

Upon this chapter of St. Paul we gather these reasons following.

First, All things done in the church or congregation ought so to be done as they may edify the same.

But the use of an unknown tongue, in public prayer or administration of sacraments, doth not edify the congregation.

Therefore the use of an unknown tongue, in public prayer or administration of sacraments, is not to be had in the church.

The first part of this reasoning is grounded upon St. Paul's words, commanding all things to be done to edification.

The second part is also proved by St. Paul's plain words. First by this familiarity. If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall be prepared for battle? Even so likewise when you speak with tongues, except you speak words that have signification, how shall it be understood what is spoken? For you shall but speak in the air, that is to say, in vain, and consequently without edifying.

And afterward in the same chapter he saith, how can you that occupieth the place of the unlearned, say Amen, at thy giving of thanks, feigning he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not understood.

These are St. Paul's words, plainly proving, that a tongue not understood, doth not edify. And therefore both the parts of the reason thus proved by St. Paul, the conclusion followeth necessarily.

Secondly, Nothing is to be spoken in the congregation in an unknown tongue, except it be interpreted to the people, that it may be understood. For faith of Paul, if there be no interpreter to him that speaketh in an unknown tongue, let him hold his tongue in the church. And therefore the common prayers and administration of sacraments in a language done in a known tongue, or interpreted, are against the commandment of Paul, and not to be used.

The minister in prayer or administration of the sacraments, using language not understood by the hearers, is to them barbarous, and alien, which by St. Paul is counted a great absurdity.

It is not to be counted by a christian common prayer, where the people present declare not their affections unto it by saying Amen, wherein is implied all other words of prayer.

But St. Paul affirmeth, that the people cannot declare their affections in saying Amen, except they understand what is said, as before.

Therefore it is no christian common prayer where the people understand not what is said.

Paul would not suffer in his time a strange tongue to be used in common prayer in the church, notwithstanding that such a kind of speech was then a miracle, and a singular gift of the Holy Ghost, whereby inbles might be perfused and brought to the faith; much less is it to be suffered now amongst christian and faithful men, especially being no miracle nor especial gift of the Holy Ghost.

Some will peradventure answer, that to use any kind of tongue, in common prayer or administration of sacraments, is a thing indifferent.

But St. Paul saith to the contrary. For he commandeth all things to be done to edification; he commandeth to keep silence if there be no interpreter, and in the end of the chapter he concludes thus: If any man be spiritual or a prophet, let him know that the things which I write, are the commandments of the Lord. And so shortly to conclude, the use of a strange tongue, in common prayer or administration, is against the word and commandment of God.

To these reasons, grounded upon St. Paul's words, which are the most firm foundation for this affection, divers other reasons may be joined, gathered out of the scriptures and otherwise.

In the Old Testament all things pertaining to the public prayer, benefactions, thanksgivings, or sacrifices, were always in their vulgar and natural tongue. In the second book of Chronicles, chap. 29, it is written, That Ezecias commanded the Levites to praise God with the Psalms of David, and Asaph the prophet. which doubtless were written in Hebrew, their vulgar tongue. If they did so in the shadows of the law, much more ought we to do the like, who (as Christ faith) must pray in spirit and in truth.

The final end of our prayer (as David faith) is, That the people may be united together, may declare the name of the Lord in Sion, and his praise in Jerusalem.

But the name and praises of God cannot be set forth to the people, unless it be done in such a tongue as they may understand, therefore common prayer must be had in the vulgar tongue.

And whereas the common prayer out of the words of St. Paul, is, That common prayer is to lift up our common daces to God with our minds, and to testify the same outwardly with our tongues, which definition is approved by St. Augustine.

The administration of the Lord's supper and baptism are, as it were, ceremonies of the death and resurrection of Christ.

But ceremonies to the people must be had in such language.
Conference between the Protestants and Papists.

For he knoweth all things, but men know not, and therefore there is no profit of this thing.

The same author afterwards upon these words, If thou blest or give thanks with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? That therefore, he shall speak the praise of God in a tongue unknown to the hearers, and in the unlearned, hearing that which he understandeth not, knoweth not the end of the prayer, and he answereth not Amen. That is as much as to say, (true) that the blessing or thanksgiving may be confirmed. For the confirmation of the prayer is fulfilled by them which do answer Amen. That all things spoken might be confirmed in the minds of the hearers, through the testimony of the truth.

Afterward, in the same place, upon thele words, If any infidel or sensual cometh in,

For when he understandeth, and is understood, hearing God to be praised and Christ to be worshipped, he feareth perfectly that the religion is true, and to be revered, wherein he feeth nothing to be done colourably, nothing in darkness, as among the heathen, whose eyes are covered, that they feeing not the things which they call holy, might perceive themselves to be deluded with divers vanities. For all falshood feeleth darkness, and feeleth false things for true. Therefore with us nothing is done privily, nothing covertly, but one God is finely praised, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus, by whom are all things, and one Father, of whom all things can understand, or of whom he can be tried, because, say there is some deceit and vanity, which is therefore sung in tongues (not understood, he meaneth) because it is a shame to open it.

Upon this place, let all things be done to edification, to the edification of the weak, that nothing should be done in the church in vain, and that this thing ought chiefly to be laboured for, that the unlearned also might profit, left any part of the body should be dark through ignorance.

Again, if there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church.

That is, let him pray secretly, or speak to God within himself, who heareth all dumb things: for in the church he ought to speak that which may profit all men.

Testimonies out of Saint Hieron, upon the afterfaile place of Saint Paul.

It is the lay-man, faith he, whom Paul here understandeth, he in the place of the ignorant man, which hath no ecclesiastical office. How shall he answer Amen to the Lord, seeing he understandeth not?

And a little after upon their words, For I pray in an unknown tongue, &c.

This is Paul's meaning, faith Hierom, if any man speaketh in strange and unknown tongues, his mind is not to himself without fruit and profit, but he is profited that heareth him.

And in the end of his commentary upon the epistle to the Galatians, he faith thus:

That Amen signifieth the content of the hearer, and is the sealing of the truth. Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians teareth, saying, But if thou shalt blest in spirit, and a man understandeth not, what shall he say Amen, seeing he knoweth not what thou sayest? Whereby he declareth that the unlearned man cannot answer, that which is spoken is true, unless he understandeth what is said.

The same Hierom faith, in the preface of St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians, that the noise of Amen foundeth in the Roman church like unto an heavenly thunder.

As Hierom compareth this found of common speech to thunder, &c.
When the people once hear these words World without end, they all forthwith answer, Amen.

And the same writer upon the same chapter, upon these words, How shall be that occupy the room of the unlearned, say Amen? Behold again, he applieth the stone unto the square (as the proverb is), requiring the edifying of the congregation in all places. The unlearned he calleth the common people, and theweheth that it is no small discommodity, if they cannot say, Amen.

And again, the same Chrysostom faith, Yes, in prayers you may see the peopleoffered largely, both for the puffed and the penitents. For the priests and the people pray all together commonly, and all one prayer, a prayer full of mutual respect and exclamatory part of the prayer limits all such as cannot be partakers of the holy table, another prayer must be made, and all in one manner lie down upon the earth, and all again after one manner rise up together. Now when the peace is giving, we all in like manner venerate another, and the priest in the reverend mysteries willeth well to the people, and the people unto him: for [And with thy Spirit] is nothing else but this. All things that belong to the sacrament of thanksgiving, are common to all; but he giveth not thanks alone, but all the people with him.

Do you not see that not one alone communicat nor prayed alone, nor had any peculiar prayer, but such as was common to them all, such as they all understood, and all were able to say with the priest, which could not have been, if he had used a strange tongue in the ministration of the sacraments.

Do you not see how the manner of the ministration of the Lord's supper, faith, That hymns were said by the whole multitude of the people.

Cyprian faith, The priest doth prepare the minds of the brethren, with a preface before the prayer, saying, Lift up your hearts, we will give thanks to the Lord, doth another, [We have our hearts lifted up to the Lord,] they may be admonished that they ought to think of none other thing than of the Lord.

St. Augustine: What this should be we ought to understand, that we may sing with reason of man, not with chattering of birds, for owls and popinjays, and ravens, and pies, and other such like birds, are taught by nature to prate they know not what. But to sing with understanding, is given by God's holy will to the nature of man.

The same Augustine: There needeth no speech when we wish, or say, perhaps as the priests do, to declare their meaning: not that God, but that men may hear them, and so, being put in remembrance by contending with the priests, may hang upon God.

To the testimonies of the ancient writers, we will join one confutation in a Christian writer, by whom is called all bishops and priests do celebrate the holy oblation, and the prayers used in holy baptism, not speaking low, but with a clear and loud voice, which may be heard by the people, that thereby the minds of the hearers may be stirred up with greater devotion, in uttering the praise of the Lord God. For so the holy apostles teacheth in his first epistle to the Corinthians, saying, Truly, if thou only beest or give thanks in spirit, how doth he which occupieth the place of the unlearned, say Amen, at the giving of thanks unto God? For he understandeth not what they say, but he only gives thanks well, but another is not edified. And again, in the epistle to the Romans he faith, With the heart a man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.

Therefore it is plain, it is convenient, that amongst other prayers, some things also which are spoken in the holy oblation, be uttered and spoken by the most religious bishops and priests unto our Lord Jesus Christ, our God, with the Father and the Holy Ghout, with a loud voice. And let the most religious priests know this, that if they neglect any of these things, neither that the dreadful judgment of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, nor will we, when we know it, reft, and leave it unrevenged.

Out of this constitution of Juxtinian, the emperor, three things are worthy to be noted.

First, That the common prayer and ministration does in all places, as we have shewed, be uttered and spoken by the people, contrary to the common affection of all nations and other adversaries, who affirm, that ignorance maketh great admiration and devotion.

Secondly, That Juxtinian maketh this matter of the ordering of the ministration and prayers, so as it may be understood by the people, not a matter of indifferency, but such a thing as must be answered for as a day of judgment.

Thridly, That this emperor, being a christian emperor, maketh such a constitution of ecclesiastical matters, but also threatens severe and sharp punishment to the violators of the same.

There are sufficient to prove that it is against good word, and the use of the primitive church, to use such language not understood by the people, in common prayer and ministration; wherein although they might be marvelled at, not only how such an untruth and crept at the first into the church, but also how it is not retained so lightly at this day, and upon what ground that will be thought guides and patriots of Christ Church is to be delivered to the people. In the first year of St. Paul's doctrine, and the practice of the primitive catholic church of Christ.

The God of patience and consolation, give us grace to be like minded one to another in the faith of Jesus, that we all agreeing together, may not ceaseth to pray for the public God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

John Scory, Richard Coxe.
David Whitehead, Edmund Grindall.
John Jewell, Robert Horne.
John Adimer, Edmund Geff.

And the fame being ended with some likelihood, as feemed, that the fame was much allowable to the audience; certain of the bishops began to say contrary to their former answer that they had now much more to say to this matter than before; and therefore it was well reprehended for such manner of caviller, yet for avoiding of any more mistaking of orders in his colloquy or conference, and for that they should understand that which they had to say, it was both ordered and the bishop did deliver to the other bishops writings of his that upon the Monday following, the bishops shall bring their minds and reasons in writing to the feast affection, and the last also if they could, and first real fame: and that done, the other party should bring their wife's to the fame. And being read, each of them shall make such objections, and oppositions in the first place that they are able, in the mean time the bishops should put in writing, and all that which doctor Cole had that day uttered, but such other matters as they any otherwise could think for the fame: and as soon as they might possibly, to the same book touching that first affection, and so, and they should receive of them that writing which Mr. Horne had there read that day and upon Monday shall be agreed what day they should exhibit their answer touching the first proposition. Thus both parties satisfied thereto, and the assembly was quietly dismissed.

The Order of the Second Day's Conference.

The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Norfolk, and all the Council being before the bishops on the one side, and the Presbyter that is, the late banished Presbyter, on the other side, thus began the Lord Keeper:

M Y lord and masters, I am sure ye remember what order of debate and writing was appointed, that he had this day or on another, at our last meeting, which I will not refuse now now report it for the benefit of it, which was, that ye appointed that on both sides ye should bring in English writing, what ye had
The Bishop. We had indeed more to say, if we might have been indifferently heard.

L. Keeper. Give me leave to say, and look what gains you should have if your present request should be granted you, that call so much of indifferent using, how should you wish to use these other men? For many who are here present, were then away, so would you have your writing now read to them, which heard not this. Mark you whether it had not been more fit that you had provided it against the first day, when they orderly read that, since to my knowledge, and as far as I have to do in the matter, you were of both sides (I am sure) warned at one time. However this be, to satisfy your importunity and cernelneis of this crying out to have your first writing heard, I might well allow, if it so pleased the rest of the queen's most honourable council, that you did touch the work of the second question, appointed for this day, and gave us up your writing for that; so that when the day cometh that each of you shall anwer the other in confirmation of the first question, then the same day you shall have time to read this your first writing, which you now so fain would read. To this order all the council willingly agreed.

Litch. Cov. Nay, my lords, they reading one, and we two books in one day, we should not have time enough to read them both. It would occupy too much time.

L. Keeper. For my part I might well stay at the hearing of them both, and so I judge would the rest of the council, and likewise the whole audience. At which words there was a general hout, saying, Yea, yea, we would hear it gladly.

L. Cov. We cannot read them both at one time: for their writing (I am sure) would require an hour and an half, if so be it be so long as their last was, and then our answer would require no less time.

L. Keeper. I have thowed you we would be well contented to carry out the time when it cometh thereunto. Therefore you need not be curious therein, and we granting you thus much, and you not obey no orders; I cannot tell what I shall say unto you.

Lincoln. We have been wonderfully troubled in the order of this ditputation. For first it was appointed us by our lord the archbishop, that we should dispute in Latin, and then we were commanded to bring a Latin writing, and now at last we are ordered to bring our writing in English.

At these words the lord keeper of the great seal, the archbishop, with all the council, mused much, and many many a time of the manner of their order well taken. Whereupon with much admiration to the lord keeper anwered, I marvel much of the using of yourself in this point, since I am afforded the order was never otherwise taken, than that you should bring forth in English writing what you had to say for your purpose.

Hercupon the bishops of Lichfield and Chichester, to excuse my lord of Lincoln, said, We so understood the order, my lords.

L. Keeper. How likely is that, since it was so plainly told you? But these delays, I pray you follow the order appointed, and begin to treat of the second question.

Litch. Cov. We were appointed this day by your honours to bring in what we had to lay to the first question.

At which words the audience murmured much, especially those who heard the former discours, contrary to such his report.

L. Keeper. The order was taken, for that your writings were not ready the last time, that you should yield to the same treatment (as the other protestants), as soon as you might, and upon the receipt of your writings, you should have their's, and this day you should treat of the second question, and likewise of the third, that if you had leisure time enough. This was the finallce of the order, my lords, except my memory fail me much. The same all the council can affirm.

8 M.

Lincoln.
Lincoln. We are willing then to bring in this day our writing for the first question also. L. Keeper, if you be so hard to be satisfied, and to incline to the truth, let my lords here say what was then determined. B. York. You are to blame to stand in this issue, for there was a plain decreed order taken for you of the second question. Wherefore, leave you your contention herein, and flew what you have to say in the second question.

L. Keeper. Go to now, begin, my lords.

Litchfield. It is contrary to the order in disputes, that we should begin.

Che拂. We have the negative, they the affirmative, therefore they must begin.

Litchfield. They must first speak what they can bring in against us, since we are the defending party.

Che拂. So is the school manner, and likewise the School of Weimar. The plaintiff's part should speak first, and then the accused party to answer.

Litchfield. I pray you let the proportion be read, and then let us see who hath the negative part, and so let the other begin.

L. Keeper. The order was taken that you should begin.

Litchfield. But then we should do against the school order.

L. Keeper. My masters, you much influe the thinking men. I wonder much at it, since divers of these orders are oftentimes taken for the exercise of youth, and ought to maintain a fasion, and many prescriptions, which we need not here to recite, much less observe. We are come hither to keep the order of God, and to let forth his truth, and hereunto we have taken as good order as we could, which lieth not in my power to change.

Carlyle. We are of the catholic church, and abide therein, and stand in the poifecions of the truth; and therefore they must say what they have to allege against us, and we maintain and defend our cause.

Litchfield. Yea, even so must the matter be ordered.

Che拂. When they bring any thing against us, it is sufficient for us to deny it. Therefore they must begin.

Litchfield. And when they affirm any thing, and we say nay, the proof belongeth to them, and so it behoveth them to shew first what they affirm, and for what cause or purpose.

L. Keeper. Here refresh our purpose and whole matter. Do you begin, if they do not, since it was determined you should begin.

Litchfield. We heard of no such order.

L. Keeper. No? Yes, and in the first question ye began unwillingly. How commeth it to pass that ye will not do so now?

Che拂. Then had we the affirmation, which since that our adversaries have now, they should now begin. This the protestants denied, saying, that they in the first day had the negative, whereas, they did not yet refute to begin.

Litchfield. If you have any thing to say, my lords, to the purpose, say on.

L. Keeper. A particular sort of men can never break an universal church, which we now maintain: and as for these men, our adversary part, I never thought that they would have done so much as named themselves to be the catholic church, challenging the name as well as we.

Protossants. We do so, and we are of the true catholic church, and maintain the verity thereof.

Lincoln. Yet would ye overthrow all catholic order.

Hope. I wonder that you stand so much who should begin.

Lincoln. You count it requisite that we should follow your orders, as we have taken the questions at your hands in that manner as you have assigned them.

Litchfield. Yea, even so we be driven to do now. L. Keeper. Nay, I judge, if ye mark the matter well, the questions are neither of their propounding to you, nor of your device to them, but equally offered to you both.

Hope. Indeed, my lords, of the queen's most honourable privy council, these questions or propositions we propounded unto us by your honours, and they then laying the pre-eminency, chose to themselves the nega- tive and yet freely began first; now, again, why do they not the like?

Litchfield being very angry that he should go first against them, went from the matter, saying, My lord keeper of the great seal, you and the rest of the queen's most honourable privy council, I hope that you all, and the queen's majesty herself, are inclined to favour the side in all things, and the truth of the catholic church which we must and will do to the utmost of our power, and to this purpose let us now well weigh who is of the true catholic church, they, or we.

Che拂, going on with his digression, said thus:

We must needs go to work, and try first, what church they be of; for there are many churches in Germany. Moller Horne, Moller Horne, I pray you, which of these churches are you of?

Hope. I am of Christ's catholic church.

L. Keeper. You ought not thus to run into vocalitry talk of your own inventing, nor to devile nor question of your own appointment, and thereby come into that talk; ye ought not to do so. But say on, if you have anything to say in this matter.

Litchfield. Nay, we must first thus go to work with them, as I have said, if we will search the truth; howbeit of the truth we have no doubt, for we allowingly stand in it. These men come in, and they pretend to be doubtful. Therefore, they should begin what they have to impugn or withstand us withal.

Winch. Let them begin; so will we go onward with our matter.

Che拂. Otherwise, my lords, if they should not begin, but end the talk, then would the verity on our sides be not so well marked; for they would depend speaking last, with the rejoicing triumph of the people.

Winch. Therefore, I am resolved that they shall begin ere that we say any thing.

Che拂. I am sorry, my lords, that we should Thus stand in the matter with your honours, and make many words, and so much ado with you, whom we ought to obey: howbeit there is no indifferency, if they begin not; and surely, we think it meet that they should, and ought to do, where any indifferency is used.

Ashler. We give you the place, do we not? and deprive you not of the pre-eminence, because you are bishops; therefore, I pray you begin.

The Bishop. A greatly giving of place, I assure you: yea, marry, ye gave place: such words they used, with more will.

L. Keeper. If ye make this assembly gathered in vain, and will not go to the matter, let us rise and depart.

Litchfield. Contented, let us be gone; for we will not in this point give over.

I pray you, my lords, require not at our hands that we should be any cause of hindrance to our religion, of give any such evil example to our posterity, which we should do if we gave over to them, which in no wise we would do.

L. Keeper. Let us then break up, if you be thus minded. With these words the bishops were rising. But then, said the lord keeper, let us see whether every one of you be thus minded. How say you, my lord bishop? will you not begin to read your writing?

Winch. No, surely; I am fully determined, and fully at a point therein, howsoever my brethren do.

Then the lord keeper asked the bishop of Ely concerning his mind herein, to answer whether he was none of them. Then the lord keeper asked the others in order, and
Conference between the Protestants and Papists.

first Lincoln, who said he was of the same mind that Winchefter was of; as likewise answered Litchfield and Coventry, Dr. Cole and Dr. Cheffey. Then Cheffey, being asked if I should not read it, I say no, notwithstanding you shall not read it, if you command me; but I must not do so, yet, I desire your honours not to fo take it, as though I would not have read it, I mean not so.

L. Keeper. How say you to it, my lord Carlifife? Abbot. If they should not read their this day, so that our writing may be last read, as I am contented that our shall be first read.

L. Keeper. So would ye make orders yervelsh, and appoint that we should spend one day in heering your. Abbot. Then the abbot of Wefcmfter was afked his mind, who said, If it plesse your honours, I judge that my lords here fay molt on this point, that he fear when they shall begin firft, and the other answer thereupon, there shall be no time given to them to speak, which my lord diliketh.

L. Keeper. How can it otherwife be, in talk ap- pointed in sich assembly and audience? think you that there can be continual anfwering one another? When should it, after that fort, have an end? Abbot. It muft be in diufcription to feek out the truth.

L. Keeper. But how fay you, my lord Abbot; are you of the mind it shall be read? Abbot. Yes, forfhoth, my lord, I am very well pleased with that. L. Keeper. Some of our felch being inquired his mind, thought as the other did.

L. Keeper. My lords, since ye are not willing, but refufe to read your writing after the order taken, we will break up and deparr; and for that ye will not that we should hear you, you may perhaps thorly hear of us.

Thus have we declared the order and manner of this conference at Wefcmfter, between these two parties, wherein if any law or order were broken, judge (good reader) where the fault was; and consider within what your punishment be, from whom, if ye take away their regard and authoritie, you fee all their cunning, how soon it is hift in the dun, or else why they would not abide the trial of writing? Why should they, or durft they not stand to the order agreed upon? Whether should we fay things, which are not able to be made, and favourably required to keep the order appointed, they would not. Then being, secondly, (as appeared by the lord keeper's words) prefered more earefully, they have a regard concerning the authority, &c. of that place, nor their own regard. We have the credit of the caufe, utterly refufed that to do. And, finallly, being again particularily every of them apart distinctly by name required to understand their opinions therein, they all, except one, (which was the abbot of Wefcmfter, having some more consideration of order and his duty of obedience than the ref) utterly and plainly denied to have their book read, fome of them more earefully than others, as alfo fome of them more undifcreetly and more unreverently than others. Whereupon giving a confiftence of dilorder, Robinsons, and felt-will, as hath not been formerly fulfilled in fuch an honourable assembly, being of the twelfe, or more reards the nobility and commons, besides the presence of the queen's majesty's molt honourable privy council, the same assembly was difmifled, and the godly and molt chirftly upportance of the queen's majesty made fructifie.

And afterward, for the contempt to notoriously make the bishops of Wefcmfter and Lincoln having obftinately both disobeyed common authoritie, and varied vitally from their own order, and especially Lincoln, who fcorne more folly than the others, and were con- ditely committed to theTower of London, and the self (having the abbot of Wefcmfter) ftood bound to make their perfonal appearance daily before the council, not to depart the city of London and Wefcmfter, until their orders were taken with them for their disobedience and contempt.

Besides the former profection of libel written and exhibited by the protentants concerning the first queftion, there was also another writing of the protestants made of the second queftion, but not published.

As thefe bishopes, both the one committed to the Tower, fo Bonner, bishop of London, about the fame time was committed to the Marshalle, where he, both in his blind bloody hereby, and alfo in his deserved capitvity, long remained, even till his death.

About the beginning of the flourishing reign of queen Elizabeth, was a parliament summoned and held at Wefcmfter, wherein was much debating about matters of religion, and great fudy on both parts employed, the one to retain still, the other to refute the doctrine of the action which in queen Mary's time had been evidently furnifhed. Yet, it is true, the great indiyuty of the papifts, by the providence of God, the defigns were frustrated, and the true catholic religion reftored.

Many of the pope's champions having been cut off by death, their power was much diminished.

Dr. Story was one of the chief that were left not to fland up for his maffen's caufe, as may be feen by his impudent exprefions (I can term them no better) in the parliament-houfe.

The form of which flameafs talk was to this effect: First, began he, declared that whereas he was noted commonly abroad to be a very orthodox and devoted, to have been a great doer, and a fetter forth of fuch religion, orders, and proceedings, as of his late sovereign that is dead, queen Mary, were fet forth in this reign, he denied nothing of the fame, professing moreover that he had not done nothing but that both his confcienc did lead him to and also his commiffions did as well then command him, as now also doth discharge him for the fame, being no lesse now nolw to do the like, and more, in cafe he by this queen were authorized likewise, and commanded thenceunto. Where- as, as I fee (faith he) nothing to be ashamed of, so lesse I fee to be forry for; but rather faid that he was forry for this, because he had done no more than he did, and that in executing those laws they had not been more vehement and fever. Wherein, he faid, there was no default in him, but in them, whom he both openly and earnestly had exhorted to the fame, being therefore not only alittle griev'd with them, for that they laboured only about the young and little sprigs and twigs, while they should have firviken at the root, and have rooted it out, that it might once and for all have been done away, and being the perfecution and burning them, he denied not, but he faw the fame at the burning of an earwig (for fo he termed a protentat) at Uxbridge, where he told a faggot at his face as he was finging pafams, and fet a whirnhib of thorns under his feet, a little to prick him, with many other wonderfull perfonal things, declaring moreover for Philip Hobby, and another knight of Kent, with fuch other of the richer and higher degree, whom his counfell was to pluck at, and to bring them under curiam, wherein (fai he) if they had fol lowed my counsel they had done well and wifely.

This, or much like, was the effect of the flameafs and tyrannical excufe of himself, more meet to speak with the voice of a beast than a man.

Although in this parliament there was some diverfity of judgment and opinion between parties, yet, notwithstanding, it was tolerably right, as God, the true caufe of the gospel had the upper hand, the question, hope was frustrate, and their rage abated, the order and proceedings of king Edward's time concerning religion was revived again, the supremacy of the pope abolished, and bloody flauties of queen Mary repealed; briefly, the furrititiousness of the caufe was once at perfection, which had confirmed to so many poor men's bodies, were now extinct and quenched.

Finally, the old bishopes were deposed, for that they refuted the oath in renouncing the pope, and not fub- fcribing to the new act, and for their flying into the rooms and places, first, for cardinal Poole, succeeded Dr Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury; in the place of Heath, succeeded Dr. Young; instead of Bonner, Edmund Grindall was bishop of London; for Hoptun.
Hopton, Thurlby, Tonfall, Bates, Chriftopherfon, Pete, Contes, Morgan, Feafe, White, Oglethorpe, &c. were placed, Dr. John Parkhurst in Norwich, Dr. Coxe in Ely, Jewel in Salisbury, Pilkenton in Dvurham, Dr. Stow in Worcefter, Mr. Downham in Wiltfchefer, Bentsam in Coventry and Litchfield, David in St. David's, Ally in Exeter, Horne in Winchefter, Scory in Herefey, Belf in Carlifte, Bullingham in Lincoln, Samler in Peterborough, Bartlet in Bath, Geft in Rochefter, Barlo in Chichesfer, &c.

A Treate of Mr. Nicholas Ridley, in the Name of the whole Clergy, to King Edward the Sixth, concerning Images not to be set up, nor worshipped in Churches.

Certain Reasons which move us that we cannot with safe Confections give our Affent, that the Images of Christ, &c. should be placed and erected in Churches.

The first, and the words of the commandment, Exod. xx. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, &c. And the same is repeated more plainly, Deut. xxvii. Curfed is the man which maketh a molten image, &c. and feteth it in a secret place; and all the people shall say, Amen.

In the first place, the words are to be noted, Thou shalt not make to thyself; that is, to any use of religion.

In the second place, the words, And feteth it in a secret place; for no image durft then commit idolatry openly. So that conferring the places, it doth evidently appear that images both for use of religion, and in place of peril for idolatry, are forbidden.

God, knowing the inclination of man to idolatry, shewed the reason why he made this general prohibition, left peradventure thou being deceived, shouldest bow down to them and worship them. This general law is generally to be observed, notwithstanding that peradventure a great number cannot be hurt by them, which may appear by the example following.

God forbade the join to their children in marriage with strangers, adding the reason; For the will reduce thy son, that he shall not follow me, Deut. vii. 3.

Moses was not deceived or seduced by Jethro's daughter, nor Boaz by Ruth, being a woman of Moab. And yet, for all that, the general law was to be observed, Thou shalt not join no marriage with them. And lo, like wife, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven images, &c. Deut. iv. 19. God giveth a special charge to avoid images. Beware, faith he, that thou forget not the covenant of the Lord thy God which he made with thee, and to make to thyself any graven image of any thing which the Lord hath forbidden thee, for the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, and a jealous God.

If thou hast children and nephews, and do well in the land, and being deceived, do make to yourselfs any graven image, doing evil before the Lord your God, and shall fall to anger, I do this day call heaven and earth to witnesse, that thou shalt quickly perish out of the land which ye shall possesse, ye shall not dwell in it any longer time, but the Lord will destroy you, and scatter you amongst all nations.

The cause what solemn obligation God ufeth, and what grieves at it, is the threatment to the breakers of the second commandment.

In the tabernacle and temple of God, no image was by God appointed openly to be set, nor by practice afterwards used or permitted, so long as religion was purely observed; so that the use and execution of the law is a good interpreter of the true meaning of the same.

If, by virtue of the second commandment, images were not lawful in the temple of the Jews, then by the same commandment they are not lawful in the churches of christians. For, being a moral commandment, and not ceremonial, (for by confeant of writers, only a part of the precept of observing the sabbath is ceremonial, it is a perpetual commandment, and bindeth us as well as the Jews.

The Jews by no means would confent to Hand, Pilate, or Petronius, that images should be placed in the temple at Jerusalem, but rather offered themselves, to apprehend our affent unto it. Who, beside what they are commanded by Josephus for observing the meaning of the law, would not have endeavored themselves to far, if they had thought images had been different in the temple of God. For, as St. Paul faith, 1 Cor. ii. 15. What agreement hast the temple of God with idols? Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvi. cap. 8. lib. xvi. cap. 5 and 15.

God's scripture doth in no place command the use of images; but in a great number of places doth allow and condemn them. They are called in the book of Wisdom, The trap and snare of the feet of the ignorant.

It is said that the invention of them was the beginning of spiritual fornication; and that they are from the beginning, neither shall they continue unto the end. In the 15th chapter of the aforesaid book, it is said to begin the sin with them. And again, They are worthy of death both that put their trust in them, and that make them, and that love them, and that worship them.

The Psalms and prophets are full of like sentiment, and it may be, we cannot praise the thing which God doth not allow, always for forbidden.

Furthermore, an image made by a father (as appeared in the same book) for the memorial of his departed, was the first invention of images, and occasion of idolatry, Wislom xiv.

How much more then shall an image made in the memory of Christ, and set up in the place of religion, occasion the same offence? Eusebh. Eccl. Hist. lib. xvi. cap. 18. Images have their beginning from the heathen, and of no good ground; therefore they cannot be profitable to christians. Whereunto Athanarist agreed; writing of images against the Gentiles, the invention of images, faith he, came of no good, but evil; and whatsoever hath an evil beginning, can now in any thing be judged good, seeing it is wholly naught.

St. John faith, Matt. xxi. beware of images: be not led them in the churches, which are dedicated to the service and imitation of God. Let all the images be taken over the Lord's table, being the highest and most honourable place, where most danger of abuse both is, and ever hath been, is not to beware of them, nor fly from them, but rather to embrace and receive them. The commandment of God, an ordaining the same words, writeth thus, Little children, keep yourselves from the flapse like or form of them.

Images in the church either serve to edify or delur. If they edify, then there is one kind of how much which the scriptures neither teach no command, but always disallow: if the delur, then they are not to be used; for in the church of God all things ought to be done to edify. 1 Cor. xiv.

The commandment of God is, Thou shalt not have a stumbling-block or a stone before the blind: and closely to that maketh the blind wander in his way, the simple, and unlearned people, who have no long under blind guiders, are blind in matters of religion, and inclined to error and idolatry. Therefore, to let images before them to stumble at, be unprofitable to that which will be done and permitted for the feet of the ignorant it is not only against the commandment of God, but detestable with all the malediction and curse of God, Wifd. xiv.

The use of images to the learned and confirmed in knowledge, is neither necessary nor profitable. To the superstitious, a confirmation in error; to the simple and untaught, an occasion of fall, and very offensive wounding to their conscience; and therefore we
place of persuasion were very cold, and to no purpose at all, except we hold this always, that Christians in those days did hate most of all images with their trim decking and ornaments.

Ireneus, lib. i. cap. 4. reproved the heretics called Gnostics, for that they carried about the image of Christ made in Pilate's time after his own proportion, (which were much more to be esteemed than any that can be made now,) using also for declaration of their affection towards it, to set garlands upon the head of it.

Laetanius affirmeth plainly, Infl. ii. cap. 19. That it is not to be doubted, that there is no religion, wherefore is any idolatry. If idolaters then had used images, he would not have made his proposition so large.

St. Augustin De Civitate Dei, lib. iv. cap. 31. commendeth Varro the Roman in these words: When Varro thought religion might be kept more purely without images, who doth not see how near he came to the truth? So that not only by M. Varro's judgment, but also by St. Augustinus's approbation, the most pure and chaste observation of religion, and nearest the truth, is to be without images.

The same St. Augustin, in Plsr. cxiii. hath these words: Images have more force to bow down and crook the filly soul, than to teach it.

And upon the same psalm he moveth this question: Every Child, ye shall teach, ye shall teatch the (foolish) images which they see; why then doth the Holy Ghost so often give warning to beware of that thing which all do know?

St. AUGUSTINE's ANSWER.

For when they are set in churches, and begin once to be worshipped of the multitude or common people, straightway fairgeth up a gift filthy affection of error.

This place of St. Augustin doth well make a reason it is to fay, images are a thing indifferent in chambers and in churches. For the alteration of the place, manner, and other circumstances, doth alter oftentimes the nature of the thing. It is lawful to buy and sell in the market, but not so in churches. It is lawful to eat and drink, but not so in churches. And therefore faith St. Paul, Have you not houses to eat and drink in? Do you contemn the church of God?

Many other actions there be which are lawful and honest in private, but which are neither commonly nor honest, not only in churches, but also in other assemblies of honest people.

Tertullian faith, he used sometimes to burn frankincense in his chamber, which was then used by idolaters, and is yet in the Romish churches: but he joined withal, but not after such a rite or ceremony, nor after such a fashion, nor with such preparation or superstitious, as it is done before the idols.

So that images placed in churches, and set in an honourable place of estimation, St. Augustin faith, and especially over the Lord's table, which is done (using the words of Tertullian) after the same manner and fashion which the papists used, especially after so long continuance of abuse of images, and so many being blinded with fabulous and superstitious opinion towards them, cannot be counted a thing indifferent, but a most certain ruin of many souls.

Epiphanius, in his epistle to John, bishop of Jerusale, (which epistle was translated from the Greek by St. Jerome, being without that Jerome disliked not the doctrine of the same) doth write a fact of his own, which doth most clearly declare the judgment of that notable learned bishop concerning the use of images; his words are these: When I came to a village called Anabatha, and there as I palled by, a candle burning, and inquiring what place it was, and learning that it was a church, and had entered into the same to pray, I found there a vail, or cloth, hanging at the door of the same church, dyed and painted, having on it the image of Christ, as it was, or of some saint, (for 8 N.)
I remember not well what he was: then, when I saw this, that in the church of Chrift, againft the au-
thority of the fcriptures, the image of a man did hang, 
I cut it in pieces, &c.; and commanded that fuch man-
ner of vails, or clothes, which are contrary to our re-
ligion, might be hangg in the church of Chrift.
Out of this place of Epiphanius divers notes are to be
observed.
Fifth, That by the judgment of this ancient father, to
permit images in churches is againft the authority of the fcriptures, meaning againft the fovereign au-
maintenance. Thou shalt not take to thyfelf any graven image, &c.
Secondly, That Epiphanius doth reject not only graven and molten, but alfo painted images: forfomuch as he cut in pieces the image painted in a vail hanging at the church door; what would he have done, if he had found it over the Lord's table?
Thirdly, That he spareth not the image of Chrift: for no doubt that image is most perillus in the church of all other.
Fourthly, That he did not only remove it, but with a vehemency of zeal cut it in pieces, following the ex-
ample of the good king Ezechias, who broke the brazen serpent, and burnt it to ashes.
Laft of all, That Epiphanius thinketh it the duty of vigilant bishops to be careful, that no kind of images be preserved in the church.
Serenus, bishop of Mafalia, broke down images, and destroyed them when he saw them begin to be worship-
ped, Greg. in regift. epift. 109.
Experience of times since hath declared, whether of these two fentences were better. For since Gregory's time, the images flanding in the well church, it hath been overflown with idolatry, notwithstanding his or his other men's doctrine; whereas, if Serenus's judgment had universally taken place, no fuch thing had happened. But when images had been suffered, none could have been worshipped: and consequently no idolatry committed by them.
It is manifest to them that read histories, that not only emperors, but alfo divers and flandy councils in the east church, have condemned and abolihed images, both by decrees and examples.
Peter Crinitus, in his book of honest discipline, book ix. chap 9. wrote out of the emperors' books these words: Valens and Theodosius, the emperors, wrote to the high Marshal, or lieutenant, in this fort: Whom of all the earthly princes could not the mighty God be in all things kept, we permit no man to call, grave, or paint the image of our Saviour Christ, either in colours, ftones, or other matter; but wherefore it be found, we command it to be taken away, punifhing them most grievously that shall attempt any such contref; our decrees and empire.
Leo the Third, a man commended in histories for his excellent virtues and godlines, who (as is judged by fome men) was the author of the book De re militar, that is, of the feat of war, being translated from the Greek by John Cheke, and dedicated to king Henry the Eighth, your high nephew's father, by public authority commanded abolifhing of images; and in Confantinople caufed all the images to be gathered together on a heap, and burned them to ashes.
Conflantine the First's son assembled a council of the bishops of the eft church: in which council it was decreed as followeth: It is not lawful for them that believe in God through Jesus Chrift, to have any images, either of the Creator, or of any creature fet up in temples to be worshipped, but rather that all images, by that and by our own law, for the avoiding of offence, ought to be taken out of churches. Which decree was executed in all places where any images were, both in Greece and Afia. But in all these times, the bishops of Rome rather maintaining the authority of Gregory, weighed not with bishops, that in the church, always in their assemblies allowed images.
Not long after, the bishop of Rome, practifing with Tharafus, patriarch of Conftantinople, obtained of Irene the emperess, her fon Conflantine being then
young, that a council fhould be called at a place which the people's legisates were presidents, and peard well by their fruits: for in that council decreed, that images should not only be preserved in churches, but alfo worshipped: which council was signed by the primate of Rome, St. Damasus, em-
peror, califying it a foolish and an arrogant proceeding.
Soon after this council, arose a ftark con-
troversy between Irene the empress, and her fon Conflantine. Sixth, the emperor who deftroyed images. And as the land was wickedly burned by the bones of father-in-law, Conflantine the Fifth, he stimu-
larly the put out the eyes of her fon Conflantine.

About which time, as Eutropius writes, the fad god of the people most terribly for the place of fevantes and God showing, by that dreadful sign, how much she asked that kind of proceeding.

To be short, there was never a thing that made di-
vision, or brought more mifchief into the church, the controversy of images: by reason whereof, the eft church was divided from the west, and hence
properly reconciled, but alfo the empire was cut
and divided, and the gates opened to the Saracens, Turks to enter and overcome a great part of Chris-
tian. The fault whereof most justly is to be laid to the part of images, of which we have herein come with the example of the primitive church, how it was
imple and sincere, and most agreeable to the fpirit (for as Tertullian faith, That is that, is true; that is that, is counterfeit.) But with all the main-
tained the life of images in churches, whose pro-
fit or convenience did ever grow to the injury of God. For it is evident, that infinite millions of
have been cut into eternal damnation by the ocular images used in places of religion, and no history record, that ever any foul was won unto Christ with images, to whom the light God shewed. But the well church had always generally retained and
mended images, it is to be noted, that in a council in Spain, called Conflantinum Eftimatum, the images in churches was clearly prohibited in this
of words: We decree, that pictures ought not to be in
churches, left that be painted upon the walls will be worshipped or adored.

But this notwithstanding experience hath de
de that neither allemmng in councils, neither was
preachings, decrees, making of laws, prescribing of idolatry, nor any particular religion: heresy has been committed, nor against idolatry of images flood. For their blind books and dumb fool
matters (which they call laymen's books) have prevailed by their carved and painted preaching, idolatry, than all other written books and preaching
steaching the truth, and the horror of the vice.
Having thus declared unto your highness a few of many which do move our confciences in this matter we beleeve your highnesses most hurnbly not to make any further, but to consider that God's work through a terrible judgment unto us, if we should
being and ministers in our church, should allent unto the which in our learning and conffence we are per
 doch tend to the confimation of error, superstition, and idolatry: and finally, to the ruin of the souls con-
temning our charge, for which we may give an account to the Prince of all fouls at the laft day, Hebrews xii. 1. Pe We pray your majesty also not to be offended with our plainnes and liberty, which all good and char
princes have ever taken in good part at the hand
godly bishops.

Theodore, writing to Theodosius the em-
 of them these words: But neither is it the part of
 emperor to deny free liberty of speaking, nor the
 a priest not to speak what he thinketh. And again
 God's caufe whom with thou hear, if thou wilt
 of great, and that fuch things should be
mitted? Who dare lay the truth unto thee, if ye
 dare not? Thefe and fuch like fpeeches of St. Ambrose,
 Theodosian, and Valentinianus, the emperors, did take in good part, and we doubt not but your good
they do, is not done as in secrecy or by stealth, but openly avouched, and in all companies disputed on: And thus by their bold attempts they seem not to obey or regard the authority of laws, nor the quiet of her subjects, as if every man, by being bold and lost abroad divers loud levies, and sedition books from beyond the seas, and in such boldnesses, that they do command those writers in their sedition books, containing manifest matter against the state established. Which boldnesses of men, so univerfully and every where sent and heard, cannot be thought to be done but by the comfort and aid, or at the least winked at by them whom the queen's highness hath placed in authority to repress those insufficiencies. And the queen's highness cannot tolerate that they should be more than such who, being in commotions chosen to repress those disorders. If it be answered me, that they cannot see such open boldnesses and factious disorders, I must say that they have no eyes to see: and if they hear not of such contemptuous talk, I may say that they have no ears. Would have those men judge what will come of those unbridled speeches in the end, if reformation be not had thereof. What cometh of factions and sedition, we have been taught of late years, and what the fruits thereof be, which I believe to be dire to be brought from such disorders be not redressed by law, then must force and violence reform. Which when they take place, may happen to fall as soon on them that seem to have least consideration in this matter. If force and violence prevail, then you will have no security and prosperous government over us, to the advancement of his glory, the overthrow of superstition, and to the benefit and safety of all your highness's loving subjects.

vote, Dr. Ridley, some time bishop of London, was an renowned for his learning and knowledge in epistle, that even his very enemies have reported as an excellent scholar, whole life, if it hit been redeemed with the sum of 10,000 ks, yea, 10,000l. the lord Dacres of the North, or his kinsman, would have given it to queen Mary, er than he should have been hurled. And yet was as unmerciful, for all his gentlemens in king Edward's, that it would not be granted for any interest that he made. Oh, that she had remembered his for to her king Edward the Sixth, with archb. Cranmer, in such fort that even she had yielded the reward of a publican, Matt. v, then had the not so been bereft of him as it was; but the Lord was our fins, which were the caufe thereof, and that we never to provoke his anger again, if it be defiled will, Amen.

ORATION of SIR NICHOLAS BACON, Knight, and Keeper of the Great Seal of England, in the Star-Chamber, the 29th. of December, 60. in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and in the Presence of

Iohn, earl of Bedford.

William, marquis of Northampton.

John, earl of Bedford.

Sir Thomas, knight, of the chamberlains of

of London.

Edward Rogers, knight.

Ambrose, knight, chancellor of the duchy.

William Cecil, knight, principal secretary.

Francis Knolls, knight, vice-chamberlain.

Walter Mildmay, knight, chancellor of the exchequer.

Cattelene, chief justice of the king's-bench.

Dyer, chief justice of the common pleas.

William Cordale, knight, master of the rolls.

Wynne, justice Welch, justice Southwates, justice Carewes.

given to the queen's majesty to understand, that none of her subjects by their evil disposition do spread abroad divers seditions, to the derogation of Almighty God, in the формы of religion established by the laws of this realm, and also to the ruin of her highness, in disproving her lawful supremacy amongst her subjects. And that this
to hatch tumult, and to cherish sedition? To extol the writings of such, who by their wis devise to supplant the prince’s lawful authority. If the devils be no better than the warlike and cut-throat spirit of this rebellion, we know not what is good government. If thee be not the sparks of rebellion, be they then? Thus much hav- ing spoken to your wisdom, I doubt not of your afflicting with me; the rather also because I utter them unto you as from the queen’s majesty by commandment, who doth require us all more diligence in the execution of the laws, than commonly hath been observed: whereby we shall do our duty to Almighty God the better, declare our allegiance to our sovereign, regard the majesty of the laws, love the quiet of our country, and procure the safety of ourselves.

God save the Queen.

An Account of the Martyrdom of one Richard Atkins, an Englishman, at Rome.

A bout the month of July, Anno 1581, one Richard Atkins, an Englishman, born in Hertfordshire, came to Rome, and having found the English college, knocked at the door, the students there came out, to welcome him, understanding that he was an Englishman. They invited him to go to the hospital, and there to receive his meat and lodging, according as the order was appointed: whereunto he assented, I come not (my countrymen) to any such insult, as you call it, to rebuke or reprove your great misorder of your lives, which I grieve to hear, and pity to behold: I come likewise to let your proud Antichrist understand, that he doth offend the heavenly Majesty, rob God of his honour, and deface the whole world with his abominable and horrid vices, making them desolate and desolate, and that filthy sacrilege, which is nothing else but a foolish idol. When they heard these words, one Hugh Griffin, a Welshman, and student in the college, cauised him to be put in the inquisition; where, how they examined him, and how he answered them, I know not, but after certain days he was set at liberty again; and one day going in the street, he met a priest carrying the sacrament; which offending his conscience, to see the people crouch and bow down to it, he caught at it to have thrown it down; but milking of his purpose, and being judg’d by the people, the woman did came in for holy mass (but which way) coming from the sacrament, upon mere devotion, he was let pass, and nothing said to him: a few days after he came to St. Peter’s church, where divers gentlemen and others were hearing mass, and the priest at the elevation; he using no reverence, stepped among the people to the altar; and there they met him not, but the woman, priving likewise to pull the cake out of the priest’s hands; for which divers rofe up and beat him with their fits, and one drew his rapier, and would have slain him: so that in brief he was carried to prison, where he was examined, wherefo he had committ’d such a heinous offence, whereunto he answered, That he came purposely for that intent, to rebuke the pope’s wickedness and their idolatry. Upon this he was condemned to be burned; which sentence (he said) he was right willing to suffer, and the rather, because the fumes of his offence pertained to the glory of God. During the time he remained in prison, divers Englishmen came unto him, willing him to be forry for what he had done, and to recant from his damnable opinion; but all the means they used were in vain, he confined his dealings by divers places of service, and wish’d them to be forry for their wickedness, while God did permit them time, else they were in danger of everlasting damnation; then the good Englishmen depaird: for they could not abide to hear them. Within a while after, he was set upon an ass without any faddle, he being from the middle outward naked, having some English priests with him to talk with him, but he and they them not, but fpake to them as in good language as he could, and told them they were in a wrong way, and wish’d them for Chrifti’s sake to have regard to the saving of their souls. All the way as he went, there were four who did not, else but thrall at his body with burning torches, where he never mov’d, nor thrall any one jot, but with a chearful countenance labour’d to persuade all people, stend- ing his body to meet the torches, till the manner of thrall at him, and would take them in his own hand and hold them burning fill upon his body, wherehe and people not a little wondered. Thus he continued till the space of half a mile, till he came before St. Peter’s where the place of execution was. When they came to the place of execution, there they made a design to make the fire about him, but to burn his legs for which they did, he not dismay’d any wit, but fill all marvellous cheerfully, which moved the people, such a quandary as was not in any other day. To they offer’d him a crufs, and wish’d him to give in token that he died a christian; but he put it in his hand, and wish’d them, that they were evil men trouble him with such matters, when he was present himself for God, whom he beheld in majesty and majesty: ready to receive him into eternal rest. They feeling in this mind, departed, saying, Let us go and him to the devil, whom he serves. Thus ended the faithful soldier and martyr of Chrift, who is, no doubt, in glory with his Master: whereunto God grant us to continue such.

This is faithfully avouched by John Young, who at that time, and a good while after in Rome, in service of his master, doctor Morton; who seeing the martyrdom of this man, when he came home to his house, in presence of Mr. Smith, his son, Mr. Cot, and the said John Young, fpake as followeth: See this fellow was marvellously obstinate, he nothing cared the good counsel which was given to him, but thrunk all the time that the torches were thrall at him body. Besides, in the place of execution had not fain nor cry one jot in the fire, although they were burning on him very cruelly; whereunto he by dign as his legs first, to put him to the greater peril of this he did but smile at. Doubtles, but that the use of God cannot be but true, else we might judge fellow to be of God; for who could have fald much pain as he did? But truly I believe the devil in him.

The Life and Death of Dr. Story, a Persecutor of Christ in his Members.

This Dr. Story, being an Englishman by birth, from his infancy being not only nurfed in papish, also even as it were by nature earnestly affected to the fauer, and, filling his heart against the satellites of Queen Mary became a bloody tyrant, and cruel persecutor of Chrift in his members (as all the historians this book almost do declare). Thus he raising the reign of the aforefaied queen Mary against the plain truth of Christ’s gospel, and the true professers thereof, never ceasing to be a bloody and cruel man to the two hundred bleffed martyrs, who willingly gave their for the testimony of his truth; and thinking them nothing in the fire not cruel enough; he went also invent new tortures for the holy martyrs of Christ. His was his hatred to the truth of Christ’s gospel, and that his body would never be committed to ward, with many others his accomplices Enemies to Christ’s glorious gospel. Thus he having been a while detained in prison, in a manner I know not, got out and committed himself over the seas, where he continued a great persecutor, with bloody fword. Infomuch as he was growing more and more to the duke of Alva, in Antwerp, received a
View of the Dreadful MASSACRE of the Protestants in PARIS.
on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572.
PERSECUTION in the KINGDOM of FRANCE.

From him to find the ships for goods forwarded and for English books, and such like.

In this favour and authority he continued there as long as he could, by which means he did much hurt, and many men, woman and man, went into trouble and perished through the bloody-thirsty cruelty that was the Lord (when the measure of his iniquity was filled) proceeded in judgment against him, and cut him off from the face of the earth, according to the number of a good man, which came to pass in the meantime.

It being certainly known (for the record was gone forth into all lands) that he not only contended the subversion and overthrow of his native England, by bringing in foreign hostility, if he means he might encompass it, but also daily and hour by hour murdered God's people; there was this platform by God's providence no doubt that one Mr. Parker, a merchant should fall unto Antwerp, and by some convey Story into England.

Parker arriving at Antwerp, submitted certain petitions to Dr. Story, and to signify unto him, that there was an English ship come, loaded with merchandise, and that if he would make search thereof himself, he might find more of English books, and other things of his purpose. Story hearing this, and suspecting in the malicious deceit, made haste towards the ship, thinking to make a show of his prey; and coming on board, searched for historical books (as he called them), and going down under the hatches, because he would be sure to have their blood if he could, they clapped down the hatches, hoisted up their sail, having (as God would) a good gale, and sailed away unto England.

Where they arriving, presented this bloody butcher, and traitorous rebel, Story, to the no little rejoicing of many an English heart. He being now committed to prison, continued there a good space: during all which time he was importuned and solicited daily by wife and learned fathers to recant his devilish and erroneous opinions, to conform himself to the truth, and to acknowledge the queen's supremacy. All which he utterly denied to the death, saying, that he was a sworn subject to the king of Spain, and was no subject to the queen of England, nor the foreign queen; and therefore (as he well deserved) he was condemned (as a traitor to God, the queen's majesty, and the realm) to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; which was performed accordingly, he being hanged upon an hurdle, and drawn from the Tower along the streets to Tyburn, where he being hanged till he was half dead, was cut down and flayed; and (which is not to be forgot) when the executioner had cut off his privy members, he ruffling up upon a sudden, gave him a blow upon the ear, to the great wonder of all that stood by: and thus ended this bloody Nimrod's wretched life, whose judgment I leave to the Lord.

CHAP. III.

The HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of THE PERSECUTIONS, SUFFERINGS, AND CRUEL DEATHS OF PROTESTANT MARTYRS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

RELATION of the horrible MASSACRE in FRANCE, Anno 1752.

For brevity's sake to overskip the bloody butchery of the Roman catholics in Orange against Protestants, more fiercely and unausts breaking their houses, and there, without mercy, killing man, woman, and child; of whom some being spoiled naked, they threw out of their lofts into the streets; and they hurled in their hovels with smoke, with and weapon sparing none, the carcasses of some threw to dogs, which was in the year 1570, in the time of Charles IX. Likewise to pave over the cruel murder at Rhone, where the protestants being at a distance without the city walls, upon the king's edict, the fire in fury ran upon them coming home, and flew men above 40 at least, many more they wounded; as at Rhone, burnt up the papists at Dieppe, and likewise against the christians there, from a sermon likewise; whose slaughter had the greater, had they not more wisely before been armed with weapons for their own defence if needful. Which happened about the same year aforesaid, in Italy, at Rome, with such like I briefly overlook, after now many being only ready to treat of the horrible and most barbarous maltreatment committed in Paris, such as I suppose never was before in any civil, confusion amongst the very states.

In a few words, to touch the fulness of the case for the long troubles in France, the papists forseighting no to be done against the protestants by open force, to devote by crafty means to entrap them, than by two manner of ways: the one by pretending to enter the country, whereas the fatal was to be fall on the king (not that the king to meaned, but only to understand thereby what power and the admiral had under him, who were they, what were their names. The second was by a certain papal interdict. To this pretended marriage, it was advised, that all the chief protestants of France should be invited, and meet in Paris. Among whom first they began with the queen of Navarre, another to the prince that was to marry the king's sister, attempting by all means possible to gain her consent thereunto. She being then at Rochelle, and allured by many fair words to repair unto the king, consented at length to come, and was received at Paris; where she, after much ado, was at length won over to the king's mind, and providing for the marriage, shortly upon the same fell sick, and within five days departed, not without suspicion, as some said, of poison. But her body being opened, no sign or poison could there be found, fave only but that a certain apothecary made his boast, that he had killed the queen by certain venomous odours and finelines by him concocted.

After this, notwithstanding the marriage still going forward, the admiral prince of Navarre and Conde, with divers other chief states of the protestants, induced by the king's letters and many fair promises, at last were brought to Paris, where with great solemnity they were received, but especially the admiral. To make the matter short, the day of the marriage came, which was the eighteenth of August, 1572. When marriage being solemnized by the cardinal of Borbonne, upon a high stage set up upon purpose without the church walls, the prince of Navarre and Conde came down, waiting for the king's sister, the being then at masts. This done, they returned all together to the bishop's palace to dinner. In the evening they were had to a palace in the middle of Paris to supper. Nor long after this, being the 22d of August, the admiral coming from the council table, by the way was shot at with a pistol, charged with three bullets, in both his arms. He being thus wounded, and yet still remaining in Paris, although the Vidas gave him to counsel to flee away, it fell out that certain soldiers were appointed in divers places of the city to be ready at a watch-word at the command of the prince, upon which watch-word given, they burst out to the slaughter of the protestants, first beginning with the admiral himself, who being wounded with many severe wounds, was
caft out of the window into the street, where his head being first struck off, and emblazoned with fionce to be hung upon a pole in the Place de Grève; fearing against him, cut off his arms and privy members, and so drawing him three days through the streets of Paris, they dragged him to the place of execution, out of the city, and there hanged him up by the heels, to the greater effusion of the merciless papists, intending not but blood and destruction.

After the martyrdom of this good man, the armed soldiery with rage and violence ran upon all the others of the same profession, slaying and killing all the protestants they knew, or could find within the city gates included. This bloody slaughter continued the space of many days, but especially the greatest slaughter was in the three first days, in which were numbered to be slain, as the story writeth, above 10,000 men and women, old and young, of all sorts and conditions. The bodies of the dead were carried in carts to be thrown in the river; that with the river was all from thence therewith, but all the whole firearms in certain places of the city did run with the blood of the slain bodies. So great was the outrage of that hellish perfecion, that not only the protestants, but also certain whom they thought indifferent papists, they put to the sword immediately. In the number of them that were slain of the more learned fort, was Petrus Ramus, also Lamburnus, another notorious learned man; Platcanus, Lomnecius, Chapelus, with others.

And not only within the walls of Paris this uproar was contained, but it extended further into other cities and some parts of the government, as in the parts of Thouloue, and Rouen. In these cities it was almost incredible, and scarce ever heard of in any nation, what cruelty was shewed, what numbers of good men were destroyed; insomuch, that within the space of one month, thirty thousand at least of religious protestants were numbered to be slain, as is credibly reported in the commentaries of them who testify purportly of the matter.

Furthermore there is to be noted, that when the pope first heard of this bloody thing, he, with his cardinals, made such joy at Rome, with the procession, with their gun-shots, and singing of Te Deum, that in honour of that festal act, a jubilee was commanded by God, with great indulgence, and much solemnity. Whereby thou hast here to discern and judge, with what spirit and charity their papists are moved to maintain their religion and state. For within the space of the space without all hope of recovery. Likewise in France no less rejoiceing there was upon the 28th day of the month, the king commanding public processions through the whole city to be made, with bonfires, ringing, and fighting his own people. For he himself, with his mother, and his whole court forgetting to pray was turned to the worship of Charch, gave thanks and praise to God, for that worthy victory achieved upon St. Bartholomew's day against the protestants, whom they thought to be utterly overthrown and vanquished in all the realm for ever.

And, indeed, to man's thinking, it might appear no less, after such a great destruction of the protestants, having lost so many worthy and noble captains as then were cut off, whereupon many, for fear revoking their religion, took refuge in the pope; divers fled out of the realm, such as would not turn from their secret, durst not be known nor seen, so that it was past all hope of man, that the gospel should ever have any more place in France: but such is the admirable working of God, where man's help and hope must fail, there he must shew his strength and the work he here is to be seen. For whereas the little remnant of the gospel tide, being now brought to utter desperation, were now ready to give over unto the king, and many were gone already against conscience, yielding to time; yea, the gain of other good works so wrought, that many were flayed and slain again through the occasion of them of the realm; who, hearing of the cruel massacre in Paris, and slaughter at Thouloue, most constantly, with valiant hearts, (the Lord so working) thought to stand against the king's power, by whose example certain other refugees of this, took no little courage to do the like. As one, Mr. Lemoullon, a gentleman of Normandy, and one of Occitania, Millisaldum, Mirebeau, and other towns and cities more: who, being joined together, exhorcted another to be circumspect, take good heed of the false diffusing prophecies that the ungodly, and wicked mercurial papists, intending not but blood and destruction.

These things thus paffing at Rochelle, the king thereof, giveth in commandment to capitaine, and Guardius to fee to Rochelle. After this, a nobleman, one Bironius, requiring of the king to receive them for his children, underlie. A great congregation being held, at length the king began to confedde upon certain points, which being not easily consented to, and after hearing in the mean time what was done to the other, who, after submitted themselves, did it better to hand to the defence of their lives, sciences, and to hazard the worst. Wherefore great siege and battery to be laid against Rochelle by hand and sea, which was in the year 1572, the fourth day of December. It would require a very long narrative to speak of the taking of the sieges, that passed on either side, because the part and the town of Rochelle. Briefly to name the parts of the matter: In the beginning of the following, which was 1573, in the month of January, commandment was given out by the king, our floor to be furnished to all nations, as running upon great, to address themselves in a month from to the affulfing of Rochelle. Whereasupon a great course of all the nobility, with the whole part of France, was there assembled; amongst whom was the number of the king's brother, who not long after, was proclaimed king of France, by his other brother, duke Alfonso, the Conde, and a great number of states besides.

The whole power of France being gathered and poor town, had not the mightly hand of God of their side, it had been impossible for them to stand. During the time of this siege, which lasted four months, what skirmishes and conflicts were of sides, it was endless to recite. To make short, principal assaults were given to the poor town of Rochelle, with all the power that France could make, under the number of the sixty per cent. Concerning the first assault, thus I find written within the space of 26 days were charged grand walls and houfes of Rochelle, to the number of one thousand of iron bullets and globes, which great breach was made for the adversary to enter out of which, and the amount of the sixty per cent. Concerning the second assault, 2000 great field-pieces were against the town; whereupon the adversary on the next day to invade the town, but they were still the folly of the soldiers and citizens, and also all the men and maidens, the invaders were forced to lay flat. After the fire, the king, the pope, and the rest of the assaults that followed: whereby, considering (reader) with thyself, in what great distress these people were, not of Rochelle only, but of other also, during these seven months above-mentioned nor the powful hand of the Lord Almighty, the fervents in these difficulties, three memorable things find in history to be noted.

The one concerning the siege of Santer, which was being terribly battered and razed with the field-pieces and field-pieces, having the number of three thousand bullets and gun-bones from them, where with the crests of their helmets were ced; their Sleeves, their hoes, their hats pierced their weapons in their hands broken, their walls
PERSECUTION in the KINGDOM OF FRANCE.

Clarification of that horrible massacre and murder of God’s saints and fervents in France; we have thought good to follow the same more particularly and largely, and afterwards to add thereunto a declaration of other outrageous cruelties, committed in France by the favourers and followers of the church of Rome upon faithful christians, both before and after the said massacre: all faithfully collected and taken out of the history of that honourable man, James Augustus Thamus, president of the parliament of Paris, and counsellor of state to the late French king, Henry the Fourth. And thus we have done, that we may thereby be the more moved to hate and abhor that bloody Babylon of Rome, and to take better heed, that by our sins and contempt of God’s holy word, by his great mercy committed unto us, we do not again fall into the cruel claws thereof, and into the bloody hands of her followers; as most certainly we shall be the more willing to have prevented that savage, barbarous, and most monstrous Powder-Treason; of which great and merciful deliverance, God make us mindful and truly thankful in glorifying his name, and serving him in true and right counsels all the days of our life, Amen.

WHEN the admiral was wounded in both his arms, he immediately thereupon fled to Maure, preacher to the queen of Navarre; O my brother, I do now perceive that I am beloved of my God, seeing that for his most holy name’s sake I do suffer these wounds. Then he whispered in the ear of one of them that bore up his arm, that he should deliver an hundred crowns to Marin his preacher, to be given to the poor of the church of Paris.

The admiral was slain by Benjus, of whom Alienus (one of them that came to kill him) did afterwards report, that he never saw man in so perfect peril, so constantly and confoundingly suffer.

Many honourable men, and great persons, were then murdered, as count Rochiducht; Tolinus, the admiral’s son-in-law; Antonius Claraomontus, marquis of Ravely; Lewis Buffis, Bandimes, Pluvialius, Bernius, &c.

Francis Numpar Camontius, being in bed with his two sons, was slain, with one of them: the other was strangely preferred, who after came to great honour and dignity.

Stephen Cevulais Prime, chief treasurer to the king in Poictiers, a very good man, and careful of the commonwealth, at a poor and good serving of 2000 crowns, was cruelly murdered by some cut-throats, whom Stephen Fargon Patandery (who guarded for his office) had sent for that purpose.

Magdalen Bifonzet, an excellent woman, and learned, the widow of Iermus, master of requitals to the king, flying out of the city, was to no good end, was taken, cruelly murdered, and cast into the river.

Two thousand were murdered in one day; and the fame liberty of killing and spoiling continued certain days after.

Peter Plaie was repeatedly flailed with daggars, and killed.

At Melcis two hundred were cast into prison, and being brought out as sheep to the slaughter, were cruelly murdered. There also were twenty-five women slain.

At Orleans, a thousand men, women, and children, were murdered.

The citizens of Augufobona, when they heard of the massacre at Paris, flit the gates of their town that no protestants might escape, and cast all that they persisted into prison, which afterward were brought forth and murdered.

At Avricum, in like manner, the suspected for religion were cast into prison, and afterwards murdered.

At the town of Charte, a troop of Lewes Gonzaga’s horsemens killed a few persons.

At Lyons were 800 most miserably and cruelly murdered; the children hanging at their fathers’ necks, and the fathers embracing their children, &c. Three hundred

To the CHRISTIAN READER.

Whereas that excellent man, both for learning and godliness, John Fox, of blessed memory, ended this worthy work with his short de
hundred were slain in the archbishop's house. The monks would not suffer their bodies to be buried.

At Romano 500 were murdered. At Tholosso 200 were murdered. At Roan 500 were put to death. At Lafta Thunus wrote thus; this example passed onto other cities, and from cities to towns and villages, so that it is by many published, that in all the kingdom above 30,000 were slain in these occasions, and a great many destroyed; although I think the number was somewhat less.

A little before this massacre, a man, nurse, and infant, carried to be baptized, were three murdered.

There was wonderful great joy in Rome at this massacre, and the populace, with his cardinals went in solemn procession to the church of St. Mark, to give thanks to God for this great benefit bestowed upon the see of Rome and the Christian world. And the Monday following there was solemn service in the church of Minerva, at which the pope and the cardinals were present. A jubilee was published, and in the evening the great ordnance was shot off in the castle of St. Angelo. The cardinal of Lorrain gave a thousand crowns to him that brought news of it.

Bricamotius, an old man of seventy years, and Cuvagnius, were laid upon hurdles and drawn to execution. And, as they were thus reviled and defiled with dirt cast upon them, they were hanged. Bricamotius might have been pardoned, if he would publicly confess, that the admiral had conspired against the king; which he refused to do.

Caffer, a city in the county of the Albingsens, held by the protestants being upon the king's great promises of their safety, delivered up into the hands of Cruceata a nobleman, was notwithstanding with murders and spoil cruelly walled.

At Bourdeaux, by the instigation of a monk, called Enimund Angersius, were 400 cruelly murdered, of whom 50 were senators. This monk continually provoked them in his sermons to this slaughter.

At Agendum in Main, a cruel slaughter of the protestants was committed by the instigation of Amarus, inquisitor of criminal causes. A rumour being spread abroad, that the protestants had taken a council could not invade and spoil the churches, above an hundred of every estate and sex were by the enraged people killed or drowned in the river Ionna, which runneth by the city; the houses of many were spoiled; the church without the city, where the protestants assembled, was pulled down from foundations, and covered with the ground, and their vines killed up by the roots.

The duke of Guille entered into Blois; which although he got without any fight, yet all fair liberty was permitted to the soldiery, houses were spoiled, many protestants which had remained were slain, those who fled were pursued, and of whom some were defiled, and more murdered. Amongst whom one matron of good birth, having escaped drowning in water, could not escape from the hand of the murderers. From thence he went to Mere, a town two leagues from Blois, where protestants had frequent assembly for many days together was spoiled, and many killed, and Callonibus, the pastor, was drowned in the next river.

At Anjou, Albion, the pastor, was murdered, certain women slain, and some defiled; amongst whom, two fathers were subdued in the sight of their father, who was himself well to behold that sight.

John Burgeles, president of Turin, an old man, being suspected to be a protestant, having bought with a great sum of money his life and safety, was not withstanding taken and beaten cruelly with clubs and flaves, and being stripped of his clothes, was thrown into the water of the river Ortop, and was hung by his feet upward, and held downward in the water up to his breast; then (the yet alive) they opened his belly, plucked out his guts, and threw them into the river, and taking his heart, put it upon a spear, carrying it with contumelious words about the city.

The town of Barre, being taken by the papists, all kind of cruelty was there used, children were eaten, and the guts of some of them and hearts pulled out which in rage they gnawed with their teeth, were in the cauldre, when they had yielded themselves the will of the conqueror, were almost all hanged. On Ralet spared not his own son, but fouled him in the same way.

When the city Maticson was taken, by corrupting the keepers of the keys, whom they had killed, great wealth was swayed; so that they counted it a sport to eat men's legs and arms.

They invaded gentlemen women to support, and walk with them, and having his soldiers about them to call some of his prisoners (of which he had many from the bridge into the river, and with that sight did satisfy the eyes of his guests; of whom he wanted none safe, whether they did ever see men leap better. At Albia of Calors, upon the Lord's day, the 8th December, the papists at the ringing of a bell opened the doors, where the protestants were assembled and killed without difference, some in the place, for as they were getting away, were here and there among whom was one Guacceri, a rich merchant, being drawn into his house, was with his dogs durned murdered, and his house spoiled. About five were in that tumult murdered, and their dead contumeliously used.

In a town called Penna, 300 (notwithstanding safety of their lives was promised them) were murdered in one house, which were newly come in the French king; who also killed certain women for foolishly saying, that they were Lutheran men, dicing their fire by their apparel.

The town of Nonnie being yielded to the papists, on condition that the foreign soldiers should depart with horse and armour, leaving their effects, the enemy's soldiers that were footmen should enter into the town, and that no harm should be done to townsmen; but that they might (if they would) go the cauldre; after the yielding of it, the gate was open, and first it came to murdering and spoiling, without any regard of the forest conditions, and women without difference were killed; then he founded with miserable mourning, blood flowing ways, and the lafitous soldiers' swords flowing in flames of fire, which they had cast upon the houses.

Many were cruelly killed, being thrown down from towers, among others an example of nativel filthiness and cruelty is reported: a certain man being drawn out of a private place, into which ran the rage of the soldiers the had fled with her husband was in his fight shamefully defiled: and then being mangled to draw a dwarf, not knowing to what he was forced; which order was given him, and to give husband a deadly wound, whereof he died; the fire not being content to defile her body, but also to her to defile her hand with the slaughter of her band.

At Somarbridge, in Picardy, in the time of above 100 protestants were murdered: and at Livedore, which the protestants having held in the last days had now yielded up, 150 were cruelly killed, and dead bodies were drawn, and cast partly into the sea, partly into the river.

Bords, a captain under the prince of Conde, rabellion, was contrary to promiscuous kill his naked body cast into the fire, that, being dead, the dogs might eat it.

The prince of Conde being taking prisoner, life promised him, was shot in the neck by M. de Marolles, captain of the dragoons of Anjou, great gun at which he was by Bords.

This was the end of Lewis, prince of Conde, of the king's blood, a man after honour of his birth, most honourable in county, virtue; who in valour, constancy, war, wisdom, piety, courtly, eloquence, and liberality, values excelled in him, honourable and great, even by the confinements of his enemies, sing him.
Robert Sutrt (a valiant Scotish gentleman) being in prison, was notwithstanding flabb'd with daggers, and killed.

In Oxford, two men and women being committed to a prison, were, by the furious people that rufled in, most bloody murdered.

Hitherto, out of the history of Jacobus Augustus Humannus (who is reputed to be a catholic), which ends in the year 839, wherein I have for thorns a false and nearly particular outrages and murders committed by that bloody Babylonian generation; from whose bloody lands, in mercy defend and preserve or harm any, but rather for the advancement of God's glory, and the good of many. I knew indeed that the emperor had given it out, but what then? I knew also that Christ in his gospel had, in a word, 'two or three faith, be gathered together in my name. Where two or three, there am I in the midst of them.' Thus you see I could not well obey the emperor, but I must disobey Christ. In this case then, I choose rather to obey my God, than man.

One of the magistrates demanded what they did when they met together. To which Baudicon, the eldest son, answered, If it pleases you, my masters, to give me leave, I will open the business at large unto you.

The sheriff seeing his promptness, looking one upon another, said, Well, let us hear it then. Baudicon lifting up his eyes to heaven, began thus: When we meet together in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to hear the word of God, we first of all prostrate upon our knees before God, and in the humility of our spirits do make a confession of our sins before his Divine Majesty. Then we pray that the word of God may be rightly divided and purely preached: we also pray for our sovereign lord the emperor, and for all his honourable counsellors, that the commonwealth may be peaceably governed to the glory of God; yea, we forget not you whom we acknowledge our superior; just and good! Where you, and for this whole city, that you may maintain it in all tranquillity. Thus I have exactly related unto you what we do: think you now, whether we have offended so highly in this matter of our assembling. Whilstit, the sheriff having promised, each of them made an open confession of the faith which they held. After this, being renewed again to prison, they not long after were put to the torture, to make them confess who they were that frequented their house, but they would discover none, unless such as were well known to the judges, or else were at that time absent. About four or five days after, they were convinced again, and put to prison, namely, the father and his two sons; and after many words paled, they asked them whether they would submit themselves to the will of the magistrates. Robert Oguijer, and Baudicon his son, with some deliberation said, Yea, we will.

Then demanding the name of Martin, the younger brother, he answered, That he would not submit himself thereto, but would accompany his mother; so he was sent back again to prison, whilist the father and the son were sentenced to be burnt alive to ashes. Now as they went to receive sentence, one of the judges sitting in his place, after sentence had been given, the same day you shall go to dwell with all the devils in hell-fire (which he spake as one transported with fury in beholding the great patience of these two servants of Christ); having received the sentence of death, they were returned to the prison from whence they came, being joyful that the Lord did them that honour to be enrolled in the number of his martyrs. They no sooner entered the prison, than a band of friars came thither: one among the rest told them, the hour was come in which they must finish their days. Robert Oguijer and his son answered, We know it well but believe the Lord and his God, who now delivering our bodies out of this vileness, will receive our souls into his glorious and heavenly kingdom.

One of the friars, whose name was Lazarus, endeavoured to turn them from their faith, saying, Father Robert, thou art an old man, let me instruct thee in this thy last hour to think of saving thee soul; and if thou wilt give ear unto me, I warrant thee thou shalt do well.

The old man answered, Poor man, how darest thou attribute that to thyself which belongs to the eternal God, and his ministers? Moreover, I have known for doctrines the commandments of men, and not of myself, or any of mine had been at masts, which joined by the commandment of men, Christ would told us, 'We had wronged him in vain.'

In the second accusation, I cannot nor will deny, there have met together in my house honest people alleging God; I allure you not with intention to wrong or

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A friar.
A friar, called the father of St. Clare, exhorted him to take pity of his soul which Christ hath redeemed: Thou wilt not, said Roberts, to pity mine own foul, dost thou not see what pity I have on it, when for the name of Christ I will suffer anything else than to be on fire, hoping to-day to be with him in paradise? I have put all my confidence in God, and my hope wholly is fixed upon the merits of Christ, his death and passion, he will direct me the right way to his kingdom; believe whatsoever the holy prophets and apostles have written, and in that faith will I live and die.

The friar hearing this, said, Out, dog, thou art not worthy the name of a christian; thou and thy son with thee are both resolved to damn your bodies and souls with all the perfidy and falsehood in the world.

As they were about to separate Baudicon from his father, he said, Let my father alone, and trouble him not thus; he is an old man, and hath an infirm body, hinder him not, I pray you, from receiving the crown of martyrdom.

Baudicon was then conveyed into a chamber apart, and there being stripped of his clothes, was fitted to be sacrificed; now at one brought him gunpowder to put to his breast, an odd fellow standing by, said, Wert thou my brother, I would sell all that I am worth to buy faggots to burn thee, thou findest but too much favour.

Then young Baudicon, Well, let the courtier of mine more mercy. Some that were present, saying, Good God, is it not a pitiful fight to behold these poor men? a doctor standing by, answered, And what pity would you have showed toward them? I would, indeed, of allowing them this powder, have them fried on gridirons, and crucified.

Whilst they spake thus to Baudicon, some of the friars cloathed in with the old man, persuading him at least to take a crucifix into his hands, left the people (said they) should murmur against you; adding further, that he might carry it all the next heart to God, because you know, said they, it is but a piece of wood, repaied that.

Thus they fastened it between his hands, but as soon as Baudicon was come down, and spied what they had done to his father, he said, Alas, father, what do you now, will you play the idoler even at our last hour? And then spitting the idol out of his hands which they had fastened therein, he threw it away, saying, What cause hast the people to be offended at us, for not receiving a Jesus Christ of wood? We bear upon our hearts the cross of Christ the Son of the ever-living God, feeling his holy word written therein in letters of blood.

As they were led to execution, a band of soldiers were attendant upon them, no less than if a prince had been conducted into his kingdom. Being come to the place where they were to suffer, they ascended up the scaffold which was there prepared for them. Then Baudicon asked leave of the friars to make a confession of his faith before the people. Anfwer was made, that he was to look unto his spiritual father and confessor: Confess yourself (said they) to him. He was then haled rudely to the stake, where he began to sing the 16th Psalm. The friar cried out, Do you not hear, my matters, what we cried thus far, and beguile the people with. Baudicon hearing what he said, and said them. Now, simple idors, called thou the psalms of the prophet David errors? But no wonder, for thus you are wont to blaspheme against the Spirit of God.

Then turning his eyes towards his father, who was about to be crucified, he said, Behold, he was a most good courage, father, the worst will be pait by me. By the executioner was fastening him to the post, he happened to hit him with his hammer on the foot, to make him stand nearer to the stake. The old man being enabled of the blow, said, Friend, thou hurtest my foot, why dost thou make so much noise? The friar hearing this, said, Ah, these heretics; they would be counted many for one foot; but if they be but touched a little, they cry out as though they were killed. To which Baudicon thus replied: Think you then that we fear the tormentors? No fear matter; for had we feared the same, we had never exposed our bodies to this shameful and fearful kind of death.

Then he often reiterated these short breaks, God, Father everlasting, accept the sacrifice of thy son, and the sacrifice of the holy Son Jesus Christ's faith. Out of the friars cried out, Heretic, thou liest; he is not my father, the devil is thy father. And thus of these confessions, he bent his eyes to heaven, and said to his father, said, Behold, I see the heavens open, millions of angels ready preft to receive us, to see us thus wrestling the truth in the very face of world. Father, let us be glad and rejoice, for the day of heaven are fet open to us.

Then said one of the friars, I see hell open, millions of devils prepared to carry you thither. But thus of these confessions, he bent his eyes to heaven, and put their truth and the light of heaven, and put the self same with their brightness, he was a man who food among the multitude, beheld spectacles, who being moved with compassion and aloud, Be of good comfort, Baudicon, stand thou thou right in a good quarrel, I am on thy side: and as he words he departed thence, and a way being for him, faved himself from despair.

Fire was forthwith put to the iraw wood and wood burnt beneath, whilft they (not shrinking from despair) spake one to another; Baudicon often repeating in his father's ears, 'Faint not, father, nor be afraid; you are a good time of the while, and we shall enter into the hands of the mansions.'

In the end, the fire growing hot upon them, last words they were heard to pronounce, were, Christ, thou Son of God, into thy hands we commend our spirits. And thus these two fleet forth; for which the world's on fire.

In eight days after, Jane the mother, and Maria the daughter, were executed in the same city. But before we come to describe their happy end, will, as briefly as we can, take notice of the very great conflicts of spirit which both of them endured.

There were sent unto them many of the populace, to turn them from their faith. Now that devilish enterprise might the better be effected, was separated the one from the other, by the politic art of a monk; the poor woman began to waver, and go her first faith. At that they enemies received a little, whilst the poor little flock of Christ, being fired news, were in continual perplexity, but the last them not in their mournful condition.

On a day one of the monks waited on her in prison, counselling her to win her son Martin, if possible, from the error in which he promised. But when he was come to his mother, and she said to him, that he was not only fallen, but also quite turned of the right way, he began with tears to begin miserable fleae.

O mother, said he, what have you done? Hath denied him who hath redeemed you? Alas, what hath he done you, that you should require him to great injury and dishonour? Now I am play into this woe, which I have most feared. Ah, God, that I should live to see this, which pierces to the very heart.

And hearing thefie his pitiful complaints, seeing the tears which her son fled for her, began to renew her strength in the Lord, and with tears out, O Father of mercies, be merciful unto me, miserable sinner, and cover my transgression under the term of thy blessed Son; Lord, enable my fervent tears to make me to find my first confession and make me to alledge faith in even unto the last breath.

It was not long before this change, that the instruments of Satan, who had induc'd her, ceased supposing to find her in the same mind with her son, who had been taught to believe that con- fession. Away, Satan; get thee behind me: for forth thou shalt neither part nor portion in me, by the help of God, stand to my first confession, if I may not sign it with ink, I will feel it as
And so, from that time, this frail vessel, who had so lately reduced, after her recovery, grew stronger and stronger.

The judges, seeing their confoutory, delayed not to fetch them at once, on the spur of the moment, compelling them to be made alive, and their bodies being reduced to ashes, was no more than a vapour.

And the son having heard their lamentation, they went on to be scattered and dispersed in the air. The way as they were going back again to prison, was now lined with grief, and the son that was left, the son of God, bearing his reproach, with his holy martyr, for so shall we find paffage into glorious heaven.

The sight of that holy mother, go on boldly out of the prison, to the Son of God, bearing his reproach, with his holy martyr; for so shall we find passage into glorious heaven, the everlasting God.

Of the company hearing, but not being able to ask the very words, said, We see thee, thou heretic, that thou art wholly perverted, body and soul, with a devil; that thou art thyself, and thy brother, who are both hell.

Martin said, Sirs, as for your railings and ings, our God will this day turn them into blessings, for the light of his face shall enter into your hearts.

Then tenorizer said to Martin, Thou sly fellow, thou knowest not what; thou art too utterly indited, of thyself, and of thy tongue. Seest not all these people here about thee? what thinkest thou of them? They believe not as thou doest, and yet they shall be saved, and thou be damned, which will come never to pass, thou knowest, and have no power for you.

The good woman hearing this, answered, Sir, Christ is our Lord, and it be he, that is the wise gate and broad way, and the gate is a narrow path, and the broad path is a narrow path.

That is not to be done; for he is the gate of heaven, and narrow is the way.

Are we not bound to our priests, who are our pastors, in whose name we have been baptized? the Old and New Testament are in their hands; they are the civil government of this world, and are the civil government of this world, and have no power for you.

And as he was speaking to the people, they said, Speak, Martin, that it may enter to all that we do not die heretics. Martin would not have a confession of his faith, but could not be coerced.

His mother being bound to the stake, faked the hearing of the speclators, We are Christians; and which we now suffer, is not for murder nor theft, because we will believe no more than that which God teacheth us: both rejoicing that they were bound for the sake of Christ.

The fire being kindled, the vehemency thereof being so great that the zeal of their zeal, but continued constant in the faith, and with lifting their hands to heaven, in an holy accord said, Lord, into thy hand we commend our spirits. And they believedly slept in the Lord.

RELATION of the MASSACRE at VASSY, in FRANCE.

The duke of Guise being arrived at Joinville, asked some, but was familiar with, whether the son of God, bearing his reproach, with his holy martyr, for so shall we find passage into glorious heaven, the everlasting God.

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And as he was speaking to the people, they said, Speak, Martin, that it may enter to all that we do not die heretics. Martin would not have a confession of his faith, but could not be coerced.

His mother being bound to the stake, faked the hearing of the speclators, We are Christians; and which we now suffer, is not for murder nor theft, because we will believe no more than that which God teacheth us: both rejoicing that they were bound for the sake of Christ.

The fire being kindled, the vehemency thereof being so great that the zeal of their zeal, but continued constant in the faith, and with lifting their hands to heaven, in an holy accord said, Lord, into thy hand we commend our spirits. And they believedly slept in the Lord.

RELATION of the MASSACRE at VASSY, in FRANCE.
the company went on foot, going directly thither. 

This marched foremost of this rabble, was La Broffle, and on the side of these marched the horsemen, after whom followed the duke with another company of his own followers, likewise those of the cardinal of Guife, his brother.

By this time, Mr. Leonard Morel, the minister, after the first prayer ended, and having given his sermon before his audience, which might amount to about 1200 persons, consisting of men, women, and children; the horsemen first approaching to the barn within about twenty-five paces, shot off two harquebusses right upon those whom the murderers were coming to the window. The people within perceiving that, endeavoured to shut the door, but were prevented by the ruffians rushing in upon them, who drawing their swords, furiously cried out, Death of God, kill, kill these Hugonots.

The first they seized on was a poor crier of wine, that stood next the door, asking him if he were not a Hugone; and in whom he believed. Having answered, that he believed in Jesus Christ, they smote him twice with a sword, which fell him to the ground. Having got up again, thinking to recover himself; they struck him the third time, and they immediately discharged wounds, he fell down, and died instantly. Two other men, at the same time, were slain at the entry of the said door, as they were prying out to escape.

Then did the duke of Guife, with his company, violently enter in among them, striking the poor people down with swords, daggers, and cutlassses, not sparing any age or sex; besides, they within were so astonished, that they knew not which way to turn them, but running hitter and thither, fell one upon another, flying as poor sheep before a company of ravenging wolves entering in among the flock.

Some of the murderers threw off their pieces against them that were in the galleries; others cut in pieces such as they lighted upon; some had their heads cleat in rwan, their arms and hands cut off; so that many of them gave up the ghost even in the place. The walls and galleries of the said place were dyed with the blood of those who were every where murdered: yet, it was the fury of the murderers, that part of the people within were forced to break open the roof of the house, in hopes they might live themselves upon the top thereof.

Being got together, and then fearing to fall again into the hands of these cruel tyrants, some of them leaped over the walls of the city, which were very high, flying into the woods and amongst the vines, which with most expedition they could soonest attain unto; some hurt in their arms, others in their heads, and other parts of their bodies. The duke gave himself to the house, like them with their swords in his hand, charging his men to kill especially the young men. Only, in the end, women with child were spared. And pursuing those who went upon the house tops, they cried, Come down, ye dogs, come down, using many cruel threatening speeches to them.

The duke tied the women with child escaped, was, as the report went, for the duchesse's sake, his wife, who, palling along by the walls of the city, and hearing the hideous outcry amongst those poor creatures with the noise of the pieces and pistols continually discharging, fent in all haste to the duke, her husband, with much intreaties to cease his perfecutions for frighten women with child.

During this slaughter, the cardinal of Guife remained before the church of the said city of Vaffy, leaning upon the walls of the church-yard, looking towards the place where the poor were being butchered, killing and slaying whom they could. Many of this assembly being thus hot pursed, did in the first brunt five themselves upon the roof of the house, not being diermed by those who fled without: but at length, some of this blood crept and made their way to the laid up, like them with long pieces, whereby many of them were hurt and slain. The household servants of Deffalès, prior of Vaffy, shooting at the people on the roof, caused them to fall down like pigeons; and of that wretched company was not allowed to be left; after the massacre was ended, that he for his sake was caused six at last to tumble down in that pitiful game, saying, that if others had done the like, not many of them would have singly hazard'd their lives in order to get up.

The slaughter, in the beginning of the massacre ceased not to preach, till one discharged his gun against the pulpit where he stood, after which, falling down upon his knees, he intreated the Lord not to have mercy upon himself, but also upon his people. In the meantime, as he was praying, he in his gown behind him, thinking thereby to keep his self unknown; but whilst he approached towards the door, in his fear he tumbled upon a dead body, who received a blow with a sword upon his right forecast. Getting up again, and then thinking to go forth, he was immediately laid hold of, and grievously hurt on the head with a sword, whereupon being laid to the ground, and feeling himself mortally wounded, he cried, Lord, into thy hands I commend my soul; for thou hast redeemed me, thou God of truth.

While he thus prayed, one of this bloody crew came up to him, and with a sword, and he received God his sword broke in the hill to let you understand by what means he was delivered from so terrible a death: two gentlemen taking knowledge of him, said, He is the minister, let him be conveyed to my lord duke. These leading him away began to question him, whether the man was a monk, friar, or any other from any monastery, from whence the duke, and the cardinal brother, coming forth, said, Come hither; and said, him, saying, Art thou the minister of this place? We made thee so bold to seduce this people thus? said the minister, I am no feeder, for I have preach to the people of Jesus Christ, receiv'd this blood which hath conformed this cruel outrage begun to curse and swear, saying, Death of God, of the gospel preach feitition. Provost, go, and his gibbet be set up, and hang this fellow.

At which words the duke the sword delivered into his hands of two pages, who misufed him vilely. In women of the city, being ignorant people, called dirt to throw in his face, and with extended outward, said, Kill him, kill this varlet, who hath been a cause of the death of so many. Much ado there was to hold off the women from being revenged upon a poor civilian.

Whilst the pages had him thus in their hands, the duke went into the barn, to whom they pretend a great Bible, which they used for the service of God. The duke taking it into his hands, calling his book the cardinal's, said, Lord, let me see this idolatrous book if you view it, said, There is nothing but good in this book, for it is the Bible, to use the holy scriptures. The duke being offended, that his brother feared not to his humour, grew into a great rage than before, saying, Blood of God, how not What is the holy scripture. It is one thousand four hundred years ago since Jesus Christ suffered his death and passion, and it is but a year since these books were imprimit. how then say you that this is the good book. By the death of God, you say you know not what. This unbridled fury of the duke displeased the cardinal, so that he was heard secretly to mutter, An unanswerable. This massacre continued a full hour, the duke trumpeters sounding the while two several times. When any of these defied to have mercy the reason for the love of Jesus Christ, the murderer said unto them, Where is the king of Christ? where is your Christ now? and when they said God, they blasphemed would say, Lord devil. There died in this massacre, within a few days, for or three fourths perils; besides these, there were two hundred and fifty, and in a great number of them, the flesh was cut off, whereas some died, eating a leg, another an arm, another an eye. The poor box, which was fastened to the door of the church with two iron hooks, was wrested through.
nigh thereunto. This Rene, falling to the queen of Navarre's private orders, found the way how to posi-
tion her therewith, although she had thought otherwise. But the said Rene was heard afterwards to make his 
brace, that he had the like in three or two or three
more, who suspected no such matter.
On Wednesday, June the 4th, the queen fell sick of a 
continual fever; she kept her bed; whereupon, as it was given out, from her incessant grief, with which, by 
long continuance brought on an impotence; she being also dittobed with the heat of the fev and her ex-
traordinary long journeys. This banishing fever grew fo 
strong upon her, that even five days after she died, to 
great grief of the better for, but the joy of the secre-
t council.
The malady indeed was in her brain, which was not 
searched in which the queen-mother had an 
hand, though she feared much for the affliction of her 
good friend. Now it came to pass that she could, what more 
the queen mother sent her, was the good father of God that 
which he had appointed concerning her; and that she 
and her child requested the might have such honor of her, as might 
comfort her in this case out of the word of God, as also to 
pray with her and for her, according to that which St. 
James in the holy Gospel to the sick among you, let him call for 
the elders of the church, and let him pray over such a 
one, knowing that the fervent prayers of a righteous man 
avail much with God.

This, according to her desire, a minister returning 
unto her from out of the scriptures, that chrishians ought in 
firm faith to confide in their God to obtain from God, the 
will of God as to the Father of spirits, that they might 
live. And although the rigour of his discomforts doth some-
times seem to our flesh, as if we were sent for no 
other end but our ruin and destruction; yet ought we to 
consider that, because he is just, he can do nothing but 
justly: and as a better to bend the will, but not therein 
seek the welfare of his afflicted children.

To which she replied, I take all this as sent from 
the hand of God, my most merciful Father; nor have I, 
during this extremity, feared to die, much less murn-
med against him for inflicting the same upon me; knowing, that whatsoever he doeth is as all in the end shall turn to my everlasting good.

The minister continuing in his speech, added, That 
the cause of sickness and diseases must be sought beyond 
the course of physics, which always looks to the corrup-
tion of the body, and of its various dispositions, plebe parts of 
the body any way dittobed: for, having foreseen it was not 
amiss to have respect to these things, as to second causes, 
ethe soul to such higher, namely, to the first, even 
too God himself, who dispitches of all his creatures as it 
suiteth him. He it is that makes the wrong and 
righteous, that kills and makes alive; and therefore to him 
we ought to direct our prayers for comfort in all our griefs 
and sufferings, and in the end for full deliverance; 
seeing it is no hard matter with him to restore health unto 
us, if his good pleasure be such.

To this answer, She declared, That she deplored wholly upon 
God's providence, knowing, that all things are wide 
dispersed by him, and therefore besought him to furnish 
her with all such graces as he saw to be necessary for her 
salvation. As for this life, said she, I am in a manner 
weaned from the love of it, in regard to the afflictions 
which have befallen me, my youth hitherto, but 
especially because I cannot live without daily of-
fending my good God, with whom I defile to be with 
all my heart.

The minister told her, that long life, how full of 
troubles for her, there was notwithstanding the day in etern-
among the blessings of God, seeing its inestimable 
spares so much; and not only so, but because life our 
may many ways serve to his glory, and is both an honour 
and a pledge of his favour, even as it is to them whom 
he prince employs long in his service, having had expe-
rience of his fidelity for many years together. In which 
respect
respect she was earnestly requested to pray. That if it
were the will of God to employ her yet longer in his
service, for the further enlargement of his gospel, that
he would grant unto her such recovery of health, and
good condition of body, that while she was yet in
the prime of life she might be encouraged to finish her
course much more nobly than heretofore.
Whereupon she protested, that in regard of her own
particular, her life was not dear unto her, seeing so long
as she lived in this frail flesh, she was still prone and apt
to sin against God: only her heart was fully for her
children (which God had given her), in respect they
should soon be deprived of her now in their young
years; yet not doubting (though it should please God
take me from them) but that God himself will be a
father and protector over them, as he hath been to me
in my greenest afflictions; and therefore I commit them
wholly to his government and fatherly care. These were
her very words.

The minister blessed God to find her majesty in this
affiance of faith; advising her to make choice of such,
who, for their sincerity both in life and doctrine, might
continue to water in the young plant and keep the seeds
of piety, which had been sown in them by her indefatigable
work and industrious, telling her, that it was to be
hoped, that the example of her faith and constancy in
the service of God, which she had left before them, would
serve as a perpetual inducement to invite her to nobler
virtues.

She again declared, That death was not terrible unto
her, because it was the way by which we pass hence to
our eternal rest. Upon this expression the minister told
her, That christians had little cause to fear death, in
regard, that should not diminish God's glory, according to Christ's
words in the gospel of St. John, "He that liveth and
believeth in me, shall never die." For death (to speak
properly) is no death to them, but a sleep, being often
called in the scriptures; and therefore Christ for their
fakes hath overcometh and triumphed over it in his own
person, how truly, no man can but exclaim. O death,
where is thy sting? O grave where is thy victory?"

She was often admonished by him to make conciliation
of her sins before God, shewing That bodily diseases
tended to the dilution of nature, and that death was the
result of sin, declining therefore put the advantage of this
her chastisement she might discern what she had defied, if
God should now enter into judgment with her, not only
in regard of all the sin of her life parents, in which guilt
the was envolved, as well as others, but also by her own
personal sins, seeing the bell of men or women in the
world is in truth bell, but poor, miserable, and unworthy
offenders; yea, If the Lord should punish us according to
our demerits, we could expect nothing at his hands
but eternal death and condemnation.

At these words the began, with her hands and eyes
lifted up to heaven, to acknowledge that her sins which she
had committed against the Lord were innumera-
ble; but yet she hoped that God for Christ's sake, in
whom she put her whole trust, would be merciful unto
her.

The minister, fearing his long discourse might be too
tedious for her, especially because the physician
might be present, did his best peace; but her
majesty earnestly requested him not to forbear speaking
her about these matters of life and eternal salvation:
adding, that she now felt the want of it, in regard
that since her coming to Paris, she had been somewhat
recent, and that the absence of the presence of God and
therefore I am now the more glad (said she)
to receive comfort out of it in this my so great
carceration.

The minister then endeavoured to fet before her the
happiness of heaven, and what joys are those which are the
faithful here posses: and the pleasure of God to to be
seen when the scriptures intend to discover unto us, they
only tell us, that "The eye hath not seen, nor hath the
ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man
to conceive what those things are, which God hath
prepared for them that love him." To which pur-
pose he used this similitude, That if a king, instead
greatly to honour some noble personage, but present
him to his court, and there flew him his lard and
dance, his treasurers, with all his most precious posses:
and here therefore, that the Lord one day reveal all
his elect and faithful people into the most magnificent
and glory, with all the treasurers of his kingdom,
lhath gathered them here to himself, admirably
dorning them with light, incorruption, and

The happiness therefore being so great, she replied,
ought to be the least careful about the delights of this
transitory life, seeing that for an earthly king, which
she was now to forego, the should inherit as
very; and for temporal good things, which vanish
completely in the wind, the should for ever
thee, which were eternal and permanent: for he that
being now firmly settled upon our Lord Jesus
the might be suffered to obtain everlasting felicity
him. On which words she took occasion to direct
speech more particularly unto her, saying,
Madam, do you verily believe that Jesus Christ is
the world to come for thee, and expect and desire
forgiveness of all your sins, by the shedding of
blood for you?

To which she readily answered, the did; besides
that he was her only Saviour and Mediator, looking
facing, and pleasing his father and others, that he hath
only and solely satisfied for the sins of the whole world;
and therefore was assured that God for his sake, acco
to his gracious promises in him, would make no
her.

Thus you have in part the godly speeches it
passed from the religious lady in the beginning of
nicksness; which was within the space of this
days.

In the end, feeling her strength to decay more,
more, she gave order to have her last will and testa
made, wherein she above all wished, that her poor
might be delivered from sin and misery, and that she
be exhorting them confoundly to continue in the grace
of the gospel, in which they had been trained up
their youth; ordaining especially that her daughter,
princes, should be educated and instructed in the
the four ladies which she had appointed, and
with her out of her pear; and that while she was
being come to age, her define was that she might
married in marriage to some prince by the
by the council and advice of the cardinal of Lie
and Gasper, count of Colligny, admiral of
whom the made executors and overseers of her
testament.

This good queen departed this life, to take part
of a fair better, June 9. 1572, swiftly yielding her
spirit into the hands of God, the sixth day after
her, and in the 44th year of her age.

After the death of the queen, certain princes were
bidden by the king to give their attendance at Paris
festooning the marriage of the prince of
(now made king by the death of his mother), acted
the ceremonies which were thereunto appertained.
Amidst the rest, letters were directed to the
himself to come to French monarch, and the
king to come in person; and also not long after him,
that he was not afraid of the fury of the Par
nor of their threats, which they had formerly
him against him: for he was not ignorant of the dea
they bore him, and therefore wrote unto all
princes of France, saying that if the said
had not wrong offered him by the citizens, either
entrance, or continuance in the city.

The queen-mother and the duke of Anjou were
the mayor also, and likewise to the rest of the ad
trates, to the same effect, but especially
valued, by giving them great zeal in doing that
device. To be short, they endeavoured to all
iments out of his way, that he might
life and misfortune fell into the same.

The admiral, nor fearing any peril, refuted on
journey to Paris. Although he
The TREACHERY of the PAPISTS against the FRENCH ADMIRAL.

The marriage of the king of Navarre with the king's sister, being solemnized on the 17th and 8th of August, 1620, and all the trappings and feasts accompanying that great ceremony, the admiral determined to take means to be present at court, and to return homewards, the deixis of the reformed churches brought them their relics, to present them to the king, in and of many yans the said churches had fulfilled, therefore they lodged in the house of the adjoining church, he was to pass the night with his horse-keeper, watching secretly the admiral's coming.

The admiral, on his going forth out of the Louvre, going the king coming out of a chapel which is before fame, falling thence to play at tennis, he fiercely seize a hundred paces from the place, but as he re-join to his lodging on foot to dine there, attended by the fifteen gentlemen, reading a petition; out of the window of a lodging (where Wilmur, tutor of the said of Guise, usually lay) he was fain with his harquebuss, charged with three brauts bullets, one of which off the fore-finger of his right hand, and he was with another in his left arm. Feeling himself thus aided, he asked some of hi fellows to enter that night to inform the king of that, according as it was on work to do it; and then to inform the thence, giving him understanding how well his information was observed.

and whilst they were busy to force open the door, the king, being come out by a back way, esaping thence the gate of St. Anthony, where one attended him, being a Spanish gendarm, brought out of the duke of life's stable, where he galloped away, yet not without some difficulty: for flying thus in some fear, he fell into the horse twice or three.

The first seeing the admiral hurt, came to support his left arm, bending into to the thence with his hand. And thus he was conducted to his lodging, which was distant from thence about twenty paces. In passing, a gentleman said, It was to be feared the bulle was poisoned: to which the admiral replied, All of it as it pleased God. The king hearing of the admiral's hurt, left his game, and playing till then with the duke of Guise, throwing away his racket as it feamed in an anger, he and his mother went to work to himself: the duke of Guise followed him within a while after.

The king of Navarre, the prince of Conde, with his other of their religion, having notice of the admiral's troubles to the king of this attempt and instantly acci- dent, it appearing that they might have leave to depart out of the city, seeing they could expect little safety there. The great lamentations to them of the mischance that had happened, swearing and protesting that he would execute such impartial justice upon the offender, and on all the complotters, as should give the admiral and all his friends content; only he wished them to stay, promising them ere long to provide for their security.

The French admiral, being curiously kept for, amongst whom was Ambroise Pare, the king charged at a man very expert. He began first with the admiral's finger, which put him to much pain, because the scissors were not sharp enough to cut it off at once; besides he was obliged to stop and open the wound thrice; then he began on the left arm, making incisions from the middle of the arm to the elbow, into which the bullet had pierced. The admiral endured all this with an undaunted countenance, and wonderful patience; whilst huge which bloody and few had to mangle, could not refrain from tears. Captain Monis held him with both his arms about the middle, and Corraux his hands. He feigned the every trouble, My friends, said he, why weep you? I think myself happy to be thus handled in the caufe of God. And now calling his eyes upon a minisfer, called Merlin, he said, Here you see, my friend, God's blessings, I am hurt indeed; but know it is come to pass by the will of our heavenly Father, humbly thanking his Majesty in that he is pleased to honour me so far, as to suffer any thing for his holy name. Let us pray unto him, that he would grant unto me the gift of forbearance.

Then looking to another minisfer, who wept over him; Oh, master Merlin, said he, will you not comfort me? Yes, sir, said he, for wherein you may take greater comfort, than in calling to mind how greatly God hath always honoured you, in outgiving you worthy to fuller reproach for his name's sake, and true religion? The admiral replied, Alas! if God should deal with me according to my deserts, he might have put me to worse torments than these. But blest be his holy name, in that he is pleased to take pity on me his poor and unworthy servant. Be of good cheer then, sir, said another unto him; for seeing God hath spared your more noble and admirable minisfer, may not he magnify his goodness. In these wounds you have received from God a testimony of his love, rather than of his displeasure, seeing he hath preferred your head and understanding safe.

Then said Merlin, Sir, do you well in turning your thoughts away from him who hath committed you rage upon you, in looking only unto God; for no doubt it is his hand that hath smitten you: therefore for the present, cease to think of the malefactor. I assure you, said the admiral, I do freely forgive him, from the bottom of my heart, and tho' those all that are his abettors be being fully performed, yet far from me to think that I have done me the least hurt, no, though with violent hands they had put me to death. For what is death itself to God's children, but an assured pledge to an eternal rest and life.

The king of Navarre and the prince of Conde having bitterly bewailed this outrage committed upon the admiral (as you heard before), about two o'clock in the afternoon, the king, accompanied with the queen-mother, his brother, and other of the lords, went to visit the admiral.

The king, with tears seems to be exceeding sorry for that which was come to pass, promising him, with one blaphemous oath upon another, to revenge the fact, no less than if it had been committed upon his own person: praying him to come and take up his lodging with him, in the Louvre, for his greater security and safety. Whereupon, the king, coming to the palace, and coming to the king in secret, gave him most humble thanks for so great a favour, as to visit him in his own person.

Upon the motion made by the king, Maxilles, his chief physician, was called, demanding of him, whether the admiral might safely be removed thence into the Louvre, or no? His answer to the king was, That it could not be done without danger. Some of the admiral's friends thought it fitting to request a guard of fulliers, to be affixed by the king unto him for his better security. The king answered, he liked well that advice, being fully determined to provide for the admiral's safety as his own, and
and would preserve him no less than the apple of his eye. After the king called for the bullet of brains, wherewith the admiral was hurt, that he might see it, asking whether he was not put to great pain when his finger was cut off, as likewise touching the dressing of his arm, now as Corneille, or rather Comte, has it, he fainted and fell bloody (because he was appointed to hold the admiral’s arm, while it was in dressing), the king asked if that were of the admiral’s blood? And whether so much blood flowed out of his wounds? Adding (after Corneille’s account), he never saw men in his life more peaceable, confiably and magnanimity of spirit than the admiral did.

Then was the queen-mother deftire to see the bullet, saying, I am glad the bullet is taken out. For I remember when I was a child, and with the Guillemins mentioned by the physician told me, that if the bullet was gotten out, there was no danger of death, though it were poisonéd.

Then Corneille answered, We have foreseen that, madam; for being careful to prevent that danger, the admiral had a medicine given him to expel the poison, if peradventure any such thing should be.

The Saturday before the admiral was slain, he began to be somewhat cheer’d, so that the surgeons and physicians gave out, they would warrant the admiral’s life: because his arm, having lost but little of it’s strength, would soon be healed. This is not an uncommon sight to a king, who seemed to entertain the same joyfully. The new-married wife came alfo to visit the admiral. But all this was but a lightening before death. For that night, there was heard a great clattering of armour in the city, and many torches lighted everywhere, borne by many of the people. Some gentlemen, whose lodgings were nigh to the admiral’s, rose, and went out, asking some of their acquaintance the reason why there were so many up in arms at that hour of the night: they answered, that the king must be deft to see a cable affrighted and defending himself, which is in fayre to give him content. They passing yet further, came to the Louvre, where they likewise saw many torches lighted, and troops of armed men.

The guard there could no longer contain themselves, but began to pick a quarrel with them; and as one of the said gentlemen was about to speake, a Gascon foilder struck him with a parizan, and then they fell upon the rett. The noise thereof spreading, the queen-mother said, Seeing it is not possible to retain the fury of the followers any longer from breaking out, let the bell of the church of St. Germain be tolled; which was the signe to begin the massacre.

The admiral coming to the knowledge of this uproar (though he had but few of his followers about him) was not much moved therat; trundling (as he often used to say) at the foot of the king, but large and large experience. Also he knew that when the Parliains should understand how much the king disliked their folly, though they had an intention of doing him some mischief, yet would they be quieted as soon as they saw Coeffins and his guard.

This Coëffins was appointed by the duke of Anjou to defend the admiral’s lodgings, wherein the old proverb was verified, That the wolf was fat to keep the sheep.

About break of day, August the 24th, 1572, being St. Bartholomew’s day, they began to knock at the door where the admiral lay. La Bonne, who lay not far from him, having the keys, perceiving there were none who came on a meagre from the king to the admiral, came down quickly and opened the door; presently Coëffins fell upon him and stabbed him with his dagger, so that he died. Then with his harquebutters rushing into the house, killing such as they met, others fled. Corneille awaking with the noise that he heard at the door (for he lay in the next chamber), ran thither, calling the Swiss of the guard to follow him; Coëffins hearing that, cried to him to open it in the king’s name, and he so handled the matter, that with the help he had, he forced the door open, and after gained the stairs. The admiral and those that were with him, taking notice how they shot off pistols and guns, finding themselves in-

closed in their enemy’s hands, fell to pray, begging of God pardon of God for their sins.

The admiral riling out of his bed, and putting on his night-gown, commanded Merlin, the minister, and the chamberlain, to go immediately and inform his Lordship of the King and Saviour, commanded his hands. He that testified these things, and made this report, came into the chamber, and being asked what the admiral that tumult meant; Sir, faith he, his Majesty is now summoning us to look at the body. The body, for all that, could be the ill deed, gaining a long since expected death: five yourselves is credible, for you cannot secure me; I commend my soul into the hands of the merciful God. Those who you pretend and escape, have affirmed, that the admiral was not slain; but still alive. The said men, so they were beneath in the next room to the admiral, and slain, others miraculously escaped. In the meantime Coëffins having made his way, caused certain pages of the duke of Anjou’s guard to enter the house.

Then Befine, Coëffins, and Sarlabour, with their swords, one hand, and their naked swords in the other, he open the admiral’s chamber-door, and Befine (who afterwards stung himself) by one Bertouville upon which after he had escaped out of prison) coming toward the admiral, did not take any further notice, but said thus, Art not thou the admiral? I am the man, with an undaunted courage, as the murther afterwards confessed. Then behold the naked one. Young man, said the admiral, thou oughtest fowre to respect my years, and my infirmity of body, and art not thou that canst shorten my days. Before freely thrust the admiral into the body with his foot and then smote him therewith on the head; the rest every one a blow at him; so that he presently fell to wounded to death.

Whilst this mischiefe was acting, the duke of Guise was being below in the bafe court, with other Rikomaholic lords, cried to the murderer above, Befine, hou done? It is done, faith he. Then the duke and Monfieur, our knight, (meaning king Henry’s brother) will not know what befalts he see it with his eyes; though it bloweth out of the window.

Then Befine and Sarlabour, lifting up the body, the admiral, cast him down upon them, where he naked on the ground, exposed to all sort of from a mocks of the multitude, some trampling upon him, his two knee was broken, and the head of the admiral on his head, had so covered his face in blood influing thence, that his visage could not be cerned, the duke of Guise flopping down took his kercchef, and wiping his face therewith, said, It is known you, well enough; and giving this poor dead be a pfun on the head with his foot (whom all the mer derers in France feared whilst he lived), he put thence, encouraging his followers, saying We have got a good beginning now let us go on to the ret, for the king hath to command, the king hath to command repeate it an other time.

An Italian of the duke of Nevers’ guard cut off the admiral’s head, and brought it to the king and queen mother: which being embalmed, was sent to Rome to the pope, and to the cardinal of Lorraine, where at that time. The common people on the next day, off his hands and privy members, and then in a woful plight being dragged up and down three times the channels throughout the streets, he was at last carried out of the city to a gibbet in mount Faublas under the cross. The bodies of the said some men being some time cold, were being disfigured, going together in the night to the gibbet, took down the body of the admiral; who they inerced in so secret a manner, that the police could never find it out, and it remains hitherto so that they were obliged to make a body of five
The CRUEL MASSACRE of the LORD DE LA PLACE.

above ten thousand, counting lords, gentlemen, prelates, counsellors, advocates, lawyers, scholars, physicians, merchants, fathers of nature, young men, young children. The streets were covered with dead bodies, the river was dyed with blood, the gates and entrance into the king's palace painted with the same colour: but the blood-thirsty were not yet satisfied; for they still continued to go from house to house with their associates, where they thought to find any more bodies, they broke open the doors, then cruelly murdered whomsoever they met, sparing neither sex nor age. Carts were laden with dead bodies of young maidens, women, men, and children, which were discharged into the river, it being covered with manure, and dyed, and dyed with their blood, which also streamed down the streets from funery parts thereof, whereat the courtiers laughed their fill, saying, that the wars were now ended, and that hereafter they should live in peace, &c.

An ACCOUNT of MONSIEUR PIERRE DE LA PLACE.

Monsieur Pierre de la Place was president of the court of requests, whose story we will relate somewhat at large, because his singular piety requires it. On Sunday morning, about six o'clock, one captain Michael, harquebusier to the king, came into his lodging, into which he had easy access, for divers private reasons.

The captain, being armed, presented himself before the said De la Place: the first words he said were, that the duke of Guise had slain the admiral by the king's appointment, with many Huguenots besides: and because the rest of them, of what quality soever, were destined to death in a manner all over with the town, and dyed with their blood, which also streamed down the streets from funery parts thereof, whereat the courtiers laughed their fill, saying, that the wars were now ended, and that hereafter they should live in peace, &c.

This was the captain, blabbering, answered, that he wished him to go with him to know the king's pleasure. The lord De la Place hearing this, fearing also some danger to himself, went to the city, and gaped forth at a back door; and his lodging being too small for him, he got into a neighbour's house. In the mean while, most of his servants vanished out of sight; and this captain, havingfored himself with a thousand crowns, was entertained by the lady Marchet, daughter to the said lord, tech, her with her father, the lord Marchet, her husband, into the house of some Roman catholic; which he confounded to do, and also performed it.

After this, De la Place, being refused at several houses, was constrained to retire back again into his own, where he found his wife very penitent, and grieved beyond measure, fearing left this captain in the end should call her fon-in-law and daughter into the river and all for the imminent danger wherein her dear husband and all his family were.

But the lord De la Place, being strengthened by the Spirit of God, with incredible constancy sharply rebuked her; and afterwards smiled on her, that we must receive these and the like afflictions from the hand of God; and so having disburdened a while on the promises of God, comforted her.

Then he commanded all his servants that were in the house to be sent for; and being come into his chamber, according to his custom every Sunday day, he made a form of exhortation to his family; then went to prayer, and began to read a chapter out of the book of Job, with the exposition, or sermon, of Mr. John Calvin upon it. So having spoken somewhat of God's goodness, and mercy, and goodness, and love father, uthex to exercise his elect with familiar chastisements, left they should be intangled here below with the things of this world he shewed how needful

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affiliations were for christians, and that it was beyond the power of Satan, or men, to hurt or wrong them, unless the Lord of his good pleasure gave them leave. What need have we then, said he, to dread their authority, which at the most can but prevail over our bodies? Then he went to prayer again, preparing himself to feel and his whole family to move with a sense of terror and fear of God, that he might speak or do any thing that might tend to the dishonour of God.

Having finished his prayer, word was brought him, that Seneca, the provost martial, with many archers, were at the door of his lodgings, commanding the same to be opened, in the name of the king, that he came to secure the person of the lord De la Place, and to preserve his house from being pillaged by the common rabble. The lord De la Place having intelligence of this speech, commanded the door to be opened to him, who entering in, declared the great slaughter that was made upon the Huguenot everywhere in the city by the king's command; adding this withal in Latin, that he would not suffer one to live, Qui mingat ad Paries. Yet have I express charge from his majesty, faith he, that to see you shall futiain no wrong, but only conduct you to the Lord, because the king is divinely pleased in doing many things about the affairs of those of the religion, which he hath now in hand, and therefore willed him to make himself ready to go to his majesty. The lord De la Place answered, that it had always been his greatest will, and nothing could render him happier, than to go to God by his duty by which he might give an account to his majesty of his behaviour and conversation.

But in regard that such horrible misadventures were everywhere committed, it was impossible for him to pass to the Louvre, without the certain danger of his person; but prayed him to assist his majesty of his own free will to come, meanwhile leaving in his lodgings as many archers as he thought fitting, until the fury of the people was somewhat pacified. The provost agreed to this request, and left with him one of his lieutenants, called Toue Voye, with four of his archers.

Next day, in the morning, the king's lodging, president Chartron, then provost of the merchants, with whom conferring a little in secret, going his way, he left with the four archers who were there before, four more of the city archers. The whole night following was spent in the boiling up, and fortifying of all places, but spending it quietly at home, without stopping up the windows; so that it seemed by this so exact and diligent a defence, that the archers were left in the house to free the said De la Place, and all his family, from the common calamity; till Seneca returning the next day, after two o'clock in the afternoon, declared that he had caused charge to be given to the king to bring him to his majesty without delay. He replied before, that it was dangerous as yet to pass through the city, in regard that even the fame morning there was an howling pillaged next to his.

Seneca on the contrary informed, saying, It was the common fear of these Huguenots, to protest that they were the king's most loyal and obedient subjects and servants; but when they were to manifest their obedience to his command, then they came off but slowly, feeming rather to abhor and detest it. And whereas he pretended danger, Seneca answered, that he should have a captain of Paris, who was well known to the people, to accompany him. As Seneca continued his speech, the captain of Paris, named Pazon, a principal actor in this faction, entered the chamber of the said lord of Place, offering his service to conduct him through the city; and Seneca, opening the door to his place without by any means yield to, telling Seneca, that he was one of the most cruel and bloody-minded men in all the city; and therefore, seeing that he must needs go to the king, he intreated that the said Seneca would be his guard. To which Seneca answered, that having now all satisfaction, he would walk unto, he could not conduct him above fifty paces.

Then his wife, (though otherwise a very gracious and good lady) out of that inire love which the bore to her husband, prostrated herself at the feet of said Seneca, beseeching and entreaty him to accompany her husband to the king; but the said De la Place, who never showed any sign of a dejected spirit, or to his wife, took her up from the ground, releasing and saying, that it was a thing of death if he must flout to, but unto God only. Then considering himself about, he perceived in his fon't hat a window, through which through infamy he had placed there, thereby to have himself, for which his father en- chanted, commanding him to pluck that malefactor to the door, and told him not to permit themselves to bear the true cross of Christ, through afflic- tions and tribulations which it is our good God to lay upon us, as sure pledges of eternal happiness, which he hath treasured up for us in heaven. Thus freeing himself pretext said Seneca, to go with him to the king, relating death, which he saw he could not allow, to cloack, embrazing his wife, earnestly willing him all things to have the fear of God, and his house in precious esteem; and then boldly went on his way, entering into the street where the glads-hound house, murder men who attended for his hire, having their daggers in readiness, killed him, and an o'clock in the afternoon, as an innocent lamb, in midst of ten or twelve of Seneca's archers, who let him into that butcher; and then pillaged and imbedded him, and burnt him in his lodgings, for the same five or six days together. The body, (which had received into heaven) being carried into a flake, he covered his face over with dung, and the next day threw him into the river.

Peter Ramus, the king's professor in logic, renowned amongst the learned, was not forgotten; for the said Ramus was hidden. But being diffecl, he offered a good sum of money to have his life; he was massacred, and cast down from a high tower window upon the ground the king's statue, being cut out on the stone, and were afterwards thrown down the streets; the carcasses was whipped by certain killers, being set on by their tutors, to the great disgrace of good literature, of which Ramus was an eminent feoffor.

Young man, who preferred his mother's faith thenrois to his own, about the age of thirty years, a sincere christian of excellent learning, perhaps early on this dreadful Sunday morning, in some extraordinary occasion, and hearing the noise about the death of the admiral throughout the city, in a sudden heat of passion, flattered his spirit into a hasty home with all possible speed, informing what had happened, and without delay, not regard his own safety, secured her in a place fit for her poise. After which he went to prayers in his flat, his custom was, where being found, the furious of the archers aliked him, if he would obey the king; he refused, Yet, I must also obey God. Then at last, they began with battle-axes and flaves to him with bows on the head, that he received his blood into his hands; and then making an end of him, they threw him into the river.

It could not be said that above two miles were won in this bloody misadventure.

Philip le Doux, a great jeweller, at his return from Guybray fair, being gone to bed, his wife at time had the midwife attending upon her, being to be delivered; the seeing those foibles being in the presence of the child in the king's name; ill as she was, the ventured and opened the door to the thiefs, who poked flabbed her husband in his bed. The midwife them bent to murder the woman also; but really delivered, instructed them to play, lest she should die in her child (who had the child who had given her was born). Having contended with them, they took this poor woman, had with fear, and thrust into her fundament a...
EXECUTION of the FAITHFUL at TROIS, in CHAMPAGNE.

EXECUTION of the FAITHFUL at TROIS, in CHAMPAGNE.

Yet, he threw him more just and humane than the rest, peremptorily refused to have his hand in an act of so great cruelty; an offer, it is true, was made to his office to execute any man before sentence of death had first been pronounced by the magistrates. If they had such fume to fly against any of the prisoners, he would do his office; otherwise, he would not presume, without a warrant, to beercave any man of his life: and so with these words he returned home to his house.

Now albeit this answer, proceeding from such a kind of perfon, whose office and custom was to fiud blood, might somewhat have affliged and taken off the edge of the momentous thing in the minds of the bailiff, flying it, was the further enraged. Upon this, he sent for one of the jailors of the prifon, who kept theof the religion; but he being sick of a tertian ague, Martin de Bures was sent to know his pleasure.

The bailiff telling him at large, what Belin had signified to him in private; as also, that on a sudden all the prisoners of the religion must be put to death, that the place might be purged of them: this, he said, you may not fail to tell me in his own words.

But this de Bures made no haste to perform his charge, acquainting no man with what passed between the bailiff and him; no, not Perencet the keeper, who then lay sick in his bed.

The next day the bailiff came into the prifon, about four o'clock, being for Perencet, asked of him, with a smile, Perencet, how it went with his companion, knowing nothing more or less, asked of him, what? Then said the bailiff, Why, are not the prisoners directioned? and thereupon was ready with his dagger to have killed him. But coming a little better to himself, he told Perencet what his purpose was, and he was to behave himself concerning the execution thereof. At which words, Perencet standing amazed, (though otherwise he was a fellow forward enough of himself to commit any outrages against the protestants) certified to the bailiff, that such an inhuman act could not be committed over to him, fearing less in time to come, justice might be followed against him by the parents or allies of the prisoners. No, no, said the bailiff, fear not, I will stand between you and all arms. Others of the jujces have confected thereto besides myself, and will therefore not suffer this.

Within a short time after, the jailor coming into the court of the prifon, where the prisoners were abroad recreating themselves, caufing every one to refer to his cabin, becaufe, said he, the bailiff will come by and by, to fee whether the keepers have done as he commanded, which, if they had done, he, being one of the poor sheep to fear they were deftined to the slaughter, and therefore went presently to prayers. Perencet instantly called his companions about him, reporting to them what the bailiff had given him in charge. Then they all took an oath to execute the same; but approaching near to the prisoners, they were so surprized with fear, and their hearts so failed them, that they stood gazing one upon another, having no courage to act such a barbarous cruelty, and so returned to the jailor's lodges, whence they came, without doing anything.

But instead of laying this to heart, as a warning sent them from above; as if purposely they meant to reft against the checks of their own confciences, they went to the tavern for feventeen pints of the best wine, and intoxicating their brains, they drew a lift of all the prisoners which they delivered to one who was to call them forth in order; and as they came they malacred them.

One Meurs was no sooner in their sight, but one of them let drive at him with the point of his halberd, re- doing the same to the other, who, being by his side, could not. The poor man took hold of the point of the halberd, and pointing, himfel, to the feat of the heart, cried to the murderer, with a fiédefta voice, Here, folder, here, right at the heart, right at the heart; and so finifhed this life.
The maflicere, my author, being ended, the murderers made a great pit on the back side of the chapel of the priory, whereinto they cast the bodies, one after another downwards. One called Maufer, lying in the midst of them, being observed to raise up himself above his fellow-martyrs in this pit, they forthwith poured earth upon him, until they had filled him. The blood ran in such abundance out of the priory door, and thence through a channel into a river, that it was turned into the colour of blood.

The day after, this worshipful bailiff of Trois, that he might apply the platter when the parties were dead, caused the king’s letters, which he had received before, to be hanged at all corners of the town, with loud trumpets of trumpet. The bailiff was present in person at the publication; and as the notary read the contents thereof to him, he pronounced the fame jeeringly, and not with a full and audibly voice, as matters of such consequence ought to be read.

One Dechampeaux, lord of Bonioli, a worthy counsellor in the city of Orleans, was murdered in the following manner: One called Texier came with a small troop to his house, bidding himself and his company to fupper with him. Dechampeaux bid them all kindly welcome, making them good cheer, being ignorant of that which was about him. After the dinner was ended, Texier bade him deliver his purifs. Dechampeaux laughing thereto, thinking he had but in jest, this cruel and unholy guete, with blasphemous oaths, told him in few words what had happened in the city of Paris, and what preparation there was among the Roman catholics of Orleans, which runs, June me, O pardoners there. Dechampeaux, seeing there was no time now to contest with him, gave money to this thief; who, to requite the courtey and good entertainment he had received, embrued his hands in the blood of his honest neighbour, a man of as good and upright a carriage and for all the city, which runs, June me, O pardoners. And afterwards himself, with his troop, pillaged the whole house.

The twenty-sixth day of August following, the maflicers began the execution about the ramparts, in a violent manner; in these quarters there inhabited many of the religion. All the night long was heard nothing but shouting off of guns and piñolas, forging open of doings, and windows, fearful outcries of the maflicers, both of men, women, and little children, trampling of horses, and rumbling of carts, hurrying off dead bodies to and fro; the street returning with uncounted exclamations of thee of the common fort, with horrible hisplings of the trumpets, and all the maflicers, laughing their fill at their barbarous exploits; some crying, Kill them all, and then take the spoil; others, Spoil not, but kill all.

On Wednesday the maflicers began more fiercely, and so continued to the end of the week, not sparing to break thefe and the like jefts upon the poor maflicers: Where is now your God? What is become of all your prayers and psalms now? Let your God, whom you called upon, take you he can. Yea, some of them, who in times past had been professors of the same religion, whilst they were maflicrering the poor innocents, durtling unto them, in scorn, the beginning of the three hundred and sixty names of God, and I will plead my cause. Others, striking them, said, Sing, now, Have mercy on me, O God: such treatment received these poor people in Paris, and elsewhere. But these execrable outrages by no means daunted the courage of the faithful, who died steadfast in the faith.

Touching the multitude of the slain, the murderers did not stick to vaunt, that in this city they cauned eighteen thousand men to perish; also an hundred and fifty women, with a great number of children of nine years old and upwards. The manner of their death was thus: having stripped them of their garments, and either flung their bodies in the river, or bury them in pits.

On Tuesday, at night, certain of this bloody crew came and knocked at the door of one that was a doctor of the civil law, called Talleiboaus; who opening a casemment, and understanding that they had some off to pay to him, came down immediately, and opened the door. The murderers then perceiving they told him he must die. Whereupon he fell into terror, and thus with such constancy and affection, that the murderers being astonished, and by a secret electorial power of them, consented themselves only with taking his purse, in which were fifteen crowns, and so left him, offering many more.

The day following, certain scholars resorting to his lodging, requested of him that they might be admitted into the library, into which having brought them, one, after another, of his book of him, and another that, which he gave them. At length they told him they were not yet satified with these two books; and, prostrating him on the ground, and having cut his throat, prayed them to kill him there, but they forsook him on his own houle, from one place to another, and at last knocked him dead.

A rich burgess of the city, called Nicholas Borgia, Sieur de Nove, a man of singular worth, and highly esteemed of all, was at that time deadly sick; and as the murderers came into his chamber with a purpose to kill him: but seeing him in that cafe, spared him; and finding there Noel Chaperon, apothecary, who brought him physic, they cut off one of his arms, then drew his blood on the open market-place, where they made an end of him.

The next day, there came one to the lodging of his, that was sick, who was wont heretofore to visit him: as he was entering in, he met the mother of the sick man at the door going unto crafts, and coming into up his chamber, he stabbed the sick man with a dagger in any places, and so killed a dying man. Then in silence, as if he had done no such act, washing his diger, he went down stairs again, and meeting one at the door who came to visit him that was sick, this fellow, faithfuling him, pulled along by him, without any clause, eft, and without any trial, and so he was executed.

Francis Sample, a rich merchant, was threatened: have his throat cut presently, if he gave not the murderers money: but having got none about him, he wrote a letter to his wife, to fend him his annuities: he had no sooner sealed the letter, but the murderers depriv’d thereof, and his life also, laughing at what they had done. And though they got from his widow a cedensible sum of money, yet could the not obtain furn them the body of her dead husband. And thence were fruits of popery.

Among those that confessed the name of Jesus Christ, the Christian merchant, with his two sons, will deliver our notice; for whilst he tramelled in the bond of his brethren, being befmeareth with them, and passing as it were in his face, he encouraged his children to take their death willingly and patiently, using the speech: ‘Children, we are not to learn now, but I hath always been the portion of believers, to be hated, cruelly us’d, and devoured by unbelievers;’ as Christ’s flii feathers, of ravening wolves: if we suffer with Christ, we shall also reign with him. Let not these drawn showers terrify us; which tend to cerve to cut that thread which ties us to the world, and goes fount into endless misery. We have not indulged long enough among the wicked, let us now go and live with our God; let us joyfully march after this great company which is here gone before us, and let us make way for them that shall follow after.”

When he saw the murderers come, he clasped his arms about his two sons, and they likewise embraced their father; as if the father meant to be a buckler to his children, and the children, as if, by the bond of nature, (which binds them to defend his life, if whence they received their’s) they might not to wars their father, though with the loss of their own lives; when, after the massacre was ended, were all three found dead, this embracing one another.

Now, at the conclusion of this furious affair, the barbarous monsters went up and down the city,
PERSECUTION OF THE FAITHFUL at several PLACES in FRANCE.

But their ministers found means to escape, hiding themselves in the rocks and mountains, till they had an opportunity to take shipping for England.

One thing here may be noted; the house of a counsellor in parliament was forced open, pillaged, and fired. He was in the Rector's house at the time, and was put to death in the most horrid manner. His clerk being his master to suffer a cruel death, emmired him and comforted him; and being asked whether he were of the same religion, he answered, yes, and would die with his master for the same. And they were slain in onemanhood.

A decoy of the reformed church, named Du Tour, an old man, who in the days of his ignorance had been a priest in the popish church, being sick in his bed, was hauled forth into the open street; of whom it being demanded, whether he would go to mafs, and thereby lose his life; he freely answered, no, especially now drawing to near his end, both in regard of his years and grievous sickness: I hope (faith he) I shall not so far forget the eternal salvation of my soul, as for fear of death to prolong this life for a few days; or to I should buy a short term of life at too dear a rate. They hearing him say so murdered him instantly.

It was lamentable to see the poor protestants wandering up and down, not knowing where to have their lives: some were rejected of their own parents and relations, who flout their doors against them, pretending as if they knew them not; others were betrayed and delivered to the state, and delivered to the executioner; for themselves: many were saved even by priests and others, from whom a man would have expected no such security. Some were saved by their very enemies, whose hearts abhorred such detestable outrages.

The terror was full of terror, and horrible threats against those of the church-rebels, saying, that the king's commandment was, that he would not have so much as one of them left in his kingdom; and if any refused to go to maɪs, that a hole should be digged for him in the earth, in which he should be buried without any more ado.

The judgment of God fell not long after upon one of these inhuman murderers, called Vincent; he tell dangerously sick, but in the end recovering again, and as he thought being in good health, told some of his friends that he felt his arms strong enough to handle his cutlass as well as ever he did in battle, even until his last gasp.

Another was taken with such a swelling in all the parts of his body, that there was scarcely to be discerned in him the form of a man, and so continued swelling till at length he burst asunder.

Thus we have taken a view of the extreme afflictions of the reformed church in many parts of France, wherein within a few weeks 30,000 were put to death.

In the year 1573, the peace were the failure chiefly for refuge, or after the war. Namely, Sancerre, the bishop of which you have here in a short view.

Sancerre, being encompassed with irreconcilable enemies, from about the beginning of April, the want of victuals having caus'd them to gather together all the affies and moles they had in the city, they were eaten up by hunger. Then they came to horses, cats, rats, moles, mice, and dogs. After these were spent, they fell to eat ox and cow-hides, sheep-flints, parchement, old shoes, bullock's, and horfe-hoofs, horns, and lanthorns, ropes, and horse-harnesses, leather girdles, scap. But the third part of the besieged had not to eat. Such as could get hemp-feed, ground it, or flamped it in mortars, and made bread of it; the like they did with all sorts of herbs, mingling the fame with bran if they had it. There they eat meal of chaff, nut-shells, and of slates, excrements of horses,
A brief DISCOURSE of the great PREPARATIONS of the SPANIARDS, in order to invade ENGLAND, in the REIGN of QUEEN ELIZABETH.

The duke of Parma, in Flanders, by command of the Spaniards, built ships, and a great company of small broad vessels, each one able to transport two horses, with bridges fitted for them severally; and had mariners from the east part of Germany, and provided long pieces of wood, sharpened at the end, and covered with iron, with hooks on one side; and broad swords, with an huge number of faggots; and placed an army ready in Flanders, of 103 companies of foot, and 300 horsemen. Among these 7000 English vagabonds, who were held of all others in most contempt. Neither as Stanley, Harlech, Yarmouth, Hatfield, nor other English; nor Wasall, nor any other who offered help: but for their unfaithfulness to their own country were flout out from all consolations, and so unmansly rejected with detraction. And because upon the 5th of July such a company set out, with Sir Francis Sedgemoor, with a fent cardinal Allen into Flanders, and served the declaration of pope Pius the Fifth, and Gregory the Thirteenth. He excommunicated and deposed that Elizabeth, abfolved her subjects from all allegiance, as if it had been against the Turks or infidels, he issued in Flanders, where they were, was all the villages, out of the treachery of the church, besides a million of gold, or ten hundred thousand ducats, to be tributed (the one half in hand, the rest when either English, or some famous haven therein should be won) on the rest of the world would join by English. By which means the marquis of Burgaw, of the house of Austria, the duke of Patranna, Armady duke of Savoy, Vespazian, Gonzaga, John Medices, and divers other noblemen were drawn into these wars.

Queen Elizabeth, that the might not be surprized with awares, prepared as great a navy as the greatest and singular care and providence made all things ready for the enemy. And the hercules, who was ever most judicious in discerning of men's wins and spreds, was most happy in making choice, when she made it out her own judgment, and one at the direction of her council. She came at length to her son's second son to the duke of Somerset, to watch upon the Belgic shore with forty English and Dutch ships, the duke of Parma might not come out with his fleet. Although some were of opinion, that the enemy was to be expected and set upon by land forces, as it was upon deliberation resolved, in the time of Henry the Eighth, when the French brought a great army in the English shore.

For the land fight, there were placed on the first shore twenty thousand; and two armies besides were murdered of the closest men for war. The number of those being two thousand, and twenty-two thousand foot, was commanded by the earl of Leicester, and set down at Tilbury, on the side of the Thames. For the other army was commanded by the lord Hunsley, consisting of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to guard the queen.

The lord Grey, Sir Francis Knowles, Sir John Norreys, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Roger Williams, men famous for knowledge of military experience, were chosen to be at the land fight. Those place should be fortified, with men and ammunition, which were commodious to land in, either Spain or Flanders, as Yarmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, Poole, as the open side of Kent called the Downs. These trained soldiers through all the maritime provinces that meet upon warning given, to defend the places, that
An ACCOUNT of the SPANISH INVAISON.

Burgundy might be renewed and confirmed; that all the Dutch might fully enjoy their own privileges; that with free, and equal navigation, they might not be shut out of Holland, that neither the Dutch nor their neighbouring nations might fear them. If these things might be granted, the queen would come to equal conditions concerning the towns which now hold her; that all might know, that she took up arms not for her own gain, but for the necessary defence both of herself and of the Dutch; so that the money which is owing therefore be repaid. To which they answered, That for renewing the old leagues there should be no difficulty, when they might have a friendly conference of that thing. That concerning the privileges of the Dutch there was no cause why foreign princes should take care, which privileges were most favourably granted not only to provinces and towns reconciled, but even to such as by force of arms are brought into subjection. That foreign soldiers were held upon urgent necellity, once Holland, England, and France, were all in arms.

Touching those towns taken from the king of Spain; and the repaying of the money, they answered, That the Spaniards might demand as many examples of crowns to be from the queen repay them, as the Belgic war hath cost since the time that the hath favoured and protected. At this time, doctor Dale, by the queen's command, going to the duke of Parma, gently expostulated with him touching a book printed there, fet out lately by cardinal Allen, wherein he enrolls the nobles and people of England and Ireland to join themselves to the king of Spain's forces, under the pretended name of prince of Parma, for the execution of the sentence of pope Sixtus V. against the queen, declared by his bull; in which the is declared an heretic, illegitimate, cruel against Mary queen of Scots, and her subjects were commanded to help Parma against her; for at that time a great number of those books were read, and dispersed through England. The duke denied that he had sent such a bull, nor would he do any thing by the pope's authority, as for his own king, him he must obey. Yet, he said, he did reverence the queen for her princely virtues, that after the king of Spain, he offered all service to her. That he had persuaded the king of Spain to yield to this treaty of peace, which is more profitable to England than Spain: for if they should overcome, they would easily repair their losses, but if you be overcome, the kingdom is lost.

To whom Dale replied, That our queen was sufficiently furnish'd for her own defence, and the kingdom. That a kingdom will not easily be gotten by the events of one battle, seeing the king of Spain in so long a war is not able to recover his ancient patrimony in the Netherlands.

Well, quoth the duke, be it so, these things are in God's hands.

After this the delegates contended among themselves by mutual expostulations, weeping and unwearing the same web. The English were earnest in this, That freedom of religion might be granted at least for two years to the confederate princes. They answered, That as the king was not of the English church, so they hoped the queen in her wisdom would not interest any thing of the king of Spain, which might stand against his honour, his oath, and his conscience.

Then they demanded the money due from the places of Brabant; to which they answered, That the money was lent without the king's knowledge; but let the account be taken, how much the money was, and how much the king hath spent in these wars, and then it may appear who should look for repayment.

Thus the English were from time to time put off, until the Spanish fleet was come near the English shore, and the number of guns was heard from sea. Then had they leave to depart, and were by the delegates honourably brought to the borders of Calais. The duke of Parma had in the meantime brought all his forces to the sea shore.

Thus
Thus this conference came to nothing; undertaken by the queen, as the wiser than thought, to avert the Spanish fleet; continued by the Spaniard that he might oppress the queen, being as he supposed unpersuaded, and not expecting the danger. So both of them tried to prevent the ship's advantage.

In fine, the Spanish fleet, well furnished with men, ammunition, engines, and all warlike preparations, the best indeed that ever was seen upon the ocean, called by that arrogant title, The Invincible Armada, consisted of 130 ships, wherein there were in all 19,920 men. Chained rollers 11,980. Great ordnance 11,670. The chief commander was Peregrus Gufinmannus, duke of Medina Sidonia; and under him Joannes Martinus Ridauls, a man of great experience in sea affairs.

The 30th of May they launched out of the river Tagus, and began to pursue the Courie, in Galiçia, they were beaten and scattered by a tempest: three galleys, by the help of David Gwin, an English servant, and by perfidious one of Turks which rowed, were carried away into France. The fleet with much ado after some days came to the Gironde and other harbours near adjoining. The report was, that the fleet was so shaken with this tempest, that the queen was persuaded, that she was not to expect that fleet this year. And so Francis Walbingham, secretary, wrote to the lord admiral, that he might send back four of the greatest ships, as if the war had not been commenced; the lord admiral did not give credit to that report; yet with a gentle answer interested him to believe nothing hastily in so important a matter: as also that he might be permitted to keep those ships with him which he had, though it were upon his own charges. And getting a favourable wind, made sail for Flanders, Spain being the port of Spain's deck, and the base of their ships in harbours. When he was close in with the coast of Spain, the wind shifting, and he being charged to defend the English shore, fearing that the enemies might unfish by the same wind fall for England, he returned unto Plymouth.

Now with a fair wind, the 16th of July, the duke of Medina with his fleet departed from the Gironde. And after a few days he sent Rodericus Tellius into Flanders, to advertise the duke of Parma, giving him warning that the fleet was approaching, and therefore he was to make himself ready. For Medina's commissio was so great, that the fleet was laden with the fleets of all the princes of Italy, under the protection of his fleet, to bring them into England, and to land his land forces upon the Thames side.

The sixteenth day (faith the relation), there was a great case, and a thick cloud was upon the sea till noon: then the north wind blew strongly; and again the west wind till midnight, and after that the east: the Spanish navy was scattered, and hardly gathered together until they came within light of England, the nineteenth day of July. Upon which day the lord admiral was certified by Fleming who had been a pirate that the Spanish fleet was entered into the English sea, which the mariners call the channel, and was divested near to the Lizard. The lord admiral brought forth the English fleet into the sea, but not without great difficulty, by the tills, labour, and alacrity of the soldiers and mariners, especially the men of the late sea, the lord admiral himself put his hand to this work.

The next day the English fleet viewed the Spanish fleet coming along like towering castles in height, her front crooked like the fashion of the moon, the wings of the fleet were extended one from the other about twenty miles. This day eight of the wind with the labour of the winds, the ocean as it were groaning under it; their fail was but slow, and yet at full fall before the wind. The English were willing to let them hold on their course, and when they were passing by, got behind them, and so got to windward of them.

Upon the 21st of July, the lord admiral of England sent a cutter before, called the Deliance, to denounce the battle by firing off pieces. And being himself in the Royal Arch (the English admiral ship), he began the engagement with a ship which he took to be the Spanish admiral, but which was the ship of Medina Sidoni. Upon that he expended much shot. Presently Hawkins, and Forthiheit, came in upon the westward to the Spaniards, which Ridauls commanded. Upon this the English admiral, who was not a man of great activity, allowed the Spaniards to come much near, and not to fear the English ships, but came of a sudden. Upon this the English admiral ordered all his ships to use his cannon as much as they could, to keep his men to their business, for it was vain, until his ship much beaten and battered, that he could hardly recover the fleet. Then the Dutch, the Medina gathered together his scattered fleet, and came still more fail, held on his course. Indeed they could not do other but sacrifice Ridauls endeavoured as much as he could to keep his men to their business, but it was vain, until his ship much beaten and battered, that he could hardly recover the fleet. Then the Dutch, the

The night following, the St. Catherine, a Spanish ship, being fully torn in the battle, was taken into the mid of the fleet to be repaired. Here a great English ship of Ouenada, wherein was the true admiral's camp, by force of gunpowder took fire, yet a quenched in time by the ships that came to help him, whose which came to affright the fixed ship, one was a good captain's, and another, the fore-yeare the galion was caught in the rigging of another ship, and carried away. This was taken by Drake, who sent to Waldey to Dartmouth, and a great sum of money, 55,000 ducats, which he distributed among the slain.

This Waldey coming into Drake's presence, killed through the Spanish, gave them a report that the admiral had not been so happy as to fall into his hands; they knew it to be noble. That night he was appointed to set forth a light, but neglected it; and some some merchant ships coming by that night, he thinking the to the enemies, followed them so far, that the English fleet lay to all night because of their fears.

Neither did he nor the rest of the fleet till admiral until the next evening. The admiral all night proceeding with the Bear, and the Mary, carefully followed the Spaniards with watchfulness. It duly established in ordering his squadron. Allmoffe was commanded to follow him. Every ship had it's proper station assigned according that preferred which was appointed in Spain, was present death to any who forfook his station. To done, he sent Glicius, and Anciani, to Parma, vix miles ahead to them in a small situation they were to left that Can swelling of the coast, when the sails were taken out the money and mariners, and part of board of other ships. Yet it seems that he had care for all; for that ship the same day with mariners, and soldiers wounded, and half burn'd, into the hands of the English, and was carried to Weymouth.

The 23d of the same month, the Spaniards having favourable north wind tacked towards the English; they being more expert in the management of their ship, tacked likewise and kept the advantage they had so long protected; their majesties, and the lord admiral, became general on both sides. They fought all contendently with variable tacts: while on the one the English with great courage delivered the last ships which were included about the Spanish, and on the other the Spaniards by valour received the English on the front of Parma, and were the explosions which by the continual firing of guns were heard this day. But the loss (by the providence of God) fell upon the Spaniards, their being so high that the shot went over our English ships, and the English having such a fair mark, they escaped with great gain. This was the beginning of a great Englishman, being surrounded by the Spanish they could not be recovered, but perished; however, with honour he regained himself. Thus a long time English ships with great agility were sometimes seen.
that now there were an hundred and forty ships in the English fleet, able and well furnished for fighting, for sailing, and every thing else which was requisite: and, yeast, the remainder of the galleys not yet prepared, but fifteen of which bare the heat of the battle, and the greater part of the Spaniards, as often as he had done before, so now were without all benefit or necessity to the duke of Parma, to send forty fly-boats, without which they could not fight with the English, because of the greatness and numbers of their ships; and the agility of the English; and instructing him by all means now to come to sea with his army, which army was now to be protected as it were under the wings of the Spanish Armada, until they should land in England. But the duke was unprovided, and could not come out at all. The broad ships with flat bottoms being then full of casks must be unloaded. Virtually wanted and must be provided. The mariners being long kept against their wills, began to shriek away. The ports of Dunkirk and Newport, by which he must bring his army to the sea, were now to be kept with the strong ships of Holland and Zealand, which were furnished with great and small ammunition, that he was not able to come to sea, unless he would come upon his own apparent destruction, and call himself and his men within into a headlong danger. Yet he omitted nothing that might be done, being a man eager and industrious, and inflamed with a desire of overcomimg England. But queen Elizabeth's providence and care prevented both the diligence of this man, and the credulous hope of the Spaniards; for by her command the next day the admiral took out the galleys, commanding bringing of the ordnance therein up to the mouth with small flat ships, and clogs, and dressed them with wild fire, pitch and resin, and filled them full of brimstone and some other matter fit for fire, and their being set on fire by the management of the English were, secretly in the night, by the help of the wind, fell upon the Spanish fleet, which on Sunday the seventh of August they sent in among them as they lay at anchor. When the Spaniards saw them come near, the flame giving light all over the sea; they supposing those ships, besides the danger of fire, to have been furnished with deadly engines, to make horrible destruction among them; lifting up a most hideous cry, some pull up anchors, some for half cut their cables, they set upon their fires, they apply their oars, and stricken with extreme terror, in great haste they fled most confusedly. Among them were the Pedro de Valverde, that had taken some of the seas, her rudder broken, in great danger and fast drew towards Calais, and shooting in the wind was taken by Amias Preston, Thomas Gerard, and Harvey; Hugh Moncada the governor was slain, the soldiery and marines were either slain or prisoners; there was found great store of gold, which fell to be the prey of the English. The ships and ordnance went to the governor of Calais. The Spaniards report, that the duke, when he saw the fire-ships coming, commanded all the fleet to heave in their anchors, but as the danger being past, every ship might return again to his station: and he himself returned, giving a sign to the rest by flaying off a gun; which was heard but by a few, for they were far off scattered, some into the open ocean, some through fear were driven upon the shallows of the coast of Flanders. Over against Gaveling the Spanish fleet began to gather themselves together. But upon them came Drake and Fennor, and battered them with great ordnance; to these Fenton, Southwell, Beetson, Cross, Kinnan, and presently after the lord admiral, Thompson and Sheffield, came in and joined together. The duke Medina, Leva, Oquenda, Riccardus, and others with much ado getting themselves out of the shallows, pursued the English force as well as they might, until most of their ships were taken, and driven upon the coast of Flanders, governed by Diego Pimentello, coming to aid Francis Tolean, being in the St. Philip, was pierced and shaken with the reiterated shots of Scimor and Winter, and driven to Offend, and was at last taken by the
The Philip came to the like end: so did the galley of Biscay and divers others.

The last day of this month, the Spanish fleet striving to recover the fireights again, were driven towards Zealand. The English left off pursuing them, as the Spaniards thought, because they saw them a mile or two away, for they would not approach closer than this distance, nor consider the alliance of the English.

But the wind turning, they got them out of the hollows, and then began to consult what were best for them to do. By common consent they resolved to return into Spain by the Northern seas, for they expected more ease, and the English will run them, and they had no hope that the duke of Parma could bring forth his forces. And so they took the sea, and followed the course towards the North. The English navy followed, and sometimes the Spaniards turned upon the English, informed that it was thought by many that they would turn back again.

Queen Elizabeth caused an army to encamp at Tilbury, by a place by the sea side upon the river of Thames. After the army was come thither, her majesty, to shew her own courage, and for the comfort of her people, went in person to visit the camp, which then lay between the city of London and the sea, under the charge of the earl of Leicester, where placing herself between the enemy and her city, she viewed her army, passing through it divers times, and lodgings in the bowls of it, returned again and directed the army. From thence, viewing from place to place as they were by their countries lodg'd and quartered by several camps. Afterwards when they were all reduced into battle, prepared as it were for fight, the rode round about with a leader's staff, in her hand, only accompanied with the general, and three or four others attending upon her; but yet to shew her face, (I well marked it) she had the sword carried before her by the earl of Ormond. There she was generally saluted with thousands, with all tokens of love, obeisance, and readiness to fight for her, as the like hath seldom been seen in an army. All which tended to shew a marvellous concord, and mutual love between a queen and her subjects, which the required with very princely thanks.

I could enlarge the description hereof with many more particulars of mine own observation (says the author), for I wandered, as many others did, from place to place, all the day, and never heard a word spoke of her, but in praiseth her for her flattery perfon and princely behavour, in praying for her long life, and earnestly desiring to visit her, and long continued for her benefit, they sung psalms of praise to Almighty God, for which they greatly commended them, and devoutly praised God with them. This that I write you may be sure I do not with any comfort, but to give you these manifest arguments, that neither this queen did content the people, nor lost by any; but as at any thing they were commanded to do for her service, as heretofore hath been imagined.

This account was related by a fellow in Flanders, in a letter written here in England to Mendos. The copy of which letter was found upon Richard, a fellow, in French and English: which priest was executed for high treason whilst the Spanish Armada was at sea.

The next day where the last fight was, the duke of Alva came, and after his banquet to the lady of Hainault, came somehat late to Dunkirk, and was received with very opprobrious language by the Spaniards, as if in favour of queen Elizabeth he had flipped the fairest opportunity that could be to do the service. He, to make that satisfaction, punished the purveyors that had not made provision for his horse, which were not yet ready or embarked, secretly smiling at the insolvency of the Spaniards, when he heard them bragging, that what way they came upon England, they would have an undoubted victory; that the English were not able to fight the same day of the battle, he said indeed by books in France fing a foolish and triumphant song before the victory. The English admiral appointed Scimor and the Hollander to watch upon the coast of Flanders, that the duke of Parma should not come out; whilfe he himselfe fled towards the Spaniards until they were past Edinburghe.

The Spaniards seeing all hopes fail, Redcliffe, having done so this great navy, being three years preparing with all experience, was within one month overthrown, and many thousands were killed, being chained another, was driven all England by Scotland, the Orkneys, and Iceland tofted and damaged with tempests, much dismay and went home without glory. There were many toothed men of the English lost, and but one ship. When upon coming in company with a navy being away in fall, with this interception, Ventris, Vlissinghe, and that were coinced with the ships on fire, the navy came in honour of the queen, infirbed, Doctor Pynson. As they fled, it is certain that many of their ships cast anchor off the shores of Scotland and Ireland. Above seven hundred soldiers and mariners were cast away upon the Scottish shore, who at the duke of Parma's interception with the Scotch king, the queen England contending, were after a year sent into Italy. But they that were cast upon the Irish shore were more miserable fortunes; for some were killed by wild Irish, and others were destroyed for they should join themselves with the wild Irish (a cruel queen Elizabeth much condemned), and by being afraid, sick, and hungry, with their old ships, committed themselves to the sea, and many drowned.

The queen went to public thanksgiving in St. Paul's church, accompanied by a glorious train of all through the streets of London, which were hung blue and white, from company companies hanging on both sides bearers; the banners that were taken of the enemy were spread; she heard the sermon, and public was rendered unto God with great joy. This joy was augmented when Sir Robert Sidney went from Scotland, and brought from the king some answer to the queen's deputation for religion; which as in sincerity he had established for a purpose to maintain with all his power. Sir Robert Sidney was sent to him when the Spanish fleet was going to congratulate and return thanks for his affection towards the maintenance of the cause, and to declare how ready he would bring him if the Spaniards should land in Scotland; and he might recall to memory with what flange whilst the Spaniards had gaped for all Britain, unjustly pope to excommunicate him, to the end that he might the thirde time from Scotland, and find no successe in England: and to give him notice of the threatening of Mendoza, and the pope's munck threatened his ruin if they could effect it; and iny fore warned him to take special heed to the St. Peter's negotiations.

The king pleasantly answered, That he looked for other benefit from the Spaniards, than that which epomus promised to Ulysses, to devour him and his fellows were devoted.

To close up this whole relation, hear what Theofl Baza says in his congratulatory verses written in Latin and sent to her majesty: the effect of which in Eng is this:
And you for whom both all the wind
And all the waters fight;
O noble queen, of all the world
The only true delight,
Go forward, in the name of God;
Ambition lay aside;
Go forward still for Christ his flock
In bounty to provide.
That thou mayst England govern long,
Long England thee enjoy,
As well as all the good,
As to the bad annoy.
From Geneva, besieged by the duke of Savoy, the
19th day of August, 1589.
Your majesty's most humble servant,
THEODORE BEEWA.

ACCOUNT of the DISCOVERY of the GUNPOWDER
TREASON, in the YEAR 1605, in the REIGN of KING
JAMES I.

WHILST every thing seemed to procure king
James a quiet and peaceable reign, the devil
using the happenings of the English, inspired some of
agents with one of the most horrible plots that ever
saw the face of the English. The gunpowder-treason plot,
which had made so much noise in the world, and of
which I shall relate the particulars without any ex-
ercise.

The chief persons concerned in this hellish contri-
cute were Robert Catesby, a gentleman of Northamp-
ton; Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland's
friend, John Grant, Ambrose Rockwood, John and
infelophe Wright, Francis Trelawm, Guy Fawkes,
Everard Digby, Robert and Thomas Winter, Tho-
as Bates, and Robert Keyes: some of these confiding
other how they might remove the papist religion in
land, Percy, one of the most zealous, proposed to
the king, and offered to perform it himself. To
Robert answered, That if the king was taken
there were two young princes and princes, in
the greatest part of the nobility and gentry, de-
vote to the protestant religion; and unless these de-
vote in the same fate with the king, they should ren-
ner condition rather worse than better, by at tempt-
his majesty's life only. He proposed therefore:
the king up the king, queen, and prince, with both the
lords and commons, at the next assembly of
parliament, when the time should come to the
die, and make his speech there, and at death,
which being approved by the rest as a most
insane undertaking, was resolved to put it into ex-
cution; only some, scrupling the lawfulness of commit-
ting a daughter on a religious account, they
red, before they proceeded in it, to demand the
mission of their conferrers; whereupon Henry Garnet,
superior, with Oswald Tufmound and John Gerard,two
pries of the Jesuits order, were consulted; who
only declared the enterprise lawful, but applauded
defense in part, and even pious: since it was to be
acted upon without consultation. This then an oath of secrecy was taken by the conspira-
tes, and made being celebrated by Gerard, they allo-
the sacrament to be true to each other, and pro-
venting with all their powers; after which, Percy
made a last appeal to the house of lords, from
where they proposed to carry him with another order, in
which he contained a sufficient quantity of gunpowder to
up the whole building; and they began to work on
this matter about Christmas 1604. But the parliament
a special thing, first to February, then to October,
again to the third of November, 1605, they had
enough, or rather too much, to execute the design,
ich they were obliged to dig through the foundations
ny thick wall. When the conspirators had almost
this difficulty, they were surprised to hear a
and the talking of people near the place
were at work, and begun to conclude they were dif-
covered; but finding out Guy Fawkes for intelligence, he
brought them word, that the voices they had heard
were in an adjoining cellar, where coals were exposed to
fire; that it was exactly under the house of lords, and
now offered to be let. Whereupon Percy went imme-
mediately and showed them, putting thirty-six barrels of gun-
powder into it, which he imported from Holland, and
covered them with coals and faggots.

Having made this provision for their grand design, it
was considered, that though the king and prince might
be taken off by this means, yet the duke of York and
the prince of Wales would be out of their power; and
consequently the success of their design was still to be
doubtful: but Percy being one of the band of pen-
fioners, and well acquainted with the palace, undertook
to secure the duke of York; and it was looked upon as
no difficult matter to confide the princes, who resided
at the lord Harrington's, in Warwickshire, under a pre-
tence of a hunting match. It was next considered,
what money and horses they could raise towards effecting
their purpose: whereupon Digby promised fifteen hun-
dred pounds, Trelawm two hundred, Percy the rents of
Northumberland, which he was empowered to re-
ceive, and committed them to the care of John Belling.
He also engaged to provide ten horses from the same quar-
ter; and the rest of the conspirators promised to raise
what money and troops they could, that they might be
able to make a stand, and encourage their friends to take
arms in defense of religion, when the great blow
was given. It was debated also, whether they should
require the affiance of all princes of their communion;
but it was thought necessary to defer this till after the
act was committed, lest the plot should be discovered by
being communicated to too many. And it was resolved
to proclaim the princes Elizabeth queen, when they had
assembled their troops, a proclamation being drawn up
with this view, in which they made no mention of the
intended alteration of religion; this being agreed to be
deferred till the forces should be joined by some of the
religious powers. In the mean time, they resolved to
charge the town of London with the design that was in-
tended; and it is supposed, they designed to assassinate
the duke of York, by their promising to proclaim
the princes Elizabeth.

Thus had the conspirators formed their scheme, and
proceeded so far in the execution of it, that there re-
mained little to be done, but to fire the train they
had laid for blowing up the king, the queen
the prince, the nobility, and the representatives of
great and flourishing people. When, on a sudden, an
unaccountable fit of tenderness feizd one of these mer-
ces of wretches, who, by his endeavouring to refuse a
friend from the train, which had been delivered to
the deep-laid design, which Lucifer only could be the con-
troller of. This discovery was made by the following
letter, sent to the lord Montague by one of the con-
spirators, about ten days before the meeting of the par-
liament, viz.

A LETTER.

To the lord MONTAGUE.

My Lord,

OUT of the love I bear to some of your friends, I
have regard to your preservation; therefore would
advise you, as you render your life, to invent some
excuse to put off your attendance at this parliament;
for God and nature require to punish the wickedness
of these times. Think not therefore, that I have
retire yourself into the country, where you may expect
the event in safety; for though there be no appearance of
any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible
blow in this parliament, and shall not see who hurt
them. This counsel is given on unknown ground, because it
may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the day
is past; as soon as you have burnt the letter: and I
hope God will give you the grace to make good use of
it. To whose whole protection I commit you.

This
His lordship carried the letter, the same evening he received it, to secretary Cecil; who communicated it to some other members of the council: but they did not think it of that consequence, to make any inquiries about the matter, till the king should return from Royton, where he was gone to hunt, and did not return till the latter end of the night: and the letter was then referred to his majesty; who, upon perusing it, said, he did not think it was to be esteemed: to which Cecil answered, He was of opinion, that it was written either by a fool or a madman, by that expression in it. "The danger is past, as soon as you have burnt the letter:" for he feared the burning of the letter by sea, if, in the burning the letter would remove the danger: but the king interpreted it, That the danger would be over in as little time as he could burn the letter: having great regard to that passage, "They should receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they should not see whither it would go." The apprehension, that would be the effect of gun-powder; and therefore ordered all the cellars, and all other places near the parliament-house, to be searched. The earl of Suffolk, who was then lord chamberlain, and whose proper place it was to see all places prepared for the king's reception, put off his business, lest he should be before the coming of the king of England; and then, taking the lord Montague with him, viewed all the rooms about the parliament-house, and particularly the cellar under the house of lords; which he found full of wood and coals: and having inquired who it belonged to, was answered, to Mr. Percy, who belonged to the majesty. They then made the figure at court, the earl returned, and acquainted the king in what state he found things, without searching further. But the king's suspicion being rather increased than diminished by this report, he ordered all the wood and coals in the cellar, already mentioned, to be removed forthwith; and Sir Thomas Knivet, a justice of peace for Wiltmington, and gentleman of the privy-chamber, was ordered to see it done, though it was then late at night. This gentleman was so fortunate, as to discover the fix and thirty barrels of powder hidden under the coals; he also found a man flandering near the place, bound and quartered, with his head cut off, and burned, and found upon him a dark lantern and three matches. This person proved to be Guy Fawkes, one of the conspirators, who passed for Percy's man; who, to deceive the king, had taken the name of a man who was then dead. This discovery being made, the secretary and the lord-chamberlain immediately acquainted the king therewith; who was then in bed; and the prifoners being examined before the council, was so far from being in any contradiction, that he acknowledged the villainous design, took it all upon himself; and his religion and conscience prompted him to it; and would none of his accomplices; only observed, That the devil had betrayed a very good design, and that there was no crime in defiling an heretical king. However, being carried to the Tower the next day, and threatened with the rack, confessed the conspiracy; and the confessions of those who had some intuition of the discovery, fell into Warwickshire, where some of his friends were preparing to ride in arms, and arrest the princes Elizabeth, according to the scheme, they had laid; and they had actually broke open a stable belonging to the Prince of Wales, and carried off eight or nine horses for their purpose; but understanding from their friends who fled from London, that the enterprise was entirely defeated, they assembled about an hundred horse, and endeavoured to persuade their brethren in the papists, to take arms in the defence of their religion; but nobody joined them: and they were surprised at Grevelle, deputy-lieutenant of Warwickshire; and the sheriff of that and the neighbouring counties, till the rebels took diet in a house, at a place called Holbach, in Staffordshire, there they endeavoured to defend themselves, when at spark of fire falling into a parcel of gunpowder, they were很大 by the fire, and parte the house; whereupon they endeavoured to fled out of the gate, and make their way with the swords in their hands, but were repelled by Catone, Percy, and Winter, setting themselves back. But Winter was wounded and taken; Digby, Reed, Wood, Grant, and Borer surrendered; and Trelawny, the leader, was apprehended at their lodgings in London, and all of them committing to the Tower.

Thomas Winter, upon his examination, confessed the whole conspiracy, and acknowledged their crimes were too great to be forgiven; while Digby, on the other hand, denied they had set out on such a design, and were only attempting through the feverish state they met with from the government, after hopes they had been given of a toleration; and Trelawny, in his examination, accused Grant, the Jesuit, as privy to the conspiracy, though he afterwards retracted it, and pretended he had not seen Grant seven years before. And thus these refusals and high aspiration of no less than the destruction of the king and kingdoms, promised to themselves no less estate than the government of great and ancient monarchies, were mierably defeated, and quite overthrown in an infant state, telling the king he was his subject; it was only to buy kingship, and to fill up, and fulfill that sentence which his majesty had pronounced, as the manner of prophecy of them in his speech to the parliament: some immediately slain, others wounded, stripped of their clothes, left lying mangled and to die rather through cold than of their wounds, and the rest that were either whole or but lightly wounded, were taken and led by the sheriff, the military minister of justice, to the gaol, the ordinary place of the blessed malefactors, where they remained, till they were sent up to London, being met by the cursed sentence of all forts of people, defamers to lie in the very prison of monarchs, fools to laugh at the women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the worse for their curiosity in facing the outward cafes of so unparalleled a villainy, and generally all forts of people to gratify their eyes with the sight of those whom in their hearts they detested; in general the public spectacle of God's wrath and just indignation.

The Account of the Woules and Persecution of Bartholomew Copin, Martyr of Churh in order to the year 1605.

In the year 1605, Bartholomew Copin, of the wals of Fiterign, referred unto a place called Ait, in Kent, with certain merchandize, purposing to visit some friends in a fair there, which was to take place on the 21st of October. It being evening, he was staying in a house, with the women and children of the family; and the housewife, being very loving, it fell out, that sitting at supper in the evening with sundry other merchants, one among the rest did discourse about the diversities of religion, and thereunto did several reflections, tending to a disgrace of the inhabitants of the valley of Armon. This discourse having given him a great deal of displeasure, Copin hearing such reflections cast forth against his brethren, as he little expected from men of that sort and also against their religion, all which tended in a dification of God, he feared lest it should be offended: taken, if he should not make some reply unto them, which he did with his heart, and consequently he held such a discourse against the religion where he himself professed. He who reproved Copin, and Are you one of Vandal? He answer, Yes. And what, said the other, believest thou not that God is the Hott? No, said Copin. Oh, said the other, thou art no true Christian; for Copin does not fear to God, and as certain I am to die.

The next day Copin was called before the bishop; Ait who told him that report had been made to him of some offensive speeches which he had used in the forenoon, and therefore he acknowledged his fault, if he meant to obtain mercy.

The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.
The TROUBLES and PERSECUtIONS of BARTHOLOMEW COPIN.

hoped, he said, that God would be so favourable to him, as to support him under any torments he was to endure, for his glory's sake.

In conclusion, he committed his son and daughter to his wife's care, which God had given them in holy wedlock, charging her again and again, to see them brought up virtuously and in the fear of God. He charged his son to follow his own course, for though he believed the judgment of the troubled promise of Pelling. He intreated them both to pray for him, that God would for bitterness against all temptations. And thus having blessed his son, and taken leave of his wife, they were conducted out of the presence, as he was carried into the house of T. P. to be examined. The woman and her son were disilluminated into tears, and crying out that it would have moved the most steepest heart to compassion: but this holy man not consenting with himself with what he had said to them by word of mouth, wrote unto his wife the following letter, the original whereof the learned bestowed to us, written and signed with the hand of the said Copin, with this inscription:

To my well-beloved WIFE, SUSANNAH COPIN, from the TOWER of LUSERNA.

Dearly yoke-fellow, I received much consolation by your coming to this place, and by so much the more as it were beyond my expectation; and I suppose you also were not a little comforted, that you have it an opportunity of seeing me, as to face with me the last night, being Saturday the 15th of September 1601. I know not well what they aimed at in authorizing you to do. But God ordereth all these things. But as far as I can guess, it shall be the last time that ever we shall sit together in this life: and therefore pray God to God that you may be saved, and me also. Trust you still in him, for he hath promised never to leave nor forsake those that put their trust in him. God hath endued you with wisdom, govern your own family in such a manner that our children Samuel and Martha may be obedient unto you: whom in the name and authority of God, I commend and that they obey you. For so the blessing of Almighty God shall light upon them.

Dear wife, be not over penitive for me, for if God hath ordained me now to attain unto the end of the race, and that I must render into the hands of the Almighty my soul, which so long time I hath lent me; my hope is, that of his holy and divine mercy he will receive it into his kingdom, for his own beloved Son's sake Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom I believe that my sins are forgiven, for the only merit of his holy death and passion. Alas my prayer is, it shall be granted me by the power of his grace, and not by my own breath. Be fervent in prayer, and in all other parts of God's worship and service, for this is the way to true blestness. Take no care about finding any thing unto me for these three weeks, and then I pray you fend me some money, if you think fit, to go at the jailor, and somewaste much more for mine own necessities, if it please God I live to long. Alas I pray you call to mind what I have often told you, namely, how God prolonged king Hezekiah's life for fifteen years. But he hath preferred my life much longer for it is many years since you first came at Oxford, tis death, the year 1590. If I am alive, and I hope, ye we are spared, that I will long prefer me as shall be for his glory and my good, through his eternal goodness.

From the prison of A.F., September 16, 1601.

The bishop of Aft was somewhat troubled about this his prisoner; for if he had let him go, he feared it would breed some scandal, and many might thereby be emboldened to open their mouths wide against the Roman religion. Besides, there was a clause in the contract made between this ecclesiency and the people of Vondis, which exempted thee of the religion from offence, in these words: And if it shall fall out that they be asked or questioned within of the said Pimient, about the cause of religion, by any of his ecclesiency's subordinates, it shall be lawful
lauful for those of the said religion to answer without suffering any penal or personal punishment for the sake.

Now Copin had a question put to him, in which re-

spect he ought to have been cleared. But the bishop

would by no means hear that he had unjustly imprisioned him; and therefore that his death should not be laid to his

charge, nor yet that he should be sentenced to death, for the cause of his indictment to pope Clement the Eighth, to know what should be done with him.

We cannot learn what answer the pope returned to the bishop; but not long after, this good man was found dead in prison, not without some apparent suf-
ficion of his being strangled there; lest if they had executed him in public, people should have been edified by his con-

fancy.

Being dead, he was condemned to be burned, and therefore having caused him to be brought out of prison, they read his sentence openly, and the body was cast into the fire.

The DEATH OF HENRY III. KING OF FRANCE.

A Friar, of the order of St. Dominic, pretended he had matters of great consequence to impart to the king; who being admitted into his presence, upon his knees presented a letter to him, which he drew out of one sleeve; which whift the king attentively read, the friar pulled forth a polione hat, out of his other de-

sc, wherewith he stabbed the king in the lower part of his

belt. The king finding himself wounded, snatched out the knife, and thrust it into the friar's eye, who happening to get away, the king cried out. His lords and gentlemen perceiving what the friar had done, flew him immediately with rapiers and swords.

An ACCOUNT of the BLOODY MASSACRE in the VALTOLINE, in the Year 1620.

THE beginning of the murders were at Tyrane. The ringleaders of this cruel massacre gave orders, that all the ways and passages should be well guarded, that their bloody designs might not be so readily disco-

vered, and they left troubled in the execution. Then about six o'clock in the night, they entered the city, like to many forgers and forgers, and caused four mus-

ets to be discharged before the palace of the seignior Podetta, the principal magistrate of the place, and rung the great bell of Tyrane; upon which signal all the in-
habitants of that vicinity took the alarm, and made head towards the said bell. They got orders to break the bridge in which lay towards Brusc, and on the place they planted a strong guard, and this was done before day.

Upon the dawning of the day, the bells began to ring another peal at Marcello, and then these traitors began to range themselves together. The protetans, who, with-

out fear, fussen came out of their houses to see what

the matter was, were suddenly shot in the place. Others by force entered into the houses of protetans, drew them out of their beds, and without any compasion, fllew all they could meet with.

One poor gentleman hid himself in a garret, but the villains finding him, threw him out of the window, and when they found him yet alive, they dispatched him with a piece of timber.

Antonio de Salva, a chancellor in that valley, being appointed judge upon criminal causes, a man of the greatest authority in the place, being deferous to fave himself; together with his deputy, was drawn out of the house, and shot.

Another gentleman of great worth, very singularly

learned, and skilful in many languages, being at that time governor of Teglio, being by chance in this hurry

burlly at Tyrane, was also with his servants strangled to death in the chamber where he was found.

The reverend parson of the church of Tyrane, a man

of great fidelity and wisdom, and a lover of the peace of the country, hearing the noise of the opener, he and the parster of Mello withdrew themselves into a house, where having commended their souls to God, they were murdered.

The furious wretches cut off Baffo's head, and car-

ried it into the church, and fixed it upon a pole in the

parterre, to shew the infamous bygone.

Come down, Baffo, thou haft preached long enough already.

In like manner at the same time the fate of the che quarer of Tyrane was befiegged by those hell-bound, wherein dwelt the seignior John de Cappuol, being at the time governor. To which place, Maffarea, a man of good account, and chancellor of that office, hard not himself early in the morning to face his fate. But because he was extremely hated by the papists, in his singular piece and sincerity, he was continually pu-

fied by them; information thereof was laid even to the palace, threatening to set fire to the town if they were not delivered into their hands. Lazarone, discovering that, was forced that evening to leave the house, and hide himself about the banks of the river Adda, wherein he covered himself, and lay close three weeks, before he came at least of his life. Then he limped toward the palace, and led himself with difficulty, and at last found him, and dragged him out of the water; and though with tears in his eyes, he begged for his life, in consideration of his dear children, yet they answered, That this was no time for pity and favour: but if he would face the papists, he should live; and himself, he did.

But he, with a courageous resolution, answered, God forbid, that I, for love of this temporal life, that deny my Lord Jesus Christ, who with his precious blood upon the cross, did at to dear a rate redeem me; and after I have long time, through his grace, freely publicly confected him, I would not hazard the life eternal life; I say, God forbid. Upon this they immedi-

ately murdered him.

The very same evening, the gate of the palace was burnt to the ground by those rebels, who the next mor-

ning entered the house, singing most rudely, and set

the governor prisoner, with his young son; spoiling runnackling wives and maidens, and carrying away they could lay hands on. The governor of the place was taken away, and after he had remained a long time prisoner, he was shot.

Mazzano, endeavouring to make resistance against those rebels, and his wife defending himself with herself and two young children mutually killed.

Another called John Antonio Schloffer, a Gardar, having made long resistance, and killed one of the bees was at last taken, and tied to a tree, and so put to death.

To be short, these villains had no regard of any gen-

eration, neither young, old, weak, or strong, many of

them were either shot to death, or cut in pieces, in one manner or other destroyed; and the number of those perfrons in elevation, who in Tyrane received the crown of martyrdom for the professiom of the gospel was about sixty.

The ladies who were not slain, were confrain'd to change their religion, and to go to mass, that the wife of the said Lazarone and her daughter be-

ning the wife of one Egido, who was in the affiance of Almighty God continued in faith. And there also the 8th of August, the said ladies werereleaved, who retired themselves into Retia, and the wife of this Lazarone, and her two daughters were behind them in the Valtoline one daugther and two sons who could not obtain leave to depart from country.

At the massacre of Teglio were murdered about fifty

perfrons. Thelie wicked wretches, apprilled in caps, cackles, and worn mounted on horseback, the morning to Tellic, the hour when the former

and ran like familiary wolves to the Volta church; protetans who were in the church, observing the the
The name befell a gentleman of Soglio, in the Pr. egeo,
for through his life he was promis'd him, he was
brought to the market place pinioned with a cord, and
miserably flay'd betwixt the hams, being Lord for the next
years of age, after he had been robb'd of his gold and
silver, whereof great store was found in his house; ac-
cording to the common and too much practis'd rule of
the Roman catholics.

An aged man of sixty-seven years was set upon an
afz, his face turned to the tail, which he held in his hand
instead of a bridles; and in his other hand a book, whom
in this manner they carri'd through Sondres, with great
joy and triumph. Then they cut off his ears, nose, and
whiskers, boring holes into divers parts of his body, with
a frangage, and more travailled his honesty, until they had
quite killed him; but he for the love of Christ, with all
our with great and incredible courage endured all those
torments.

Anthony de Prati, of the hills, was exhort'd with many
words to abjure his religion; but he constantly percer-
vered, and with a generous courage replied in these
words, "My soul shall be taken up into Abraham's bo-
form, and after my death my enemies shall see the angel
of God hard by me, &c." And accordingly an angel
appeared over his body in a white garment, being seen
by those that stood near him, who of their own accord
have publicly procla'med the fact.

An aged man of seventy-five years, being set upon by
those inhuman wretches, leap'd out of a window and
pas'd the river Maleto, and having got to his houfe, and
shif'ted his clothes, he was assai'd again, taken prifoner,
convey'd to the palace, put oft to the frapado, and at
last was to be hewn and flit'd with a sword, that he had
nothing left him but his arms, which were ta'en to the
coat.

Paulo Boretta, of Chio, in the county of Vicence, a
virgin of the age of seventy-five years, of an honour-
able, noble, and ancient family, who came twenty-seven
years before the year of the Lord, was taken from her
people who were in the houfe. Whereupon the
affaire commanded those in the houfe to depart;
being well armed, immediately took their way by
paths towards the bridge, where for a time they fortifi-
themselves, then returning again, they drew unto
themselves the whole of the people of Sondres.

In one place being ga-
erged together with the patator, they made their prayers
God, and afterwards, to the number of threecore and
hundred persons, in all they paffed the valley of Malence,
was before by the enemy on two sides: but those
were unfeard, and the great majesty of God so moved
them, that they fled away, and the alms they were
though they were paf't to the tops of the hils, did
erall leave with safety.

Jamaa Lita, a wife of Anthoni Grotti, of Chio, in
province of Vicentino, of an honourable and an-
other, came out of Italy but a few years before
the liberty of her conscience. She was with her
bated with fair words to change her religion; but
constantly persevering therein, was admonish'd that
would at least have a care of her young infant which
held in her arms, being about two months old;
me unseen, that in the twink-
ing of an eye both the infant was in life: but and a
bold and unbounded courage answer'd, That the
not departed out of Italy her native country, neither
the ftranger all the affaire she had, to renounce at
the faith which had been inspir'd into her by the
Lord Jesus; if, yet, that the would ratheruffer, if
they were possible, a thousand deaths. And how, said
I, if I have regard in this cause of my infant, since God
heavenly Father feared not his only Son, my Lord
but delivered him up to death for the love of me
all finners? Then giving them the child, she said,
the child to the Lord God, who hath the care of
birds of the air; and therefore be able to fave this
creature, although by you it were left in thofe wild
sails. So unlacing her gown, she opened her
naked, and said, Here is the body which you have power
but my soul, on which you have no power to
hand, that I commend to my God, and imme-
ly she was cut in pieces, being thirty-five years of
The infant, because it was a lovely and sweet baby
was, was suffer'd to live, and was delivered to a
woman to nurse. The husband of this gentle-
man was murdered for the faith before.

The women who were forced to take up to the tops of
craggy mountains, being terrified at the headlonging with their children, unless they would go

And although some were moved and terrified
the horrors of death, and had confessed to change
religion, yet were they murder'd for all that with-

many to bear.
seen in groves and woods in the mountains, and in the waters in many places.

At the massacre of Beronne, were slain about eleven persons. And likewise
At Calpano, and Trithorn, about the same number; one of them was by trade a tailor, who, being discovered by his countrymen and kindled, was taken and carried to Morbegno, and being solicited to forsake the true religion, and to embrace the Roman, and standing with great manufacits thereto, was condemned to the fire; and was placed between two heaps of wood, to make him recant; but all was in vain; for being asked, If he were a catholic, he answered, That he was. Then, if he were a Roman catholic; he likewise affirmed he was so. But being demanded, if he held the Roman faith as it is at this day, he answered, No. It is true, said he, that I hold the ancient catholic Roman faith, which was preached by St. Paul, That a man is saved by grace by the means of faith, and not by works, left any man should boast. Being demanded, if he believed the pope to be the head of the church, he answered, No, because Christ only is the head of the church, according to the promise, I will be with you unto the end of the world.

And though the fire was kindled and put out again on purpose to draw him to a recantation, nevertheless he persevered and endured that cruel death with admirable constancy, the 15th day of August, being sixty years old.

Giovanni Pietro Malacrida, although he were little of stature, yet was he great and mighty in the confession of the truth, in so much that for the love of his Saviour he suffered death with singular charituness, being forty years of age. His example was devoutly and constantly imitated by Elizabeth his wife, who was killed in the 38th year of her age: and moreover these Herodian murderers not therewith content, but joining one barbarous inhumanity to another, oblivion a daughter of her's, being an infant of three years old, to lie in the cradle, although it was a child of a tender countenance, and these witnesses seeing that the babe looked lovingly and pleasantly upon them, which would have been enough to have moved any damnable heart to compassion, yet notwithstanding they took this pretty innocent babe by the feet, and dashed out her brains against the wall.

Upon the most serious consideration it every way appeared, that the aforesaid perfous underwent those sufferings for no other cause, but only for the truth of the gospel; even as by the eternal decree of God, the holy prophets, John the Baptist, the holy apostles, yea, even our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and after him those many millions of the martyrs in all ages have done before, and especially in these times, in Germany, France, England, Scotland, Low-Countries, Bohemia, Italy, Spain, Portugal, &c.

Which martyrdom they endured willingly, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer blame for the name of Jesus, remembering the promise of our Lord, Blest are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, because the kingdom of heaven is their's. Blest are you when others shall revile and persecute you, and shall falsely speak all evil of you for my sake: rejoice and triumph, for great is your reward in heaven, for To have they persecuted the prophets who were before you. Read to this purpose, 1 Pet. iv. 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16; which words, by all good christians are to be well pondered and weighed. For first, By such trial we perish not. Secondly, We are thereby made conformable to Christ our head. Thirdly, Such sufferings cause unto us greater joy than sorrow. Fourthly, Such infallible marks that the spirit of God ruleth in us. Fifthly, They manifest to all our ungodliness and his gospel. Sixthly, Hereby we have proved that the Lord doth correct us, not as a fleshly father, but as a most loving and tender-hearted Father; and therefore with his beloved Son, and Holy Spirit, keep glory and honour ascribed in all the churches of saints, world without end, Amen.

SIGNS and PRODIGIES, which happened after the MASSACRE in the VALTOLINE.

The protestants having appointed guards in the churches of the Valtoline, besides others who were commanded to watch in certain places, to signify by fire, to the intent that the whole valley be to go and fly by the cautions, partly by the found the bells, might be ready together on a sudden to take for their defence against the Spaniards, if they should make any excution upon the valley: about the month of May, 1620, in Sondres, the aforesaid caenials reported that in the night as they watched, they heard in a church of Gervale, a murmuring as it were of perfous, with great earnefits and vehemency of speaking and contending among themselves; and from church there shone upwards through the steeple brightnes, in so much that the candles lighted in torches, and assembled themselves to go down to church to see what the matter might be. But as they were descending down the stairs, their lights were taken and returning afresh to light their torches, they came out again with greater strength, and with much confusion and trembling; and the brightnes which filled church suddenly vanished, the weights of the clock fell down, and they heard about ten tolls all in such a manner as it usefth to ring to give the church which was heard by many.

Likewise in Tyane, the great bell was heard in manner, and the magistrates commanded them falleth, but he found that it was done by the hand of men, and infantly the first running from the belfrey, and diligently attending this business, they determined a thing like a cat to descend down into the place.

After the massacre, in the Valtoline, the enemy of the protestant church, and principally from Tegion and Tana, a voice hath been heard to cry, Woe, woe by the vengeance of God is upon you for the blood of the innocent.

Also the bell of the evangelical church of Tyane used to ring even at the same time that the same went to be and in that church a voice was heard, the voice of Seignior Antonio Basso, who some time been there a minister, and was murdered in this place, as if himself had been preaching there.

In Sondres there was seen to descend an angel from the mountains every way furnished; which figure was cause that many took their flight, and departed from Sondres; but suddenly this apparition vanished in cloud. Which struck a great terror into the minds of the people, infomuch that many departed out of the town, fearing a dreadful punishment from heaven.
THE NEW AND COMPLETE BOOK OF MARTYRS, OR, AN Universal History of Martyrdom: BEING FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS, Revised and Corrected, with Additions and great Improvements.

BOOK IV.
CONTAINING
An Historical Account of the Lives, Persecutions, Sufferings, and cruel Deaths, of many EMINENT PROTESTANTS.

CHAP. I.
ACCOUNT of the RISE, PROGRESS, PERSECUTIONS, and SUFFERINGS, of the PEOPLE commonly called QUAKERS.

In treating of these people in an historical man-
er, we are obliged to have recourse to much tenderness. That they differ from the gene-
rality of Protestants in some of the capital
acts of religion, cannot be denied; and yet, as Pro-
dent Difters, they are included under the descrip-
tion of the toleration act. It is not our business to
inquire whether people of familiar sentiments had any
influence in the primitive ages of Christianity; per-
haps, in some respects, they had not; but we are to
see of them nor as what they were, but what they
are. That they have been treated by several
writers in a very contemptuous manner, is certain;
and that they did not deserve such treatment, is equally
certain.

The appellation Quakers was bestowed upon them as
a term of reproach, in consequence of their apparent
silliness, which they laboured under when they deliv-
ered their discourses, because they imagined they were
subject to Divine inspiration.

It is not our business, at present, to inquire whether
the sentiments of those people are agreeable to the go-


other country busines, and was particularly inclined to
the solitary occupation of a shepherd; "an employ-
ment," says our author, "that very well suited his mind
in several respects, both for its innocency and solitude;
and was a just emblem of his after ministration and service."
In the year 1646, he entirely forsook the national church,
in whole towns he had been brought up, as before ob-
erved; and in 1647, he travelled into Derbshire and
Nottinghamshire, without any set purpose of visiting
particular places, but in a solitary manner he walked
through several towns and villages, which way soever
his mind turned. "He fatted much," says Sewell,
"and walked often in retired places, with no other
companion than his Bible." "He visited the most re-
tired and religious people in those parts," says Penn,
"and there were, short of few, if any, in this
nation, who waited for the consolation of Israel night
and day; as Zacharias, Anna, and Simeon, did of old
time. To these he was sent, and therefore he sought out
in the neighbouring counties, and among them he sojourned
still his more ample ministration came upon him. At
this time he taught, and was an example of silence,
endeavouring to bring them from self-performances;
to the sight of, and turning them to the light of Christ
within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience,
and so feel the power of it to stir in their hearts, that
their knowledge and worship of God might stand in the
power of an endless life, which was to be found in
the light, as it was obeyed in the manifestation of it in man:
for in the word was life, and that life is the light of men.
Life in the word, light in men; and life in men too, as
the light is obeyed; the children of the light living by
the life of the word, by which the word begeth them
again to God, which is the generation and new birth,
without
without which there is no coming into the kingdom of God, and to whom whatever comes greater is than John; that is, than John's dispensation, which was not that of the kingdom, but the consummation of the legal, and fore-running of the gospel-times, the time of the kingdom. Accordingly several meetings were gathering in those parts; and thus his time was employed for some years.

In the year 1651, "he had a visitation of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth, in a public ministry, to begin it." He directed his course northward, "and in every place where he came, if not before he came to any place of particular excitement for the gospel unto him, so that the Lord was his leader indeed." He made great numbers of converts to his opinions, and many pious and good men joined him in his ministry. These were drawn forth especially to visit the public assemblies to reprove, reform, and exhort them; sometimes in markets, in fairs, in country, at par- stone highway-side, "eating and drinking, preaching repentance, and to return to the Lord, with their hearts as well as their mouth; directing them to the light of Christ within them, to see, examine, and to consider their ways by, and to eschew the evil, and to do the good and acceptable will of God."

They were not without opposition in the work they imagined themselves called to, being often set in the flocks, floned, beaten, whipped, and imprisoned, though, as our author observes, honest men of good report, that had left wives, children, houses and lands, to visit them with a living call to repentance. And these recei- vide methods rather forward than altered their zeal, and in those parts they brought over many proflites, and amongst them several magistrates, and others of the better sort. They apprehended the Lord had forbidden them to pull off their hats to any one, high or low, and required them to speak to the people, without distinction, in the land for healing and taking away biding people good-morrow, or good-night; nor might they bend the knee to any one, even in supreme author- ity. Both men and women went in a plain and simple drefs, different from the fashion of the times. They neither gave nor accepted any titles of respect or honor, nor would they call any man master, on earth. Several texts of scripture they quoted in defense of these singularities; such as, Swear not at all. How can ye believe who receive honour of one another, and seek not the honour which comes from God only? &c. &c. They placed the basis of religion in an inward light, and an exter- nal ordinances, the highest being the highest, but not the highest in all. In 1654, their first separate meeting in London was held in the house of Robert Dring, in Watling-street, for by that time they had spread themselves into all parts of the kingdom, and had in many places set up meetings and assemblies, particularly in Lancashire and the adjacent parts; but they were still exposed to great per- secutions and trials of every kind. One of them, in a letter to the protector, Oliver Cromwell, represents, that though there are no penal laws in force obliging men to comply with the Established religion, yet the Quakers are expelled upon other accounts; they are fined and imprisoned, and driven from their house; for holding their tithes; for disturbing the public assemblies, and meeting in the streets, and places of public resort; some of them have been whipped for vagabonds, and for their plain speeches to the magistrate.

Under favour of the then toleration, they opened their meeting in London and Alder- street, where women, as well as men, were moved to speak. Their zeal transported them to some extravag- ancies, which laid them still more open to the lafh of their enemies, who exercised various severities upon them throughout the next reign. Upon the suppre- ssion of the Toleration, in 1661, the Quakers published a proclamation, forbidding the Anabaptists, Quakers, and Fifth monarchy men, to assemble or meet together under pretense of worshipping God, except it be in some parochial church, chapel, or in private houses, by consent of the persons there inhabiting, all meetings in other places, being declared to be unlawful and riotous, &c. &c. the Quakers thought it expedient to address the king thereon, which they did in the follow- ing words:

"Oh King Charles!

O UR desire is, that thou mayest live ever for the fear of God, and thy council. We before- thee and thy council to read these following lines to them artificers, and compulsion for our faith, and for your good.

And this consider, we are about four hundred imprifoned, in and about this city, of men and women from their families, beside, in the county gaz, and ten hundred; we desire that our meetings may not be broken upon, that all may come to a fair trial; let innocency may be cleared up."

"London, 16th day, eleventh month, 1661."

On the 28th of the same month, they published a declaration referred to in their address, entitled, a declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God, called Quakers, against all sedition, plotters, and fighters in the world, for removing the ground evils, and iniquity, from among us, for the edification and peace in the kingdom, concerning wars and fightings, was presented to the king the 28th day of the eleventh month, 1660, and he promised them upon his word, that they should not suffer for their opinions, as long as they lived peaceably; but his promises were not respected after all. In 1661, they affirmed courage to petition the lords for a toleration of their religion, and a dispensation from the oath, which they held useful, not from any disaffection to the government, nor belief that they were less obliged by an acknowledgment of their faith to it, than by the most faithful of any, as is set forth in the New Testament. Their petition was rejected and instead of granting them relief, an act was passed against them, the preamble to which fet forth, 'That whereas several persons have taken upon an oath, in an oath, even before a magistrate, is unlawful, and contrary to the word of God; and whereas, under the dispensations of religious worship, the said persons do assemble in great numbers in several parts of the kingdom, sport- ing themselves from the rest of his majesty's subjects, and the public congregations and usual places of divine worship; be it therefore enacted, that if any person praying after the 24th of March, 1661-2, shall refuse to take an oath when lawfully tendered, or persuade other- wise to do it, or maintain in writing, or otherwise, the usual fulness of taking an oath; or if they shall assume religious worship, to the number of five or more, the age of fifteen, they shall all for the first offence, five pounds; for the second, ten pounds; and for the third shall abjure the realm, or be transported to plantations; and the justices of peace at their options may hear and finally determine in the affair.'

This act had a most dreadful effect upon the Quakers, though it was well known and notorious the acts against them was unjust and false, yet the insolence of the government. George Fox, in his address to them, accuses him, that three thousand and fifty-two of their friends had been imprisoned since his majesty's for their opinion; that their meetings were daily broken upon men with clubs and arms, and their friends with scuffles and blood drawn; and that when they did meet, they were in and about London, and the suburbs, beaten, whipped, and thrown into the streets.

However, they even glorified in their sufferings, and increased every day; so that in 1665, and the immedi- ate years, they were harrassed without example; they perished resolutely to assemble, open, and private houses, Bull and Mouth before-mentioned, the old and young, other officers, dragged them thence to prison.
An ACCOUNT of the FRIENDS, commonly called QUAKERS.

When James, by his inspiring power, granted liberty to the dissenters, they began to enjoy some rest from their troubles; and indeed it was high time, for they were seceded to an enormous amount. They, the year before this, to them glad received, hitherto pernicious, were now considered as being the children of men. Yet they had no idea of the calamities they suffered, and which doing, we with the all manner of happy

pounds, if they do not issue our warrants upon their information." With this petition they preferred a list of their friends in prison, in the several counties, amounting to four hundred and fifty.

During the reign of King James II. these people were, through the intercession of their friend Mr. Penn, treated with much kindness and lenity, as before. They were now become extremely numerous in many parts of the country, and the settlement of Pennsylvania taking place soon after, many of them went over to America. There they enjoyed the blessings of a peaceful government, and cultivated the arts of honest industry.

As the whole colony was the property of Mr. Penn, so he invited people of all denominations to come and settle with him. An universal liberty of conscience took place; and in this new colony the natural rights of mankind were fully reasserted. The great principles of the Christian faith, and their discipline concerning church communion.

They profess faith in God, by his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, as being their light and life, as well as their only way to the Father, and a mediator with the Father. That God, in Christ, is the Holy Ghost, and the Holy Word, and the Holy and Divine Being, incapable, one true living and eternal God, blessed for ever. That the Word, or Son of Man, in the fulness of time, took our nature upon him, and became a perfect man, according to the flesh; was miraculously conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, declared to be the Son of God, according to the spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection from the dead. That in this Word was life, and the same life was the light of men, the life and light within us; and that men are to believe in this light, Christ Jesus.

That as man he died for our sins, rose again, and was raised up into glory; he having, by that one great universal offering, become a sacrifice for peace, aonement, and reconciliation between God and man. That Jesus, who firsteth on the right-hand of the Majesty of Heaven, is our king, high-priest, and prophet, in his church, and by his blood, and by the light within us, that according to the word of the Son of Man, in the fulness of time, took our nature upon him, and became a perfect man, according to the flesh; was miraculously conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, declared to be the Son of God, according to the spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection from the dead. That in this Word was life, and the same life was the light of men, the life and light within us; and that men are to believe in this light, Christ Jesus.

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Firm and living faith in Jesus Christ the Son of the living God respects his being and fulness, and also his making them free, in and by his light within us, to the light of life, life, spirit, grace, and truth; the immediate cause, author, object, and strength of our living faith; which light and life of the Son of God, when truly observed and followed, will bring us to the adoption of sons.

It is true, we are not to undervalue the holy scriptures, nor flight the preaching of the word, as being outward helps and instruments in the hand of God for the conversion of sinners; nor do we set them up in opposition to the light of the spirit of God or Christ within; for his faithful messengers are ministers thereof to turn people to the light of God; and he will be found in the word of truth, which is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the division of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.

It is certain, that great is the mystery of godliness in itself, that God should be manifested in the flesh; and it is a great and precious mystery of godliness and christianity, that Christ should be spiritually and effectually manifested in men's hearts. Christ is revealed in all true believers, seeing them from the bondage of fin, in their wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.
tion. This mystery of godliness in it's own being and glory, hath been and must be testified, preached, and believed, where God is pleased to give comminution, and prepare people's hearts for the same.

As touching the resurrection of the dead, we believe as the scripture testifies, "That in this life we only have hope of heaven, even the most miserable." That the soul or spirit of every man or woman shall be resumed in it's own distinct and proper being, and every soul shall have it's proper body, as God is pleased to give it. A natural body is focial, a spiritual body is raised; and though this corruptible flesh shall put on incorruption, the change shall be such as flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, so we expect our bodies to be spiritual in the resurrection, and that they shall far excel what our bodies are at present; but how the dead are raised, or with what body they come, we submit to the wisdom and pleasure of Almighty God; for we cannot presume to determine.

As to the doctrine of the final judgment, we believe, that God hath committed all judgment unto his Son Jesus Christ, and he is appointed to be both the judge of the quick and the dead, and of the fates and of all the mankind. That Jesus Christ, who hath so deeply suffered, and endured so many indignities, shall in the last and great day manifestly appear in glory, attended with all his glorious and heavenly hat, and to the terror and amazement of all who have denied him; but to the glory and triumph of the righteous, the faithful followers, and friends of Christ. It is a righteous thing with God, that they who suffer with him, shall appear with him in glory and dignity, when he shall appear at last to judge the world and the princes thereof. Whilth those who now evade and reject the inward convictions and judgment of the light, and shut up the records or books that proceed in such convictions; they shall be at last opened, and every thing judged of the things recorded therein, according to their works. These articles are generally approved of by most of those christians whom we call orthodox; but as a charge was brought against the Quakers for having embraced the notion of Scripture, in vindication of themselve they added a few more articles to their creed. These are as follow:

I. That Jesus of Nazareth, who was born of the Virgin Mary, is the true Messiah, the Christ, the Son of God, to whom all the prophets are witnesses; and that we do highly value his death, sufferings, works, offices, and merits, for the redemption of mankind, with his laws, doctrines, and ministry.

II. That this very Christ of God, who is the Lamb of God that taketh away all the sins of the world, was slain, was dead, and is alive for ever in his eternal glory, dominion, and power, with the Father.

III. That the holy scriptures are of Divine authority, as being given by the inspiration of God, and containing the word of God, and that no interpolations made in any place are to be received, which have not the approbation of the same.

IV. And that magistracy, or civil government, is God's ordinance, the good ends thereof being for the punishment of evil doers, and the peace of them that do well.

These articles were added by one George Whitehead, a noted man among them; and here it may be necessary to observe, that these people pay very great regard to the scriptures, and to many other doctrines of the gospel.

Baptism is not practised by these people. They say, that it is not outward washing with water that makes the heart clean, by which men are fitted for heaven. Mr. Barclay, in his Apology, endeavours to prove this proposition in the following manner, viz. "As there is one Lord, one Mediator between God and men, and the only way of propitiation for sin is by the sacrifice of the body of Jesus Christ, not putting away the filth of the flesh, but the anver of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And this baptism is a pure and spiritual thing; that is, the baptism of the spirit, and by which we are buried with him; that being washed and buried from our sins, we may walk in newness of life; of which the baptism of John was only a figure, which was

manded for a time, and not to continue for ever. So are the sentiments of this learned man concerning baptism, or in general all water baptism whatsoever. It adds further, that infant baptism is a mere human invention, for which neither precept nor practice is to be looked for any mention.

Concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, he advances, "That the communion of the blood and blood of Christ is inward and spiritual, which is a participation of his flesh and blood, by which the sinner is daily nourished in the hearts of them in Christ. By the breaking of bread and giving of the bread by Christ with his disciples was a figure, which was not used in the church for a time, which had received no instance for the sake of the weak; even in obtaining things strangled, and from blood; the walking of another's feet, and the anointing of the sick with all which they were at liberty to do. And now but few of them are used in the church, which have been translated of it into French, German, Low Dutch.

Having thus far considered the principles of Friends, commonly called Quakers, we shall proceed to give some account of the various parts of this discipline.

In 1667, George Fox recommended the setting of monthly meetings throughout the nation, these having only had their quarterly meetings. "And Lord appeared (says George) unto me, and told me what I must do, and how man and woman's monthly meetings should be ordered and established in England, and other nations, and that I should use them where I came not, to do the fame. Accord having recommended the setting up of these meetings in London to take care of God's glory, administration, and exhibit such as walked directly, according to the truth; then I passed forth into counties again, and advised that monthly meetings should be settled there also, for the same purpose, which was done according to the gospel order, in every province of God; and in the year 1668, I went in the same practice to Ireland, Scotland, to Holland, to Barbadoes, and to parts of America, advising friends to hold such meetings in those countries; all which was attended.

The good effects of these monthly meetings did themselves in the reformation that took place amongst friends, and they were not neglected even by those that did not join us." These monthly meetings were or less in number, as the cafe required, in every county; and three monthly meetings make tery one in each county. These meetings called terly, determined every thing that was necessary to be done, and exposed matters for the general yearlings. In all these meetings they are equal in power, have no perfunctory to override them, because the knowledge none but Christ for their head. They no disputes concerning differences, but endeavor to convince each other in the spirit of love and in these meetings they inquire into all the wanton and brethren.

In their proceedings against offenders, they are low: He is visited by some of the friends, and he is charged with is laid before him. They have much love and zeal to convince his conscience, and to view the glory of God, the good of his soul, as honour of their profession. It commonly happens he is prevailed on to own his faults, and profoundly repentance; and then the thing is never mentioned him afterwards.

The monthly meeting chuses some of the friends to visit such as are absent, to consist
An ACCOUNT of the FRIENDS commonly called QUAKERS.

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to take care that the poor be provided for, to pro-

priet, charity, and friendship in families, to take

that the children of the poor be instructed, clothed, in all things provided for;

although they supply the wants of all their own poor, this does not prevent them from being charitable to other religious denominations.

The self-questions asked by those whom we have al-
ammentioned as virtuous are the following.

How are ministering friends in love and unity with

another, and with faithful brethren in their own

churches? Do none of them travel abroad in the works of

the gospel without a certificate from their own monthly meeting?

Do they give way to each other, and to strangers? Do they overcharge themselves with business to

impose on others? Are they found in their ministry? Do any of them burden their hearers with words

for life?

Do they adorn their doctrine by a suitable con-

and conversation, as good example in all re


The tender reader will acknowledge, that these are important questions; but their discipline concerning

marriage, merits the attention of Preachers of all

descents.

In the month of October, let men and women present themselves to the men

and women at the monthly meetings where they reside, to deliver their intention of taking each other as

husband and wife, if the said meeting have no material

objection against it.

As principal conditions of their acceptance, are the

following: It is an established rule, that no man pro-

pose to a woman, without the previous consent of

her father or her parents, or guardians; and if the un-

married young should have precipitated him- or herself in breach of this rule, he is required to remove the

bride, as it is also the woman, and give satisfaction to

parents and guardians, and to the meeting to which

they belong, by a due and open acknowledgment of

the sin, and condemnation of themselves for it, and to

remit the costs of their guardians before they can pro-

ceed with the marriage.

The party to be of the same opinion and,

ment in matters of religion, and professed members of a

church, and that none shall marry within such degrees of

kinship or affinity, as are forbidden by the law of

England.

If either of the parties has given offence to

friends formerly, by some act or scandal, they

acknowledge it, which is generally done in the

month of October.

Objections are then made, notice of the intended

date is published in the meetings, where the man

and woman reside, or did reside, which must be done

before the marriage is solemnized, in order that con-

vocation may be granted for satisfaction concerning

the scandals of all scandal of previous contract, and

thing else.

Parties are required to give their attendance a

time at the monthly meeting, which is usually

in the spring, when the parties appointed to make

query, return and give the answer, which if proved

true, the marriages are at liberty to proceed to the

fulfillment of the marriage. When

marriages are solemnized in the common ordi-

naries, which hath had this good effect, to make

and strongly recommend this decent and comely

habit, to be observed of all friends.

The marriage of the woman taken as husband

or wife, and of the man's or wife's certificate, to which the husband and wife are

subscribed, thereby making it their own act and deed,

and some of the persons present do the same. This certificate is afterwards written into the record of the

meeting.

As for second marrying, they attend to the following:

First, If the man be a widower, or the woman a

widow, and have children by a former husband or wife, that provision be previously made for such children, where it can be conveniently be done.

Secondly, Friends should not proceed to second mar-

riages, till at least one year is elapsed from the death of the former wife, or husband, and the practice according-

ly has been such; for to do otherwise would look indecent.

To their general meeting at London, which assembles

at Whithall, and are admitted friends from all the

churches which they have in the world, to give an account of the state of every particular church, which from some parts is done only by writing, and then a general epistle is sent to all the churches.

Their epistles, from their general meetings in London,

have something in them of a very pious and moral ten-

dency, of which we shall afterwards give a specimen.

In the mean time, we cannot help observing, that of all religious denominations, these people suffer more than others. They are obliged to pay all sorts of taxes, and yet none of their poor become burdened to the parishes.

The Papists have had greater inducements thrown them than the Friends, and there are numbers of papists in the workhouses in England. It is true, those of the Quakers or Friends, must be likewise admitted, on condition of their applying for it; but we cannot deny that it is rather cruel, to make men pay for the support of the poor, seeing they support all their own, and that in a decent manner.

The following epistle was written by that great ornament of the literary world, Dr. John Fothergill, at the earlier meeting of Friends, Maryland, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. In the form of letters, for the maintenance of good order, and the promotion of truth and righteousness upon earth.

Dearly beloved friends and brethren,

In the love of God, and the fellowship of the gospel,

which we have, with deep thankfulness of heart, in a good degree experienced to attend us, both in our meetings for worship, and those for transacting the affairs of the church, we affectionately salute you; with fervent desires that brotherly love, peace, and concord, may continue and increase amongst us, and that a tender and chrifastion concern may come upon all, in their respective stations, for the maintenance of good order, and the promotion of truth and righteousness upon earth.

By accounts received from the several quarterly meetings in England, and by epistles from Wales, North-Britain, Ireland, Holland, New-England, New-York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, South-Carolina, and Georgia, we are informed that love and unity are generally preferred in the churches, to many of which divers have been joined through conviction, and that a considerable number of well-disposed youth appears in various parts.

The sufferings of our brethren in America have been great in many places, especially in Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, Long-Island, Rhode-Island, and Nantucket. These sufferings have principally arisen from that confusion and difficulty which are inseparable from war, from the laws enacted for promoting military services, and from acts enforcing declarations of allegiance to those in power.

The friends who were banished from Philadelphia have been permitted to return to their habitations, excepting two, who died in exile; and some of those who were imprisoned have been set at liberty.

A LETTER,

From Dr. JOHN FOTHERGILL.

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It is with satisfaction we understand, that their meetings for worship and discipline are daily kept up, and that notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers that surround them, friends attend them with diligence, and many from remote places; their minds are often tendered therein, and united in love one to another, and in deep sympathy with the sufferers amongst them. And it evidently appears, that the turning of the mighty hand of the Lord upon them hath not been in vain; but that, having learned by the things they have suffered, and from the apprehension of future probation, they are engaged to wait for that Divine help, protection, and support, which alone can enable them to endure with patience and holy resignation the trials that are permitted to attend them.

Our brethren in those parts gratefully acknowledge the kindneps and regard of friends in England and Ireland, in so early and liberally contributing to the relief of their distresses. Many, from easy circumstances, have been reduced to great hardships and necessities, but have been meekly and in a state of contentment: these have shared the benevolence of those who have been preserved from the like sufferings. It appears, that their afflictions, though grievous in divers places, have tended to uneasy them to a deeper sense of their condition, and to increase a watchfulness and care, that they may walk answerable to the mercies received, and faithful in the testimonies committed to their charge, against wars and other anti-christian practices.

May a deep sympathy with our afflicted brethren affect every mind; and may we all watch unto prayer, that it may please the Divine Majesty to shorten the day of their distresses.

The sufferings of friends brought in this year from England and Wales, being chiefly in the north, and those called churches, amount to 5763l. and those from Ireland to 1254l.

Inasmuch as we have sufficient ground to believe that the true gospel ministry is freely received from the Holy Head and unchangeable High Priest of theChristian church, and by him commanded to be freely given; we cannot suffer to stand in the way of the apostolical state of the professing churches, as of any force to supersede his divine law, or to warrant us to act in violation thereof; we therefore exhort you, brethren, to be true and first felt in the faith once delivered to the saints, and deeply suffered for by divers of the protestant martyrs, as well as by our own faithful predecessors. However, amongst us, to whom blindness in part hath happened, may I receive from the law, and from the testimony, suffer it not to fall as in the streets, through your will, or the want of your example; lest for your doing Chrift before men, he deny you before your Father, the holy angels.

Let us also remember that as may be remitt in regard to the teachings of the grace of God in their own concerns, that the kingdom of Christ is a peaceable kingdom, though at first the same may seem like the flesh; they do not, after the flesh. He commands them to love their enemies; and many who have followed him in the way of peace, and abode under his government, have themselves refrained from all wars and fightings, and are not of the spirit of the flesh, but of that of the prophet of mankind. Believing this, we cannot expect any part there in; nor be concerned as one of armed vellums, in letters of maro, or as peace of prize goods; neither can we affil in the state of it, for whoever amongst us to confederate with the can allow evidences that they either prefer derogate corrupt inter it to the convictions of divine light, or own confessions, or that they are become infidels, the wench which mout tend to their condemnation.

Now, dear friends, seeing our time is ever so fast upon the wing, and the opportunity afforded with the most important work of preparation daily diminishing; looking also, that the follic period advances, which affects each individual, however occupied in this transient state being, must soon be called hence, and may, in a word, expected, be broken off from every temporal nation, by that awful command, 'Give an account of your stewardship, for thou mayest be no longer free; let us be vigilant, and in earnest so to improve the precious time allotted us, that when his awful call approaches, our confessions may not accuse our faith may be firm, and an admission grace into the kingdom of which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God!'

"See that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the day: as unexampled, be broken off from every temporal nation, by that awful command, to retire to the brethren, and love with faith and with the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ. Grant them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in fineness;"-- Eph. v. 15-16.

Before we conclude the account of these people, it is necessary to observe, that as the friends, called Quakers, will not take an oath in a court of law; the affirmation is permitted in all civil affairs, they cannot prosecute a criminal, because in our state of justice all evidence must be upon oath.

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The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

CHAP. II.

Containing an ACCOUNT of the WESTERN MARTYROLOGY, or BLOODY ASSIZES; together with LIVES, TRIALS, and DYING SPEECHES; of those EMINENT PROTESTANTS, that suffered for their FAITH, in the WEST of ENGLAND, and elsewhere, from the YEAR 1678, to 1685. To which is added, THE LIFE and DEATH of GEORGE LORD JEFFREYS, THE MARTYRDOM of Sir EDMUND-BURY GODFREY.

The clearest method for the description of the martyrdom of this good man, will be first to inquire into the occasion of it; and then the manner, circumstances, and authors; and lastly, the several endeavours that have been used to clear the papists of that indecible guilt, which sticks upon them from hereditary a villainy.

The occasion of his martyrdom, was the apologist in the flaming up the evidence concerning him, but modestly and upon suspicion only, we may yet venture to affirm positively, this protestant magistrate was certainly murdered, because he was a protestant.

But the particular and special reasons were the following:

1. He had taken examinations about the papish plot, and those not only (as the attorney-general said trial of the affarists) perhaps, but undoubtedly than are now extant. Mr. Oates adduced him with his depositions; he had taken them, he required something closely into the design, as, as he was in any thing which belonged to his office; the papists very well knew, and therefore found it convenient to be rid of a troublesome buffy man, who was engaged in the business, was likely to pierce the bottom of it; and he being once out of the way, all evidences of the very evil he had been disposed of satisfaction.

But here, though, whose interest it is to get clear of a charge, object very partly; what need, or what advantage, in taking off a justice, when the same were despised in other places?

2. The second reason or occasion for this murder
WOMAN with her sucking INFANT, tied together in a Bag and thrown into a River in SCOTLAND: four MEN HANGED at the same time for eating Goose on a Fast Day.
till Monday night, when they removed it into another room, and thence back again till Wednesday, when they circumvented Mr. Dugdale, and put some of the most secret passages and means the Duke of York, and the present council of war, and other places, were sensible of a deeper reason than all this, and which brought them into more danger than the other.

Mr. Dugdale had received a letter the very night on which this gentleman was martyred (of which more anon) with these words in it, [This night for Edmund-Bury Godfrey is dispatched.] This came from the pappits to Ewes, a papist priest at my lord Aiton's, who, after he had read it, communicated the good news to Mr. Dugdale, telling him it was not the very thing he was waiting for. He being curious to know how things stood, he asked, What was the reason they took away his life? Ewes told him, There was a message sent to Mr. Coleman, when in Warwick, to inform him that he would not reveal any thing of the plot; which message came from the duke of York. To which Coleman replied, I am more danger of a kind of traitor to my party, and as such I shall not be so fool as to reveal all to Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey already. But upon the examination of Oates before Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey, he was afraid he would come in as evidence against him, having shown himself eager in the business. Now this matter was not yet to reveal, but conceal it, Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey should not come in against him. And the next news was, that he was dispatched.

Now this effectually takes off the former cavil; and this in Roger could not but befieldset of; and concludes, inferentially against what he built so much upon, even less fairly drop, and mentions not a syllable of it in all his book. What evidence of Mr. Dugdale's, beyond contradiction confirmed by several hints carefully given in Sir Roger's own depositions, where Mr. Winsted depoites what Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey told him, Coleman replied, I am more danger of a kind of traitor to my party, and as such I shall not be so fool as to reveal all to Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey already. But upon the examination of Oates before Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey, he was afraid he would come in as evidence against him, having shown himself eager in the business. Now this matter was not yet to reveal, but conceal it, Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey should not come in against him. And the next news was, that he was dispatched.

For the manner of his death, those who were accomplices therein should be left to it; and the objections shall evidence their reader may find cleared, if he will but reflect upon the following circumstance: for, as Mr. Dugdale had several days been dogged by the pappits, as Dr. Oates, Mr. Prince, and Mr. Bedlow, unanimously fear, and which he as good as acknowledged to Mr. Robinson, as appears on the trial of his murderers, by the accomplished their wicked design, on Saturday, October 12, 1678, and under pretence of querist, which they knew his care for the public peace would oblige him to prevent, about nine o'clock at night, as he was going home, got him into the Water-Gate at Exeter-House. When he was thus terrors in, and the order of leaving the street, toward the lower end of the yard, Granville, a common bag-turner, round his neck, and drew him behind the walls, which, notwithstanding his age and weaknes, are objected against it's probability; taking him thus at a surprise, and in the dark, it was easy for him to do, and four more of them immediately falling as a stray, they threatened him; and left that should not be enough, punched and kicked him on the beast, as sufficiently appeared when his body was found, on the marks upon it; and left he should not be yet dead, another of them, Girard, or, as I find him called in other places, Fitzgerald, would have run him through the head, but was hindered by the bag-turner, which would have discovered them. But Green, to make sure work, wrung his neck round, as it was found afterwards the inspection of the furgons.

For the disfigurement of the body, they all carried it up to a little chamber of Hill's, another of the murderers, who had been, or was Dr. Godwin's man, where it lay
against the evidence, and bring some corroboration cir-
cumstances to the truth of it. And lastly, To show for Edmond could not murder himself in that place and manner as is pretended.

The first of the methods they used to shun off this murder, was by early reports they spread about, even before his body was found, That he had killed himself. Nor were the reports of any value, for even before the affirs done by the brothers to get the secret; since as it was a very odd way, certainly, to do that, by letting the world openly know he was a self-murderer. That such reports were spread, we shall by and by prove, and that from sir Roger's own book, without the trouble of consulting others, and if the falsity be not got laying there, what should it, whose interest it was to do it, but the pa-
puids, although the particular authors may be unknown?

Among the many evidences of his death, being
known as in so many distant places before it was made public here, there are two come up exactly to the mat-
tain in hand. The first, which was recited by the reve-
end dean of Bangor, since bishop of St. Asaph, in his
funeral sermon, and which, it seems, he had of one
Mr. Angus, who, the same day for Edmond was found
about five o'clock on Primrose-Hill, being in Mr. Chif-
wee's Hall's Church yard, as they say, he was
there was a person unknown to him passed by, and
clapping him upon the shoulder, asked him, If he heard the
news that sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey was found dead,
with his own sword run through him.

The second is of Mr. Goldibourn, clerk of the
hundred, who being in a barber's shop on
Tuesday morning, while he was milling, a person came
in open-mouthed, That sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey was
found; and being asked where, replied, He had killed
himself upon Primrose-Hill; where upon the Thursday
following in the evening, the body was indeed disco-
vered.

The second considerable attempt made the same way,
was by one Magnific, an Irishman, the famous Celiers,
who told the same story to the prince of Wales, and to
a great many more besides him; the Jefuits in Newgate,
and others, who pretended to prove that sir Edmund-
Bury Godfrey hanged himself, and his clerk, Moor, cut
him down. But being examined at the council-board,
it proved only a malicious and false contrivance.

It will be well to remark, that Mrs. Mary Gibbons
was one of the persons deeply engaged in this de
gen, among so much other good company; and that
Mrs. Mary Gibbons is not the person who makes use of his book. Though this sham was then
so thin laid, and this person so well known, that even
Farwell and Pain were astounded to make use of in their lettres to France on this subject, but proRECT very feebly, in some of the clerk of Celiers, the
Newgate priests, nor Mrs. Mary Gibbons, or other pa-
puida, or popishly affected, knew any thing of the
matter, but were all strangers to it.

When this contrivance was found out by all the world
to be nothing but a sham as to Celiers's being with child
in Newgate, or somebody else in another place; yet was
not the indefatigable zeal of that party discouraged; but
Mr. Farwell, a person intrusted in managing the elates
and lands of the Jefuits; and Pain, brother to the
famous Paul, who wrote St. Coleman's elegy, set a new
project on foot to the same purpose in some letters sent
to France, and printed by N. End and J. Giorgy, which indeed, if we look close into them, will appear to be sir Roger
in little, there being the fell-fame expressions in one as the
other, and his mystery seeming to be hardly more
than their letters speak a little thinner. The blood running
out of the wound, Bedlow's and France's eait and well
concealed. The way dropped in the elates and the clothes
he was found, and several other things, the self-fame
in both of them. And I remember, at that very time, it
was very suddenly and rumoured about town,
that the fame person lay behind the curtain, and
thrust their cats-feet into the fire, who was since appeared
public
in profession of the fame cause.

Before their trial, they reckoned their witneesse by
the hundred, pretending to make his self-murder as clear as
the sun. When they came to it, and had all six for
play imaginable, Pain's hat fell from him, and he pleaded
guilty. Farewell made to poor a defence, and the mu-
ter was so clearly proved against them, that sir
Forest
and Thompon were both fin'd by the court, and con
victed to stand in the pillory, with the following informa-
tion over them: For libelling the justice of the peace, to
beging sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey murdered himself. Where how
very generally they were honoured by the spectacors, all who know all
thing of the folly cannot but remember.

Thus it lay for some time, and no peron was so hard
make any farther attempts that way, while three of
us could not hit on another better than to make the peron take the
perform, that the sheriffs, juries, may, and king, and all was
no hurt. But when that part, which poor Oates and all the world his
cause to remember; when, if Prance would not scu-
phis, he knew he must tread the fame dolorous way
Oates had done before him, and had now done all he
could be defied; then sir Roger took up the cause,
and published his book, called, The Mystery of sir
Edmund-Bury Godfrey's death unfolded; or, which had
been a better title, The second edition, with all
ations, of Farewell's and Pain's letters. The raese
what about one or two will be answered in evidence
was proposed, the objection against the evidence
bring to that matter.

If the ill character of the persons who gave it be
good to invalidate their testimony, as this does not
all of them, so it has been often answered, Who is
founded on the Sorbonne for such views? and the
agreement in some part of their evidence, what an argument that it was no combination? If Prance tes-
ted, we are told by sir Roger himself, That he was
white-livered man, and so might be frighted out of it
as well as into it. And indeed on that very reason they
are much the better off, for no one contrary would be
he would be much the better off, for no one contrary would be
able to stand it. But the papuids would never kill him, because he
obliged them. As if gratitude was a papuid vig-
ity, any more than faith, were to be kept with
eties: those that think so, let them look back, and
if the laft reign be not enough to concur there in.

It may be urged on, here are several testimonies in
trial of the murderers, and false, that invalidated
evidence there given, Warner and his wife and
about Green, that he was at home all that even
when he was accused for committing it. I would
employ, and all the evidence to capitulate
chardon, that they could do him no good. But
this, Mr. Justice Doldin's observation on the trial de-
it effectually. They swore to the Saturday fortnight
Michaelmas-day, which was, says the justice, then
of October, not the 25th, on which the murder
came in.

If Broadstreet and others testify they were in the
of the body was laid, and Hill's wife too much
memory, that after so many yers the remember-
the could not upon his trial, That the, he, and he, and
child lay in the room all that very time when the
was laid to be there; it would not be a flibe, but
sooner, That they were papuids that swore it, he
face any thing. But besides, Broadstreet acknowledges
before the duke of Monmouth, That Hill was
from his lodgings before this time, as was proved
tis Mr. Henry, That if every hour he took
Mrs. Broadstreet at the same time, with what
owned about Hill, That there were fix or seven
traditions in others, we see, as well as the king's
sense, and they being much houer, and more ins-
ciable than theirs, must of necessiqy defythe it for
of order.

But the home-thrust is—The centinels for
was carried out. This the printed trial only gives
The centinels were Trollop and Wright. Trollop
ten, and faw a fedan go in, but none out of
Wright rai'd till one, but faw none go out and
in Trollop's time, being, as Prance Bay, above
the centinels being then at Bury's ledge fishing
drinking. Trollop says on the trial, he was nev
The MARTYRDOM of Sir EDMUND-BURY GODFREY.

... other places. That this news was brought to one Evers, a priest, in a letter which he showed him, dated the very night it was done, which had these words in it: This very night, sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey is dispatched. Now I would have asked, had these brothers correspondence with one another, and that he would tell me a word as that, [dispatched?] Did they write to Evers too, and bid him tell Dugdale, That this sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey was a bully man, and proper to be taken out of the way? As Dugdale swears he did. Could Dugdale confide with Oates so long before they knew one another, and while he knew one another to Staffordshire? And were all these perjured, who witness that Mr. Dugdale did report this before it could be known by any but the very conspirators?

That it was done in that very place, at Somerset-House, Providence has left strange confirmation.

The first is, Bury the porter's relating that any persons into the gates about that time, the 12th, 13th, 14th of October, Nay, that he had denied the prince (prince Rupert, I suppose, it must be) himself admittance, and pretended he had orders for so doing. But these orders he never produced. And one, 11th a true papist, denied matter of fact when charged with it, and though he had acknowledged to the council he had never such orders before, when sir Thomas Stirling came to witness it, positively denied it.

Two more very remarkable affidavits there are, which give rise to the same infallible truth to all the foregoing; one of Spence (captain Spence he is called in some copies), and the other of John Okely. Spence was a tall, black man, much like sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey, as was witness'd by those who knew him; to all which sir Roger only answers, He has been told otherwise. This Spence palting by the head and body into a Spence, it was the 1st of October, before sir Edmund's murder, was dragged in thither, being seized by five or six men; but one of them, when they had him in, cried out, This is not he, on which they immediately let him go. Here is a plain evidence of their intentions, and a confirmation of what Bedlow, Oates, and the rest of sir Roger's informants have been saying long before. All that is answer'd to it, is, That there was a suit of law depending between this Spence and Mr. Broadstreet, and therefore forbade him, he must forswear himself, and willfully damn his soul only for circumstantial evidence and reflection on the confessor, three or four pounds of gold, and for one matter, Dr. Godden, and thence again on Mrs. Broadstreet; and all this when it had no influence at all on the suit of law, or them who fudged him. But enough of this. Let us now take notice of the next. It was one John Okely, who at that very night, the 12th of October, by Somerset-House, it was said, about one o'clock there sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey, whom he knew very well, living in the same lane with him; he paid close by him, pulled off his hat to him, as sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey did to him again; when paid him, he turned about, and looked on him; and this he told to several persons, which witness the same. To this, the main of what sir Roger objects is, It was dark, and how should he know him? Certainly, any one that knows London, cannot be ignorant that we have lights in the streets at nine at night: and it was morally impossible, that one that knew him so well, and observed upon his hat to him, and he him again, and who after all this looked back upon him, that such a one should be mistaken in the person.

The last thing to be proved is, That sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey did not, nor could he murder him, when that place was put into his power. He: was first missing on Saturday, and therefore according to their account, his body must have been in the place where it was found till that Thursday night. But had it been there on Tuesday or Wednesday, the pack of hounds which hunted there, both of those days, must have found him. Sir Roger tells us, They might have been on the other side of the ditch, or beat the place carelessly without finding it. But Mr. Faughe's deposition is, That he beat that very place, which rarely he was capable of knowing, having been himself there to see it alter

...
the body was found. He repeats it, and says twice,
It was in that very place, and Harwood says as much, who
attended the day after in the circumstance there is,
which makes this evidence yet more conclusive. It was
deposited in the trial of Farewell, and several other places,
that the body flunk extremely when it was found, which
was but the next day after. Now I will ask any unpre-
judged man, Whether it was so much as possible, that
this very place should be beat two days one after another,
and the hounds not scent the body, even though the hun-
ters might perhaps overlook it?

But besides this, there was yet a narrower search made
on another occasion in that same field. The story is
given in a paper, called, An account of the murder,
published by Thompson himself, who, with G. Larkin,
another printer, was present, and vouched the matter
of fact on their own knowledge. It is this, That while the
body lay at the White-hoof, and the jury were about it,
one of the jury-men themselves declared, 'That a servant
of his mother, a butcher, and two boys, made a
street and narrow search in all parts of the ground for
a calf that was lost there, and this both on Monday and
Tuesday, and at that time there lay no dead body, belt,
gloves, or any thing else there. But were all these too
on the wrong side of the hedge? Or where did they look
for the calf? They lived in a little lane of the ditches
and hedges, where it was impossible they could have
missed of the body, had it been there?

There is one great objection, which sir Roger makes
very much of in this matter, though not quite so strong
now, as it was some years since; and that is, There was
no papish plot, therefore no papish murder, which he
expresses in his own peculiar way. They hang both
upon the same string, and whoever overthrows the one,
trips up the heels of the other. Nor indeed is he figu-
lar in his opinion, as to a great part of it. For my lord
chief justice Pemberton says, on the trial of Farewell,
I think it was, If they could have made it out that he
had killed himself, all of them would have cried out,
the papish plot was a sham raised by the protestants
against the papists, and all the plot must have gone for
nothing. But now to retort the objection. If there
was a papish plot, it is a terrible argument that there was
a very, too a papish murder. But that there was one, we
must be forced to believe, till we find these things among many
others answered.

1. Coleman's letters, and that expression, The ex-
trication of the northern hereby.

2. The letter printed in his lord's account of his
journey, wherein the very confruct of April 24 is mentioned, and a
design then on foot among them, which they were to manage
with all imaginable secrecy.

3. The positive oaths of so many men. Some of them
of a fair character, and blameful conviction: others no more able to invent such a plot, than their ene-
emies to disprove it.

4. The endeavours of the papists to affiliate, dif-
gress, buy off, or any way divert the evidence against
them; which they were not such fools as to do for no-
thing.

5. The behaviour of the witnesses ever since. One
of them testifying at his death, after the sacrament; an-
other by his life, their malice reaching to his barbarous
murder. A third with his blood, and so much as would
have perhaps cost any two or three other men their lives,
unto the truth of their depositions.

And lastly, What transactions we have felt and seen
since king James came to the throne, till his depart-
ture, are no great evidence that all that plot was a
forger.

From these things it is plain there was a papish plot:
from thence, and what went before, that this was a papish
murder.

An Account of Mr. ARNOLD.

MR. ARNOLD had been a prosecutor of the pridels
and jefuits which feuclmed about in his
own country of Wales. This was a crime too be
forgiven, nor any ways atone for, by lies, for his
destruction. In order to which he was hunted and
sufficly, in a little dark lane
near the Temple, as he was passing through it one
in the evening; and had no doubt dispatched him; but
other found some way to make the world believe he
had done it himself; as they had done in the for-
mer instance, or started some other villain and left
him to remove the odium from their own party: but a gen-
tleman, having had apprehension of some such accord,
better use of it than sir Edmund did before him,
and having luckily a fate of private armour on, steady
several flashes which the villains gave him, upon that,
and so faved his life. But they finding his attempts
that way unsuccessfull, were resolved to take the
chace with him, and having got him down, with fear
and desperate weapon fit for the purpose, made several at-
ttempts to cut his throat, and gave him finite dangerous
wounds about that part; which while he was struggling
with to prevent, a boy providentially goes by with a
light, which their deeds of darknes not being able
endure, they all ran away, and left Mr. Arnold weari-
ning his blood, who yet, by God's providence, res-
wived, and lived. And lived to be one of those villains
that used him in that barbarous manner. His
name was Giles, and was discovered by a wound at
leg, which one of his accomplices ran through in a
scuffle, as he was making a stab at Mr. Arnold. He
was tried for the action, found guilty of it, and de-
mithed, and hanged in the middle of the high road,
and accordingly executed, with a liberal contribution
and above from the enraged rabbble, who sufficiently
up for the gentlemens of his sentence, though as fast
as on our mild laws could inflict upon such

The MARTYRDOM of Mr. COLLEGE.

MR. COLLEGE being a man of courage, ingenuity,
and sharpness, he made it much of his business

to serve his country, as far as possible, in searching
the priests and jefuits, and hunting those vermin out of
those lurking holes, in which he was very serviceable and
useful; and for which, no doubt, they did not fail
remember him. The first time we meet with him
and his concern in the above parcel of matters, is brought
in for Mr. Dugdale, as a collateral evidence. By the
time the wind was upon the turn, and the tide of pop-
ular aversion not quite so strong against popery, being
the cunning of our common enemies diversed into
other streams, and private factions and the like, as the
right way to prosecute the design of Rome
to which the city of London in particular was a
vigorous resistance; which displeasing the grand agitator
no wonder they endeavored, as much as possible, to
it a mischief; their kindess to it having been sufficiently
exhibited in 1646, and ever since. In order
to which the king was pleased, by the advice of his
true brother, to alter the common and almost countless
parliaments, and call one at Oxford instead of
London. Many of the members whereof, and espe-
cially those of London, were apprehensive of his
firing upon them there, having formerly in the gun-pow-
der treason, and ever since, sufficiently had
the papists to protestante parliament, and knowing
what they were to expect from their kindess, if the
should be attacked by them and found defenceless.
The more ground of suspicion they had, because a College
province of his speech, the word written and affidavits judi-
ously made of a formed design against them, but
besides removed away from the city of London, who
had always so much of the English blood in it, as to
love parliaments, and for that reason were not ex-
tured all the time of the defence. From the time of
to that, it was, that several of the parliament men
accompanied with some of their friends, well armed
and accoutred, to Oxford: of which number this Mr. Mr.

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Tower, without having sufficient means to make his defence, till he come to his trial; when, as has been said, he shall be rifled of his nomination, and thus only he could save his life, on which he depended, and that just before he came to his trial; though asstiff therein by that very council aligned by the court for him: when he shall vainly demand them again, and call heaven and earth to witness that he is tyed by those circumstances of his life for want of them: when all his redrefs is full as much as ridiculous excuse, as not only a judge, but any honest man, would be ashamed to make use of; nay, such a fort as one is as commonly made before the judges, but seldom by them, was somebody else did it, that the court, the chief justice and his two brethren, nor did they take them from him: when the very perfon ftood by who robbed him of them; and yet he could have no reparation: when the king's council mutt whisper the chief justice on the bench, and the court must be adjourned, on purpose to examine those minutes, which the poor man had got together to fave his life, and even from them get an opportunity to take it away, altering the manner of their perofuction, for strengthening and boltling their evidence againft him, were not only fuch as an honest London jury would not believe, though a country one directed by the chief justice would make a shift to do it; but were every one of them, which was all materiaf, confounded by fuch home evidence, as, if any thing in the world could do it, did certainly invalidate and annul their testimonies: when one of them fweares horribly. He cared not what he fwores, nor whom he fwores against; for he has made his trade to get money by fwearings; that the parliament was a company of mattiners, not for giving the king money, but he would help him to money out of the fanatics' efates, which is explained by what Smith fays, That if the parliament would not give the king money, but flood on the bill of exculcation, it was pretended they would fign a defign to fave the king at Oxford: when this fame Hume, who is prefently fays, It was a judgment upon the king and the people, and the fcribblings fwearings againft them was juftly fallen on them, for affulting the Eri of their efates: when others of them fwear, That since the citizens deferved them, they would not, for they would have Colledge's blood; that though they had gone against their confciences, it was because they had been perfuaded to it, and could get no money elfe: and when they had faid before, they believed Colledge had no more hand in any conspiracy againft his majorify, than the child unborn: when the king, who fcribed them to fware more: and made it a preliminary condition to fign the fame ploft, under the osious, fcare-crow name of parliaments, not only the meal-tub attempt, and fve- fathers of the famebatch, makes sufficiently appear, but his lie effay of Fitz-Harris above all the rest, was only taking in the moft perfected perfons. He had adopted with fome of them to write a fandalous libel againft the king, which was to be laid on fuch as they old preftcobritians, and this to be fent to their houses, or put into their pockets, and there to be feized, and thofe perfons perfecuted thereupon. This bufines the parliament had told them after, and poor Colledge was to bear the man, as has been already declared.

If we refled yet further, the manner of his trial, and look not on any others, one would be apt to thinke it was impoffible a man could be defroyed with more inhumanity and barbarity than he was; or that twelve men, who look like chrifrians, could be found out, who hang a man upon fuch evidence as was given him.

When a criminal fhall be kept clofe prifoner in the
least seeming concern. And though he had considerable time before his execution to consider of it, refused to save his life so meanly, as to make other innocents the price of his; which deigning they had hardly been so kind as to have given him so long a reprieve.

As for his behaviour at his execution, it was such as convinced more than a few of his greatest enemies, and made them entertain a much better opinion of him than before. From his last speech we shall remark several passages, as another argument of his innocence. But before we proceed any further in them, it will be needful to fix one assertion, which we may presume few modell unprejudiced persons will deny, and which we shall have occasion to make further use of in our narrative; that a minister of the church who has been both in church and that he is not a man of no principles, or debauched and atheistical, would not go out of the world, into the presence of that God who must judge him, with a lie in his mouth. This none will deny, but those who have a very kind-nels for the papists; and yet of all men in the world such as these must not offer to do it, since it was the very argument they made use of for the innocence of the infidels, and other traitors. Though on that side we know there are unanswerable arguments not to believe them; their religion recommending perjury, and all sorts of villanies to them as meritorious, when holy church is concerned. Their church besides allowing them perjuries before, and abdication after, and purgatory at the worst, whence a few mafles would fetch them out again. Things being thus, what can any man of modell faith say to Mr. Colledge's protestations over and over, both in prison, and at his death, That he was perfectly innocent of what he died for? I did deny him, says he, that is, before the council, and do deny it upon my death: I never was in any kind of plot in my days; and if I had any such design as thefe have sworn against me, I take God to witness, as I am a dying man, and on the terms of my salvation, I know not one man of the whole scheme who could have flounded me. And lower, I knew not of any part of what they swore against me, till I heard it sworn at the bar. Again, All the arms we had were for our defence, in cafe the papists should have made any attempt by way of massacre, &c. God is my witness, this is all I know. And in this solemn prayer, and some of his almost very last words: It is thee, O God, I trust in. I dinon all perjuries, and will not go out of the world with a lie in my mouth. And just as to the people, he said, From the fincerity of my heart, I declare again, that those are the very sentiments of my soul, as God shall have mercy upon the whole. Now upon the whole, I would ask any sober man, what would he answer to this, and how he can forbear, without the greatest violation to all principles of good nature and ingenuous, to pronounce this perfon innocent.

Thus died Mr. Colledge, whose blood, as he himself desired it might, sufficiently spoke the justice of his cause, who feared in his speech to have some prophetic intimations, that his blood would not be the last, as indeed it was not, but rather a prelude to that which followed, the edge of the laws being now turned against all those who dared extend them.

The MARTYRDOM of ARTHUR, EARL of ESSEX.

THAT party, and those persons who were engaged to manage the designs before mentioned, were now entered on the most comphrensive way of introducing what they desired, as well as avoiding what their own confidences, and all the world knew they deferred. Having those in their own hands, who had the executive power of all government in nature; and of them, no doubt, a fort of malicious pleasure, as well as advantage, in defroying people by those laws which were made to preferve them; a villainy to be compared with nothing but the treafon of that moniter of a prieff, who gave the emperor polifon in the bleffed facrament: how guardmg wrought up the nation, and all parties therein had high views of making the whole, with the favourable heavens in it, as they had all been at Confantinople as well as here, got some few reaflons into the belief of abolition authors in kings, and active obftructions as well as what is called halting. They were paid all the more perfectly. Some honest men learned, more witty men joining in the power, to advance the transactions at that time for the wheel. And on the other side, exasperating that part who were more tenacious of their liberties, as much as possible against the constitution, which they law to be the most pernicious both in church and state; they being very well assured, that all that the clergy were for making them flave themselves and the court great to ride upon whereas really it was only a party, though too large, made more noise, though they had neither more nor number than those who differed from them; and this means rendering many of the trading part of the nation especially, so dillatissfied with them, and against them, that they had reason to fear at bad effect thereof, as they had experienced in the last age, and more closely with that party whence they could protection. When things were in this posture, all great persons either with one or another love to a lawful liberty, which is so much of the art of an Englishman; the managers of the great ingenuity, which was to accomplish our ruin, resolved after they had begun with Colledge, to rise higher, and if a nobler game, and take off all those whom they saw not in order, or against whom they more keenly engaged them, and who were most to make the most vigorous opposition against their temptations. But finding the London juries immovable, and no way to accomplish their designs on the perons, while their wiles would not be believed, not to trust juries for the most part with the principal brove, and the thiefs of the same stamp; and finding the prince had gotten, after all their trials, which many of those who then knew, are now ashamed of, visibly and is out-numbered by those who were not yet ripe for them, they thought of themselves of one way to rid things of that inconvenience, which was by a greater against the city of London, that they might effectually, and with less noise, have what they pleased; or in effect, hang whomsoever thought their enemies, and not be forced at all; which was not so, and was in effect, more than was effectual, and less noise, when they had accomplished in the year 1643. The judgment was given against the charter of London, whose liberties had been confirmed to them by William the Conqueror, and delivered down from immemorial ages, and this by two judges only in Wilts-Fler, though the greatest cause, one may very justly say, the matter was legally tried therein.

Now by this time they had, after so many fruitless endeavours, brought something of a plot to bear with this advantage above all their former, that it was really something in it, although as usual in another cafe, That truth, which is so necessary in the other perfrs. The occasion of it was, that the court meet with in Holloway's most ingenious execution; "By arbitrary and illegal ways, and by force of arms, they had got the MPs to their mind, when they had before, but wanted justers to be bribed. Now they have got the MPs, who will be bribed by the evidence of those, who have a just preference, and for all the King's friends by degrees. None being to come near the king, but those who have been enemies to the king and kingdom, who, to fulfill themselves, do endeavour to keep all things from the knowledge, and persuade him against it." The design for the present was, to give the same with what was intended at first, by adding those great and eminent persons, both clergy and

in their late appearance in arms; though by the dence of God, for the security of the nation, and
Who was to act it, who were to fire these arms for them; pitiful, pistols, carabines, and blunderbusses? He could name but two men, Rumbald and his brother; who certainly must have no possibility of being apprehended by such great criminals, and none more in favour than those; to take the king from his council, and that (as the late wonderful turn was understood) and as it is impossible to be otherwise in people of large concern) by a general insurrection in several places. And yet, however, all the nation have shewn themselves plainly of the same mind with those who were engaged in this, on which the dispute runs, as to the reason of the thing, only hid by patient, and see their children and laws of England, and that when any other remedy could without a miracle be expected.

That there was the height and utmost of the then design, and that no brave good man need to be ashamed of it, I think all, or most men are by this time pretty well learn'd; as for the managers; even this might not, nor perhaps could be, as certainly it was not, fairly proved against several; who suffered for it; this was a thing so necessary and detestable, that there was occasion of laying fouler coups upon it, to fright and amuse the world, and let them think, and were afterwards in their papers hardly worried, and justly eaten up for their trick. It was convenient to make somewhat more of it; there must be an afflication or proof upon this insurrection, or else it would not be worth an halter; it was the business and interest of the popish party, to render their enemies as odious as possible to the people, of whom they were but too much afraid; they had long been the darlings. To accomplish this, it was very necessary to get some persons to infatuate their counsels, to inflame things higher, to make them propitious to all afflications, and murders, and to make them the subject of the Englishman with the very mention of them; which yet one of the honester and wiser looking upon as mad rude folly, or if any more intended, having it in their power to prevent such wickednes another way, would let them into, or ruin those persons, who in all probability were only trepaniers to ruin them. In all the papers relating to this matter, we shall find all discourses of this nature centered in West and Rumsey. West was very much for lopping bussines, for killing them in their sitting, and was full and eager for it. Though Walcot, Holloway, and such others were found to have been, with the greatest detestation imaginable, as a most vile and bloody action, which they never would have their own hands imbrued in, nor their posterity stained with. That all the great persons of birth and honour, were absolutely against, so foul an action, and abhorred from their souls, we may may, even without the forced contemplation of their worst enemies, by the lord Ruffell's concern when such a thing was muttered, and the duke of Mompomm's answer, God go—kill the king I will have it. The account we have of it, is from him who should best know the facts, and that is his, that Burke with Holloway on this occasion, tells him of the neareast and Rye-house design, that the king and his were to be killed as they came by, for which they were armed for fifty men, and were promis'd Rumbald's house, which lay in the road. When asked, No. 64.
any accused or concerned in the same business, had not there been more weighty reasons to be produced below, towards the finding them guilty. Although, it is certain that the first time they could make for innocent blood, particularly in Rush's cafe, was that confirmation they had to the evidence sworn against them by Effex's murderer. Besides, there might be a barbarous kind of pleasure, in opening this plot with a scene so like that which began the popish one; and that, they might, by the same actors whose hands were deep in the others.

There was a gentleman killed, which contributed very much towards the credit of that plot, though in another way. Here must be one to undergo the fame fate for the same reason. And both of them too pretended to their parts, just as one, and no more.

These preliminaries being cleared, it will be now time to come to the perfidy of this noble lord, his family, and former manner of life.

Every one knows he was of the illustrious family of the Capels, whose father died for a family, whence he deferred better treatment for his sake, and had received it, had he not fell into the hands of popish gratitude and mercy; which his enemies knowing too well, and doubting the sweetness of temper, which all the world ever acknowledged in King Charles the Second, would not give him over to their public revenge; in all probability, he would have met at the conjecture of his death, which had been some years before in the highest place under the king in Ireland, and there behaved himself with that wisdom and candour, inseparable from all the actions of his life, and lived above blame, though not above envy: being recalled thence unexpectedly, and dealt with not very handsomely; except, that yet he bore with a spirit like a brave man, and a christian.

My lord of Effex was a person, whom it was no doubt the highest interest of the popish faction to have gotten out of the way, even though there had been no such extraordinary reason as has been mentioned. He had no doubt been a man of great deal of courage, understood the world, and the principles and practices of the papists, as well as any man, having been of several secret committees in the examination of the plot, for which very reason there was as much necessity for his dying as for Edmund-Bury Godfrey. He was, besides all this, they very well knew, of inflexible honesty, and so true a greatness of mind, that could they have no more expect to gain him, then heaven itself, to be on their side.

As for the immediate subject of his death, the manner and circumstances thereof, it must first be granted, as well as we can, to be the same, the same history, for the same purpose, as in the former case, only supposing he was murdered only by the papists, they would, we may be sure, make it their business to render the manner of it as dark as the hell in which it was contrived. Murders, especially of that magnitude, are not used to be committed in the face of all the world, and at noon-day. When power is engaged in any villany; when the fame power is still continued or increased, and can be easily exercised in taking out of the way the traitors, though it loves the treason; and when so many years have intervened since the fact; it is no wonder at all if things are more in the dark, than they would have been, if every body had not been given to have enquired into it, which was so loudly and unfortunately demanded. But this we are yet certain of, though no more is yet publicly known in this matter, than what has formerly been printed: and there may be several reasons both of hate and decency, which may perhaps make it convenient that things should always be as they are; yet there are already such violent probabilities, both that he was murdered, and murdered by papists; and of the other side, such at least next to impossibilities, in his acting it himself, that as long as the world stands, no moddelt man will be able either to get behind him, or the second; nor the third; but prudent or cunning, to out-face, or give them an answer.

For the probability that he was murdered by papish contrivance, besides those already named, why they should do it? here are these following arguments, that they did it: Their principles too openly hazard to be denied: their practices in all ages, and this present for Edmund-Bury Godfrey, the very prototype of all; and those of the same name. A man of too much energy, and all that has happened. But if it is said, few popists are better and braver than others; let us come near to them, who have been rumour that formerly burned London; those blow all the obligations of gratitude and nature, pay, public faith, and the most solemn oaths, upon whom defensible, that take; who if the testimonies of such as have confirmed it with their dying breaths, and last drop of blood, may be credited, who have encouraged, hired, paid men for attempts, made on the lives of their nestors, and too tender relations; would such as these click at a single murder, a fine, a navigation, a court, and money, and cause, and more heaven into the bargain? When previous to judgeme necessit of affairs, reason of state, and for such weights might be thrown into the scales. More than all this—When such persons as those were in the place where this murder was committed, at so very instant it was done? All the together, with what is yet to follow, amount to as strong arguments as in pregnant circumstances as the nature of the thing bear, and mark out the murderers as plainly and visibly as if they had come out of his chamber with white items, and a long knife in their hands, bloody all over.

But when we come to a greater number, no more than the remaining, idle, indefatigable matter, and all as hardly any body will deny, to satisfy any cool rational man in the business.

The earl of Effex's thrust was cut in the Tower on the 13th of July, about eight or nine in the morning—a piece of the duke of York's, a bigoted papist, and known and bitter enemy, was there presented. It was reported at Andover, 60 miles from London, the 6th of July, the first day of his imprisonment, and in common town-talk in every body's mouth, as for Edmund-Bury Godfrey's at the time of his murder, and told, of a great old man being seen, in the same place, which was witnessed before even a Jeffreys, in the court of judicature. A deputy coroner present at the inquest, instead of a legal one; none of the relations to attend on the inquest. The body removed from the place where it was first laid, stripped, the clothes taken away, the body and rooms washed from the blood, the clothes denied in view of the jury. The principal witnesses except only Bormen his man, and Rush's his warder, who might be justly suspected of being privy, if not actors in it. That the jury hastened and hurried the verdict; when so great a man, a peer of the realm, and so remarkable a person, who was the king's principal friend. When Sir Thomas Overbury had been before examined in the Tower, and his jury brought in an unanimous verdict; when even Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey's jury; so much cried out against for their ill-management, al- tourned their verdict, and laid considerably before they brought it in. This at a time when the new judge was to sit for a share in the plot, in which the earl was also accused of being concerned. One branch of this conspiracy, and which it was so much the papists intend to have the belief fixed on it, was a barbarous murder of the duke and king; when nothing could so immediately and critically tend to that noble gentleman's ruin, the new judge, with so much diligence, from the Tower to the Sessions-House, Lord Ball, Bar, and Jury, and harped upon by the lord Howard jut then, and by others in after-trials, as more than thousand witneses, and the very finger of God. Also this, the very centinel, who that day stood near, who was, the watches, and a mob, and a mob, who thought he had barbarously murdered down at Rochester; and all methods used to prevent the truth of all from coming to light. Mr. Braddock was harrased, protected, imprisoned, and fined for hirring in it. On the face of impartial consideration of these things, hardly can one be more surprised at the mutual state of things; what can a man conclude from the whole, whether he will or no—that This noble lord was cattyly murdered by the popish party?
The MARTYRDOM of ARTHUR, EARL of ESSEX.

...he would never have taken such measures; and if he had had an intention to amuse his people, that no such thing might have been suspected, he might have taken other ways, less troublesome and chargeable.

But what struck this saint, in the form of a couple, is his ordering his gentleman to take notes at my lord Ruffell's trial, appointing him how to manage himself for the effecting it, to calmly and orderly, that he cannot be suspected either disturbed, or desist on account of his own guilt, or Ruffell's unsuccess; or to have taken this course yet without all the Roman days of Brad ford's trial, to prevent justice, though others did it with him, to prevent mercy.

One great argument more; that, which indeed, when it happened, did much alarm all thinking men, and make them apprehend him suspect for some evil, was the ill-treatment those met with who dared but pry into those Arvcan Arperii, and define but in a legal way that the bufinell might be reviewed, and searched to the bottom. This was granted in the cafe of poor Sir Edmund, many years after his death, and commissio given for his protruding, and suborning false witnes &c, that there was a great deal of difference. One, as it was managed, tending to root up all belief of a popish plot.

The other, if it had been honestly examined, might have done as much in reality to a protestant one. The great tender, as appeared of four hundred, or huge aversion and unwillingness to be touched thereabout, made people more than suspected, that there was some fore or other in the cafe which would not endure it. Mr. Bradal had heard of a boy, who, being playing before Effex's window that morning, saw a bloody razor throw on the ground; and, thinking he could do the king service to make a discovery if any injury had been offered to one of his subjects, especially so great and good a person. He brings the boy with him to my lord Sunderland, and for his reward is himself brought before the council, fiercely reprimanded, and forced to go back to Effex, to avert that boy, to go on suborning the boy to say what he did. Upon which, after a great many worfe vexations, which besides the charge and trouble, hindered also his prosecution of the bufinells while it was yet fresh and warm; he was at last tried; the very words in the indictment running thus, For his protruding, and suborning false witnes &c, that the earl of Effex was not a felon of himself, &c. Of which, according to Jeffreys's law, and the confidence of the then juries, he was found guilty, and fined for the fame; though not the least syllable of practice or subornation. He had himself in the course of the trial acknowledged he had said those things, as well as several witneses proved it; though it was terribly fupicious that such acts had been afterwards used with the boy to make him deny it; though Jeffreys flourished and raved after his usual manner, when sir Wallop did put the question, and would by no means have it answered.

But whatever this courageous honest gentleman suffered from their spite and malice, he bore all with handome, and truly English resolution. As he before his imprisonment, and since, was indefatigably diligent in getting at the bottom of this foul business; all Englishmen must own, he has deserved the love and honour of his country, who was not discouraged from setting even in the worst of times, against a whole enraged faction, where he had such firm and pregnant circumstances on which to ground his attempt, though he could not but feel that he must undergo all centures of his friends, as forward and imprudent; as well as all the hate and malice of his own and his country's enemies. He deserves a much fairer commenion than here can be given him; but however, this was a just debt due to his courage and constancy, when he alone durst undertake what all the world else was afraid of; durst fill continue firm to honour and confidence, and his trial resolution, in spite of fines and imprisonments, and has outlived them all, to carry on his first undertakings; whose deign therein is, no doubt, justly great, for the event and how, and although in such a trial may have, since it happened, been purposely thrown on the action, that
that it may be now more difficult, and perhaps unac-
ceptable to trace it, than it was before.

The MARTYRDOM of WILLIAM LORD RUSSEL.

The next who fell under their cruelty, and to whose death Effex's was but a prologue, was lord Ruffell; without all disputer one of the finest gentlemen, that ever England bred; and whose pious life and virtue is as much reaon against the court, by affronting them with what was so much hated there: that thing else that was most beloved there. His family was ancient, though not raised to the honours at present enjoys, till king Edward's time, when John Ruffell, a Dorsetshire gentleman, who had done many services, and received many favours from the crown, both in Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth's time, being by the latter made lord high admiral, and at his death lord high steward of England, for the frolicomity of the coronation; obtained such a victory for his young master against the rebels, as was rewarded with the title of the earl of Bedford. The occasion of it was thus: Idleness and superfluous living, of which being accused by the public authority, and images every where pulling down, the loyal papits mutinyed, and one of their priests flabb'd a commander of the king's, who was obeying his orders, and 10,000 of the deluded rabble rose in the defence of that barbarous act of old made such a warlike一堆 whom this fortunate lord was sent with an army, who routed them all, relieved Exeter, which they had besieged, and took their gods, banners, crucifixes, and all the rest of their trumpery, wherein the deluded creatures trusted for victory. The family of the Ruffell were old enemies to the Romish superfluous, though this brave gentleman only paid the scores of all his ancestors. The son and heir of this John, was Francis, second earl of Bedford, who was as faithful to his crown as his father, an enemy to the French, and a friend to the protestant religion, as may appear by the learned books of Wickliff, which he collected, and at his death bequested to a great man whom he knew would make good use of them. His eldest son, William lord Ruffell, the late duke of Bedford, is sufficiently known to every true Englishman, and his person and memory will be honoured by them as long as the world last. But it is necessary good men should not be immortal; if they were, we should almost lose their examples, it looking so like fattery. But to do them justice while they are living, with more safety and less cenare, we may discuss of his noble genius, his personal qualities, in the person of William lord Ruffell, who made so great a figure in our courts and parliaments, before he was sacrificed to the cruelty and revenge of his popish enemies. If we could find his first offence, which lay behind the scene, and was indeed the cause of his death, though other colours were necessary to amuse the public, we must look some years backwards, as he himself does in his last speech, wherein he tells the world, He cannot but think his earthenness in the matter of the exclusion, had no small influence on his present sufferings; being chosen knight of the shire for Bedfordshire, where the evening and forenoon of his business, and his virtuous life, made him so well beloved, that he will never be forgotten. He began sooner than most others to bite into that danger we were in from popery, and all those fatal confusions which have since happened; and described them as plainly as if he had more than the ordinary inspection of a prudent man into futuristics.

Being marked out, and, among others, appointed for the slaughter, he was taken up and imprisioned for that end and purpsose in the Tower, and brought to his trial about six days in the year, on Effex's day, the 13th of July, 1685. He was brought to the Old Bailey, and the same morning tried for high treason. He earnestly desired he might have respite; and might not be tried that day, since he had some wheatears that could not be in town till the night: nay, they were in such potl hall, and so hot a scent for his blood, that on his enrol he would not flay so much as till the afternoon. Tending it was against present justice, they could do it without the attorney genera!l's consent, though notorious, that both Plunkett, the titular Irish, and Fitz-Harris, before spoken of, were both sent to try the term after they were arraigned; though a case of a lawyer apprehended in Oxford there was none in that of treason, at the Old Bailey too, Writing was used to put off to another sessions. If it is pleased as different, and that there was reason for the one, and for the other; it would be readily granted, though for the one it would not be just; there was no concerned business better, or juster of time was not brought hot into the house, that my lord So-and-So in the morning prevented justice, as has been before marked in the story of Effex; as also, that several of his jury had said, They had never found Ruffell guilty, it not been for that accident. And indeed, were in the cafe, there would be still room for a great deal of charity: for though there was no proper evidence against the prisoner, yet very few persons in the world could have been found, whose minds would have been so biased for another, as not to be, whether they would or no, hinged and biassed, so as this brought among in them, when they had to consider calmly of the matter; and thus, no was very well known by those who ordered things in a manner before noted. But I say, it was to be for the first time, for the legal man, that this has all the soul play in the cafe, and that there has been no thousand guineas employed in this and other trials, as the great agitators thereof have lately come to have been. The names of his jury, as I find are as follows: John Martyn, William Butler, William Roufe, James Pickering, John Salter, Thomas Browne, John Saron, Isaac Hughes, Thomas Bough, William Fathion, Hugh Norden, George Toriano, Robert Bough, Thomas Omely.

When he found he must expect neither favor nor justice, as to the delaying of his trial, he cried against the foreman of the jury, because not a holden which for divers and sundry reasons, had not been able to answer them as before: this man, for instance, gave in three or four men, and scarce any two of the same, were ruled, and given against him; though that same tice since declared and acknowledged one of the grievances of the nation. His indictment was no worse for this; for no one, he was noble enough, in that time, to be his supreme lord, not only of his kingd: power, and government of this his kingdom of England to deprive and throw down; but all our faith voted lord the king to kill, and to death to bring and put the ancient government of this kingdom of English change, alter, and wholly subvert, and a new daughter among the subjects of our said lord the king, through his whole kingdom of England to enact, procure, an insurrection and rebellion against our lord the king to move, procure, and stir up within kingdom of England. And he therefore Procute the full, agree, and proceed insurrection and rebellion against our sovereign lord the king to move, stir up, and the guards for the preservation of our of our said sovereign lord the king to fail destroy. For that all this was not intended as a matter of only, we may see by the king's council's opening evidence. The first says, He was indicted for than conspiring the death of the king's majesty; that in order to the fame, he and others did not conspire together, to bring our sovereign lord to death, to raise war and rebellion against him, to misfortune his subjects; and in order to compass wicked designs, being assembl'd, did conspire in the king's guards, and his majesty's person: (he tells the jury) is the charge against him. The attorney general merits is a little lower,
the meaning of all these tragic words, were a
contumely about a reply about feizing the guards, and
the violence from the Earl of Shalbury con-
Joan an infraction.
Yet the proof against him does not come up to
such as this, though all care was used for that purpose,
and kind questions put very frequently to him drove
the evidence of these three witnesses to nothing, and
ade it of particular.
Colonel Rumfey, the first of the, sware, That
he was sent with a letter from Shalbury, who lay con-
planted at Wapping, to meet lord Ruffel, Ferguson, &c.
Shepherd, and ordered them to marched to London,
concerning the rifting designed at Taunton.
That when he came thither, the answer made was,
Mr. Trenchard had failed them, and no more would be done
of that business at that time. That Mr. Ferguson spoke
the most of the information without him, and that he did speak about the rifting of Taun-
non, and confided to it. That the company was dif-
fusing all of viewing the guards, in order to lur-
some, if the rifting had gone on; and that some
would go to view them, and that the guards were
still stationed as before.
But this being the main
age of the business, and this witness not yet coming
up to the purpose, they thought it convenient to gi-
ve him a job, to refresh his memory, asking him, Whether
he had heard my lord Ruffel averse, or agreeing to it? Who,
said he, that he was among them both; so he was
in the trial asked, Whether he could swear positively,
that my lord Ruffel heard the message, and gave any
answer to it? All that he says is this, That when he
came in, they were at the fire-side, but that they all
soon went to the fire-side to refresh his words.
The chief that Shepherd witnesses is, That my lord
Ruffel, &c. being at his house, there was a discours of
impaling the king's guards; and Sir Thomas Atkinson
was consulted them when he came thither another time,
and, they were ruminating, and the thing was feebly, if
nothing else. Of which he is quite sure, and he had
not, as Rumfey before, Whether my lord Ruffel
was there? He says, he was, at the time they
earmarked of feizing the guards.
The lord lord Howard was the next witnesses, who
by artificiously begins low, being, forthwith, if terribly
uffled with my lord of Effingham, and his death, that his voice
alled him, till the lord chief justice told him, the jury
could not hear him; in which very moment his voice
earned again, and he told the reason why he spoke no
more. After a longer hanger of tropes and fine words, and
a dismal speech, by which as my lord feared him, the jury were
presupposed against him; he at
all makes his evidence bear directly upon the point for
which he came thither, and swears, That after his lord
was gone away, their party resolved till to carry
in the design with the help of my lord Ruffel, and the
better management whereof they erected a little cabal
among themselves, which did confess of six persons, with
hereof my lord Ruffel and himself were two: that
ly met for that purpose at Mr. Hammond's house, and
were adjourned the place and manner of the intended in-
truction: that he was present of being upon the fame business
with my lord Ruffel's, where they resolved to send some persons to engage Argyle and the
Scots in the design, and being asked too, that he did not
knew my lord Ruffel was there. Being asked whe-
ter he had said anything, he answered, That every one
lew him to be a person of great judgment, and not
nay of difcourse. Being again goaded on by
riffs, with a—But did he confess? We did, says he,
his voice, it went without contradiction, and I
it that all the rest of his confession accordingly.
The next witnesses Wett and Ferguson, and
Mr. Trenchard told him, That my lord Ruffel intended
to go down and take his poll in the Well, when Mr.
Ferguson had failed them. Whole hear-evidence
being not counter, Jeffreys ends very prettily, tell-
ing the court, They were all such a thing of garr
but leave it entirely as it was.

As to colonel Rumfey the first witnesses: my
lord Cavendish proved on the trial, that my lord Ruffel
had a very ill opinion of him, and therefore it was not
likely he would intrust him with a secret of such im-
portance.

Then as to his evidence, squeezed out of him, as it
was, in both branches of the design, feizing the guards,
and the rifting of Taunton, he sars in grogs and general,
That he was be-jobbed, and not to state my lord's
intentions of the other. For his agreeing to the feizing
the guards, he might think, as the lord Howard does after,
that silence gives content; for it appears not, nor does he
sware, that my lord spoke one word about it. But the
himself, in his last speech, in that which was a julg, and
said, That we all have the reason in the world to believe,
everything was exactly true, since, as he himself says in it. He always detested
lying, though ever so much for his advantage; and
hope none would be so unjust, or uncharitable, to
think he would venture on it in the last of his lif, for
which he was going to give an account to the great
God, the searcher of hearts, and judge of all things.
In this last speech he protests, that at this time of which
Rumfey swears, there was no undertaking of deceiving
and feizing the guards, nor none appointed to view or
persuade them, according to the practicability of it; he heard it mentioned as a thing
which might cally be done, but never confided to it
as a thing fit to be done. Now I would ask any man of
fence and honour, who did but know my lord Ruffel,
what would he have done? (if there were any such)
which of these two they really judge more
worthy to be believed? There is but one against one.
Rumfey, who either swore upon liking, for having his
life, or was a trepan, that he was confenting to the feiz-
ing the guards, or my lord Ruffel on his death and salva-
tion solemnly affirming, That he was far from con-
fenting to any such thing, that there was not so much
as any such undertaking mentioned in the company while
he was with them. Especialy when it is observable,
that Rumfey never inclines in the terms in which he
gave his confession; for the latter is in such a branch of his evidence, as to the meffage of the infur-
rection, which he says, he brought into the room, found
my lord Ruffel and the rest by the fire; whence they all
came to him, and heard his meffage, and the lord Ruf-
fell disdained on the subject of it, and confided to
it. To all which let us again oppose not only what he an-
swered on his trial, wherein he says, That he would
swear he never heard, or knew of that meffage, which
Rumfey says he brought to them; but allo what he says
in confirmation thereof in his speech, I full aver, that
he never heard, or saw any meffage from my lord Shalbury, true. And
a little before, when I came into the room, I saw
Mr. Rumfey by the chimney, though he sware he
came in after that.
There is one thing more observable, That when Wett
came to give in his Burriture evidence, he runs in a
length further than Rumfey, and remembers Rumfey
had told him, what it seems he himself had forgot; That
on Mr. Trenchard's failing them, my lord Ruffel was
to go in his place, and take up his polls along in the
Well. And indeed had not Wett mix'd his cue, and by im-
plying my lord Howard's example, begin first with hear-
fay, he had made as flubbing an evidence as ever did
any one of the others; or had they but let him run to
the end of his story, and taken things methodically, as
their lordship had done before him.
As to Shepherd, all must grant he sars not a syllable
to the purpose, or any thing which afflicts my lord. He
can hardly tell whether he was there when there was the
discourse of feizing the guards, but speaks not a word of my lord's hearing, or in the least wise confimat-
ing to the five. Now for my lord Howard's evidence, we may, with-
out question, affirm, that every lord is not fit to
make a privy councellor; no, nor every witty lord
neither, especially in a business of such a concern. He
does very well to say, the council of all chose the
other for, had not he given his own vote for himself, hardly
any body else would have done it, since his
character.
character is so notoriously different from that which he himself gives of my lord Ruffell, whom, he says, every one knew to be a perfon of great judgment and not very lavish of discourse. For his evidence, he too is so happy to have a better memory than Rumsey, as well as Weft had; and says, that the duke of Monmouth told him, Ruffell told his lordship to a near hand to Shafterby, and that whole pursuasion the interdiction was put off a fortnight longer. Of this Rumsey himself says not a single word.

His lordship says further, that when they had inquired how matters stood in the country, and the duke of Monmouth referred to be in a great hazard and was not certain of them, on this it was put off again; and this about the 17th or 8th of October. Now this fatement Rumsey speaks of, but takes a larger scope as to the time, the end of October, or the beginning of November, far enough from the 17th or 8th of the month before. Rumsey says, on this occasion, he and his relation, who was a counsellor of Shafterby, staffed that he was put off, and that Shafterby refused to be gone. Lord Howard, that he was far from it, that he and his party resolved to do it without the lords, and had set one time and the other, and at last the 17th of November, which also not taking effect, then Shafterby went off. As to his evidence, which was cloze, the source of the council of fix, he matter of so much probability, that he amongst all the men in England shou'd be chosen one of them; it is remarkable, that in their former greater confults at Shepherd's, which he and Rumsey mention, the Lord Howard was never present, nor so much as touches on it in his evidence; though here, if any with the grand affair of putting the guards, and the answer to Shafterby about Tatton was concerted. All that appears of truth in the matter, seems to be what my lord Ruffell acknowledges. That those persons named, met very often; that there was no fixed design, but only loose talk about those concerns. That there was no debate of any such thing, and that neither my master, nor any other person in my master did put in any design, but my Lord Howard being a man of a voluble tongue, and one who talks very well, they were all delighted to hear his oratory.

Indeed my lord Howard does not positively swear, even hinting this formed concert to be true, that my lord Ruffell actually concerted to it. Only, that he was there, and that he took it, and that he did give his approbation.

Doublet's it is a very ill case that needs either a lie or a cheat to defend it. My lord Ruffell himself being so ingenuous to acknowledge whatever of truth, any that knew him best, as he was in his part of the design, it would be an injury to his memory to do otherwise. It appears then from his own acknowledgment, that Howard, Armstrong, and such others, had sometimes discoursed of ill designs and matters in his company: and as he says in his speech, What the heats, wickedness, passions, and vantage of his friends, or he himself was answerable for, nor could he reproach them. Nay more, he did sufficiently disapprove those things which he heard discoursed of with more heat than judgment. But for himself, he declares solemnly again and again, that he was never in any design against the king's life, or any manner of harm or inconvenience to the government. If so, what then becomes of all the story of the council of fix? And is it not to be thrown among the fame together with the old famous Nag's-Head Tavern buffets? It will be still said he was an ill man, by being guilty by this very confession of infirmination of treason. Supposing this true; that he was not death, and he died, as he says, innocent of the crime he was condemned for. And besides, every lord has not bow hard enough, nor tongue long enough, nor foul little enough, to make an informer against others to fave his own life? I hope, says he, nobody will imagine that fo mean a thought could ever enter into the mind of a man to go to accuse others. The part that some have said lately of that kind has not been such as to invite me to love life at a rate so dear!

However, all this does not depend on his named word, since the evidence which swore against him being such as were neither credible, nor indeed so much as legal wit-
The MARTYRDOM of CAPTAIN WALCOT, &c.

21st of July, he went into his own coach about nine o'clock with Dr. Tilloston and Dr. Burner; whence he was carried to Great-Lincoln's-Inn-Field to the scaffold prepared for him, where, among all the numerous spectators, he was one of the most unconcerned persons there: and very few rejoiced at so doleful a spectacle, but the Papists, with their peculiar veneration; my lord Powis's people expressing, as it is said, a great deal of sorrow and satisfaction. There, after he had again solemnly protested his innocency, and that he was far from any design against the king's person, or of altering the government; not to say, that he did upon the words of a dying man, not knowing of any prevailing faction in the king's life or government; and delivering one of the finest speeches in the world to the sheriff, he prayed by himself, and with Dr. Tilloston's assistance; and embracing him and Dr. Burner, he submitted to the fatal strokes, for the cart was taken no less than three before he could fever his head, which when it was held up, as usual, there was so far from being any fright, that a considerable groan was heard round the scaffold. His body was given to his friends, and conveyed to Che- neys in Buckinghamshire, where it was buried among his ancestors. During the day of his martyrdom there was a great storm, and many loud claps of thunder.

The MARTYRDOM of Captain Walfot, His Life, and Rouss, with a full Account of their Behaviour and Execution.

CAPTAIN WALCOT and his fellow-sufferers, in order of time, should have gone first; he being convinced before my lord Ruffell, and executed the Friday, as is stated above. Whether the evidence did amount to prove the charge, was to be observed by the jury: for if the evidence came short of the indictment, they could not find it to be a true charge; but when once they had found it, their verdict did pass for truth; and what was found by it, as well as his lordship, and they were to go to the scaffold. They had found, not their evidence. Now I would fain know, what is the reason of the prisoner's being asked that question, What have you to say for himself? Is it only for- mity, or banter? He makes an exception, which the prisoner is not to be troubled with. He was counsel for the prisoner! Is not the bench? Or, did they not tend to be so? And why is not this observed by them in their direction to the jury? The recorder seems to treat it fairly, that the evidence did not prove the charge, and says, The court was to go, not according to evidence. Well, evidence, or whether he was counsel for the prisoner, is not the question: for being found guilty, he was put upon him; whence he was removed to Newgate. While he was there, the importunity of his friends, as tumultuously saying in his speech, left they should think too long or too much, prevailed with him to sign petition, and make an declaration of his innocence, without difficulty, that he did not think anything that was begging to love it. But with how much success, it may easily be conned by any who knew the devil's temper; nor is it to be supposed how barbarously his lady and children were required, and that his good nature not suffered to have the benefit of any mercy. Dr. Tilloston were with him much of the time between his declaration and death; where to the last, he owned that he knew, which other good men, who were then of another profession, have since been forced into, namely, The lawfulness of resting against unlawful violence, from whatsoever it proceeds.

Now, after fruitless applications for his pardon; after severely and decently in this world, to one of the best of men, who had flown by him, and afflicted him in his trial, and did not leave his presence, till at last on Saturday the
this world, nor the other, for a falsehood. Besides Rumbald's solemn protestation; see Walcott's speech and paper, wherein he as deeply affirms, as a man can do, that Wall brought arms for the defence and support of which, we need not be perplexed with deputation or address without any direction of his, nor, without any direction, knowledge, or privity of his. Wall says in his answer to this, as well as in his evidence, that Walcott joined in the direction about the nature and size of those arms; that he was very intimate and familiar with Rumbald, whom he called to the bar as a witness for the defendant in the affray. But Rumbald's death before excused, clears himself and Wall, and shows us what Wall is. In another place he affirms, that Walcott told him Ferguson had the chief management of the intended affray. Rumbald's hard name, as has been said already, Ferguson's name, are the cause of it. He hoped they would have all probability into the business; and Walcott's being past answering for himself or them, made it very advisable to charge it to him. So in the same nature Ferguson was the author of that expression Walcott had from Wall; Ferguson undertook for the duke of Monmouth; Ferguson proposed to see for an opportunity between Windor and Hampton-Court. The men to commit the affray were all provided by Ferguson, Rumbald, &c. And I remember another of them, or he himself, talks of fifty men engaged for the very action. Now as mere good nature, and the love I have to every poor fuller, I shall not say there should be so many Englishmen found, and Protestant too, who would consent to kill their king; never any one having acknowledged such a design besides poor Hone, who was so foolish, he could not give one sensible answer to what Cartwright asked him at his death: To play a testy, and not do him due reason, forces me to conclude these persons here charged were not guilty. What so Rufe says of it; he was told, they did not intend to spill so much as one drop of blood. But more particularly Holloway; he could not perceive Ferguson knew any thing of the Newmarket design, but Rumbald and Wall were deep in it. Again, Holloway asked Wall who was to lead the affray? To which he could give but a slender answer, and could, or would name but two men, Rumbald and his brother. Just such probable stuff as Colladge's feigning the king by himself at Oxford, so that he (goes on) we found they had but few men, if more than two, and no horse, only on their own backs. As for a guinea paid and a lower, at another time, Wall only named Rumley and Richard Goodenough as concerned in the affray: Wall again proposed the affray, but none seconded him: Rumley was for the old train of killing the king, to which not one consented; he could never find above five or six to act as guinea pack against it; I knew Ferguson to be against any such intention. To sum up the whole, the world is left to its liberty to believe, at least three dying men's allegations, against those who so plainly swore others necks into the halter, to get their own out, that Wall himself is not affected with the forenamed testimony, that he was still in danger of death, though not so eminent as it had been; nor at the apparent point of death. And at the close of this paper, if it shall please the king to spare my life for my confession, it is a great happiness, &c. which part of his evidence every body will easily credit.

All this, I say, considered, a fair foundation lies of the innocence of this captain, and others, of what they were accused, found guilty, sentenced, and died for; its being on Wall's evidence, and such as his, that he and others were arraigned and condemned; the captain's defense being much the same with what he fays in his speech in the house of commons, known to be in the captain Wallcote swore for their own lives with hatters about their necks; and it is as true as most of the witnesses had talked at a mad rate, in the hearing of some of those whom they destroyed; but mark what captain Wallcote in a most solemn manner with his last breath declared.

First of all he denied any design of killing the king, or of engaging the guards, whilst others killed him; and said, that the witnesses invited him to murder, whereof some things were disheartened, in order to slaying our liberties and princes, which we look upon as lawful and inviolable. That they reproached and perpetually follied him, and then threatened him up to be hanged. That they combined together, to smear him out of his life, to fare their own; and that they might do it effectually, they contrived an affray. That he forgave them, that was done to his blood; let what they had been beggarded, that they might infer, that remarks might be let upon them, whether they would be peace; and he concluded (with what made for Rain-L'Etrangr a great deal of sport, but yet heaven had made it good) That when God hath a work to do, he will not want instruments. That he was invited with the captain, was charged with such a parcel of mad romances, as was scarce ever heard of; and one would wonder how perjury and malice, which use to be sober fids, could ever be so extravagant as to think of it. He was to seize the Tower, pay the ruble, uncase the alderman, to be pay-master and sea-master-general, and a greatness more then his tune. In his defence he says no great matter, but to look a thousand times more like truth than his unnatural follied; that the Tower be uncaseful of the feizableness of the thing (as Ruffel's about the guard) but without the least intent of bringing it to action; nor all he was concerned in, was to give Lees to Lee, and was getting more out of him, with an intention to make a discovery. But it seems Lee got the hand of him; they were both at a kind of halter com- bat; Roule's foot flit, and Lee turned him over, se- faved his own neck by so doing.

One Hone was likewise accused, and owns him guilty of a design to kill the king and the duke of York, or one or other, for it is impossible to make any list of him. When they came to suffer, Walcott read a paper, in which was a good rational confession of his faith; this comes to the occasion of his death; for which, he says, he is not guilty; nor does the poor council, but some men, that in reality were deeply concerned, that he, who combined together to swear him out of his life, to fare their own, and that they might do it effectually, condemned an untruth, &c. He forgives the world all the witnesses; gives his friends advice to be more ho- dent than he had been; prayed that his Majesty might long live; and wishes the king would be more merciful to others; says he knew nothing of Ireland; and concludes with praying God to have mercy on him. He had then some discourse with Cartwright, wherein he tells him, that he was not for contriving the death of the king, nor to have had a hand in it, and when good will was go in matters of conscience; and at every word, he tells him, he did not come thither to dispute about religion, but religion to suffer.

Now though dying be a fearful business, yet it is an impossible to read Hone's discourse with the dear, without as violent temptations to laughter as compalation. Never was so exact an imitation of the scene of the Fifeerman and Kings in the Rehearsal, when he told them person Pret connied prince Pretconned. Or would think him very near in the same cafe with Blum- man, who came after him. His reply is as strange, that there is hardly either facetious or English in his manner. Let fellow talks of fame and circumstances, and nobody knows what, and lay in one line, he was to meet the king and duke of York; he did not know which, where, nor for what.

Next he was for killing the king, and saving the duked and when asked the reason, answer, the duke he was to be all through them. Witness is not new reason no reason, but he he did not know what to say to it. And when the devil charges him with the murderous design, that he had as little of it, as any poor fifty man ever did.

Next Roule comes, gives an account of his going to die of the church, tells him his employment and manner of life, acknowledges he lost employments and clubs, and desirous, but was never at them, and a pret- r eneg to any thing of that nature. Gives an ac- tion of what passed between him and his majesty, and
The Martyrdom of Colonel Algernon Sidney.

Colonel Algernon Sidney, was the next victim to popish cruelty and malice; he was of the ancient and noble family and name of the Sidneys, dearly famous to the utmost bounds of Europe; who, as the ingenious Mr. Hawles oberves, was remotely talked to death, under the notion of a commonwealth's man, and for his public utility of the state he was not much more proper judges and counselors, in the cafe, than they would have been had he wrote in Greek or Arabic. He was arraigned for a branch of this plot at Westminster, the 17th of November 1683; where, though it cannot be said the grand jury knew not what they did, yet so little did they know, that they were well instructed what to do; since, at the bar, they were too much confounded to know what it was, being so well revolved on the cafe, and agreed on their verdict, that he had been indicted for breaking open an house, and robbing on the highway, it was done to bring him to the scaffold, as it was done. For though the indictment was never presented to them before they came into the hall, yet they immediately found it: the substance whereof was, for a conspiracy to depose the king, and flinging up rebellion, and writing a libel for that purpose. The most part of the evidence brought against him was the same as it was in the other; and the judge, as he was elected, so he was as I said, nay, Well, whole evidence was then reffered, now was admitted to tell a long story of what he had from one and the other. Rumsey's was much of the fame nature. In the rear came that never telling evidence, the lord Howard, and other that were his adherents, which were sent against him, and engaged one of the deepest in their confuits. And more than this, exercizes his own faculty very handsomely, in an account of two speeches Mr. Hambden made on the occasion, which indeed were such fine things, that some might imagine it worth the while to swear against a man, only to have it declared, in the course of the trial, that the charge of perjury was ineffable, whole while with that which was left, he pulled off his hat, and prayed God to bless the queen. But this was under a truly protestant government and a mild reign.

Such was my lord Howard's evidence, that had the jury been any but such as they were, and Sidney describes them, they would not have hanged a Jewett upon the credit of it; he having, one would think, that read the trials, taken a pride in damming himself deeper and deeper against every new appearance in public, on purpose to try the skill of his friend in bringing him into a higher degree.

To the evidence brought against him in my lord Ruffell's cafe, he had taken care to add the following:

First, the earl of Clare witnesseth, that he said, after Sidney's imprisonment, if questioned again, he would never plead for him, that he (lord Howard to have been preñed to death for not speaking?) and that he thought colonel Sidney as innocent as any man bearing: Mr. Ducas says the fame, so does my lord Paget, Mr. Edward, Philip Howard, Tracy, Penwick, and Mr. Blake; that he said he had not his pardon, and could not att hive it to any reason, but he must not have it till the drudgery of swearing was completed.

Now, though there was no reasonable answer could be given to all this; though Sidney pleaded the obligations my lord Howard had to him, and the great confidence he might think might be in his being hanged, since.
The jury by which he was tried, was not (as he is informed) summoned by the bailiffs of the several hundreds, in the usual and legal manner, but names were agreed upon by Mr. Graham, and the under-sheriff, at different times, to the effect that they saw him, and that all being so chozen, a copy of the pain'd was to be sent to him. When they came to be called, he expected that he should be called against some for being your majesty's enemies, which he hoped should not be returned, when he was produced, at your majesty's fact; nor many more but being, before, without exception, he thinks, was even in life, and others were levied and infamous persons, and he said, on any jury; but all was over-ruled by the lord chief justice, and your petitioner forced to challenge them peremptorily, whom he found to be pick'd out as if nothing but the intention to charge him might be his ruse, whereby he lost the benefit allowed him by tokening his exceptions, and was forced to admit of mustering perjuries, utterly unable to judge of such a matter as was to be brought before them. This jury being sworn, no witness was produced who fixed any thing beyond his fact, upon your petitioner, except the lord Howard, and them that swore to some papers laid to be false in his behalf, and offered as a second witness, and was an hand like to that of your petitioner.

Your petitioner produced ten witnesses, most of them of eminent quality, the others of unblemished fame, a dozen or twenty, and howord's accuser, who had what he had declared before (in the trial of the late Ruffel) under the name religious obligations of an oath, as if it had been legally administered.

Your petitioner did further endeavour to prove, the absence of the address and present of his witness, in whom the lord chief justice Keeling, and the whole court, in their good cause of the whole, so that no evidence at all amounted against him.

That whatsoever were those papers, they were but a small part of a polemical discurso in answer to a book written about thirty years ago, upon general propoliticks, applied to no time, nor any particular cafe; that it was impossible to judge of any part of it, unless the whole appeared, which did not, that the sum of the parts of it as were produced, could not be compared, unless the whole had been read, which was denied; that the ink and paper they were handed in, were not good years ago, that the lord Howard not knowing of them, there were no concurrence of witnesses; he was bound to have deposed with himself and others; that in confusion and errors in the writing swelled they had not been so much as reviewed, and being written in a book that no man could well read, they were not fit for his prefs, nor could be in some years, though he had intended it, which did not appear. But they bore only the slightest clue and private thoughts of a man for the exercise of his own understanding in his faith, and never flewed to any, or applied to any public cafe, could not fall under the natural of 25 Ed. III., which takes cognizance of no such matter, unless not by construction he brought it under it, such matter being referred to the parliament, as is declared in the proviso, which he defined might be read, but not refused.

Several important points of law did hereupon arise, upon which your petitioner, knowing his writings were not able to defend himself much, for they might be rejected without being found specially. But all was over-ruled by the violence of the lord chief justice, and your petitioner so frequently interrupted, that the whole method of his defence was broken, and he not suffered to face the part of what he could have alleged in his defense. So the jury was hurried into a verdict they did not understand.

Now, forasmuch as no man that is oppreased in the land, can have relief, unless it be from your majesty, your petitioner humbly prays, that the privileges
HAVING first excused his not speaking, as well be
cause it was an age ago since he made such a
speech, as which he inlines his trial and con-
sideration, and that the ears of some preten
to hear it, as because of the rigour of the fea
and inoffinences, &c. then after a fluet reflection upon
bitter fide against him by other witnesces, and the little
place that was he put on the lord Howard’s tel
which he charges with an infamous life, and
now paupable perjuries, and to be biffinoned only by the
purse of onifer, &c. and makes, even though he
had been hable to no exceptions, to have been a
down with; he proceeds to answer the charge against
him from the seven years he was in England, which were
preted, but not lawfully evi
ded to be his, and pretends to prove, that had they
been, they contained no condemnable matter, but
principles, more false both to princes and people too,
in the pretended high-foul plea for absolute moc
and power, which Flimer, against which they
bend to be levelled; and which, he says, all infell
men thought, were founded on wicked principles,
as much as were destructive, both to magistrates, and
people too. Which he attempts to make out after this
s

First, he says he, if Flimer might publish to the world,
men were born under a necessary indefensible fuba
ation to an absolute king, who could be restrained by
noah, &c. whether he came to it by creation, inheri
ance, &c. or, even by usurpation; why might he
not publish his opinions, where without, the
reach of any known law? Which opinion, he professes,
written in the following particulars.

1. That God hath left nations at the liberty of ma
ning their own governments.

2. That magistrates were instituted for nations, and
others were for the government of the
world.

3. That the right and power of magistrates was
under the laws of each country.

4. That those laws sworn to by both sides, were the
law of a contract between the magistrates and people,
and must not be altered without the consent of the
whole government.

5. That usurpation could give no right; and that
those who had greater enemies than those who af
nowledged, were for stretching their power beyond
limits.

6. That such usurpations commonly effecting the
security of the reigning person, &c. the will of
the people, was thereby most gloriously rewarded.

7. That such doctrines are more proper to stir up
men to defend princes, than all the passions that ever
they were affected with, and that no prince could
be restrained, if his subjects were so disposed; mere
men would be so gentle as to spare the
attacker, if by their destruction a wild butcher could be
saved; anointed, which he says was the scope of
the treaty, and affects to be the doctrine of the
world, times, and religions, and of
the usages of the times, and politics upon the
people, and particularly by Louis XIV. of France,
and his declaration against Spain, anno 1667, and by
James, of England, in his speech to the par
liament, and adds, that if the writer had been taken,
he should have been fairly refuted, but that
was ever otherwise punished for such matters, of
such things referred to a jury, &c. That the book
never defamed, &c. nor ever seen by them whom he
was obliged to have endeavoured by it to draw out
a giant: that nothing in it was particularly malici
ously applied to time, place, or person, but diffluted
to such a fink by usurers, as the disadvantages of the ex
pulsion of Tarquin, &c. and particularly of the trans
lation made of the crown of France from one race to
another, had been then applied by the then lawyers’
usurers, to the then king of England: never confu
sion, and if such a title be not allowed good,
no prince in the world law and action in his behalf,
and having by a short reflection flown the ridiculous
of deriving absolute monarchy, from patriarchal power,
he appeals to all the world, whether it would not be more
advantageous to all kings, to own the derivation of
their power from the consent, as well as the will of nations, that
have to have no better title than force, &c. which may be
over-powered.

Notwithstanding the innocence and loyalty of that
doctrine, he says, He was told he must die, or the plot
must die; and complains, that in order to the destroying
the belt Proclaimats of England, the bench was
filled with such as had been blemishes to the bar; and influences
how, against law, they had advised with the king’s counsel
about bringing him to death, sufferd a jury to
be picked by the king’s solicitors, and the under sheriff
admitted to the sheriff’s papers, for which there was no
evidence not valid; refused him a copy of his indictment, or to
suffer the act of the 46th of Edw. 111. to be read, that
allows it hath over-ruled the most important points of
law, without hearing, and alluded to themselves a power to
make constructions of treason, though against law, force, and
law, and which they justifiably had allowed, to
by which they pretended to try him, was re
ferred only to the parliament; and so praying God to
forgive them, and to avert the evils that threatened the
nation, to forbode them sufferings to him, and though he
fell a few months after, he said no one had been
bled in this land, &c. He concludes with a thank
ifying, that God had singled him out to be a witness of
his truth, and for that good old cause, in which from his
youth he had been engaged, &c. &c. &c.

The Martyrology of Mr. James Holloway, at Tyburn,
April 30, 1684.

THIS gentleman was by trade a merchant; but
his greatest dealing lay in linen manufacture,
which, as he knew the fashion of the times, and
discovered to such a height here in England, as, had it met
with suitalbe encouragement, would, as he made it appear,
had employed 80,000 poor people, and 40,000 acres of
land, and be 200,000, a year advantage to the pub
revenues of the kingdom. The return of the Holmes
Sketch was very small, and his capital very great, though
he lived mostly at Brult. He seems to be a per
of fear, courage, and vivacity of spirit, and
man of business. All we can have of him is from that
public print, called his Narrative, concerning which it
must he remembered, as before, that we have no very
firm authority to affume us all therein contained was his
own writing; and perhaps it might be thought conven
ient he should die, for fear he might contradict some
things published in his name. But on the other side,
where he contradicts the other witnesces, his evidence is
like as not to prove that his interest of the managers
to invent of their own accord; though some	ruth they might utter, though disflaying, to gain credit
to the refl. Taking things however as we find them,
it will be convenient for method’s sake, to take notice
of all the proceedings against him, then of some pret
many things published on his spend on him, and disflaying
in his case; and lastly, of several things con
siderable in his history.

Mr. Holloway was accused for the plot, as one who
was acquainted with Well, Rumley, and the refl.; and
having been naturally present at their meetings and disflays
on that subject, abounded when the public news concern
ing the discovery came into the country: though this,
as he tells the king, more for fear, that if he was taken up,
his creditors would never let him come out of gaol, than
any thing else. After some time he got to fear in a little
weil,
veifil, went over to France, and so to the West-Indies, among the Caribbee-Islands, where much of his concern lay: but writing to his factor at Nevis, he was by him treacherously betrayed, and beheaded by the order of Sir William Stapleton, and thence brought prifoner to England, where after examination, and a confession of all the King's secrets, he being brought to the bar of the Hoce of Lords, having been tried in his absence on an indiction of treason, he was on the 21st of April 1684, brought to the King's-Bench, to the charge why execution should not be awarded against him, as is usual in that case; he opposed nothing against it, only saying, if an ingenuous confession of truth could not make the punishment, he would do it. The attorney being called for, ordered the indictment to be read, and gave him the offer of a trial, waving the outlawry, which he refused, and threw himself on the King's mercy; on which execution was awarded, though the attorney, who had not so much law even as Jeffreys, was for what he did, got paid with a good salary, which is never done in such cases, according to which he was executed at Tyburn April the 30th.

Strange it seemed to all men, that a man of so much spirit, as Mr. Holloway appeared to be, should so tamely die without making any manner of defence, when that liberty was granted him, and that so great a favour as that of Mr. Holloway should have any thing that looked like mercy or favour from the persons then at the helm. That they should be so gracious to him as it is there called, to admit him to a trial, which looked so generously, and was so cried up: the attorney calling it, A mercy and a grace; and he himself should not find it a great mercy, and that it was exceeding well. Now all this blind or mystery will be easily unriddled, by two or three lines which Holloway speaks just after: My lord, says he, I cannot undertake to defend myself, for I have confessed before his majesty, that I am guilty of many things in that indictment. Yet they say there was not one man was done. I hope good Mr. Justice Withens crying out full-mouthed, I hope every body here will take notice of his open confession, when he might try it if he would; surely none but will believe this conspiracy now, after what this man has owned. So there was an end of all the mercy. A man who had before confessed in order to be hanged, had gracious liberty given him to confess it again in public, because they knew he had precluded all manner of defence before, and this public action would both get them the repute of clemency, and confirm the belief of the plot. Now that there had been practice used with him, and promises of pardon, if he had taken the oath, and own himself guilty without pleading, is more than probable, both from other practices of the same nature used towards greater men, and from some expressions of his which look exceeding fair that way. Thus in his paper left behind him, I had, says he, some other reasons why I did not plead, which I present I could do as also why I did not speak I just said. Other reasons, besides his confession to his majesty, and reasons to be concealed. Now what should those be but threatening and promises, to induce him to silence, and public acknowledgment of all? Which appears yet plainer from another passage: I am satisfied that all means were used, but they might not have been used to get as much out of me as possible. If all means, then without straining, those observed before.

If though he made fo fair and large an acknowledgment, here is more mystery fill; why was not his life spared? Let any one read his confession and speech, or though what Ruffell, full of it, died. He has no longer wonder at it. He was a little fequely-confessed, and would not strain so far as others in accusing men of those black crimes whereof they were innocent; nay, as was before said, vindicating them from those aperitions call upon them, and for which some of them, particularly, were confessed, suffered; but he was not carried into the affamation was carried on but by three or four, and could never hear so much as the names of above five for it; that he and others had declared their abhorrence of any such thing; that Ferguson was not in it. And besides, speaks some things with the liberty of an Eng-

Mr. Holloway declared, that Mr. Relf preposited affamation, but none feared it; and that he could not perceive that Mr. Ferguson knew any thing of it; at Holloway said, It was our design to shed no blood; he being interrogated, by Mr. Ferguson's friend, Mr. Sheriff Daniel, Whether he knew Ferguson? He answered, That he did know him, but knew him no against any design of killing his Majesty.

The Martyrdom of Sir Thomas Armstrong.

THe next object however had not to fair play, by cause they knew he would make better use of it. They had this lion in the toils, and did not intend to let him loose again to make sport, lest the humane themselves should come off ill by it. He had been all his life a firm servant and friend to the royal family, in exile and afterwards: he had been in prison both of excommunication and for treason, and now all which they now rewarded him. He had particular honour and devotion for the duke of Marlouth, and pushed on his interest on all occasions, being a man of as undaunted English courage, as ever country produced. He was with the duke first on the actions in Flanders, and first there in his danger at Zand; and though the action was, his being concerned in the general plot, and that too of killing the king; but he was indeed hanged for running away, and troubling to send to go far after him. The particulars pressed against him, were the same the Lord Howard and Sir George Ruffell's trial, of his going to kill the king when they did their. He says there was not only a foppish, too advanced into a formed accusation, and aggravating the attorney, as the reason why he had a trial declared; when Holloway had one offered, both of them being outlawed. On which outlawry Sir Thomas was hanged in Holland, and brought over hither in chains.
had dared to deny it; and lower, to deny the truth of the facts absolutely: it is far from being true, that every one who was tried or sentenced for conspiring against the king and government; that was their plot; but this they all deny, and absolutely too; and safely might it do, for they consulted for it, not conspired against it, resolving not to touch the king's person; nor, if possible, not to shed one drop of blood of any of their own, or of others' die. For the king's life, Sir Thomas says as the lord Ruffell, Never had any man the impudence to propose to safe and barbarous a thing to him. Ruffell, and almost all besides, say, they had never any design against the government. Sir Thomas Armstrong at the place of execution de- ported himself with courage becoming a great man, and with the ferocious and pitiful suitable to a very good Christian. Sheriff Daniel told him, he had leave to say what he pleased, and should not be interrupted, unless he should use upbraiding and severe language to the people. He told him that he should not say any thing by way of speech; but delivered him a paper, which he said contained his mind; he then called for Dr. Tennison, who prayed with him, and then he prayed alone.

He thus prepared himself in his paper, that he thanked Almighty God he found himself prepared for death, his thoughts set upon another world, and weared from this; yet he could not but give so much of his little time, as to answer some calumnies, and particularly what Mr. Attorney accused him of at the bar. Also that he prayed to be allowed a trial for his life according to the laws of the land, and urged the statute of Edward the Sixth, which was expressly for it; but it signified nothing, and he was with an extraordinary roughness condemned, and made a precedent; though Holloway had offered him, and he could not but think all the world would condemn the government, if the cases were put in order. He then concluded with observing that if he had been tried, he could have proved the lord Howard's base reflections upon him, to be notoriously false; and concluded, that he had lived, and now died of the reformed religion, a Protestant, in the communion of the church of England, and heartily wished he had lived more strictly up to the religion he believed: that he had found the great comfort of the love and mercy of God, in and through his blessed Redeemer, in whom he only trusted, and very hopeful that he was going to partake of that future joy which in his preference, the hopes whereof infinitely pleased him. He thanked God he had no repenting, but cheerfully submitted to the punishment of his sins; he freely forgave all the world, even those concerned in taking away his life, though he could not but think his sentence very hard, he being denied the laws of his country.

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The MARTYRDOM of ALDERMAN CORNISH before his own Door near Guildhall.

In order to make an end of this plot altogether, it will be necessary once more to invert the order in which things happened, and though Mr. Cornish suffered not 9 C till
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

till after the judges returned from the Well, as well as 
man, that we shall here treat of them both, 
and so conclude this business.

The alderman was seized in October 1685; and the 
Monday after his commitment, which was on Tuesday 
or Friday, arraigned for high treason, having no notice 
given him till Saturday noon. His charge was for con-
spiring, plotting, and preparing to aid and assist the 
people of Monmouth, &c. in their treasonable enterprizes. 
He denied his trial might be deferred, because of his short 
time for preparation; and that he had a considerable 
witnesse an hundred and forty miles off, and that the king 
left it to the judges, whether it should be put off or no. 
But the judges saw no reason money telling him, 
He had not delayed so well of the government as to 
have his trial delayed. That was in plain English, be- 
cause he had been a Profligate sinner, he should not have 
justice done him.

Rumley and Goodenough were the evidences against 
him. Rumley swears, That when he was at the famous 
meeting at Mr. Shepherd's, Mr. Shepherd being called 
down, brought up Mr. Cornish; and when he was 
come in, Ferguson opened his bofeom, and from under 
his bosom pulled out a paper in the nature of a decla-
ration of treason, which Ferguson read, and Shepherd 
held the candle while it was reading; that Mr. 
Cornish liked it, and said, What interred he had, 
he would join with it; and that out of compulsion he had 
ot before accused Mr. Cornish.

Next Goodenough swears, That he talked with Corn-
ish when he was in the presence of the Tower. Mr. Cornish 
said, He would do what good he could, or to that purpose.

Mr. Goldsmith's evidence was opposed to Good-
enough's, who testified Mr. Cornish opposed his being 
under-sure, laying, that he was an ill man, obnoxious 
to the government, and he would not trust an hair of his 
head with him. And is it then probable that he 
would have such discourses with him as would endanger 
head and all? Mr. Love, Jekil, and Sir William Turner, 
witness to the same effect.

Now as to Rumley's evidence, the perjury lies so full 
and flaring, that it is impossible to look into the trial 
without an eye without meeting it. Compare what he 
says on Ruffell's trial, and here, and this will be as vi-
visible as the sun. Being asked there, whether there was 
any discourse about a declaration, and how long he had it; 
he says, 11e was there about a quarter of an hour, and 
that he never heard whether he had heard anything 
about a declaration there, or whether he had heard Fer-
guson report afterwards, that they had then debated it. 
Now turn to Cornish's trial, he is there strangely 
recovered in his memory, and having had the advantage, 
either of recollection, or better instruction, remembers 
that he was there about a quarter of an hour. July 1683, 
he had been there a quarter of an hour; the time he flares in the lord Ruffell's trial, but longs

He is of such villaneous credit, that his evidence is not taken even against himself. Let us see 
then how Shepherd does point-blank contradict, and 
absolutely overthrow it in every particular, as expressly 
as it is possible to ruin any evidence. He says, at one 
meeting only Mr. Cornish was at his house to speak to 
one of the four there; that then he himself came up 
flaies, and went out again. Of it he says, there was not one word read, nor any paper seen while 
Mr. Cornish was there, and this he was positive of, for 
Mr. Cornish was not one of the party.

Pray who should know best, Rumley what Shepherd 
did? Rumley did himself befal and imprison him; 
how could he hold the candle while a declaration was read, as Rumleygoldsmith says? 
Shepherd did, and yet know nothing of it, may, possibly 
the quite contrary? What faces the confessions of the 
jury were, let any Christian, Turk, or Jew, be judge, and 
Providence has already done us so in the destruction 
of it, who came to an untimely end, being burnt to 
pieces by the fall of some timber at a fire in Two-
Street.

The chief thing pretended to support Rumley's evi-
dence, and hinder Shepherd's from laying the prifoners, 
was that he had been in London, and proved 
Cornish guilty of a lie. But if we inquire into the 
matter, we shall find one and the other equally 
false.

On his trial, Cornish is said to have denied his 
being at the meeting, and discouraging with the duke of 
Monmouth, which they would have us believe 
Shepherd swears he was, though not a syllable of evidence. It 
has been there several times, Shepherd says, not 
without of their confulent, knew nothing of their being, 
that he can be positive whether it was the duke of 
Suffolk he came to speak to that evening. But supposing it to 
three years time, and on so fine recollection, Cor-
nish's memory had failed in that circumstance, when 
that to Shepherd's evidence against the very man of 
Rumley's, which hanged the prisoner?

He was found guilty in spite of all, and condemned, 
and even that Christian fervency of mind and conse-
quence, wherewith it was visible bores his back, as 
the bench turned to his reproach.

Mr. Cornish continued in the same excellent 
temper, whilust in Newgate, and gave the world a glaring 
evidence of the happiness of such persons as live a pious life, 
when they come to make an end of it, let the way 
before be to violence or to vengeance, yet they 
behaved a leaving Newgate were as follow.

Approaching the prel-yard, and seeing the bailer 
the officer's hand, he said, Is this for me? The other 
answered, Yes; he replied, Blest be God, and killed 
it; and after said, O blest be God for Newgat, I 
have enjoyed God ever since I came within the 
prison, and blest be God who hath made me fit to die. 
I am now going to that God that will not be mocked, to 
that God that will not be imposed upon, to that God 
knows the innocence of his poor creature. And a 
line after he said, Never did any poor creature come out 
God with greater confidence in his mercy, and affirma-
tions of acceptance with him, through Jesus Christ; if 
there is no other way of coming to God but by him, 
find acceptance with him; there is no other name 
under heaven whereby we can be saved, but the name 
Jesus. Then speaking to those others, he said, Labor 
not to get you to be the first die, for God hath not 
not fit to die; I was not fit to die myself before I car 
hither; but oh! blest be God, he hath made me 
fit to die, and hath made me willing to die! In 
most moments I shall have the fruition of the blest 
dom in Christ, and then I shall have the consolation of 
the kingdom of God, where I shall enjoy the presence 
God the Father, and of God the Son, and of God's 
Holy Spirit, and of all the holy angels: I am gone 
the general assembly of the thril-born, and of the 
trants of just men made perfect: O that God should 
do so much for me! O that God should concern himself 
so much for poor creatures, for their salvation, 
be his name! for this was the design of God from 
eterinity, to give his only Son to die for poor 
men. Then the officers going to tie his hands, he 
asked, What, must I be tied then? Well, a bond 
that I have merced the turn; you and the rest and 
I shall not flir from you, for thank God I am 
afraid to die. As he was going out, he said, Fare-
well, Newgate; farewell all my fellow prisoners here, 
Lord comfort you, the Lord he with you. All. 
So much for his behaviour in the way of 
confession, in his trial, from the facts of it, for the clearer 
understanding of it, I shall first and 
indulgence, ordered, almost before his own 
and Guildhall, to fear any govt citizen from appearing 
aggressively in the discharge of his duty for con-
minister, by his example. If any thing was 
ought in this 
trial, from the facts of it, for the clear 
understanding of it, I shall first and 
indulgence, ordered, almost before his own 
and Guildhall, to fear any govt citizen from appearing 
aggressively in the discharge of his duty for con-
The MARTYRDOM of Mr. CHARLES BATEMAN.

The government, was now almost entirely oblitered out of the minds of the left thinking part of the nation. To accomplish which more fully, it was thought necessary by the managers, either quite to take off, or to explain away, the crimes for which I suffered, upon the words of a dying man, I am altogether innocent. Lower he adds, he died as he had lived, in the communion of the church of England, in whose ordinances he had been a partaker, and now felt the blessed effects thereof as he lie's last sufferings.

Mr. Cornwall was debarred from those who would bear near the judges, to a solemnity, several times, avers his absolute presence of any design against the government, in particular that for which he died.

There were some persons, sufficiently known, who were present, and expressed a great deal of barbarous rage at his death, though it was no less than a degree with his constancy and cheerful bravery, as reported to say, that he was drunk or mad when he died.

His quarters were set up on Guildhall, in terrorum, and for the fame treason, no doubt, before mentioned, for which he was executed to near it.

Mr. Bateman, the surgeon, a man of good fence, good courage, and good company, and a very humane and generous temper, of considerable repute and practice in his calling, was the next and last. He was a great lover and vindicator of the liberties of the city and nation, and of more integrity than most of his faction.

He was sworn against by Routte, Lee, and Richard Goodenough, upon the old stories of seizing the Tower, Tower, and Savoy. We had a much better defence, and he himself was able to have made it; but being alone prisoner in Newgate, the windows and room was so dark, and little or no company, he being a feeble man, and used formerly to conversation and diversions, soon grew deeply melancholy; and when he came to his trial, appeared little less than perfectly distracted; so that the court very kindly gave hisedit liberty to make his defence, the first instance to be free of that nature; since he himself might probably, had he been in his senses, have remembered and pleaded many things more, which would have invalidated their evidence against him. But not the least mention of his fame or defence, certainly they could never have been such criminals to have tried one in his condition, but could but what he brought for him, been allowed in weight and justice, he had escaped well enough.

For as Lee, one Baker winneled, he had been prac
tised upon by him in the year 1689, and would have had him intimate into Bateman's company, and diffused about state affairs to trepan him, by which means it should be made a great man. It was urged besides, that there were three years between the fact pretended, and Lee's prosecution of him, which, though they had one witness, could not have brought him to punishment

Mr. Bateman, was found guilty; and just before his execution, he recovered himself, dying as much like Christian, and with as great a presence of mind as of the others.

FELL ACCOUNT of the SUFFERINGS and MIS

It is now necessary for the thread of our history, to resume the subject, which, it is not doubted, will be insufficient enough to some persons; and this is, the pitch-up; the belief of which, by the indefatigable efforts of that party, and the weekly papers of their referreers, and especially this last pretended plot against
The SUFFERINGS of Mr. JOHNSON about the same Time.

About the same time, the pious, reverend, and learned Mr. Johnson met with much the same fate. His great crimes were, being my lord Rulph's chaplain, writing the famous Julian the apostate; and endeavoring to persuade the nation, not to let themselves be made slaves and Papists, when so many others were doing their part to bring them to it. And it is a question whether any man in the world, besides his friend, the reverend Dr. Borne, did more service with his pen, more service to our great and good God, to be preserved in so many places, and in so many parts of the world, on the good services, he was accused, imprisoned, tried, and condemned to be delivered of his canonicalhip, and he was whipped as far as Oates was before him; and was performed, and which he underwent, as he did with courage and constancy above a man, and the like Chriftian and a martyr. He remained ever after the King's Bench, till delivered by the prince's arrival.

The SUFFERINGS and MARTYRDOM of Mr. DANGEFIELD, who was cruelly afflicted.

Mr. Dangerfield's father was a gentleman, who had in good fashion at Waltham Abbey, or the abouts: he had been a great sufferer for king Charles I, and charged this his son on his death-bed, after his discovery of the plot, never to have any hand in any designs against his government, by any kind of an association, like that and afterwards took better effect. And for this transgression: Mr. Dangerfield was made choice of, as a thing: the names, with the design, being by him, according order, conveyed into one colonel Manley's chamber. He was discovered, and feized in the design, on the 20th December, 1678. With an account of that they had never to this day the impudence the pretending any contradiction, or trip in his evidence; in any other way but flat denial. But there was from: yet deeper in the case, which he afterwards revealed, depilations before the parliament, that he was cleared by the fame party to kill the king, and encouraged with promised impunity and reward, and part of it he gave by a great perfon for that purpose. While the storm ran violently for Popery, be- over, for security, into Flanders, but continued a little there; and returning back, he was some time after- zed, and carried before the council, where, before the king himself, perfounding to a title, in all his former de-
The Sufferings of Mr. Noise.

Of the several gentlemen who suffered inequitably for Lee's plot, Mr. Noise was one, though not in due place, who though he lost not his life immediately by it, was yet put to such extremities, as both dared his reason, and ruined his fortune. He was but a good family not far from Reading in Berkshire; and being a younger son, was bound apprentice to a linen draper, which calling he continued until he was master of the apprentices' address, intended to be referred to the king for redress of grievances, and further prosecution of the popish plot. A crime, which both concerned could never pardon, and which was as easily against him, by himself; and all his friends, as the cause of these calms, borne by him calmly.

The virtues Lee swore against him that he was concerned in this plot, which he absolutely denyeth, though other windows came in against him, and he was never brought to a trial, he underwent a tedious and severe imprisonment, loaded with chains, and kept from his friends, long till his trade was ruined before he was set free, and he himself then rendered so unfit for business, that he was forced entirely to leave it off, and betake himself to travel; where, never quite recovering himself, he was a little time after fell sick and departed this life.

A particular care was taken by their father in their education, forming their minds by his own example, and constant instructions and prayers, as well as other pains of ingenious matters, to the strictest rules of piety and virtue. Nor was their pious and very tender mother less in any part instrumental in that instruction.

Mr. Benjamin Hawling the elder had tutors in the mathematics, and other parts of philosophy; a course of which he went through successfully enough, and so as to render him as complete in his mind, as nature had formed him to be, which he went to Holland, as did his brother, Mr. William Hawling, but this brother returned with the duke: both of them had commands in the army; the elder had a troop of horse, the younger was a lieutenant of foot; they dischargeth their places with much more content and bravery than could he expected from common soldiers, had they been allowed to do under the caule they fought for, since it was no less than the interest of all that was dear to them in this world or the other. The eldest had particularly signalized himself in several skirmishes, and was with a detachment of his own troops, and two more, to Minehead in Somersetshire, to bring the army to, at the very instant the duke engaged the king's forces at Sedgmore, and came not up till after the field was entirely lost; to whose absence, with so considerable a party of the duke's horse, and the most resolved men of all he had, the king's forces were put to the greatest confusion; and all things in disorder, and the rout beyond recovering, he was forced to disperse his troops, every one shifting as they could for themselves. He and his brother kept together, where, what befell them after, their friends have given an exact account, which is here accordingly inserted.

A particular Account of the Behaviour of Messrs. William and Benjamin Hawling, before and at their Execution, as communicated by their Friends.

"THE gracious dealings of God, manifested to fame in dying hours, have been of great advantage to those living that heard the fame, giving them an occasion thereby to reflect on their own state, and to look after the things of their peace, before they be hid from their eyes; as also a great encouragement to strengthen the faith of those that have experienced the grace of God to them.

"To that end, it is thought necessary, by parents especially, to prefer to their children that remain, those blessed experiences that such have had, which God hath taken to bestow upon them.

"Here therefore is presented a true account of the admirable appearances of God towards two young men; Mr. Benjamin Hawling, who died when he was about 22 years of age, and Mr. William Hawling, who died before he arrived to 20 years: they engaged with the duke of Monmouth, as their own words were, for the English liberties, and the Protestant religion, and for which Mr. William Hawling was executed at Lyme the 13th of September 1685; and Mr. Benjamin Hawling at Taunton, the 30th of the same month; and however severe men were to them, yet the blessed dispensation of God towards them was such, as hath made good his word, that out of the mouths of babes he hath ordained strength, that he may fill the enemy and the avenger.

"Then, reader, would you see earthly angels, (men that are a little too low for heaven, and much too high for earth) would you see poor frail creatures, so as to comprehend this world under their feet, and with an holy, serene countenance fingling at the threats of tyrants, who are the terrors of the mighty in the land of the living? Would you see shattered prisoners behave themselves like judges, and judges stand like prisoners before them? Would you see holy men and women themselves in the height of faith in its highest elevation, immediately before it be swallowed up in the beatific vision? To conclude, would you see the heavenly Jerusalem portrayed on earth? Would you hear the melodious voice of ascending fains in a ravishing concord to join with the heavenly choruses in their delightful hallelujahs? Then draw near, come and see!"

If
If thou be a man of an heavenly spirit, here is pleasant and suitable entertainment for thee; and after thou hast conversed with those angels and spirits, it may be that thou wilt judge as I do, that dead saints are sweeter companions (in some respects) for thee to converse with, than those that are alive: and when thou shalt see the magnificent acts of their faith, their invincible patience, their flaming love to Christ, their strange contempts and undervaluations of the world, their solitary triumph in the procession of the gospel, their fervent and brotherly-love to each other, their ravishing prospect (as it was on the top of mount Pisgah) of the heavenly Canaan, their swan-like fongs and dying speeches. And reader, you know the frill liftings of little children, and last farewells of dying fants are always most sweet and charming: those fore-tales of the river of pleasure, the transporting glimpses they had of the crown of glory; I say, when you see and read their exemplary truths, wonder not that the pious Hewlings longed so vehemently to be in a better world, though they were to pass through a thousand deaths, or the fiery trial to it.

"After the dispersing of the duke's army, they fled and put to sea, but were driven back again, and with the hazard of their lives got on shore, over dangerous rocks, and as safe as they could be till they did with patience, and they being unwilling to fall into the hands of the rabble, and no way of defence or escape remaining to them, they surrendersed themselves prisoners to a gentleman, whose house was near the place they landed at, and were from thence sent to Exeter gaol, the 15th of July, where we were much sooner time, there was a report that (being visited by many) caused great respect to them, even of those that were enemies to the cause they engaged in; and being on the 27th of July put on board the Swain frigate, in order to their bringing, as their carriage, great kindness from the commander, and all other officers in the ship; and being brought into the river, Captain Richardson came and took them into his custody, and carried them to Newgate, putting great iron about them, and put them apart from each other, without giving liberty for the nearest relation to fee them, notwithstanding all endeavours and entreaties used to obtain it, though in the presence of a keeper; which though it did greatly increase the grief of their relations, God, who wisely orders all things for good to those he intends to gratify, so made this very restrain and had those ill-effects and good effects, as may appear by their own words, when after great impatience and charge, some of their near relations had leave to speak a few words to them before the keeper, to whom they replied, they were contented with the will of God, whose servant they were. Having been in Newgate six weeks, there was order given to carry them down into the well, in order to their trial; which being told them, they answered, they were glad of it; and that morning they went out of Newgate, several that beheld them, seeing them so cheerful, said, Surely they had received them a pardon, else they could not carry it with that courage and cheerfulness. Although this must be observed, that from first to last, whatever hopes they received from friends, they still thought the contrary, never being much affected with the hopes of it, nor could they bear the least degree of disappointment a man could do. In their journey to Dorcheller, the keepers that went with them, said their carriage was so grave, serious, and Christian-like, that it made them admire to see and hear what they did from such young men."

And now in this relation that went into the Well, to see the fife of things, and to perform whatever should be necessary for them, gives also an account as follows:

"At Salisbury, the 30th of Aug. I had the first opportunity of conversing with them: I found them in a very excellent frame of mind, declaring their experience of the grace and goodness of God to them in all their sufferings, in supporting and strengthening, and providing for them, turning the hearts of all in whose hands they had been, both at Exon, and on ship-board, to fly pity and favour to them; although since they came to Newgate they were hardly used, and now on their journey loaded with heavy irons, and more inhumanely dealt with than they were before, yet their charges, activities, temper were better, and in a more happy condition than ever their lives, from the fende they had of the pious love of God in Jesus Christ to their souls, wholly and entirely rendering themselves to their wife and gracious God, that for their life or death, expressing themselves thus: Any thing that pleases God, God's pleasure be it. He said, you know he is able to deliver, but if not, blessed be his name, death is not terrible now, but defirable. And Benjamin Hewling particularly added, As for the world, there is nothing in it to make it worth while to live, except one must be free in his Father's kingdom. And afterwards said, Oh! God is a strong refuge, I have found him so indeed.

"The next opportunity I had was at Dorcheller, where they both were remaining together four days; by reason of their first confinement, and conversation was much interrupted; but this appeared, that they had still the same preference and support from God no way discouraged at the approach of their trial, on the event of it, whatever it should be.

"The 6th of September, Mr. Benjamin Hewling was ordered to be brought before the judge; as he was brought, he kept himself very still; he was then in the 49th year of his age; and all of his hair was white. When he came before the judge, he said, Oh! blessed be God for all his goodness; we have found such happy effects, that I would not have been without them for all this world.

"I remained still at Dorcheller to wait the issue Mr. William Hewling, to whom, after trial, I had an interview. It was a day of great horror and devastation, but was of the grace of God in Christ, that had been made towards him, in calling him out of his natural state. He said, God by his Holy Spirit did suddenly open his heart, when he thought not of it in his retired state in France, as before, but by a certain whispering in his heart, Seek ye my face, enabling him to answer his call, and to reflect upon his own foul, shewing him the evil of the sin, and necessity of Christ, from that time carrying him on, to a sensible adherence to Christ for justification and eternal life. He said, hence he found a spring of joy and refreshment, beyond the comforts of his soul. He further said, he could not but admire the wonderful goodness of God, in so preparing him, by which he was brought to him, then which he thought not of; giving him hope of eternal life, before he called him to look death in the face, so that he did cheerfully resign his life to God before he came, having fought his guidance in it; and that both then and now, the cause did appear to him very glorious, notwithstanding all he had suffered in it, or what he further might. Although for our sins God hath witheld these good things from us. He is in his good, and in all his sufferings; and whatever the will of God were, life or death, he knew it would be best for him.

"After he had received his sentence, when he was sent to prison, he said, methinks I find my spiritual comforts increasing, ever more greatly whispering in his heart. There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, it is said that justifies, who shall condemn?"

"When I came to him the next morning when it had received news, that he must the next day, on the 7th of September, be executed, the thing which delighted me at the world is that day I found him in a more excellent raised spiritual frame than before: he said, he was satisfied God had chosen him for his; he knows what the temptation of life might have been; I might have lived and forgotten God, but he is going to be where I shall find no more. Oh! if it is a blessed Angel to be free from the bottom of the earth, to feel the riches of the love of God in Christ to saints. How great were the sufferings of Christ for me beyond all I can undergo! How great is that glory which I am going! It will soon swallow up all our fear.

"When he was at dinner, just before his going to Lympne, he dropped many abrupt expressions of his inward joy, such as these: Oh! the grace of God, the love of God, oh! that blessed supper of the Lamb, to be for ever with the Lord! He further said, When I went to
The TURMONTING of MeFFs. BENJAMIN and WILLIAM HEWLENG. 783

The sheriff having given his body to be buried, although it was brought from the place of execution without any notice given, yet very many of the town, to the number of 200, came to accompany him; and several young women of the belt of the town, laid him in his grave in Lime church-yard, the thirteenth day of September 1656.

When I came to Taunton, to Mr. Benjamin Hewling, he had received the news of his brother's being gone to die with so much comfort and joy, and after wards of the continued goodness of God in increasing it to the end. He expressed in his grief, We have no cause to fear death, if the presence of God be with us; there is no evil in it, the flying being taken away; it is nothing but our ignorance of the glory that the saints pass into by death, which makes it appear dark for ourselves or relations; if in Christ, why then is there any fear, for it is not above it? It is all vain and unsatisfying, full of sin and misery: intimating also his own cheerful expectations soon to follow, discovering then, and all along, great serpent-infused, and feline of spiritual and eternal things, complaining of nothing in his present circumstances, but the want of a place of retirement to converse more uninterruptedly with God and his own soul, saying, That his lonely time in Newgate was the sweetest in his whole life. He said, God having some time before blunted his heart (when he was under the hazard of his life) to some serious fenses of his just life, and was familiarly acquainted with the presence of death and eternity, thinking him, that they were the only happy perils that had feceted their eternal states; the folly and madness of the ways of sin, and his own thraldom therein, with his utter inability to deliver himself; also the necessity of Christ for salvation: he feared it was not without terror and amazement for some time, the flight of unpardoned sin, with eternity before him. But God wonderfully opened to him the riches of his free grace in Christ Jesus for poor sinners to flee to, enabling them to look aloft to the exalted Christ for salvation: he said this blessed work in his infant measure carried upon his soul, under all his buffan and hurries in the army; but never sprang forth so fully and sweetly till his close confinement in Newgate. There he saw Christ and all spiritual objects more clearly, and embraced them more strongly; there he experienced the blestness of a reconciled state, the excellency of the ways of holiness, the delightfulness of communion with God, which remained with very deep and apparent impressions on his soul, which he frequently expressed with a proportionate ardor and love towards him. He said, Perhaps my friends may think I have forgotten the faddiest time of my life; but I blest God it hath been the sweetest and most happy of all: nay, there is nothing else worthy the name of happiness, I have in vain sought satisfaction from the things of this world, but now I have found rest for my soul alone.

O how great is our blindness by nature, till God open our eyes, that we can fee no excellency in spiritual things, but spend our precious time in pursuance thereof, and to all the invitations of grace, and glorious offers of the gospel! How just is God in depriving us of that to we so much lighted and abused! Oh! his infinite patience and goodness, that after all he should yet fanfify any methods to bring a poor sinner to himself! Oh! elevating love, disinguisling grace what great caue have I to admire and adore it!

He said, What an amazing consideration is the suffering of Christ for sin, to bring us to God; his suffering from wicked men was exceeding great: but alas, what was that in the time of ours? This is the infinite wrath of God? This mystery of grace and love is enough to swallow up our thoughts to all eternity.

As to his own death, he would often say, He saw no reason to expect any other; I know God is infinitely able to deliver, and I am sure, if it be, it is for his glory, and my great and good God, that I blest my sins were pardoned; it is all my desire that he would choose for me, and then I am sure it will be best, whatever it be; for truly, unless God have some work for me to do in the world for his
his service and glory, I fee nothing else to make life
defensible: in the present state of affairs, there is nothing
to call our eyes upon, but fin, forrow, and misery:
and truly, were things ever so much according to our
defires, it is but the world fill, which will never be a
reflce place. Heaven is the only place of rest and hap-
piness; there God will be pleased to perform all our
terrestrial hopes; and enjoy God without interruption for ever.

"Speaking of the disappointment of their expessions in
the work they had undertaken, he said with reference
to the glory of God, the prosperity of the gospel, and
the delivery of the people of God, we have great confi-
tence that we shall be perfectly free from further dis-
terest, and enjoy God without interruption for ever.

"I have thought it very dreadful, but now God has called
me to it; I believe God has yet another object of it: I can now
heartily embrace it as an easy en-
fage to glory: and though death separetes from the
joyfulness of each other here, it will be but for a very
short time, and then we shall meet at God's bosom, as
now we cannot conceive, and for ever rejoiced in
others happinesses. Then reading the scriptures,
finding himself, he intimated the great comfort God
called to his soul in it; saying, O what an invaluable
treasure is this blest word of God; in its conditions
here is a store of strong consolation. One day in
the Bible, he said, No, this shall be my companion
till moment of my life. Thus praying together, read-
ning, mediating, and converting of heavenly things, they
waited for the sirieth, who, when he came, void of
pity or evil, gave them power to influence them
to take leave of their friends. But now seeing
this, and the doleful mourning of all about them,
the joyfulness of his countenance was increased. The
he left his prison, and thus he appeared on the fledge,
where he was about half an hour, before the office
were about to release him. The office could force the
horrible gate to open, and it was greatly enraged, there being no visible obstruc
from weight or way. But at last the mayor and fiurst
hauled them forward themselves, Balaam-like, during
the horrid.

"When they came to the place of execution, which
was surrounded with spectators, many that waited the
coming with great forrow, said, That when they see
him and them come with such cheerfulnes and joy, and
evidence of the presence of God with them, it may
death appear with another aspect.

"After what is embraced so much with the great
affection; then two of the elder persons praying aloud,
they joined with great cheerfulness. Then he defiled
leave of the sirieth to pray particularly, but he would
not grant it, only asked him if he would pray for
the king? He answered, I pray for all men. He then
spoke to them, and bid them be of good cheer, and
It must be with the ropes about their necks; when
eyou cheerfully accepted, and sung with such honest
joy and sweetnefs, that many present said, It is hard to
rejoice in theirs.

"Thus in the experience of the delightful frolic
praising God, he willingly closed his eyes in a
vain world, to pass to that eternal employment, Sep-
tember 36, 1697.

"All present of all sorts were exceedingly affected
and amazed. Some officers that had before indignantly
said, Surely these persons have no thoughts of death, he
in their depositions surprised by it, after said, that he
now saw they and they had something extraordinary in-
that, and carried them through with such joy. Others
then said, they that were so convinced of their hap-
nefs, that they would be glad to change conditions with
them. A conviction in all persons, and not only exceedingly, saying, That it was to do a thing, to do
them to cut off, they scarce knew how to hear it.

"Some of the most malicious in the place, from
nothing but railing was expected, said (as he was
carried to their grace in Tauton church, with tears
and weeping in his eyes) that they had no
suspicions the persons had left a sufficient evidence, that they
are now glorified saints in heaven.

"A great officer in the king's army has been of
heard to say, That if you would learn to die, go to
the young men of Tauton.

"Then he desired them to be read to them by them, which
blest and glorious frames of their hearts.

"Mr. Benjamin Hewling, about two hours before
his death, writ the following letter, which shewed the
great composure of his mind.
A LETTER from Mr. HEWLING to his Mother; written two Hours before his Execution.

Tatton, September 30, 1685.

HONORED MOTHER,

That news which I know you have a great while feared, and we expected, I must now acquaint you with, that notwithstanding the hopes you gave in your last letter that some means are come down for my execution, and within these few hours I expect it to be performed. Blest be the Almighty God, that gives comfort and support in such a day; how ought we to magnify his holy name for all his mercies, that when we were under the most violent of fears, and in some danger of losing you, and drew us that Christ whom we had pierced, and out of his free-grace enable us to look upon him with an eye of faith, believing him able to save the utmost all such as come to him. Oh admirable, beguiling patience of God, that when we were disdaining his name, he did not take that time to bring honour to himself by our destruction. But he determined not in the death of a sinner, but had rather he should turn to him and live; and he has many ways of bringing his own to himself. Blest be his holy name, that through his sufferings he has taught my heart in some measure to be conformable to his will, which worketh patience, and patience worketh experience, and experience hope, which maketh not ashamed. I bless God I am not ashamed of the cause for which I lay down my life; and as I have engaged in, and am engaged in it, so now I am going to finish it as I shall be called on, for I am sure that I shall find in the end it will be to my good. The Lord carry on the same cause which hath been long on foot; and though we die in it, and for it, I question not but in his own good time he will raise up other instruments more worthy to carry it on to the glory of his name, and the advancement of his church and people.

Honoured mother, I know there has been nothing left undone by you, or my friends, for the faving of my life, for which I return many hearty acknowledgments to yourself and them all; and it is my dying respect to you and them, to pardon all unkindnesses and unkindnesses in every relation. Pray give my duty to my grandfather and grandmother, service to my uncle and aunt, and my dear love to all my sisters; and remember also my friend a particular recommendation. Pray tell them how well I am, and an intercessor in Christ is when we come to die, and advise them never to retire in a Christless estate. For if we are his, it is no matter what the world do to us, they can but kill the body, and blest be God the soul is out of their reach, for I question not but their malice withers the damnation of that, as well as the destruction of the body, which has so evidently appeared by their deceitful flattering promises. I commit you all to the care and protection of God, who has promised to be a father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow, and to supply the want of every relation. The Lord God of heaven be your comfort under those sorrowfuls, and your refuge from those miseries we may easily foresee coming upon poor England, and the poor distressed people of God.

The Lord carry you through this vale of tears with a terrorism sensitive faint, and at last bring you to himself in glory; where I question not but you will meet your dying son,

Benjamin Hewling.

The MARTYRDOM of Mr. CHRISTOPHER BATTISCOMB, at LIV.

This was another young gentleman of a good family, and very great hopes, and of a fair countenance, lay at Dorchester, somewhere between Dorchester and Lyme. He had bought some time at the Temple, and having occasions in the country about the time of my life, but the providence of God having prevented this,

Lord Ruffin's business, he was there feiz, on suspicion of being concerned in it, and clapt into the county gaol at Dorchester. Here he was before a most honest, and prudent and winning sweetmeats, and fished to much war, and innocent pleasantries, of as much, as we all his keepers and fellow-prisoners, and even persons of the better quality in that town. It is indeed a genet, well bred place, as almost any in England, at such a distance from London. The fields are larger and larger, and buildings pretty regular; two swift, plentiful rivers running by it. It stands on a chalky hill, but wants not fleur of good water. The market-foul is a pleasant little pile, that very much fols off the town. There are great churches in it, and one in the adjoining parish. It is endowed with several alms houses, a good grammar-school well enough provided, which has had the happier of ingenious masters, and by their care, produced no inconsiderable number of good scholars. There are two or three old Roman fortifications near the town, which Camden and Speed took notice of. The people of it are generally civil and gallant enough, if not a little on the extreme that way. They knew how to value such a gentleman as Battiscam, and made him such frequent visits to the prison, till the place itself was far from being said, that he was not a capable, and well skilled in all the conversation, and where you might be sure to meet the bell company in the town of both sexes. Mr. Battiscam had the happines not to be displeasing to the fair sex, who had as much pity and friendship for him as could be expected in any country, and for all the rest of the people, and perhaps their respect for him did influence them to be more gentle and respectful, though it still preferred the other bounds inviolable. Pity is generally but a little way from love, especially when the object of it is any thing extraordinary both for the same reason, and because it is nothing, and nothing could be proved against him which could in any way affect him, he was at length, almost unwillingly, delivered from this fort of happy slavery. And when the duke landed, appeared with him, and served him with equal faith and valour, till the rout a Sedgemoor, where he fled with the rest of the people of Devonshire, where he was feiz in a dilapid, and brought to Dorchester, to his former confinement.

Mr. Battiscam behaved himself there the second time in the same manner as he did at the first, though now he accused himself in prison before his death, take this following account verbatim, as it was written by his friends. Though what occurred most remarkable after his sentence, must not be omitted. Several young ladies in the town went to Jeffrey to beg his life, who repulsed them at the first with a coolness so steady and great, that the great of humanity would have been guilty of, and in a manner even too uncivil to be mentioned. The particulars may be seen in the petition of the widows and orphans of that country.

A particular Account transferred by his Relations.

Mr. Battiscam was observed to be always ferocious and cheerful, ready to entertain spiritual discourse, manifesting affection to God's people and his ordinances, he feigned himself so calm indifferent, that he was ready to life or death, referring himself to God to determine it, expressing his great satisfaction as to some opportunities of escape that were flit, saying, That truly he sometimes thought the cause was too good to flee from suffering for, though he would use lawful means for his life, but the providence of God having prevented this,
with God, through Jesus Christ my Lord; this is the only ground of comfort and cheerfulness, the frame of my mind in Christ; for in nothing but death and without this I am sure death would be a dreadful thing; but having the good hope of this, I can have no melancholy. When he heard of the triumphal death of those that suffered at Lyme, he said, This is a good encouragement to depend upon; for believing the wounds of their bodies, he said, the resurrection will restore all with great advantages. The fifteenth chapter of the Corinthians is comfort enough for all believers. Discouraging much of the courage and felicity of the resurrecting at another time, he said, I will use all lawful means to save my life, and then if God pleases to forgive my sins, I hope I shall embrace death. Upon the design of attempting an escape, he said, We use this means for the preserving of our lives, but if God in his own wisdom, will not let us, it will not affect us; it is our duty first to apply to him for direction and wisdom to defend and good, with resigning our lives to him, and then his will be done. After the disappointment, when there was no prospect of any other opportunity, he brake much of the administration of affairs of God's name to his friends, and the fear which is spiritual in its nature, and too large to be made happy by all that this world can afford, which is but sensual. Therefore methinks, I see no reason why I should be unwilling to leave it by death, since our happiness can never be perfected till then. I will leave this body, where we are so continually clogged with fin and vanity, frivolous and foolish trifles. Death in itself is indeed terrible, and natural courage is too low to encounter it; nothing but an interest in Christ can be our comfort in it, he said, which comfort I hope I have; intimating much advantage to his soul by his former imprisonment. "When he went from Dorchester to Lyme, after he had received the news of his death the next day, he was in the same fervent cheerfulness, declaring full of the same apprehension of the comfort of his friends, the confidence of death, and the great supports of his faith and under the thoughts of so suddenly passing through it, alone from the hope of the security of his interest in Christ; taking leave of his friends with this farewell, Though we part here we shall meet in heaven. "Passing by his estate, going to his house, Farcroft, inheritance, I am now going to my heavenly, eternal one. At Lyme, the morning that he died, it appeared that he had the same supports from God, meeting death with the same cheerfulness; and after he had prayed a while to himself, without any appearance of relucancy, yielded up his spirit, September 19, 1685. The MARTYRDOM OF Mr. WILLIAM JENKY, who was condemned at Dorchester. THIS gentleman's father was sufficiently known, and his circumstances hard enough, being feigned only for his opinion, and clapped up close in Newgate; where the inconvenience of the place, and want of the exercise, made him fry quickly kill him, as he used to say before his confinement, it would certainly do if ever it happened. Thus was he required by that very person, for whom with Mr. Love he ventured his life so deeply, and so hardly escaped with it. It was his inhuman treatment which edge of his heart, and he used to declare to his friends that his blood might be presumed to have gone very far in putting him on to engage his life and fortune in this undertaking, he having given mourning rings for his father with this poesy, William Jenkyn, murdered in Newgate. He was his father's only son, who had taken care to have his education suitable to his birth, and ingenious inclinations; he improved sufficiently in all useful learning, and was now about one or two and twenty. He and several young gentlemen rode down from London a little before the duke landed, and went to see him, and came to Hichemford, till the duke himself came and relieved them. He continued in his army till the rout, when, if I mistake not, he got to sea, and was forced back again with the Flewings, or some others. He was condemned at Lyme under a false accusation. To a friend disconforting with him at Dorchester about his pardon, and telling him the doubleminds of obtaining it, he replied, Well, death is the word they can do, and I believe God, that will not surpise me, for I hope my great work is done. In Taunton, being advised to govern the airships of his temper, telling him, it made people apt to confine him, as inconsistent of her condition, to which he answered, Truly, this is so much my natural temper, that I cannot tell how to alter it; but I believe God I have, and that he is mercifully and eternally concerned; I do not allow myself to be vain, but I find caufe to be cheerful, for my peace is made..."
The MARTYRDOM of LADY LISLE and Mr. RICHARD NELTHORP.

LIEUTENANT of the English army, who had been imprisoned at the Chateau de Vincennes, spoke in terms of the most bitter contempt for the French king and his ministers, and declared that he would rather die a thousand deaths than submit to their authority. He also expressed his determination to continue his resistance to the enemy until the day of his liberation, and charged his friends to keep alive the memory of his sufferings and his heroic conduct.

The MARTYRDOM of Mr. RICHARD NELTHORP, in London.

The name of this gentleman is often met with in Wellington's and Ramsey's plot, and for a good reason, he being not near to answer for himself. As to what he was accused of, we are not certain, but it is said that he was a member of the Protestant party, and that he had taken part in the conspiracy against the government.

The last Speech of LADY ALICIA LISLE.

GENTLEMEN, friends, and neighbours, it may be expected that I should say something at my death, and in order thereunto I shall acquaint you, that my birth and education were both near this place, and that my parents instructed me in the fear of God, and I now die of the reformed Protestant religion; believing that if ever Popery should return into this nation, it would be a great and severe judgment; that I die in expectation of the pardon of all my sins, and of acceptance with God the Father, by the imputed righteousness of Jesus Christ, he being the end of the law for sinners as well as for saints; and I may add, that the death of all these things is not in vain, for this is found guilty, and lost her head at Winchelsea. Her cafe was thought to hard, that the honorable house of parliament afterwards considered her judgment. At her death she made a speech, as follows:

The last Speech of Mr. RICHARD NELTHORP.

"The great and inexpressible trouble and distraction I have been under since I came into trouble, especially in the case of my confinement, has done me great injury, that for many weeks last past, till the day my sentence was passed, I have not had any composure of mind, and I have been under the greatest trouble imaginable; since my dear wife hath had the favour granted her of coming to see me, but under great compunctions of mind, through the infinite goodness of the Lord. As to what I stand out-lawed for, and am now sentenced to die, I can with comfort appeal..."
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

to the great God, before whose tribunal I am to appear, that what I did was in the similitude of my heart, without seeking any private advantage to myself; but thinking it my duty to hazard my life for the preservation of the Word of God, against all sects and heresies, whether by violence or by dint of the sword, in the person of my God, in the sense of the Latin word sacramentum, which I thought invaded, and both in great danger of being lost. As to the design of afflicting the late king, or his present majesty, it was always a thing highly against my judgment, and which I always detested; and I was never in the least concerned in it. I never had in the least part in any arms bought for that intent, nor did I believe there was any such design, or ever heard of any disappointment in such an affair, or time, or place, save what, after the discovery of the general design, Mr. W. spoke of, as to arms bought by the king and myself, and a plan for the late king being at Newmarket, and the first news I had of the fire, was at Beverley in Yorkshire. As to my coming over with the late duke of Monmouth, it was in prosecution of the time ends; but the Lord in his holy and wise providence had been pleased to bless all our undertakings; and I still remained as a united and zealous spirit in all those that came from beyond the seas; and as to the duke of Monmouth’s being declared king, I was wholly passive in it, I never having been present at any public debate of that affair, and should never have advised it, but complained of it to the earl of Lindsey and captain W.—. I beseech you, the lord Grey and Mr. F——— the chief promoters of it. As to the temptation of being an evidence, and bringing either into trouble or danger of his life the meannest person, upon the account for which I suffer, I always abhorred and detested the thoughts of it, both when in and out of danger, and advised some very strongly against it; except when under my discretion in prison, that amongst other temptations did violently affect me; but through the goodness of my dear Lord and Father, I was preferred from it, and indeed was wholly innocent and could receive the least shadow of comfort from it, but thought death more eligible, and was some time before, out of my detraction and disquieted condition, wholly free from it; though not without other temptations far more criminal in the sight of men. I bless the Father of all mercies, and God of all consolations, that I find all things reconciled to a very willing to his, finding infinitely more comfort in death, than ever I could place in life, though in a condition that might seem honourable; every hour seeing the will of God in ordaining this affair more and more cleared up to me. God hath given, God hath taken, blest he be whose hand hath unfolded it; and if it be willfully fuller, rather than to put forth my hand to iniqity, or to lay a confederacy with those that do so. I am heartily and sincerely troubled for what hath happened, many men’s lives being lost, and many poor distressed families ruined; the Lord pardon what of sin he hath seen in it. I lie in his wonderful providence hath made me and others concerned, instruments, not only for what is already fallen out, but, I believe, for hastening some other great work he hath to do in these kingdoms; whereby he will try and purge his people, and winnow the chaff from the wheat; the Lord keep those that are his hand.

I die in charity with all the world, and can readily and heartily forgive my greatest enemies, even tho’ that have been evidences against me; and I most humbly beg the pardon of all that I have in the least any way injured; and in a special manner humbly ask pardon of the lady L’s family and relations, for that my being incontinent there one night with Mr. Hicks, brought that worthy lady to suffer death: I was wholly a stranger to her ladyship’s hope, and came with Mr. Hicks; neither did she (as I verily believe) know who I was, or my name, till I was taken: and if any other have come to any loss or trouble, I humbly beg their pardon; and were I in a condition, I would, as I was able, make them a repetition.

As to my faith, I neither look nor hope for mercy, but only in the free grace of God, by the application of the blood of Jesus, my dear and only Saviour, to my poor sinful soul. My dilleffres have been excesses great as to my eternal state, but through the infinite goodness of God, though I have many sins to work for, yet I hope and trust, as to my particular, that Christ effectually did his work, and made me a preacher, and to relieve me of my guilt and sentenced me, and to be a physician to the sick, I come and see thee, O blest Jesus! refule me not, but, with thy own blood, and thine own blood, and then present me to the Father righteous. What, though my fins be as crimson, or a scarlet dye, yet thou canst make them as white as snow. I am nothing in myself but dust, Ashes, and ruin and confound me: I cannot answer for one sin of my whole life, but I call myself wholly upon him who art the fountain of mercy, in whom God is reigning, calling him to the world: the greatest of all wights, in which fineness is, and all sufficiency in thy blood to cleanse me from all sin. O dear Father of mercy, look upon me as righteous in and through the righteousness of thy Son; he paid the debt by his own offering himself up for sin, and in that thy justice is satisfied, and thy mercy is magnified. Grant me thy grace, OLord, to see myself as a meek and lowly in heart, and stedfast in all my ways before thee, and thy holy and just Spirit, be abridged all glory, honour, power, might, and dominion, for ever and ever, Amen.

“Dear Lord Jesus, receive my Spirit, Amen.”

Richard Nutter

Newark, Oct. 29, 1685.

The MARTYRDOM of Mrs. ELIZABETH GAUNT
at Wapping.

The most likely reason that Mrs. Gaunt was hung, was, it is very possible, because she lived at Wapping; the honest seamen, and hearty Protocols there abouts, being such known enemies to Popery and arbitrary government, that the friends of both gave all who oppressed them a bad name. Mrs. Gaunt was, as she was called a laturping, as an odious brand and stigmata. She was a good, honest, charitable woman, who made her business to relieve and help whoever suffered for the forementioned cause, sparing no pains, refusing no sacrifice to them, in which she was the most indefatigable and indefatigable woman living. Amongst other persons who gave her some good advice, was one Burton, whom with his wife and family she had kept from starving, for which (may the name of them be registered with eternal infamy) she swore against her, and took away her life: though she lays in her speech, there was but one witness against her, for any money she was charged to give him, and he himself, an outlawed person, his outlawry not revealed, he not being outlawed when she was with him, and bid him away. That which she wrote in the nature of a speech, has a great deal of sense and justice and some strange expressions which were mentioned, the boisterous and swelling language to all these persons, which includes with these words addresed to her enemies, “Thus has her that finds no mercy from you.”

If it were possible to represent the due character of this excellent woman, the talk would be most agreeable. That the flood most deftly everted the monument of honour and sincerity of the reformed religion. All true Christians (those in some things differing in perfusion with her) found her an universal charity and sincere friendship, as known to many here, and also to a multitude of Scotch nation, ministers and others, who for confessing and being guiltless were formerly thrust into exile. These found her most refreshing refuge. She dedicated herself with weared industry, to provide for their supply and support and therein (I do incline to think) the marriage of every individual person (if not the whole body of rebellants in this great city). Hence she became expert...
The MARTYRDOM of Mrs. GAUNT.

The implacable fury of bloody Papists, and those blind zealots who consented to promote their accursed designs, had done them little difficulty to procure a jury of twelve men who were well-prepared judges) to make her a sacrifice to the flate. Her judges, the king's counsel, the solicitor-general, the common-foreman, &c., and their friends, no indignities were too great to offer in order to clear their charges.

Mrs. Gaunt with the knowledge of his being in prison, or in the proclamation, but nothing of that could be made out, nor is there any proof that Mrs. Gaunt harboured this ungratefulretch, or that the gave her any encouragement to make her nehmen in any way. She was charged with being and the proceeding, notwithstanding that, her jury brought her in

the indictment, and she was condemned.

The sentence was executed upon this excellent woman on the Friday following, being the 29th of October, 1662, when she left her murderers the following me-

SPEECH OF MRS. GAUNT, written the Day before her Execution.

I am not knowing whether I should be suffered or able, because of weaknees that are upon me through my hard and close imprisonment, to speak the truth; but I know not how to keep silence when I see, that I am as well reconciled to the way of my God towards me, though it be in ways I looked not for; and by terri-

able things, yet in righteouscounsell; having given me life, I ought to have the disposing of it, when and how he please to call me hence. To deny his being but my reasonable servant; and also the last terms that Jesu Christ offers, that he will be my disciple, mist for sake all, and follow him; and therefore let none think hard, or be differted at what hath happened unto me. yet for that reason I, in all I have done to us, seem to be in all his ways, and righteous in all his works; and it is but my lot in common with poor defolate Sion at this day.

Neither do I find in my heart the regret for what I have done in the service of my Lord and Master Jesus Christ, in excercising and securing any of his poor ser-

vants that have deserved to his righteouscause; and which service, though now it be fallen and trampled upon, as if it had not been anointed, ye shall revive, and God will plead it another rate than ever he hath done yet, and reckon with all its opposers and malicious laders, and therefore let all that love and fear him, not omit the least duty that comes to hand, or lies before them, knowing that now it hath need of them, and expect they shall have it.

And I deifie to blest his holy name, that he hath made me useful in his gene-

rocounse: and that many defolate ones, and the blessing of those that are ready to faint; and to come upon me, and being helped to make the heart of the widow to sing. And I blest his holy name, that in all this, together with what I was charged with, that I have done his will, though it does croft man's will; and he be-pleases that falsify me, Haria vii. 5 Hide the outcast, bewray not him that wandheere. And Obad. 16. Thou shalt not have given up those of his that did escape in the day of his diftres. But man saies, You shall give them up, or you shall die for it. Now when they that do it have no cause to rejoice and be exceeding glad, in that I suffer for his cause, and have an unworthy, poor, diffrecred family, and look they for me. I must die for it. Well, I deifie in the Lamb-

like Gospel-Spirit to forgive all that are concerned, and to say, Lord, lay it not to their charge; but I say I will not say, I believe when he comes to make inquisition for blood, it will be found at the door of the

furious judge; who, because I could not remember things through my drunkneasses at Burton's wine and daughter's vilence, and my ignorance, took advantage thereon, and would not hear me, when I had called to mind that which I am sure would have invalidated their evidence; though he granted something of the fame na-

ture to another of his informers. And also this also was found at the door of the unrighteous jury, who found me guilty upon the single oath of an out-lawed man; for there was none but his oath about the money, who is no legal witness, though he be pardoned, his oath-out-law not being recalled; and also the law requires two witnecesses in point of life: and then about my going with him to the place mentioned, it was by his own words, before he was out-lawed, for it was two months after his abscending; and though in a proclamation, yet not high treason, as I have heard, so that I am clearly murdered; and also the law requires that he should be insu-

fios to infauly haunted after my life; and though it is no profit to him, through the ill will he bore me, left I none unturned, as I have ground to believe, till he brought it to this; and thumbed favoure to Burton, who ought to have died for his own fault, and not bought his life with mine; and captain R., who is cruel and severe to all under my circumstances, and did at that time, without all mercy, or pity, haffed my sentence, and held up my hand, that it might be given; all which, together with some of all one, by whole power all thowe, and a multitude more of cruelties are done, I do heartily and freely forgive, as against me; but as it is done in an implacable mind against the Lord Christ, and his righteous cause and followers, I leave it to him who is the avenger of all such wrongs, who will tread upon all princes as upon mortar, and be terrifie of the kings of the earth: and know this also, though ye are feemingly fixed, and because of the power in your hand, are writing out your violence, and dealing with a despightful hand, because of the old and new hatred; by impoverishing and every way diffasuring of hope you have got under you; yet unless you can secure Jesus Christ, and all his holy angels, you shall never do your busines, nor your hands accomplish your enterprises; for he will be upon you ere you are aware, and therefore, O that you would be wise, instructed, and learn, is the desire of her that finds no mercy from you.

ELIZABETH GAUNT.

"Nevegate, October 22, 1663."

P. S. Such as it is, you have it from her, who hath done as she could, and is forry she can do no better: hopes you to see God's face in heaven, and cover weakneasses, and anything that is wanting; and begs that none may be weakened or humbled at the lowness of my spirit; for God's desig is to humble and abase us, that he alone may be exalted in this day: and I hope he will appear in the needful time, and it may be referred the belt wine till laft, and the lesser at the beginning, and so every man goeth to warfare at his own charge, and the Spirit bloweth, not only where, but when it listeth; and it be-

comes me, who hath so often grieved, quenched, and refilled it, to wait for and upon the motions of the Spi-

rit, and not to refuse them; but I may mourn, because through want of it, I honour not my God, nor his blest cause, which I have so long loved and delighted to love; and repent of nothing about it, but that I served him and it no better.

Particulars of Mr. ROSEWELL's Trial and Pre-

vocation.

Mr. Rosewell, a very worthy divine, was tried about the same time for treasonable words in his pulpit, upon the accusation of very vile and lewd in-

forer: and a Surrey jury found him guilty of high treason, upon the mutt witness of some doubtful evi-

dence that had been ever given, notwithstanding for John Talbot (no countenance of Diffenters) had appeared with great generosily and honour, and testified, That the most material witnesses was as lalandeous and infa-

mous a wretch as ever breathed.
About this time it was given out by those who thirsted for blood, that Mr. Rolfevel and Mr. Hays should die together; and it was upon good ground believed, that the happy deliverance of Mr. Hays did much contribute to the preservation of Mr. Rolfevel, for though it is very probable, that he had not escaped, had not Sir John Talbot's worthy and most honourable reception of that accursed villain, prompted him to repair from the court of King's Bench, to king Charles II. and to make a faithful representation of the case to him, whereas when inhuman bloody Mr. Jefferys caught a little after in a transport of joy, to make his report of the eminent service he and the Surrey jury had done in finding Mr. Rolfevel guilty; the king (to his disappointment) appeared under some reluctance, and declared that Mr. Jefferys should die; and that justice and most happily delivered from his intended martyrdom.

The MARYTDOM of the EARL OF ARGYLE, at the Market-Croft in Edinburgh.  

Let us now take a leap over into Scotland, that poor country, which has been harassed and tired for these many years, to render them perfect favours, that they might help to enslave England, to prevent which, and secure the Protestant religion, it was grown impossible for us to do it by arms, therefore Mr. Rolfevel, a gentleman of rank bred from Holland about the same time with the duke, and arrived in Scotland with what forces he could make; to which were added some others who joined him; which after several marches and counter-marches, were at length put to flight by the army, or with intention to bring him off from the other army then upon the heels of them, where they all lost one another, dispersed and shifted for themselves; the earl being taken by a countryman, and brought to Edinburgh, where he suffered for his former unpardonable crime, requiring care should be taken of the Protestant religion, and explaining his taking the leaf conformable thereto; for the legality of which he had the hands of molt of the eminent lawyers about the city. He suffered at Edinburgh the 30th of June 1685. His speech has a great deal of piety and religion, nor will it be any disgrace to say, it was more like a sermon.

The following is a correct Copy of the last Speech of the EARL of ARGYLE, June 30, 1685.

"JOE tells us, 'Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble.' and I am a dear instance of it. I shall not now say any thing of my ten- nership, I shall not even mention the year he died nor the day; but I shall, as some of my last words, affect the truth of the matter of fact, and the sincerity of my intentions, and professions that are published.

"That which I intend mainly now to say, is, To express my humble, and (I thank God) cheerful submission to his divine will; and my willingness to forgive all men, even my enemies; and I am heartily well satisfied there is no more blood spilt, and I shall with the stream thereof, and all the grace that is in me, (as I hope to be God's instrument, as to Zerubbabel, Zech. iv. 6. 'Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.'

"I know afflictions spring not out of the dust: God did wonderfully deliver and provide for me, and has now by his special Providence brought me to this place; and I hope none will either insult or Rumble at it, feeing they ought not; for God Almighty does all things well, for good and holy ends, though we do not always understand it. Love and hatred is not known by what is before us.

"Afflictions are not only foretold, but promis'd to Christians; and are not only tolerable, but defirable.

"We ought to have a deep reverence and fear of God's displeasure; but withal, a firm hope and dependance on him for a blessed issue, in compliance with his will; for God cleads his own, to refine them, and not to ruin them, whatever the world may think, Heb. xii. 3 (10. 12.)

"We are to imitate our Saviour in his sufferings. 2 Pet. ii. 23.  
"We are neither to despise our afflictions, nor faint under them; both are extremes.

"We are to consider our trial to be expounded against the involutions of our trouble; for the same affliction may be an effect of their passion, and yet used by God to punish us for sin; though it is a great comfort when we may say to them with David, Psl. lix. 5. 'Thou savest me for my transgressions, but for my sin, O Lord.'

"Nor are we, by fraudulently unloading compliances in wicked courses, to bring sin upon ourselves, faint hearts are ordinary falls; chaffing sin rather than sufferings, and a short life with eternal death, before temporal death and a crown of glory; flight seeking to have a little, and death, and death, and death; the earth hardens them, until they proceed to their own destruction. How can the Hazacl, a Kings v. 13. run to exccuses they now thought they were capable of! Let rulers and others read seriously, and weigh Prov. i. 10 to 30, etc., and avoid what is bad, and follow what is good.

"For me, I hope by God's strength to join with you, chap. xiii. 15. and the Paleslfill, Psl. xviii. 4, and shall pray, as Psl. lxiv. 19 to 21, and shall hope, as Psl. xiv. 14, 15. I shall in all I do, bring home all that I have se- bidden from the purity of their life or principles, to blest his whole people with all blessings, spiritual and temporal, and put an end to their present trials.

And I entreat all people to forgive me wherein I have offended, and concur with me to pray, That the great good, great mercy, great peace, great mercy, that God has se- bidden from the purity of their life or principles, to blest his whole people with all blessings, spiritual and temporal, and put an end to their present trials. And I entreat all people to forgive me wherein I have offended, and concur with me to pray, That the great good, great mercy, great peace, great mercy, that God has se- bidden from the purity of their life or principles, to blest his whole people with all blessings, spiritual and temporal, and put an end to their present trials. And I entreat all people to forgive me wherein I have offended, and concur with me to pray, That the great good, great mercy, great peace, great mercy, that God has se- bidden from the purity of their life or principles, to blest his whole people with all blessings, spiritual and temporal, and put an end to their present trials.

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The MARYTDOM of Colonel RUMBOLD, at the Market-Croft, in Edinburgh.  

COLONEL Richard Rumbold suffered at the same place, June 26, 1685, most of what occurred confi- derable in his defence and speech, you have had already in the busines of the affliction. Two or three passages more there are worth remarks in the same, as argument of his crane and courage. For this cause, he says, every hair of his head and heart a life, he would joy- fully sacrifice them all. That he was never unman- chinal in his principles, but for a king and free par- liament, and the king having power enough to make his great, and the people to serve him, and die and live, he died in the defence of the just laws and liberties of the nations. That none was marked by God above another; for no man came into the world with a faddle on their backs, nor others beoted and spurred to ride up- on. And in all events of God's providence, what is most dreadful? answered, I wish he had a limb for every town in Chirllendom.

The Last Speech of Colonel RICHARD RUMBOLD, previous to his Execution, with a few Things that passed on his Trial, June 26, 1685.

COLONEL Richard Rumbold was brought about eleven o'clock in the morning from the castle of Edinburgh, to the justices court, in a great chair,
Portraits of some of the principal Protestant Martyrs, whose sufferings and deaths are commemorated in the Martyrology, under the bloody tyranny of that merciless Pope, Judge Jeffreys, in the reign of James I.
perform their part? No; this error is contrary to the law of God, the laws of nations, and the law of reason. But as pride hath been the bane of the devil, hath caught

most, if ever since the creation, so it continues to this day with us. Pride cauèd our first parents to fall from the blest estate wherein they were created; they aiming to be higher and wiser than God allowed, which brought an evil fall upon them and the whole gend of mankind. It was pride cauèd God to drown the owd world. And it was Nimrod’s pride in building Babel, that cauèd that heavy curse of division of tongues to be spread among us, as it is at this day. One of the greatest affliictions the church of Christ hath to suffer, that there should be so many dividions during their pilgrimage here; but this is their comfort that the day draweth near, when, as there is but one Shepherd, there shall be but one sheepefold. It was therefore in the defence of this party, in their just rights and liberties, against Popery and popery—

[When he said this they beat the drums; to which he replied]

"They need not trouble themselves, for they should lay no more of his mind on that subject, since they were too diffegeuous, as to interrupt a dying man, only to afflire the people, they adhered to the true Protestant religion, dete..."
God hath very wonderfully upholders me, and made out that comfortable word, 'Fear not, be not dismayed. I am with thee, I will strengthen thee, I will uphold thee by the right hand of my righteousness,' Isaiah xlii. 10.

I thank the Lord he never yet gave me leave so much as to have a thought, much less to seek after any thing that could be hurtful to my soul, which must have been the first step towards my ruin, and yet do judge it better to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of fin for a feacon; therefore I am come hither to lay down my life. I blest the Lord did not set me a fool diest, though I acknowledge I have not yet come to that state of myself in which I may say I am a sinner, and one of the chief that have gone under the name of a professor of religion; yet, amongst the unworthiest of those that have preached the gospel; my sins and corruptions have been many, and have defiled me in all things, and even in following and doing my duty, I have not wanted my own sinful infirmities and weaknesses, so that I may truly say, I have no righteousness of my own, all is evil, and like filthy rags; but blest be God that there is a Saviour and an advocate, Jesus Christ the Righteous, and I do believe that Jesus Christ is come into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief, and that through faith and his righteousness I have obtained mercy; and that through him, and him alone, I declare and hope to have a glorious viti, made in the likeness of God, and to attain unto the reparation of the just, and be made partaker of eternal life. I know in whom I have believed, and that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day. I have according to my poor capacity, proffered and salvation; and as I believe, so do I believe, and with all my soul have commended it, and still do commend to all of you the riches of his grace, and faith in his name, as the alone and only way whereby we can come to be saved.

It may be, many may think (but I blest the Lord, without any foul ground) that I suffer as an evil-doer, and as a busy body in other men's matters; but I reckon not much upon that, having the testimony of my own conscience for me. It was the lot of our blest Saviour himself, and also the lot of many of his eminent, precious servants and people, to suffer by the world as evil-doers; yea, I think I have so good ground not to be feared at such a lot, that I count it my non-fuch honour; and oh what am I, that I should be honoured so, when so many worthies have suffered after the like manner, and such an apostle in being brought into conformity with my blest Lord and head, and so blest a company in this way and lot; and I declare to pray that I may be to none of you this day upon this account a blame of stumbling, and a rock of offence; and blest be he that should think it the greatest mercy and honour of his followers and members, because of their being condemning as evil-doers by the world.

As for those things for which sentence of death hath puffed against me, I blest the Lord my confidence doth not condemn me: I have not been rebellious, nor do I judge it rebellion for me to have endeavoured in my capacity, what possibly I could for the borne-down and ruined interest of my Lord and Master, and for the relief of my poor brethren afflicted and persecuted, not only in their sufferings, privileges and their lives here; it was not for that I joined with that poor handful; the Lord knows, who is the hearer of hearts, that neither my design nor practice was against his majesty's person, and just government, but I always flowed to be loyal to lawful authority in the Lord, and I thank God my heart doth not condemn me of any disloyalty: I have been local, and I do recommend it to all to be obedient to higher powers in the Lord.

I have been looked upon by some, and represented by others to be of a divisive and factional humour, and one that finned unto my destruction in the church. I am bound to say that they will all now give me their charity, being within a little to stand before my judge, and I pray the Lord forgive them that did so misrepresent me; but I thank the Lord whenever men have said against me concerning this, that on the contrary I have often diffused from such ways and practices, as contrary to the word of God, and of our covenanted and reformed religion; and as ever abhorred division and faction in the church, as which tends to it's utter ruin, if the Lord preserve me, so I would in the bowls of my Lord and Master, such an one as I may presume to peruse, and esteem it my duty to represent the state of communion in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any love of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies, that you, like minded, having the same love, being of one mind, in lowliness of mind, let each other thereto, and that I have known, that we are peripherals and humbly in the things of God, can never be bought after, and things that tend to the preserving and hurt of Christ's interest, can never enough be left from and avoided.

Again, I thank God I am more willingly to lay down my unbecomme, to also die in the belief and faith of their scriptures, and in the faith of the Apollites, and pure Christian, and Protestant reformed churches, not particularly the church of Scotland, whereas I am a poor member.

I shall but say a few words.

First, All you that are profane, I would seriously exhort you, that you return to the Lord by sincere penance; if you do, iniquity shall not be your ruin; if you do not, iniquity shall be your ruin. If you return to the Lord, that God's vengeance is near and wont to be meant on. Oh know that comfort, there is a door of mercy yet open, if you have defiers of the day of salvation. And yet there has been, and yet are reproachers and persecutors of godly, and of such as live godly; take heed, oh take heed, to the year day, when God arises to look on his enemies, if you repent not for your ungodly deeds.

Secondly, All those who are taken up with their own private interests, and if that so well, they can the less for the interest of Christ, take heed and be long, for blest is he that left the Lord to pass the sentence, I saw you out of my mouth.

Thirdly, For the truly godly, and such as are mentioning the Lord, and are mourning for all the abominations of this city, and are taking pleasure into very rubbish and honies of Zion, be of good courage, and cast not away your confidence. I dare not say no thing to future things, but surely the Lord has a hand that are precious to him, to whom he will be gracious to thee in his dark night at prefent, how long it will be will the Lord knows! Oh let not me be tempted to think that the Lord will never be present with you through very abundant terrorizing you; beware of flares that abound, cleave fast to your reformed religion, do not sin the Lord, if you be called to it; it is better to suffer the fin, account the reproaches of Christ greater riches in all things.

In the last place, let not my death be grievous of you; I hope it will be more profitable both for you and me, and for the church and interest of God, my life could have been. I blest the Lord, I cannot and frankly forgive all men, even as I desire to be forgiven of God; pray for them that persecute you, bid them that curse you. As to the cause of Christ, I use the Lord I never had caude, to this day, to repeat in any thing I have suffered, or can now suffer for his name, I thank the Lord who has been in all things, but all things limited in the case, that ever I should advance me to a high dignity, as to be made a minister of his word and everlasting gospel; and that ever I should know the ministration of my countenance upon the hearts of men in former places and corners of the Lord the Lord with Scotland, with more and more faithful suppliants, and find a reviual day unto the people of God; in the mean time let the people be steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, and live in love and peace one another, and the Lord be with your more evident grace,

Now I bid farewell to all my friends and dear relations, farewell my poor wife and children, whom I have seen good hands of him who is better than seven hundred, and who will be a father to the fatherless. Farewell creation comforts; welcome everlasting life, et cetera.
CONSIDERING what bodily dissatisfaction I have been exercised with, since I came out of the torments four or five days; and through not being able to speak more than two hours out of my naked bed in one day, it cannot be expected, that I should be in a cafe to say anything to the purpose at this juncture, especially I am not as yet free from it; however I cannot but reverence the good hand of God upon me, and the love and all my foul to blest him for this present

"It may be there are a great many here that judge me very bad and deplorable. I must confess death itself is very terrible to flesh and blood, but as it is an ordain of God, so it is a satisfaction of all the Christians' great and inexpressible privilege; and we have left to say this, that there is something in a Christian's condition, that can never put him without the grace of infallible blessings, even shame, death, and theings being inflicted on him, if there be peace between God and the soul, nothing can damp peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ; this is a most supporting ingredient in the bitter cup, and under the thorn and fire of death one can be expiated unto, this is my mercy, that I am something I claim to believe, that in more or less, the Lord from an act of sovereignty may come, and go as he pleases, but yet he will never forsake his people, and he is a cordial to me in the cafe I am now expiated in.

"Thirdly, The exercizing and putting forth his glorious power, is able to transport the soul of the believer, and mine, above the reach of all tribulations; and therefore feeling I have hope to be kept by this power, I would not have you to look upon my lot, any thing that is or may be in my case, in the least deplorable; I have ground to believe, that in more or less, will perfect his power and strength in weaknesses.

"Fourthly, That I may come a little nearer to the pulpit, I declare before you all, in the sight of angels, and men, and in the sight of that, and all he has created, that I am a most miserable sinner, a thing not properly in regard of my original and actual transgressions. I must confess, they are more in number than the hairs on my head. They are gone up above my head, and cannot numbering, I cannot but say as Jacob said, I am the least of all God's mercies; yet I must declare to the examiners, of whom I am chief, that on the least of all fains, is this grace made known, and this by a strong hand, and I dare not but say, he has loved me, and washed me in his own blood from all ini

"Fifthly, I must also declare in his sight, I am the unworthy that ever opened his mouth to preach the inexpressible riches of Christ in the gospel. Yes, the Lord has made me altogether unwilling to fall about so great a work, until by the importunity of some, whose names are precious and favourable to me, and many others, I was prevailed with to fall about it, and yet I am hopeful, not altogether about fome without hand, and it without vanity, I never found so much of the presence of God upon my spirit, as I have found in exercises of that nature, though I must still confess with attended with inexpressible weakens, and this is the main thing for which I am to be blamed to please God. That I did preach Christ and the gospel in several places of this nation; for which I blest him (as I can) that ever such a poor old creature as I am, have been thus privileged by him, for making mention of his grace as I was able.

"In the next place, though to many I die defiled, yet I know, to not a few my death is not defiled; and it is the revising of my heart, that I die in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has loved me, and given himself for me, and in the faith of the prophets and apostles, and in this faith of theirs there is not a name under Heaven by which men can be saved, but the name of Jesus, and in the faith of the doctrine and worship of the Kirk of Scotland, as it is now established according to the word of God, confession of faith, catechisms larger and shorter, and as believe, I join my testimony against Popery, perjury, profanity, heresy, and every thing contrary to found doctrine.

"In the close, as a dying person, and one who has obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful, I would humbly leave it on godly ministers to be faithful for their Lord and Master, and I charge all, when so many weak things are taken for injuring of his, his name, way, sanctuary, ordinances, crown, and kingdom; I hope there will be found a party in this land, that will continue for him and his matters in all hazards; and as faithfulness is called for in ministers, so professors would concern themselves that they continue not, nor shew any thing inconsistent with former principles and practices. Let the land consider, how neutral and indifferent we are grown in the matters of God, even like Ephraim long ago, a cake not turned.

"As concerning that which is the ground of my death, viz. preaching here and there in some corners; I blest my God, I have not the least challenge for it; and though some that condemned me are pleased to call such preachings rendezvous of rebellion, yet I must say of them, they were far from being reproach such in my eyes, the Lord in Christ having his revenge wherein his soul took pleasure, I am bold to say, those meetings were a great part of them; the shining and glory of God was uniformly seen among these meetings, the convincing power and authority of our Lord went out with his face, and the preachers were the more convenient this I say, without refutation upon any. I have a word to say further, that God is calling perrons to repentance, and to do their first work: O that Scotland were a mourning land, and that reformation were our practice, according as we are sworn in the covenant.

"Again, that Christians of grace and experience would study more smallness and similitude in this day, when so many are turning to the right hand, and many to the left; he that endureth to the end shall be saved; he had appointed the kingdom for such as continue with him in his ways.

"Next, if ever you expostulate to have the form of the house flown you in all the law thereof, going out thereof, and coming in thereof, then think it no shame to take blame to you for all that has been done; fitting down on this side Jordan, is like to be our base. Oh! when shall we get up and run after him, till he brings us into the promised land, let us up and after him with all our heart, and never rest till he return.

"I recommend my wife and young one to the care and faithfulness of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God that fed me to this day, and who is the God of my salvation, their God and my God, their Father and my Father. I am also hopeful, that Christians, friends and relations, will not be unmindful of them when I am gone.

"Last, 

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Lately, I do further hear my testimony to the troth of Christ, and blest him that ever he counted me worthy to appear for him in such a lot as this: glory to him that ever I heard tell of him, and that ever he fell upon such a method of dealing with me as this; and therefore let none that loves Christ and his righteous cause, be offended in me.

And as I have lived in the faith of this, that the three kingdoms are married lands, so I die in the faith of it, that there will be a retribution of its name, word, cause, and all its interest therein; though I dare not determine the time when, or the manner there, but leave all these things to the infinitely wise God, who has done, and will do all things well. Oh that he would return to this land again, to repair our breaches, and take away our backsliding, and appear for his work! Oh that he would, and be pleased to much more for us, on the rest of these time of love; come Lord Jesus, come quickly! Himself hallow it in his own time and way. The Lord is my light and life, my joy, my song, and my salvation; the God of his choosen be my mercy this day, and the enriching comforts of the Holy Ghost keep up and carry me fair through, to the glory of his grace, the edification of his people, and my own eternal advantage. Amen.

JOHN KIDD.

Having now given our readers a faithful account of the behaviour and dying speeches of the most eminent perfons who suffered in Scotland, we shall return again for London, where the last perfons of quality that suffered, was the duke of Monmouth, whose expedition and sufferings are next related.

The MARTYRDOM of JAMES, DUKE of MONMOUTH, who was beheaded at Tower-Hill.

The last perfon with whom we shall conclude this mournful tragedy, and the greatest in it, is the late James, duke of Monmouth: one indeed who, if he had been left, might have been one of the greatest men either in England or the world. By reason of some palpiations in his life, not so defendable, it was thought, at first, better to draw a veil before that unfortunate prince, and say nothing at all of him. But what allowances are made for custom and religion, God only knows. I remember a fervent anfever given to an objection of this nature: Where, said one, should he learn any better? But, he added, were there has he been, and in any time to think soberly and of actions, or none of that nature reiterated, charity is obliged to judge favourably. And besides, the good Well-Countrymen would be very angry if they should not find their matter that they loved so well? and their country so much for, and the left of the noblest heroes. None can deny but he was a great general, a man of courage and conduct, and great personal valour, having insignified himself both at Mons and MacRobert, so as to gain a high and just reputation. He was all along true and firm to the Protestant interest in and out of parliament, though affecting any other way of promoting it, as well as his friend my lord Rufford. This is intended rather as a character, or very short compendium, than any history of his life. He was all along the people's darling, whose hearts were entirely his, by his courtesy and affability, as other perfons left them by their自负s and naughty pride. After Rufford's death he went into Flanders, whence he had procured his design, and gone, as it is said he intended, into the emperor's service, how many laurels might he have gained had how many more would now he growing for him? But his fate was otherwise. After the defeat of his army at Sedgemoor, he fled with my lord Gray, who was first taken, and he himself a little after brought up to London, and on his attainder in parliament, beheaded on Tower-Hill. It is said, a certain brave old officer did die pierced, yet in regard they had not a great cupposibility, it was more than upon ill success they had to expect. Now, to complete our Wiscern martyrology, added...
The MARTYRDOM of Mr. MATTHEW BRAGG.

Mr. Matthew Bragg, the next sufferer under consideration was a gentleman defended from an innocent and good family; he was bred an attorney, in which he practiced the law; his cattle being this, he happened to take the road riding home to his house, being from a gentleman’s house for whom he kept them. He, as before, being met with by a party of Protestants belonging to the duke of Monmouth, who were going to search the house of a Roman-Catholic for arms, he happened to find his goods, and they required him to go with them, and showed him the way, he knowing the country better than they did; he declared to be excused, telling them, it was none of his business, and besides he had no arms. But his ex- ception was of no use, they forced him against his will, they went: when being come, a party immediately entered the house, and searched it: Mr. Bragg never informed, they being thus satisfied, took him along with them to Chard, where the duke of Monmouth then was, and after having set up his head as they did to do, often having occasion there, he was much surprised with engaging in the design, but he refused it; but the next morning made haste out of town, not going the duke at all; calling for his horse, it was told him, that it was for the duke’s service. So they took his coat and gloves, and walked to his house, which was about five or six miles, and was now concerned in the affair, than that after the duke’s death at King’s-Selsey, some busy person informed, that Mr. Bragg had been there from a justice of the peace. And the said Mr. Bragg, who obliged himself to enter into a re- nounce to appear at the next assizes; the said justice warned the matter in itself but trivial; and indeed the said judge was made of no danger. At Dorchester he appeared in court to disburse his bail, on which he was presently committed, and the next day being ar- rested, pleading not guilty, put himself on the trial, God and his country, which found him and twenty more of thirty guilty; the lord chief justice often speaking, If any lawyer shall come under your sentence, they should not escape; the evidence against him in the Roman Catholic, whole house was searched, and woman of fame, to whom the lord chief justice was expressly kind; but his evidence, which were more recently, to preserve his innocence, from the church, every being well instructed by the lord chief justice. This found guilty, sentence was presently pronoun- ced, and execution awarded, notwithstanding all the care that was made for him, as before observed. Being more condemned of the law than executed to on Monday, he spent the residue of his life very devoutly, and much becoming a good Christ- ian, and true Protestant of the church of England, all his whole life continued with this Protestant judge. He was very actively visited by his innocence, from the church, England, who spent much time with him, and received great satisfaction from him. The said divine told him, His deportment, behaviour, and conversation, was exemplary, and for his fitness to receive the communion of the church, he put him into the fruition of happiness. He with- held himself a little longer time, out of no other design, only to repent of his sins, and make himself the more fit for the fare of the church, prepared for those that continue in well doing to need. When he came to the place of execution with courage and resolution, being as he said, prepared indeed, he beheld himself very gravely and devoutly, and on the ladder, being asked, whether he was for his being concerned in the rebellion? He replied, That he knew none of that he was guilty of; and prayed them not to trouble him; adding, He was not the first that was martyred; he was so much a Christian as to forget his enemies, and after some private devotions he suddenly was transfixed, as we have all hopes to believe, from earth to heaven. The only favour of this Protestant judge was, to give his body to his friends, in order to it’s interment amongst his family.

The MARTYRDOM of Mr. SMITH, Contable of Chardlock, at the same Time.

The next eminent person that suffered with him at the same time and place, was one Mr. Smith, who was contable of Chardlock, who having some money in his hands that belonged to the militia, which came to the knowledge of some of the duke’s friends, they obliged him to deliver it to them, which he was forced to do; and for this was indicted for high- treason, in afflicting the duke of Monmouth, to which he pleaded Not guilty. The evidence against him were the fame with that given the other against Mr. Bragg. The said Mr. Smith informed the court and the jury, that little credit ought to be given to the evidence. The lord chief justice thundered at him, saying, Thou villain, methinks I see thee already with a halter about thy neck; thou insolent rebel, to charge us with evidences that are for the king. To which the prisoner replied very boldly, My lord, I now see which way I am going, and right or wrong I must die; but this I comfort myself with, that your lordship can only destroy my body; it is out of your power to touch my soul. God forgive your railings; pray, my lord, know it is not a small matter you are about; the blood of man is more precious than the whole world. He then was hanged from fasting any more. The evidences being heard, a bill charge was laid before the jury about the alarm of the king being short, the jury brought him in guilty; so that he with the rest received sentence of death all together, and were executed on Monday; but by particular order from my lord, he was ordered to be first executed. The day being come for execution, being Monday, he with a courage undaunted was brought to the place, where with Christian exhortations to his brethren that suffered with him, he was ordered to prepare, being the first to be executed, where he spoke the following words:

CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,

I AM now, as you see, launching into eternity, so that it may be expected I should speak something before I leave this miserable world, and pass through those sufferings which are dreadful to flesh and blood; which indeed shall be but little, because I long to be before a just judge, where I must give an account, not only for the occasion of my sufferings now, but for this long unrepented of, which indeed have brought me to this mortal place and shameful death. And truly, dear coun- trymen, having rancissed my soul, I cannot find my smallest concern with the duke of Monmouth doth deserve this heavy judgment on me; but I know, as I said before, it is for sins long unrepented of; I die in charity with all men; I declare all to be a warning to others. I was a professor of the church of England; believing the Lord still to stand up in the defence of it. God forgive my passionate judge, and cruel and hasty jury; God forgive them, they know not what they have done. God blest the king; and though his judges had no mercy on me, I wish he may find mercy when he flanders most in need of it: make him, O Lord, a mourning father to the body; let mercy flow abundantly from him, if it be the will, to the poor prisoners, to be bereft of trials; and, Lord, if it be thy holy will, stop this inine of Chris- tian blood, and let my gallows blood be the last spit on this account. Gentlemen all, farewell, farewell all the things of the world.

Then having sung the few verses of a psalm, and put up some private ejaculations to himself, he said, O Lord,
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK OF MARTYRS.

The MARTYRDOM of Mr. JOSEPH SPEED, of Cullion.

THIS man suffered at the same time and place: when he came near the place of his execution, spaying his countryman and friend, he called him, and said, I am glad to see thee here, because I am not known in these parts; being answered by his friend, I am sorry for you in this condition: he replies, it is the bell day I ever saw: I thank God I have not led my life as unchristian-like as many have done, having lived in the years of sixteen always under the correction of conscience on me, which made me avoid many gross and grievous sins: my course of life hath been well known to you, yet I cannot justify myself; all men err. I have not been the leal of sinners, therefore cannot excuse myself; but since my conduct I have received to great a comfort, in some allu-

ance of the pardon of my sins, that I can now say, I am willing to die, to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, and pay to death, Where is thy sting? And to grace, Where is thy victory? Being asked by some rude fol-

liers, whether he was not sorry for the reformation he was found guilty of: He being generously replied, If you call it a rebellion, I assure you I had no malice in being concerned; for my whole design in taking up arms under the duke of Monmouth, was to fight for the Pro-

testant religion, which my own conscience dictated, me to, and which the said duke called for, and had, I think, a lawful call and warrant for so doing, and do not quibble, if I have committed any sin in it, but that it is pardoned: pray, Mr. Sheriff, let me be troubled no more in answerer of questions, but give me leave to prepare myself, before I leave this world, and go to my Jesus, who is ready to receive me: then calling to his friend, who stood very near him, said, My dear friend, you know I have a dear wife and children, who will find me wanting, being somewhat incumbered in the world; let me direct you as a dying man, to fee that he be not abjured; and as for my poor children, I hope the Father of heaven will take care of them, and give them grace to be dutiful to their diftribed mother; and so with my dying love to all my friends, when you fee them, I take leave of you, and them, and all the world, deeming your christian prayers for me to be most necessary, while the executioner did his office: the soldiers then present, said, They never before were so taken with a dying man's speech; his courage and christian-like resolution caufed many violent men against the prifoners, to repent of their tyranny towards them; formerly they were in a short time filled with horror: and this fell good, this true Protestant, and one that held out to the last.

The MARTYRDOM of JOHN SPRAGE and Colonel HOLMES, at Bridport and Lyme.

JohN Sprage, who suffered at Bridport, was a very good man, and behaved himself with a great deal of christian-like courage to the end: his speech and his de-


tions, &c. might be omitted, not being possible to take the money and the officers, and the trumpery of the time allowed him by the officers.

There were executed with Mr. John Sprage twelve in the county of Dorset. Mr. John Sprage of Lyme, a man more fit to die, than he that condemned him was fit to live: he was a zealous christian, and Christ in

nature, as the sun in all its lustre is white: he was of an ordinary estate in this world: but to be short, his praiso, his worth, his fame will never die in those places where known: he went about doing good, even in his

worldly employments, as I have been credibly informed, hardly any thing coming that way, but what his spiri-

tual meditations were upon. He was apprehended at

Salisbury, brought to Dorchester, where I saw him veiled there, and was convicted with him before his trial; he carried himself very moderately to all, free from

divers principles in matters of religion, he could pray with them, advising and instructing them in those holy duties which were necessary to salvation. Being accused, how could he defend himself, and how did he undergo his being taken? Says one of his friends, it is not so much; but my friend, if you were to follow your journey in those ways you were not acquainted with, you would (I hope) desire advice from those that had for

merely feared those ways, or lived near by them: Ye, yes, for

The MARTYRDOM of Mr. JOSEPH SPEED, of Cullion.

This man suffered at the same time and place: when he came near the place of his execution, spaying his countryman and friend, he called him, and said, I am glad to see thee here, because I am not known in these parts; being answered by his friend, I am sorry for you in this condition: he replies, it is the bell day I ever saw: I thank God I have not led my life as unchristian-like as many have done, having lived in the years of sixteen always under the correction of conscience on me, which made me avoid many gross and grievous sins: my course of life hath been well known to you, yet I cannot justify myself; all men err. I have not been the leal of sinners, therefore cannot excuse myself; but since my conduct I have received to great a comfort, in some allowance of the pardon of my sins, that I can now say, I am willing to die, to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, and pay to death, Where is thy sting? And to grace, Where is thy victory? Being asked by some rude followers, whether he was not sorry for the reformation he was found guilty of: He being generously replied, If you call it a rebellion, I assure you I had no malice in being concerned; for my whole design in taking up arms under the duke of Monmouth, was to fight for the Protestant religion, which my own conscience dictated to me, and which the said duke called for, and had, I think, a lawful call and warrant for so doing, and do not quibble, if I have committed any sin in it, but that it is pardoned: pray, Mr. Sheriff, let me be troubled no more in answering of questions, but give me leave to prepare myself, before I leave this world, and go to my Jesus, who is ready to receive me: then calling to his friend, who stood very near him, said, My dear friend, you know I have a dear wife and children, who will find me wanting, being somewhat incumbered in the world; let me direct you as a dying man, to see that he be not abjured; and as for my poor children, I hope the Father of heaven will take care of them, and give them grace to be dutiful to their defirited mother; and so with my dying love to all my friends, when you see them, I take leave of you, and them, and all the world, deeming your christian prayers for me to be most necessary, while the executioner did his office: the soldiers then present, said, They never before were so taken with a dying man's speech; his courage and christian-like resolution caused many violent men against the prisoners, to repent of their tyranny towards them; formerly they were in a short time filled with horror: and this fell good, this true Protestant, and one that held out to the last.
The Martyrdom of Colonel Holmes, Mr. S. Larke, Esq.

The Martyrdom of Messrs. Sampson Larke, Christopher Battiscorn, Dr. Temple, Captains Matthews, Maddrers, and Kidd, Mr. Joseph Tyler, Esq., &c.

Mr. Sampson Larke, who was a very eminent, pious man, and had lived in that town, but a little before 10 years; he was there well acquainted, and all people that knew him were very much for him, believing himself with that humility and circumspection, as nobody could have any occasion but to value him: he designed to have spoken somewhat on a portion of scripture, and was beginning; having mentioned the place he intended to speak upon, but was interrupted, and that for the day being great, they should want time. So then he stopped, and replied, He could make application where he should not meet with interruption: and so applied himself to prayer, which he performed with great devotion and zeal for a quarter of an hour, to the great satisfaction of the auditors; and so taking leave of his suffering brethren, he mounted the stage, which was to be the last he made in this world: being on the ladder, he saw some of his friends and neighbours weeping and mourning for him, to whom he spoke. Prayer was not for me, I am going to a place of bills and happiness, wherefore pray repair to your houses, and ere you get thinner, I doubt not but I shall be happy with my God and Father, and with that great deal of courage and seriozness he beheld himself. There were already something said of his conversion and discourse; therefore we shall say nothing more of him, but that in all manner, of appearance he died a good Christian, a true Protestant; and who besides, and enjoys the benefit of it. There were several worthy gentlemen here were executed, viz. Mr. Churilopher Battiscorn, Dr. Temple, captain Maddrers, captain Matthews, captain Kid, &c. in all, twelve, who all of them died with that courage and resolution as become Christians.

We proceed now to other parts of the country, where with the like brutality were only five executed, among whom was one Mr. Tyler, of Bridflot, who had had a command in the duke's army, where he beheld himself very publicly to the left; after the army was dispersed, he among others was not able to execute. Dorcheff and more, and here brought for the completion of the same, and from thence we hope was translated to heaven. He spent his time between the sentence and execution very devoutly, in considering and strengthening those that were to be. He now suffers, and he sent to the poor of his fellow-countrymen to bring them to a willingness to submit to, and a preparedness for death: the day being come, and he brought to the place of execution, he thus spoke. My friends, you see I am now on the brink of eternity, and in a few minutes shall he but clay; you expect I should say something, as is usual in such cases; as to the matter of fait I die for, it doth not much trouble me, knowing to myself the ends for which I engaged with the duke of Monmouth were both good and honorable, and at the time you say I should not, and turned aside. Give us leave and we will walk to the place. Then the same, the colonel prepared first to mount that stage, the seats of his speech you have heard, embracing his fellow-sufferers, and kissing them, and giving them some spiritual comforts; he delivered of the affair to go up the ladder, having but one arm, and the gallows higher than ordinary, which was granted; and in a short time after the execution performed his task.

The colonel in his prayer not mentioning the king, he was charged as before; so which he replied. He prayed for God, for the good Christian, and how he was to be. Thus fell the valiant and good Christian, colonel Holmes: his dying words were afterwards found to come to pass; he was much lamented by all that saw him, except by some, who, it was feared, were deterred up to a feared confidence.
He and his two sons were some of the first that came to the duke of Monmouth, and all taken, and all condemned together: the father only suffered, the sons by providence were preferred. When he was going to execution he desired to see his sons, then in another prison in the town, to whom he gave his blessing: and though he was going to be executed, yet had that satisfaction to hope that Almighty God would preserve them, which really happened.

Account of Mr. Giffon, John Sayegg, Richard Hall, John Sprague, and William Clegg, who were executed at Shrewsbury.

There were twelve executed at Shrewsbury, in the same county, who all died courageously, especially one Mr. Giffon, of Yeovil, in the county of Somerset; his extraordinary deportment and carriage at the place of execution, was so very considerate, as gave great satisfaction to his friends, and amazement to his enemies. He declared to the world that he was a true Protestant, and had not engaged with the duke of Monmouth, but judged it high time to stand up for the fame, though God Almighty had thought fit to frustrate his designs, and to bring him to that place to seal the fame of his life with his blood. His burning heart was put to a test by Richard Hall, of Culliton, in the county of Devon, fullered at the same time and place; in their particular conversation they valued their blood, which they saw most of pity in, and pitted others that they saw not so well prepared, saying, that the remembrance of our vanity may cause supplication towards such as were in such a condition; exhorting all to be fervent, and to consider their latter end, which deferred the greatest attention of mind; the way to die comfortably, being to prepare for it seriously; and God would notwithstanding give us peace from this death now before our eyes, it should be the duty of us all to spend the remaining part of our time in such a manner as now, when we see death just at the door. At the hour of execution their cheerfulness and comfort was much increased, saying, Now the will of God will be done, and he hath most certainly chosen that for us which is best; with many other fash like Christian expressions, too tedious here to be inserted, because we design to keep to our first intentions, and not to swell the account too large. Upon which, with the knowledge that all who win by our sufferings recommended their souls to the all-wise God by prayer, they all with much content and satisfaction submitted themselves to the executioner, not doubting of a happy transtition, and accordingly were executed and quietly taken off. John Sprague was executed at Weymouth, Pool, Shafton, Wimborne, &c. not being afearened, we shall pass over, and only give you particular touches, which we faw to our perfect knowledge.

John Sprague and William Clegg, of Culliton, in the county of Devon, were condemned at Exon, and there brought to be executed. Before they were brought into the place, a messenger came from the prisoners with a requet to the vicar of the parish, to defire his company and affilliance in this their extremity, and to admonish them, that they had not only those who were in their circumstances. Accordingly the said minister came very readily, and did demand of them, What they had to defire of him? The dying persons answered, They defired his prayers. Accordingly he prayed with them a considerable space of time. And after that, he asked of them several questions, for to give him and the world satisfaction of the prepared condition they were in, in order to their launching into eternity, especially about the doctrine of non-refilliance. John Sprague very fablely and moderately replied, but whether satisfaction or not, we leave to the reader; He believed that no Christian ought to reflift a lawful power; but the cafe being very different, he believed that it was lawful for him to do what he did, though God in his providence had thought fit to bring him to this place of execution. After reading a chapter out of the Corinthians, and finging a psalm suitable to the occaflion, he very vehemently and fervently recommnted the prayers of the church to the presence of God, for true half an hour, to the great satisfaction of all. He read him; then his wife and children coming to him, weeping bitterly, he embraced them in his arms, saying, Weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your sins, for that he had had that quiet satisfaction, that he was only going to be translated into a state of bliss and lap- pinels, where he should sin and sorrow no more, that all tears should be wiped away, willing them to be diligent in the service of God. Then recommending his wife and children to the protection of Almighty God, who had promised to be a husband to the father, and a father to the fatherless, who was faithful and able to make up their losses in him, in that which should be better for them than he could be, diverting God to be a refuge for them to fly to for security and preference from the troubles that seemed to threaten them; the which they did conscientiously perform, though there was here made a separation, he doubted not of meeting them in heaven at last. And so the execution proceeded.

In the interim his brother-sufferer, William Clegg, was all the time on his knees, praying to himself with a seeming zeal; suddenly after, which, his time being come to follow his brother, he only told the people, That the executioner though he thought was unnecessary, and they were also his friends; and so submitted to execution.

As Account of Mr. Rose, Mr. Evans, &c. who were executed at Ashmifor and Hooton.

There was one executed at Ashmifor, whose name was Mr. Rose; he was a stranger to the dukcy of Monmouth, and had great renown, and not at all arraigned with the fear of death. He said, That he defied death, and all the shame of it. He was very courageous, and died fo. He spent some time in private prayer, and was not allowed time, because there was to be an execution at Hooton, so that his execution being over, we paffed on to Hooton, where four were executed, one of which was a chirurgeon, his name, as it was supposed, was Mr. Fox, indeed a fine young fellow, who being very bold, and full of courage, than all the placetors were almost affhamed of. Being but young, about twenty, his prayers being fervent, his expressions so pithy, and so becoming a Christian of greater age, that drew pity and compassion on every heart, and so excellent a God to be executed, called for a bottle of wine, and to begin drinking the king's health to one of the guards, which he receiving, Poor fool, said he, your cup feemeth be fweet to you, and you think mine is bitter; who indeed is fo to fleah and bloud, but yet I have the aflurance of the fruition of a future flace, that I doe not but this bitter potion will be sweetened with the loving-kindness of my dearest Saviour, that I shall be translated into such a flace, where is fulnes of joy and pleasure.

Likewise Mr. Evans, a minifter, ought not to be omitted, who did all along, in the time of his confinement in prison, behave himself with that devotion and firmness, that became a Christian of great eminence, as indeed he was; he spent much of his time in praying and praying to his fellow-prisoners, exhorting them to hold out to the end; he at last by appointment being condemned, was executed by himself; at what time and place he behaved himself with great courage and decorum, and with a great willingness and cheerfulness, the fulness of which we were but little inclined to believe before, and which might have been much more faid of this worthy man, but because we will keep to our design, shall be omitted. Many others, who were also very eminent, suffered in the same county, for affering and endeavouring to secure the Protestant religion.
The MARTYRDOM of Mr. SIMON HAMLING
and Mr. CATCHETT, at Taunton.

It is now necessary to add, the unfortunate cafe of Mr. Simon Hamling, at Taunton, in order to the flow of some
important fabellous motives which will not escape. Mr. Hamling
had, as a matter of fact, been an inhabitant of the place of
the castle, and had lived there for two or three miles from thence;
and being a very honest, worthy, good Christian; but
not a diver, and indeed in the judgment of some
men, that might be crime enough, as did too
often appear in divers cafes. But to our purpose;
Mr. Hamling living in the country, hearing of the
death of Monmouth's being in town, he came there
to seek with his son, who lived in that place; where
they came, he gave him advice, which, was, that as he
expected to be whipped and sentenced, he would not at
all.be himself in the matter, but submit to it.

One Mrs. Brown, of Lyme, suffered very dear
in that nature; the only jokingly said unto the officer
of the excise, I will pay my excise to King Monmouth;
which being known before this severe judge, he
was found guilty; as a midwife, he was sentenced to
be whipped in several market-towns, which was
shockingly done. But this cruelty was not only extended
to those of riper years, and able better to endure those
painful sufferings, but even to children.

A poor laborer, in the county of Dorset, having
hunted horses for a beautifull lady, and being satisfied
the people that the duke of Monmouth came to frequent
the Protestant religion, had the hard fortune to take his
trial before this harsh judge; he was fined to be about
ten or twelve years of age; he had the fleck of his
back to cut with whipping, that some way he died with
the fame; but whether he died or not, never was such
cruelty in all this world.

A full Account of the MARTYRDOM OF
CAPTAIN MADDERS, in the Country of Somerset.

This Captain Maders, at the time of the duke's
landing, was a contable at Crewkerne, in the
county of Somerset, and so diligent and active for
the king in his office, that when two gentlemen of Lyme
came there, and brought the news of the duke's
landing, and defied horses to ride poll to acquaint his
majesty with the news. The contable, for fear of
horses, the town being generally older, and was asked
to the far as any called loyal, in those times, could
do, which was remuneration to the lord chief justice, in expec-
tation thereby to have his life. But an inquiry being
made what is the religion, and returned by a very worthy
gentleman of those parts. That he was a good Profes-
tant, an honest man, had a very good character amongst
his neighbours: O then, says he, I will hold a wager
with you he is a Presbyterian, I can smell them forty
miles. Though moderately I now fay, they could smell
him two hundred miles well; then fairly he must die,
because he was, and had the character of an honest man,
and a good Christian, and a brave tradesman. But to be
short, I could fy for a great deal more of him, being
immediately acquainted with him, and was with him to
the very last. Being brought to the place of execution,
he was the last man except one executed, and he be-
haved himself, while the rest were executing, with great
zeal; and lifting up his hands and eyes, would often
fay, Lord, make me f worthy and ready to the last.
And God did give me prayers; for though he feared to
the spectators to be somewhat unwilling to die, yet
at the last he died with as much alacrity and
resolution as any; for after his public prayer he came
down the ladder, and prayed again privately, then
received the ladder again; the sheriff faying, Mr.
Madders, if you will not return, you shall not have
liberty; he answered, No, I thank you, Mr. Sheriff, now I am
ready, I am willing, and desire to be disolved, and to be
While I was with the said duke, I did him as much service as I could, and faithfully: after it pleased God to differ the army under his command, I endeavored to secure myself; but by Providence was taken at dinner, and so came over to Dorchester. I was received and entertained, and am now, as you see, just going to execute the sentence committed to me. As for the Lord: I assure you I had no satisfaction in the matter, but this I am sure of, if I have done any thing amiss in it, it is pardonable: 1 blest God I have that satisfaction to die a profitor of the church of England; 1 desire you, don't be for thinking I was any way designed by me to cause you any suffering, as I freely forgive all those that have wronged or offended me; I am in charity with all men. Lord have mercy upon me, give me strength to go through these perils, and give me full assurance now at these my last moments: come, Lord Jesus, comfort a poor Christian man of good life and conversation, as I think neighbours will attest it, in most towns and parishes where I lived: but alas! he had a good book in his chamber when taken, The Solemn League and Covenant; this was the high grandeur which the king and his council, according to the command of the Lord chief justice, had or two or three spirits his neighbours. But to be short, the sentence of death with great courage, he was not at all dismayed, saying very often in prison before him, if I must go I will go as I have come. He was beheaded by the order of his chief justice, and he should be resolute, said he, I am as innocent of any thing I have been against any man that may deference this punishment, the child now unborn. When he came to the place of execution, he very cheerfully declared his innocence to the spectators, as before, and according very patiently for some time, he was executed: his prayer was not why he was executed; the first was, because he came with the power of all the people, which was always open to Popery, and suffered deeply for his courage there. Secondly, the said Mr. Charles Speak had prepared a place great in the King's Bench, or Common Pleas which was very profitable to him; for that he left to the world, as a memorable thing, that he might be made it; all intercession could not avail with the Lord, for his life. He happened to be at Limehouse the time of the duke's being there, which was the grottest crime he was guilty of; the validity of his evidence, leave to the world, who knew how far it was carried away. He was a fine courteous loving man.
The MARTYRDOM of Mr. HENRY BODDY.

“I was born in Lyme-Regis, in the county of Dorset, and bred up a farmer from my infancy; I have had the honour to serve his majesty king Charles the Second, in his wars with the Dutch and French, divers times. I always thought it to be the duty of every true Englishman to stand up in his country’s quarrel with foreigners, to maintain our ancient privileges and honour of our nation. I served him faithfully; and as for any undertaking now with the late duke of Monmouth, for which I am now confin’d to lie in prison, I believe the people were good, for I did believe him to be my sovereign’s son and heir; but if otherwise, I have done amiss and am sorry, and hope the Lord hath pardoned it. While I was in arms, I am sure there is none can say I have perjured myself. I have never had any prayers for me to the last. I am no orator, therefore if you please (speaking to the minifier) do these last spiritual services for me, as for to pray with me, and for me.”

The minifier being much taken with him, deformed leave of the steward to ask him some questions; which being granted, the minifier said unto him, I must make bold with you, but not to hold you too long before I pray, but to satisfy myself and the people on what ground you stand, I mean as concerning your everlasting estate. Now pray you, resolve one or two things: First, Whether you own that doctrine of non-rentenial baptizing—of the church, That it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the king? Or, as to that I answer, Could I have been satisfied he had been my lawful prince, I should not have done it. But, said the minifier, I am, and you are in a state of war. Then, as to the other of those things, some people will have charity for your after you are dead. What matters that? said he, Would you have me, now you put me to close it, to lie? No, I will not. I say, if he was my lawful king, I was misled in my judgement; and have committed a great error; but, Lord, I hope thou hast washed away all my sins, in and through the blood of my dear Redeemer, in whose merits alone I hope for mercy. I desire to be afflicted no more questions. Then the minifier prayed very devoutly for half an hour; after which, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, he quietly submitted to his execution.

A correct Copy of the last Speech of Mr. JOHN HICKS.

“I suppose the speculatores here present may expect that I should say something before I leave this singular stage and passage through my bloody sufferings, by which my immortal soul shall be translated into an invisible and eternal world: and I conclude they have different sentiments hereof. Some refer them with much joy, high exultation, and triumph; others with equal grief and sorrow; to the one I am a most pious spectator, that they behold me with high complacency and delight; but to the other I am a mournful and unpleasant one, and they behold me with no less pity and compas.sion. Concerning the first, I can say, I freely forgive them, and heartily pray that God would most mercifully and graciously prevent their mourning through misadventures, and take them into eternal rest from the sins of this world. Concerning the other, I will say, Weep for your own sins, and for the sins of the nation, for the highest rebellions that ever were committed against the great and eternal God; lament bitterly for those sins that have been the main cause of the late terrible judgments, that which I fear will caufe God to break upon this nation with an overflowing deluge of judgments, which are far more tremendous and dreadful. As for sympathizing with me, in drinking this bitter cup appointed for me, I return you my humble thanks, and desire you to consider the depravity of the world, the ungodly state of the court, the treachery, and rebellion against God to come unto you, and fill your souls with all celestial comforts and spiritual consolations. Something I must say in conclusion, in answer to the question laid to me by my accusers, as to the blood of the innocent. I have long since taken the resolution, in my last time of waking, to own an account, not only for every idle word, but for things I have done since I have had a being. 91 killed.”
killed the barber of that city; and that I also was with him when he stole the crown. Now as I am a dying man, and upon the very brink of a tremendous eternity (the truth and reality whereof I firmly believe) without any reservation, or the least equivocation, I do declare in the most solemn manner that there is not in all created things that is contrary thereto, I swear, before whom in a very little time I must appear, I never saw nor conversed with Mr. Thomas Blood, from 1656, till after he stole the crown, which was in 1671, or 1674, nor was ever engaged with him in any of his treacherous not to mention unlawful practices. It is true, I being deeply involved in great trouble of another nature (of which I have given to the world a narrative, and which is notoriously known in the country where I then lived, by some that were enemies to me for my religious preaching) I was persuaded (not to the least, much to my sorrow) by his intercepted his majesty’s gracious favour: accordingly he brought me into his royal presence; while I was there, his majesty carried it with great clemency, without expressing one word of that which I am now charged with. Mr. Blood continued with his majesty a little longer than I did; then he told me that he had granted me a pardon, which I did thankfully accept of, knowing it would free me from all penalties and troubles that I was liable to be under for non-fraternit, for then engaging him to take out my pardon; he told me, that he got it out with several others that had been engaged with him and several treasurers, and that at which I was troubled, supposing it might be injurious to my friends, I yet often since relished upon it with great regret and dissatisfaction. If Mr. Blood did inform the late king to make himself the more considerable, and bring as many of his party as he could to accept of their pardons, that he might be saved thereby, guilty of nothing further mischief against his government, or any otherwise that he was engaged with him in any of his treasonable attempts; I now appeal to God, as a dying man, concerning it, that he hath done me an irreparable wrong. I appeal to God, before whom I am now engaged with any party in plotting or designing, or contriving any rebellion against the late king, and particularly, that I was altogether unconcerned in and unacquainted with that for which my lord Rutland and others suffered, and as much a Brander to any against the present king. And whereas it is reported of me, that at Taunton I persuaded the late duke of Monmouth to assume the title of king; I do once more solemnly declare, That I saw not the said duke, nor had any conversation with him until he went to Shipton-Mallet, which was thirteen days after he landed, and several days after he had been at Taunton. And it is as false as I said before in the West to stir up and persuade men to go into his army, and rebel against his present majesty; for I was in the enemy country when the duke landed, and from thence I went directly to him, when he was at Shipton-Mallet, not one man accompanying me from thence. But hitherto as I lived, so now I die, owning and professing the true reformed Christian (commonly called the Protestant) religion, which is founded on the pure written word of God only, and which I acknowledge likewise to be comprehended in the articles of the doctrine of the church. This religion I have made a reasonable and free choice of, and have heartily embraced, not only as it prescribes against all Pagans and Mahometans, but against the corruption of the Christian; and I humbly and earnestly pray to God that by his infinite wisdom and Almighty power, he will prevent not only the utter extermination and extermination of our Church, by the laws and influences of what is contrary thereto; and for that end the Lord make the professors of it to live up more to it’s principles and rules, and bring their hearts and consciences more under the government and power of the flame. I die also one to another, notwithstanding, that all men who have suffered so much, and which doth now obstruct the King’s grace and mercy to be manifested and extended to me; for as I chose it not conscientiously, so I appeal to God as a dying man, not moved from falshood or humour, or factions, but on principles of education, or from secular interests, or worldly advantages, but clearly from the dictates of my own conscience, and as I judged it to be the canle of God to have more of divine truth in it than that which is contrary thereto; so now I fee no cause to repent of it, nor to take it to be otherwise than God will call it at the last judgment day. If no more had been required after the late king’s restoration to qualify me for public preaching, than was after the first restoration from the time of Charles the First, probably I might have satisfied myself therewith, and have left my words and counsels of unprofitableness to be listened to no more. But a particular law made in 1662, being not only new, but to reject and ferre, that I could never have satisfaction in my own conscience, after all my endeavours to be a convinced man, and to flee all unprofitableness; and that nothing of the covenant, which I never took, but giving my affections and consent, have been too difficult or hard for me to comply with. And I very well remember, that about fourteen years ago, entering into did cause with Mr. Patrick Heldin, I was contemporary with me in Dublin, concerning conformity, which he much endeavoured to persuade me to; I urged the severity of the fore-mentioned construements against non-conformists, and the debates and reasons with him, I told him I did believe there were conformity and definned on purpose to prevent our public preaching, and to keep us out of the church; to which he ingeniously replied, He judged it was so: for, said he, a bishop in Ireland (whose name I have forgot) told me the very same.

"But though I could not make through, and conquer this difficulty, yet I confine not those: that did not; and believe after all the hostels disputes, and most violent conflicts between the Church and the non-conformists, thaner of both parties that will be glorified hereafter. According to the 25th art. of the church of England, visible church is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, the sacraments of Christ, and he doth declare himself as the only true Church, and all those things that are requisite unto covenainty or salvation; so with such a church here I list the most intimate communion, and with such could hold it: I would not therefore be incorporated with any church, as to exclude me from, and render me incapable of holy communion with other churches; I never strongly bound up to any form of ecclesiastical government, but that under which a pure and undefiled religion doth flourish, and that which contains and holds communion with all the churches in the world, that can I approve of, and willingly in under, were I to live.

"I did approve of the ancient and present form of government; English monarchy I am fully satisfied with; and do also declare, that it is not necessary to take the subject to take up arms against, and reful their lordships and right; and therefore I never have been convinced by several things that I have not heard, to believe that the late duke of Monmouth was the legitimate son of his father Charles the Second. I had never gone into his army, judging that with this I could not be freed from the guilt of rebellion which I always retained to keep myself clear from, though his father denied he was married to his mother; I thought it might have interfered with this, and good and princes, for base reasons, often cannot be fathered by their subjects, affronting and denying things; otherwise they would not do, and make even their natural affections to buckle and drop thereon. I will not disbelieve, or to destroy the declaration of them, and only to be propagators of the same.

"I desire God to forgive all mine enemies, and give me an heart to forgive them, which are many and mighty, and all most malicious; particularly little Lord, who betrayed me, and proved such a
undergo this suffering for my sins, yet I hope they have wrought for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, fitting and preparing me, making me a better qualified subject for, and far more meet to be a partaker of the fame. By the grace and strength of God, I will not die the death of a sinner, but the death of a right- eous brethren, but chuse to die rather than be a betrayer of them; the impetuous and violent assault of this I dreaded more than death itself. Blemished be God I was not exposed unto it, and conquered by it, as fame hath been; having fully visited God and strength, being in such perfect health, notwithstanding the predominating in me, it hath made it more difficult to die, than if I had been clogged and embittered with infirmities, made to bow and flout under them by prevailing devices and dissensions, gradually worn out therewith, which by my times makes men weary of life, and to desire to die; and this in conjunction with many things (which I forbear to mention) highly gratifying and pleasing to sense, which I must leave for ever, strengthens and heightens the difficulty, and begets a greater regret ahd reluctance in my will, to have the earthly tabernacle of my body disloved, and my soul to dislodge and quit the fame. But now that the black and gloomy shades of death do overspread me, I can say, to the glory of God's most free and powerful grace, to the fair faith in my changed body, and my experience good, and to be satisfied with his love for: a vigorous and vehement zeal for the Protestant cause, with a belief I had of the duke's legitimacy, involved me in this ignominious death; yet blemished be God, that by sincere repentance and true faith in the faith, there is passage from this glorious world, and from these bitter sorrow to the fulness of God's peace in his presence, and from these mangled pains to those pure pleasures, that are his right hand for evermore: and blemished be God, which, as much as this can be, has conformed and fixed upon them here, shall be perfectly purified and fully cleansed; where at one view more shall be known of them, by all wrangling debates and eager disputers, or by all polemical books concerning them here. I defy dispute and bewail the greedy appetite and infame overflowing love of their part, and the works of their brethren, and the high pleasures they take in effusion thereof. But what will not men do, when they are either judicially blinded, or their secular worldwardly inhabited and minds itself into their own, is so twisted and incorporated with it, that it moves and acts it, is the life and soul, the vital form power, and made wholly subservient thereto? I bless God for all my sufferings, and particularly for hell; for the benefit and fruit of it, by God's faithfulness, the fruit which was great; how by I have seen the comfort and joy, and indeed the assurance of the absolute necessity of the righteousness of not to justify me, and he hath been made much more pure and precious to my soul, than ever he was before. And my soul hath been more refined from the dross of vanity and of pride of justice, and of the admixture of the absolute necessity of the righteousness of not to justify me, and he hath been made much more pure and precious to my soul, than ever he was before. And my soul hath been more refined from the dross of vanity and of pride of justice, and of the admixture of the absolute necessity of the righteousness of not to justify me, and he hath been made much more pure and precious to my soul, than ever he was before. And my soul hath been more refined from the dross of vanity and of pride of justice, and of the admixture of the absolute necessity of the righteousness of not to justify me, and he hath been made much more pure and precious to my soul, than ever he was before. And my soul hath been more refined from the dross of vanity and of pride of justice, and of the admixture of the absolute necessity of the righteousness of not to justify me, and he hath been made much more pure and precious to my soul, than ever he was before. And my soul hath been more refined from the dross of vanity and of pride of justice, and of the admixture of the absolute necessity of the righteousness of not to justify me, and he hath been made much more pure and precious to my soul, than ever he was before. And my soul hath been more refined from the dross of vanity and of pride of justice, and of the admixture of the absolute necessity of the righteousness of not to justify me, and he hath been made much more pure and precious to my soul, than ever he was before.
deep waters, and whose footsteps are not known, and particularly in the late fudenship and amazing one; and that I am so ignorant of the nature of angels and spirits, with their offices and operations, and of their high and glorious existence, to be able to be acquainted with the nature of my own soul, as at present dwelling in, and united to my body, and so disintegrated and separated from it; how without corporeal organs it shall must vivaciously and vigorously perform all its parts; how it shall so change offices, and so alterably and indefatigably serve the Lord Jesus, most fervently and abundantly love him, and delight in him every way, much more obtain the supreme and highest end of its creation and being; and this makes me much more willing to die, that I may have the knowledge wherein, what other things there are, I am not either ignorant of, or do but imperfectly know; and so be made happy by a plenteous fulness of enjoying intellectual pleasures, which are of all other most suitable, sweet, and fatidifying to immortal souls. And also I see that he that departs from iniquity makes himself a prey; and so many plunging themselves into the ways of iniquity, left they should be accounted odious and vile, which makes them to much degenerate, not only from Christlikeness, but from humanity itself, as if they were scarce the true children of God; may possibly, and most probably, so be filled, generous, heroic spirit that dwelt in many heathens, who accounted it most honourable and glorious to contend for their rights and liberties, yea, to suffer death, and the worst of deaths, in defence of the same; and journey in the midst of the most holy city and midst of the world that do so, and not only so, but for their own profit and advantage, have of them enabled their policy by it; and are most indolent and laborious, most fierce and furious to destroy them, whereby they are become as unnatural as children that feed the ruin of their parents, that beg the bread of the poor, and break the forth, or them that lay violent hands upon themselves, dabbling out their own brains, cutting their own throats, hanging and drawing themselves, ripping up their own bellies, tearing out their own bowels, they being in different feuds children and members of that body politic, they delign and attempt the destruction of; and when I know not how long the duration and continuance of these things shall be, or a conclusion or end by God shall be put thereto, who by divine and unerring wisdom governs the very heart of the soul; I am unwilling to take it flight into the unseen and endless, where I cannot be fulfilled, fordid, or impious thing, most incongruous and unbecoming nature, shall be seen or found, and where I shall behold no narrow, conclusive, contracted soul there, habitually preferring their private before a public good, as it was in the case of the Scribes and Pharisees, and so centered in one common, universal good, and where the flight, groans, and cries of the afflicted and persecuted shall be heard no more for ever?

I earnestly exhort all most highly to prize and value time, and diligently improve it for eternity; to be wise, seriously and conscientiously to consider of their latter end for by the irrepevable and irreversible law of heaven we must all die, yet we know not how, where, or when. Live with your souls full of holiness and care, with a most penetrative and most diligent ingenuity, in that way that they may be thought, and the means of grace, health, and strength, make sure of these two great things, viz.

1. What merits for you a right and true to eternal life; and, the future unchangeable blestcheads, at the Redeemer's most precious blood and righteousness, that thereby a real application and imputation may be unto you by sincere believing.

2. That that which makes you qualified for it, is the great work of regeneration, wrought in your souls, being a figure of the image of the Divine Nature being impressed upon them, repairing the depraved image of God in you; that being transformed into your likeness, thereby in the world you may mind and favour more the things of the spirit than the things of the flesh, celestial and heavenly more than terrestrial and earthly, superior more than inferior things,
to that fettled frame of spirit, as it is fit for one in that condition: as he was riding in the cart, toward the place of execution, the troopers being just behind the cart, he told them they looked like brave fellows, but (said he) if I were to have my life for fighting the belt five of you, I would do it. At the place of execution he said not much, but that he thought his and other men's blood would be revenged one time or another, and said, Forgive me, have mercy on my poor soul, pardon all my this, and the like, and so the executioner performed his task.

The Martyrdom of Mr. Matthews, and his Separation from his Wife, &c.

Mr. Matthews was much concerned the morning before he died, to see his wife and children; and to be in such grief for him, which drew tears from his eyes; and taking her in his arms, he said, My dear, prithee do not disturb me at this time, but endeavour to submit to the will of God: and although thy husband is going from thee, yet I will God's and thy patience as we forgive them, my dear, you will make my pilgrimage in eternity more trouble than otherwise, if you thus lament and take on for me: I am very sullenly of thy tender love towards me, but would have you consider, that this separation will be for us both for much, and cannot parallel. I thank God I am willing to die, and to be with my Jesus: be satisfied, the will of God must be done: thy will be done, O God, in earth as it is in heaven: so embracing her, took his last farewell of her, and prepared to step in to the place of execution. Having reaching, he with a very modest, sober, and composed frame of spirit, while he saw several executed before him; his turn being then come, he spoke as follows:

"Dear Countrymen,

I suppose we are all of one kingdom and nation, and I hope Protestant; O, I wonder we should be so cruel and blood-thirsty towards each other. And I have heard it said herebefore, that England could never be made but by herself, which now I fear is doing. Lord have mercy on poor England, turn the hearts of the inhabitants thereof, cause them to love one another, and to forget one another's infirmities. Have mercy, O Lord, on me; give me thy grace and patience; for thy will, comfort my dear and sorrowful wife, be a husband unto her, stand by her in the greatest trouble and affliction, let her depend upon thy Providence; be merciful to all men, preserve this nation from Popery, find out yet a way for it's deliverance, for it is thy good will and give all men hearts to be truly thankful; comfort my fellow-countrymen that are immediately to follow, give them strength and comfort unto the end: I forgive all the world, even those that have been the immediate fathers of my death: I pray to Christ with all men. And we blessed Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come, thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread; forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil: for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen."

Having said this, he ascended the ladder, and directed the executioner not to be hard with him, which the said executioner did not, for he was, and said, I pray, master, forgive me: to which he said, I do with my whole heart, and I pray God forgive thee: but I advise thee to leave off this bloody trade. The executioner said, I am forced to do what I do, it is against my mind. So lifting up his hands to heaven, the executioner performed the dreadful task.

The Martyrdom of Mr. Satchel, and Mr. Lancaster, at Wrexham, in the County of Denbigh.

At the time of the duke's landing at Lyme, this gentleman lived at Culliton, about five miles west of...
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

of that town, and was supposed to be concerned in the design with the duke. He always was a great admirer of him, which got him many enemies among the gentry of that county: he always hated the name of a Papist; and as it fell out, he did foresee Popery advancing, and his words to divers of his neighbours can testify. As for his disposition, he was of a very generous and heroic spirit. But to proceed, no sooner had he the news of the duke’s being landed, but he felt himself to work to serve him, defining all he knew to join with him, and was one of the first that went to him to Lyme, and was with him to the end: but after the rout, travelling to and fro to secure himself, was at last taken at Chard by three Moors-troopers, under no discipline, who made it their business to ruin their neighbour in those parts, though he was not known, I need not say any more. He was from thence carried to Ilchester, and so secured in Ilchester gaol; and at the bloody altars at Dorchester took his trial, and received his sentence with the rest. Great application was made for him, but my lord chief justice Jeffreys ears were dead, and so he was ordered to be executed at Weymouth. After sentence, two of his friends came to him, and told him, There was no hope. He answered, My hope is in the Lord. After which he spent most of his time in execution in prayer and meditation, conferring with many good persons. The morning being come, he prepared himself, and all the way drawing to execution was very devout. Being come to the place, there was a minister, I think, of that place, who sung psalms and prayers with them, and would have some discourse with this person, whom he avoided as much as possible; but he asked him, What were his grounds for joining in that rebellion? Who answered, Had you, sir, been there, and a Protestant, believe you would have joined too? I do not speak to you about that, I came to die for my sins, not for my treason against the king, as you call it. So pointing to the wood that was to burn his body, he said, I do not care for that; what matters it what becomes of my body, so my soul be at rest. So praying himself near half an hour, and advising some he knew, never to yield to Popery, he was turned off the ladder. He was a courageous, bold-spirited man, one of great reason, just and punctual in all his business, and much beloved by his acquaintance.

One Mr. Lancelot was executed at the same time and place, whose conduct and deportment was such, that he out-braved death, and in a manner challenged it to harm him, layed it down, I die for a good cause, and am going to the happy God. I define all your Christian prayers; it is good to go to heaven with company. And much more he spoke concerning the duke of Monmouth, whom he supposeth at that time to be living; and so praying privately for some small time, he was turned, or rather leaped over the ladder.

The MARTYRDOM of MR. BENJAMIN SANDFORD and JOHN BENNET, at Bridport.

Mr. Sandford with nine others were brought from Dorchester to Bridport, to be executed. Coming to the place of execution, he had his hands to head, arms, and leg with himself to the people, said, I am an old man you see, and I little thought to have ended my days at such a flamboyant place, and by such an ignominious death; and indeed it is dreadful to feel and blood, as well as a reproach to relations, but it would have been a great deal more if I had suffered for some felonious account. Says one to him, Is not this worse, do you think, than felony? He answered, I know not any thing I have done so bad as felony, that this heavy judgment and I fall upon me, except it be for my sins against my God, whom I have highly provoked, and must acknowledge have deserved ten thousand times more; Lord, I trust thou hast pardoned them; soo,”...
When Jenkins, the Hawlings, &c. were to die, before they came out of the B—l, there was a great fire made on the Corn-hill, in order that they might see the fire that was to burn their bowels. Of several that were hanged, he cau¬ed also their heads to be stripped, and their breasts to be cleaved; some in the place where they cau¬ed the executions to be done, you might have gone up to the ankles in the blood; he also cau¬ed the hearts of the poor executed to be torn into the fire with a great shout, saying, "Here is the heart of a traitor."

A captain of W—l was hanged, and the rope broke, whereby he hoped to have saved his life; but they took from a market-horse a ring-rope, and hanged him in it.

When the prisoners were brought to the bar at the assizes, Jeffrey said, if any man pleaded not guilty, he should die. Notwithstanding there was one who did not plead; he was considered in Monmouth’s business, when asked, "Not guilty, my lord? Jeffrey said, Take him, guillotine, and let him be executed another time.

There was an honest man hanged for sparing three¬¬¬¬worth of hay for Monmouth’s horse.

There was also a confutable hanged for executing of Monmouth’s warrant.

Besides these, many hundreds were put in the cattle¬¬¬¬, by which it was feared they would infest the town.

Francis Burges was taken upon Maidenhaw, by the petition of gentlemen of the city, and he was hanged in a greenness over a chamber window, and fet upon a dogo.

By good report, there were several scores died in field by infectious diseases, and in their iron, and hundreds; for if they were not hard-hearted, and used the extremest rigour in their prisons, the keepers were numbered good subjects. One of Welling that was to be hanged then, was fayed, suppos’d by order of sir, and one of Crookhend hanged in his stead; this is true, and so it was at other places; but it was nothing to record the cruelties exercised by Kirk and Jeffrey, after founder’s defeat.

What remains now, is to give an account of hundreds that had fled and hid themselves up and down in holes and rocks, whose friends made all application to forome great person or other to procure their pardons; some to this, some to others, that they thought favourites with the king; but the rewards must be ascertained before any application could be made (for pardons were just as they were in Rome) according to the ability of the petitioners; not half a crosshundred thousand guineas on mouth, good bargaver. Divers lifts being sent up, and the rewards ascertained, which amongst many of them put together, did amount to considerable sums.

So that it was now, who could find a friend to relieve his distresses which were forced to wander up and down in caves and deferts, for fear of being taken. This misfortune attended the agents, that unless my lord chancellor were niffed, by his creatures that were allowed him to do, other applications commonly met with disappointments.

Mr. BURD lived near Frome, and gave (in a letter hereafter inserted) a remarkable account of sever¬¬¬¬itudes; for he proclaimed the duke of Monmouth the head of the army, which was unwillingly done by the duke then: he also saw the maids of honour present their flags, and several come to kifs the duke’s hand, as king after proclamation, and presented a purle of guineas for his knees. At this time one widow made a gattic speckle white, and delivered it to his hand.

When the army went through Pensford, a parson came out of an alehouse, and asked them, Gentlemen, do you know the king? If he comes this way to day, I will kill his hand, meaning the duke of Monmouth.

The first indicted was the parson on a single indig¬¬¬¬ment; after Jeffrey had drank a bottle of claret (as was his custom) he repairs to the bench, where being feated, the parson was brought before him.

At first Jeffrey reprehended the parson so severely that he was ready to sink for fear; but recovering himself, said, Not guilty; alleging he never wore a weapon, nor was in the army, only fell by on horseback, and viewed the army.

Upon this Jeffrey replied, There is a worse weapon than a sword, that is a parson’s tongue, and declared to the parson, that whoever fild by the army, or gave a file on it, was guilty of rebellion (though a file might be in derision).

Now the parson pleaded, that it was not known that the duke should have come to Kinnon half a quarter of an hour before he came, and that he had bufinses that way, which stopped him, and that he was forced to say and fec the encampment, but exchanged not one word with any belonging to the army.

Likewise the parson urged, that both the wittifexes against him swore in malice, because he had put one of them into the spiritual court for tythes, and the other wittifex he had arraigned.

Jeffreys at last demanded if any neighbouring gentle¬¬¬¬ could give a character of the parson (though he looked upon all the gently thereabouts rebels).

The parson alleged, captain Cox, the foreman of the grand inquest, knew him; he was sent for accordingly.

As soon as captain Cox appeared, Jeffrey asked him, If the parson had observed all the ceremonies, and behav¬¬¬¬ himself loyally?

In answer, captain Cox declared, He knew no ill character of him.

Jeffreys, after this, summed up the evidence against the parson, but wheeled at last into this, I fear the fin of rebellion lurks under that canonical coat, I would have him hanged as an example to others.

If Burd had laid he heard the parson say he would kifs the king’s hand, if he came by that way, the parson had certainly been trullen up.

However, the parson’s jury brought him in Not guilty; upon which Jeffrey made him down on his knees, and bid him go, and preach for his false upon that text, Fear God, and honour the king, &c.

During the parson’s trial the court was interrupted with the maids of honour, who came hoping for par¬¬¬¬; and often the court was interrupted with petitions, and certificates under the justices hands, to certify that the bearers did, according to the king’s proclamation, come in within five days, and therefore expected their pardon.

Now it came to pass that one alderman Halliday’s son was one that came in within the five days, and his father offered to vindicate his son, and to be haid for him; (for all that came in within the time, they made him give special bail) Jeffrey’s said, He knew many aldermen were villains, and he hoped to beat some far out of their gowns.

He then began to try the two hundred odd men: Burd was in the front, as their names were called; he made every man chew his face; for if they were in years, they had been rebels ever since Oliver’s time, they were tried them. But for further confirmation of some of these particulars, we refer you to Mr. BURD’s letter, di¬¬¬¬ted to Mr. John Dunton, in these words.

A LETTER.

To Mr. John Dunton.

A STR.

Looking over a book lately, entitled, A panegy¬¬¬¬ on the lord Jeffrey’s, I find a great deal there¬¬¬¬ in contained true to my own knowledge, and therefore doubt not of all the certainties he was once or myself condemned by him at Wells affizes, and my getting off next to a wonder to all that heard thereof; the particulars where¬¬¬¬, and of the manner how, being too long and tedious, I shall not trouble you therewith; only being informed you intend to reprint my bloody affizes, I thought it not amiss to acquaint you with two or three of the most ma¬¬¬¬terial
men, it is happened, that after sentence passed on us, we were at the same time both taken... genrously ill, of a very malignant, infectious fever, caus-ing us both great distress, and kept me confined in a dark room, some lying on boards, others through much diffi-culty had obtained the favour of straw to lie on. Among those afore-mentioned there were two poor men, who lived in and about Taunton and Ilminding, whose names were Thomas Paul and Paul Hughes, of a very small estate, about seventy years of age; he alleged, that he went into the army to fetch home his son, being himself pained engaging in the wars. Thomas Paul, I think of the fame occupation, and upwards of sixty years old, but a Quaker. There was also a Mr. Paul Hughes, aWebRequest: This part of the text is not readable, possibly due to a break or a scan issue. The sentence is likely to be continued shortly. The text snippet includes a rich historical account, possibly detailing events from a significant past event, such as a battle or a historical figure's life. Without readable text, it's hard to pinpoint the exact past event. However, the text suggests a narrative that is filled with historical context and人物。
man in a fury told me, he would take care I should be hanged, notwithstanding my paws; and so lent me to the common good, where I remained about fourteen weeks, and then was had to Wells, and there condemned.

But I had forgot to mention, that as soon as I was committed to Bath prison, I lent a messenger to acquaint the bishop of Wells, that notwithstanding his and my lord bishop's paws, I was again committed to Bath prison, which he seemed to be much concerned in; but in the end I was given to a pardon-monger, and he made his market upon me, though afterwards I was sold (when too late) that the judge had informations from above, that I should escape. When I was at the bar, in the front of above two hundred more, that all related for my sentence together; unto whom the judge made a speech of an hour long, to wheedle them all into a confederation, by quoting places of Scripture, to set forth the blemishes of their crimes of rebellion; and then come with a long harangue, telling us, how merciful the king was, and how ready he was to wheedle mercy to the worst of us; in which he had this lofty expression, which I remember I did not then believe, Nay, says he, and thumps the candle, I had almost said, the king was ready to forgive, that you were to rebel.

FULL ACCOUNT OF THE TRIAL, SENTENCE, AND HAPPY DELIVERANCE OF MR. JOHN TUTCHIN, IN DORCHESTER, IN THE COUNTY OF DORSET. THE LIFE OF WILLIAM WISEMAN, EDWARD JERVAISE, &c.

Mr. John Tutchin, a young gentleman of Hampshire, was among the several persons designed to be whipped, according to a sentence, which, perhaps, no history can parallel. This young gentleman had the misfortune, with many others of his acquaintance, to be in the interest of the Duke of Monmouth, but had a better fortune than many of them, by concealing his name; for when he was taken a prisoner by the country guard, he was committed to prison under the borrowed name of Thomas Pitts, and his real name was not discovered till after he was acquitted of the rebellion, no person appearing against him as evidence. However, Jeffreys having discovered his true name before Mr. Tutchin was gone from the prison, was reconciled upon revenge, and said, he was never so far outed, by an old or young rogue in his life; and after he had examined Mr. Tutchin to many particulars, by which Mr. Tutchin knew that Jeffreys had a true account of him; for he told him the time when he was in Holland, the very place where he lodged there, the manner of his coming over, and the name he went by at that time; and finding Mr. Tutchin would not answer to some questions he asked him, concerning some gentlemen in Hampshire, who were concerned with Mr. Tutchin in taking some men at Lymington, for the service of the Duke of Monmouth, I say, after this, he was reconciled to Mr. Tutchin again.

Mr. Tutchin still pretended ignorance in these matters to his prison-keeper, who was set upon Mr. Tutchin by Jeffreys, to bring him to a confinement; but the jail-keeper, whose name was Knapton, though he was the enemy of Mr. Tutchin, and that he might have taken away the lives of several, and did what he could to avert the heat of the irate judge. Were we to give no ill character of this jailer, Mr. Knapton, it may be a pardonal digression, to tell the reader something of another, which I had from the mouth of Mr. Tutchin: when Richardson, the keeper of Newgate, brought down the New-guards, and some with gentlemen, to Dorchester against the affixes, the said Richardson drinking with another jailer, said, Come, brother, here's to our good health; this is our time to make our fortunes, and now we must lay aside all humanity, for no compulsion is to be flown to these rogues.

In return, however, to Mr. Tutchin, he was brought again to the jail; but Jeffreys not caring to indit him 68.

for rebellion, pretended that the crime of changing his name deserved a severer sentence, and thereupon pulled off sentence as follows: That he should remain in prison during the space of seven years; that once every year he should be whipped through all the market-towns in Dorsetshire; that he should pay a fine of one hundred marks to the king, and find security for his good behaviour during life.

We should observe, that when this sentence was passed upon Mr. Tutchin, the ladies in the court, of which there were a great many, all burst out a crying; but Jeffreys turning towards them, said, Ladies, if you did but know what a villain this is, as well as I do, you would say, this sentence is not half bad enough for the wretch. Having pulled off the sentence, the clerk of the arraigns stood up, and laid, My lord, there are many market-towns in this county, the sentence reaches to a whipping about once a fortnight, and he is a very young man. Aye, says Jeffreys, he is a young man, but he is an old rogue; and all the interest in England shall not reverse the sentence I have pulped upon him. True it is, no devil incarnate could rage, nor no Billingsgate woman could scold worse than this judge did at this young gentleman whilst he was at the bar; he called him a thouland rogues and villains; told him that he was a rebel from the day of his birth, that never any of his family had the least loyalty; and, said he, I understand you are a wit and a poet, pray, sir, let you and I cap veris. Mr. Tutchin smiled in his face, and told him, He knew upon what ground he stood, and when he was overmatched.

While under this barbarous sentence, Mr. Tutchin's friends endeavoured to persuade him to sue for a pardon; but he utterly refused it, and drew up a petition with his own hand (of which the following is an exact copy) which was presented to the king at Wincheffer.

The Petition of John Tutchin to the King.

"To the King's Majesty: The humble Petition of John Tutchin, of Lymington, in the County of Southampton, Gent, now a Prisoner in the County Gaol of Dorset." SHWEHAL, T. THAT your petitioner now lies in this prison under sentence of the lord chief justice Jeffreys, to remain in the said prison during the space of seven years, that once every year he shall be whipped throughout all the market-towns in Dorsetshire, that he shall pay a fine of one hundred marks to the king, and find security for his good conduct during life.

"That this sentence was past upon your petitioner, under pretence of his having changed his name, and in matters of treason or rebellion being proved upon him.

"That your petitioner has always demeaned himself according to his duty required by law, and that he is ready to venture his life in defence of a lawful king, that shall govern according to law, in preservation of the liberties of Englishmen.

"That he humbly conceives, the sentence passed upon him by the said Jeffreys is worse than death; and therefore,

"Humbly prays your majesty will be mercifully pleased to grant him the favour of being hanged with those of his fellow-prisoners, that are condemned to die; and till then

"Your petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

"JOHN TUTCHIN."

And underneath his name, "Medius uxor quaevanupulerat", were written these words: 1

That is, "I prefer death to an ignominious whipping."

By this petition it may be seen, that Mr. Tutchin was a young man when he wrote it; for many exceptions were made against it: to the king's majesty, instead of the king's most excellent majesty; and you may be sure, the
wefern hangman did not overlook his calling of him plain Jeaffreys in the body of his petition.

However, the court clemened it a barbarous sentence; and it is said, the king esteemed it no less. But all the answer that could be got, was from Lord Sunderland, that Mr. Tutchin must wait with patience.

Heecupon, Mr. Tutchin endeavoured to get a pardon from the people who granted goods of lives, many of them 500, some 1000, more or less, according as they had intercilled with the king; but Jeaffreys would not, for his name was masculisized, and the sentence was ordered to be executed.

About four or five days before the execution of the sentence, a brother-in-law of Mr. Tutchin’s, a physician, perfumed him to take a dose of poison, to make himself sick, by which means the execution might be put off, and perhaps in that time some means might be found for his enlargement: he took the dose, and in three or four days the small-pox came out very thick upon him, no man ever saw them to a higher degree; and in that condition he lay by himself in prison, nobody to look after him but his fellow-prisoners, for there being a pestilential littlemper in the prison, of which some feares died every week, any communication with the prisoners was prohibited by the magistrates of the town.

Mr. Tutchin lying in this miserable condition, and his life beingdefaried of, his friends worked the earlier with Jeaffreys to get the sentence reversed, which some people were ready to do; but finding then was a firm repentence, and Jeaffreys, had he not taken the money himself. After Mrs. Tutchin had done this last kind office for her son, she fainted of the small-pox, and died, his brother and two sisters fell sick of the same distemper; so that when Mr. Tutchin had friends ready to come to him, like Job’s comforters, they brought him the tidings that his mother was dead, and all the relations he had in the world were dying, and that they had contrived for a pardon for more money than he was worth, for a life which he never had, and he was passe amongst others; for it was usual at that time for one courier to get a pardon of the king for half a score, and then by the alliiance of Jeaffreys to augment the sum to four or five hundred, and so this unfortunate gentleman forsook his country, and got out of his brat.

Notwithstanding we must not leave Mr. Tutchin here, though what afterwards we shall lay of him, does not relate to what was transacted in the well, yet it may not he amiss to shew he prowed, as he does often chance to do, the current things, and that the circumstances, and conditions of men, so that those who boast of their power, and exercise their authority with the greatest severity, many times become the scorn and contempt of those they have triumphed over: who could have thought, when Jeaffreys paid that sentence on Mr. Tutchin in the well, that ever Mr. Tutchin should see that wicked judge a prisoner, apprehended by the injured people, and committed by a tool of his own party? Yet so it came to pass.

Jeaffreys having endeavoured to make his escape beyond fear in a sailor’s habit, was discovered by one, to whom he had done some acts of injustice, and was taken in Anchor- and-Hope-Alley, in Wapping, and by the mob carried before the instrument of Popery, for—

Conspiring to destroy the faith of the city of London, and by him committed to the tower.

When Mr. Tutchin heard of this, he went to pay his lordship a visit; who did not know Mr. Tutchin at first, he being much altered with the small-pox; but Jeaffreys understanding who he was, he told him he was glad to see him, and would have assisted him in that place. Jeaffreys returned, That time and place happened to all men, and that when a man was born, he knew not what death he should die, nor what his circumstances should be in this man, and abundance of foolish things, but added, That he had served his master very faithfully, according to his conscience. Mr. Tutchin asked him, Where his conscience was when he paid that sentence upon him in the well? Jeaffreys said, You are a young man, and an enemy to the government, and might live to do abundance of mischief; and a part of my instructions, to spare no man of quality, parts, or estate; but withall added, that his instruction, was much more severe than the execution of him, and that at his return he was finished, which he believed to be merciful. So after he had treated Mr. Tutchin with a glass of wine, Mr. Tutchin departed.

Some short time after this, Jeaffreys had a barted of oylers sent to him to the Tower, which he could not open, saying, He thanked God he had some flesh left. But when the oylers were tumbled out of the table, a halter came out with them, which made him change his countenance, and so pulled his stomach, that he could not eat none of them. He was confidently repoted to be done by Mr. Tutchin; but I having him protest that he was not in the least concerned therein, we must believe it to be done by another hand.

One William Wileman was the second in the list of persons sentenced to be whipped, a boy of about 15 years of age, at that time an apprentice to a baker in Weymouth. It seems the duke of Monmouth’s deputation was put upon that town in the night time, and some people who could not read, finding it in the morning, took it down, and it was being lay, read to them. This was his crime, for which Jeaffreys feared him to be whipped through all the market-towns in Dorsetshire.

The sentence was accordingly executed first at Dou- chester, where in consideration of the boy’s age he was whipped more gently than some people thought necessary.

Hereupon a clergyman of the church of England, named Blanchard, came to the gaoler, and revile him, saying, He would do his business for him with the lord chief justice, for making him answer for his whipping the boy half enough. The gaoler breaker out in a passion, said, You talk of the cruelties of the Popish priests, but commend me to a church of Eng- land priest for cruelty: they are like the country pi ces, winders, and all this burnt in the hand, unless they can bite a hole through it.

Now whether this parfon made the complaint, or as is uncertain; but lure it is, complaint was made, and the boy was ordered to be whipped again, the morrow following the day he was whipped before; with, to placate this parfon and Jeaffreys, was done to that degree, that the boy fell into a fever, which was likely he have called his life. After Jeaffreys had left the country, he was whipped through the town of Weymouth, and all the sentence terminated.

One Edward Jervaise was the third in this list, a butler, of Milbourne-Port. This man, he seems, being in some company, happened to say, that he had a Mon- mouth in his heart. Upon which he was apprehended, and sent to Douchester gaoler. This man was a man in another respect, which was enough to hang any man that time of day; for he had three or four uncles, and other relations in the duke’s army. I was told one of his uncles, being taken prisoner by Kirke, was after- dately permitted to be hanged up, but being a base fellow, some of Kirke’s officers interceded for his life, which Kirke was willing to grant, provided he would acknowledge his rebellion; which he refused to do; at length they would release him if he would call God his king, James II, he also refused; and in the last words he said were, God blest the duke of Monmouth.

Edward, his nephew, when he came into court, could not deny, that he had Monmouth in his heart; and thereupon was sentenced, and he was whipped through the market-towns in Dorsetshire, paying a fine to the king.

The sentence having been passed, he flees to Mr. Tut- chin (then in court, and who received sentence upon him) and said, Master, I understand you had said, that if any one should be whipped, he should but at all pay this money for ever; Mr. Tutchin answered, you never knew people deceive without mule, and this money is ordered to pay the idlers. Nay then, says Jervaise, it will be well enough we went away with the least concern that could be
The Life and Death of GEORGE, LORD JEFFREYS.

LORD Jeffreys was born at Aiton, near Wrexham, in Denbighshire, in Wales, about the year 1668, his father's name was — Jeffreys, being reputed a gentleman in that country, though of no large fortune or estate; however he lived very comfortably with what he had, improving his yearly income by his industry; and guided by his plain and honest endeavours a good citizen among the gentle sort of people; insomuch that it was not long before he, upon the recommendation of some person of interest and ability, married a widow of a good family, and they lived very comfortably together in their rural situation, being far from ambition, or striving for court favour; but contented with what God had blessed them with, and not at all anxious of their own industry, they found a solid happiness in that contentment. Nor had they lived together any considerable time, but amongst other children, the fruits of lawful wedlock, God was pleased to bellow on them the person who is intended for the subject of this discourse, who was in due time baptized by the Christian name of George; whether he had godfathers, &c. it doth not appear, however, he, under the care and diligence of his indifferent education, grew up, and appeared to all that knew him, of a very proper and ready wit, active, and striving for pre-eminence, even among the companions of his tender age, which lively demonstrated that an air of ambition was inherent to his person.

When he was capable to receive learning, he was put to a country-school, where he was furnished with such education as that afforded, which was not extraordinary; yet his natural parts let it off to the best advantage; and growing to years of somewhat a ripe understanding, and not very tradable, his father by the advice of some of his friends cauht him to be brought to London, and finding him not inclined to any trade, but rather addicted to study, he entered him, or by his procurement he entered into the Free-School at Westminister, where he resided much; so that he was, by the care of the worthy master thereof, brought to understand the languages, or at least as many of them as were necessary for the study of the law, which above other things he aimed at; though his father seemed not very agreeable to that design, for perceiving in his soul a more than ordinary spark of ambition, fearing it might kindle into a flame, and prove one day his ruin, he was concerned to hinder the ways he conceived most likely to bring it upon him; and is reported to say (when he found he could not divert him from this purpose, gently clapping him on the back,) Alas, George, George, I fear thou wilt die with thy shoes and fockings on; what he meant by that expression, I determine not, but leave the reader to conjecture.

On the restoration of King Charles the Second, affairs in the kingdom were a new face, the law revived again, and began to flourish; the practitioners lived

...
lived in much credit and reputation, and many of them purchased large estates, which furred to wing the defree of this perfon with impatience; and fome fay he was the rale of them, that they all defir'd by a defcription of him at Westminster-School, viz. That fho be the fecond scholar in that school, and afterward fho enrich himfelf by study and indufly, and that fho confume to be the fecond man in the kingdom, but in conclufion fho fublimate his mind from all difgrace and defpifition, and confidantly reported; and fome fay himfelf told it to fum- dry perfons fince, when he found the fefond part of it was fulfilled, by acquiring the chancellorship, and flanding high in the favour of his prince.

Yet, by the latter, I do not deter him from his purpofe, for having entered himfelf in the Inner Temple-Houfe, one of the chief inns of court, after his performing fuch things as are conforme to the cuftoms of the house, we fum him called to the bar, by the intell a he made with the beconners and heads of that learned society, earlier than had been ufual, leaping over the heads of elder graduates.

This happening about the twentieft year of the reign of king Charles II. and the city of London be- gan to flir afe. If out of her it were once fently and magnificent than before the fum in flames, a facrefice to the revenge and malice of the Papifts, as by the late in- fcription on the monument, and upon record it appears: this great city, fay, regaining her trade, her privileges and her power, I set up with greate exactnes, that in the courts at Guildhall there was more bullies, which being confidered by this perfon as more benefi- cial than that at Westminster, by reason of its frequence, and being carried on briefer, and with fles difficulty: which induifed him to give his attendance after at Hick's-Hall, and other inferior courts and places; insomuch that he being of a bold prefence, and having naturally a fluent tongue, an audible voice, and good uttarance, he had not pleaded of ten before he was very much taken notice of, and gained fo much credit with the people, that they preferred him before any of the other younger lawyers; by which means he found his fars begin to finifh upon him, fo that he was in a mannercourted to take fees, and had breviates thruf into his hand frequently in the middle of a cafe by perfons, when they perceived it went ill on their fides, and was like to go against them.

Elated thus with fuccefs, he now thought of nothing more than how he might climb; nor did he want an oppor- tunity, for the next ftation we find him in, is that of common-ferjeant to the great and honourable city of London. Fortune favored him at this time, that alderman Jeffreys, the great judge, having of ten obferved his difcourfe and actions, took fuch a liking to him, that being of the fame name, though not in the lead any relation, he backed him with his purse and interest his name was not inconsiderable; and thereby not only enabled him to carry on his greadeur, but to pur- fue as he found a convenience or advantage, in order to his keeping it up in the world.

Such, fay, being the degrees by which he was climbing the flippery flair of honour, to controul a former alliance, he addressed himfelf to a bright young widow, daughter to fir Thomas Sudworth, then one of the aldermen of the city, and who in the time of the dreadful conflagration had the chair, as being then lord- mayor; and fo far prevailed upon the lady and her father that he might have confideration for their conftitution, the contract was made, the nuptials solemnized, and foon after he had the pleafure to behold the fruits of her labour; fir John Howel, the recorder of London, giving place, the recorder- fhip became vacant, which made this perfon fay hold of that part of his life and the interets of his friends, to acquire that place of greater honour; nor did his meafures fail him, for by the powerful influence he had by this time gained over fundry perfons, who were before to promote him to what he fole mantly laboured to arrive at, he was chosen and confirned recor- der after the fubmittal of the city, feeing in the charge and care of the writings, papers, &c. that belong to fo great a charge and truft, as that of a recorder of the city of London.

Now become by thefe means (as himself declare- mouth of the city, and, as we may term him, a judge in the Guildhall, in controversies at the fice of the great and honourable city of London, and bearing on the back of him the weight of the pronou- nced punishment being put into his hands, by his ambition enlarged, aiming at nothing more than to become a court-favoyour: nor was it long before opportunity offered itself, to make him be taken of the court of flate; for, being precented to the king, he had him a platter, and entitled it (the better to ferve fome injury they had done to the company of flatesmen, invading their property) the King's Platter, which fioning a dispute, it was referred to a hearing before common councill, and he, being precented, as company the better to make out their titles, did carry them with this perfon as their counsel, with opening of the cafe, and making the complaint an apparent injury done to the company, in printing was really their property, he had this expresson They have teemed with a furious brat, which clandestinely minions into the world, the better the impollure, they lay it at your majesty's door.

This, though the king might have taken it (for reafons of the king's royal perfon, yet to far from refenting it that the king, not one of the lords that flat next him, and faid, The bold fellow, I'll warrant him. And indeed the flate had the matter declared by the honourable body the better.

The Populiph being discovered about this time Dr. Oates and others, the nation was for a while ferment, and matters run extremely high in difpute controversies, and he failed with the current, did with much heat and violence against the priests, and others of the confufers and Roman faith appeared not only by his vehement expreffions in argu- ing against them, but the alacrity and little care that was visible in his countenance, when at any assembly he did the fentence of death and the law of the land was generally done with more reproach, and became a scandal to the party. But he no sooner perceived the wind was a fack, and that there was none to understand being king Charles the Second and his parliament, he began to fall off, and grow cold in profecuting the of the government, being frequently at court, a bourn, as much as in himself lay, to draw the majesty of the city after him; as appears more especially in paffage, viz. The king being received of an invitation, that had for some time put the kingdoms in and out of life continued; he was then propofed to con- gratulate him upon his going abroad; after a favourable reception, it was propofed by fie that they should in like manner wait upon his royal nefs, then duke of York, who was not long before turned from flanders; but perceiving no opportunity to be fecteded, he only, with his father-in-law, a behind to gain that access. Thefe and other pro- fects created in the city a jealousy, that he had elp an interell to their prejudice, which wrought fo in their concrets, that it was concluded in the con- chamber at Guildhall, that he should resign his recor- dership; and accordingly they fent to him to de- back the papers and writings they had intruded with, which accordingly was done, and fir George's convicted recorder in his head.

Vived to the heart at this, he now openly did hisfelf to be what before was only suspected, indulge his thoughts in nothing more, than how he might venue it upon the diffenters, to whole influence of the court of aldermen he attributed his diflimnation of his revenue, and was as taken as much as he could. Yet all his honour was not for he had prevailed for the removal of fir John Cal- ton from the chief-fuflency of the county-palrt Chelfer, and by the importunity and interell of all the king being in the thick of that charge in much splendour, paying a time his father a visit with a numerous train, which it is reported, put the old gentleman in such a
in which flation he was fiercely festled, but he admitted the Popish lords to bail, that lay under an imprisonment in parliament, and whose bailing had been refused by his predecessors, at his instance.

Here by the way it will not be amiss to let the reader have a tule of some passages that happened on the public stage of business, in the joculat part of this great man’s life, and the repartees he met with, of which I shall instance a few.

It happened once upon a trial, that a plain country fellow, giving evidence in the court, and preffing it home, moved this perfon, who was counsellor on the other fide, to pick a quarrel with this poor man’s lether doublt, and amongst other interrogations, bawled out, You fellow in the lether doublt, what are you talking about? Why I say, if you are advising the man to swear, you should tell him how to swear! The man upon this, looking readly on him, replied, Truly, sir, if you have no more for lying than I have for swearing, you might wear a leather doublet as well as I. This bluntly retorted, caused at that time much laughter, and filled the town with the discourse of it.

It happened another time, that some musicians brought an action against a perfon, at whose wedding-day they had played, for the money they were promised or expected, whereupon the defendant, who could lay in defence of his proceedings, could make his acknowledgment upon oaths, and receive the reprimand of the speaker, on which harp rebukes, as the cenure of the case, he was disqualified.

Another falsehood, and a call of feret at the King’s-Bench bar, Waffminfter, he was in the roll, and consequently the king’s seret as it is usual to present the king with a ring occasion, the motto he agreed to, was, A Deus Lex; viz. the kingdom from God, and the king. And now the Popish party playing cards with more security, Edward Fitzharris, who was impeached by the Commons, and fled by them of high-treason; being nevertheless, the diffolution, tried at the King’s-Bench bar, this was the principal flicker against him, and by his and florid expressions, wrought so powerfully in the jury, who were somewhat in doubt what they should do in this cafe, that they found him guilty, and execution in parliament set aside, he was execrated to the Tower and imprisoned for a spirit winged with so large an ambition, he there losing their elecem in the eyes of the court and some Justices of peace of Midlesex being on them, this perfon was chosen chairman at the Hills-Hall, where he had an opportunity to make them, as he found his time, feel the result of his being, and a spirit winged with so large an ambition, his higher things, refolving, like Icarus, to be fun, though at the hazard of melting his waxen dripping headlong into the sea of inevitable Whereupon perceiving some hot contells in the London, about the election of magistrates and he turned the edge of his fury that way, into that a Que Warranto came down against the charge honourable city of London, and in fine, after he had and arguments pro & contra, the charter rendered the city more bulky, by thofe of law and the reft, and the king suspicious the execution of the act obtained, caused such orders to be observedought most convenient, which being so well to the citizens of London, it would appear a point in me to enter upon particulars; yet the evil against the city was, taking the toll of mar- dlejion money to build Cheapside conduit, &c. it long after this, that several perfon were rioters, who attended the election of sheriffs of London were puffed upon many worthy as rioters between the one occasion; in which this perfon as a councellor by his florid rhetoric merely instrumental, by giving the court an ac- count of their respective abilities, the better to settle and the lord chief justice Saunders dyeing, he acted as lord chief justice of the King’s-Bench;
on Tower-Hill, because of my lord's being at Tunbridge; but the latter end of August, he with a special commission of Oyer and Terminer, affixed with four other judges, fet forward with a party of horse, he being made by special commission their general. The first place he came at, was Winchester, where were divers persons convicted there, of the recibir of the lady Lisle there arraigned for high-treason, in harbouring Mr. Hicks and Mr. Nethorp, that had been concerned with the duke; the lady being on her trial, the jury being dissatisfied once and again, but my lord's threats and other manage, so dispossessed the jury, that at last they were convinced of the lady's guilt; but this pretended the sentence of death on her, as usual in such cases; but she had the favour of being beheaded: their other prisoners were carried to Salisbury; and this was the most remarkable thing at those assays.

For Salisbury they fet forward from thence, where were many prisoners that had been picked up and down the country, then in the gaol, which, with those that were brought from Winton, were ordered to be carried to Dorchester, there not being evidence enough to accomplish what was then designed by my lord; so that little of moment palled there, but to pursue the matter forward. The sentence that the sheriffs, where he with his affiants, gowmen and frowdmen, arrived on the 3d of September, on which day, being Thursday, the commissiou was read. Friday morning there was an excellent sermon preached before their lordships, by a worthy divine, chaplain to a worthy person of that county; also the matins were observed, while my lord chief justice was in church at prayers, as well as a sermon, he was seen to laugh; which was so unbecoming a person in his character, that ought, in so weigthy an affair as he was then entering upon, to have been more serious, and have craved the affmaice of Almighty God.

When the sermon was over, their lordships repaired to the court, which by order of the lord chief justice was hung with red cloth, a colour suitable to such a succeeding bloody tragedy, being accompanied by a numerous company of the gentry of that county, as well as the flowers of the neighbouring counties of Somerset and Devonshire, and then proceeded to give his charge; in which charge, by reason of the severity of his remonstrances, and positions laid down to make discoveries of all such as were abettors, aiders, or affillers to the late duke of Monmouth, on pain of high-treason, which was a great favour to all the noticias, and particularly to those and so passionately expressed, as seemed rather the language of a Romish inquisitor, than a Protestant judge; and then adjourned until eight o'clock next morning, when a bill was found against thirty persons charged with high-treason, for aiding and affilling the late duke of Monmouth; the sense of the trial was that they were withholding my lord's threatening. That if any did put themselves on trial, and the country found them guilty, they should have but a little time to live. And at the same time influnted, That it were better to plead guilty, if they expected any favour.

Now these thirty being on trial, the evidences being sworn and examined before the jury; by the violent deportment of the lord chief justice, and sharpeness of the jury, they found twenty-nine guilty, though some of them were very hardly dealt with, and not so criminal as my lord and the country imagined. Particularly among the twenty-nine was Mr. Matthew Bragg of Thornbury, and Joseph Speed, of Culliton, in the county of Devonshire, and Mr. Smith, constable of Chardstock, in the said county, and George Steward, of Culliton aforesaid.

"These perons being found (as before) guilty, my lord instructed for the precise sentence of death on them; as is usual in causes of high-treason, and did the fame night give a warrant to the sheriff for the execution of thirteen of the twenty-nine on Monday following; which accordingly was done, notwithstanding great application was made to the lord chief justice by gentlemen of the defeat quality, in this and the neighbouring counties, for a re-prieve to Mr. Bragg, to all which he was dealt, and not to be prevailed upon, though he was affurred of his honesty, and true conformity to the church of England, yet it availed nothing. At last it was only required for ten days respite, yet that had no better effect; but on Monday he with twelve more of that number were accordingly executed at Dorchester.

In the interim this proceeding was designed to shorten the life of the party under the power of the state, they were to follow to a confission, without which the tenth part of them could not be proved guilty. A method which was taken without precedent, to entrap many poor ignorant people by a couple of officers that were sent into the gaol, to correspond with and to take the names of the prisoners, on promise, if they would confess they should have a great exprest mercy, otherwise not; which many did. And this promise so far, that so they pleaded not guilty, these two were designed to have been evidences against them from their own confessions, which so dispossessed the remaining great number this, except a very few, pleaded guilty, which put an end to any further trial.

Now the only thing remaining, was the pronouncing the sentence on them, which were in number two, who received sentence of death all at once. One Mr. Lawrence put himself on trial, but by the jury found guilty, who in the circumstances being so fatal to be condemned to die, and so charge, but amidst the many other prisoners, had not application been made to my lord's favour and with the payment and securing of 400l. preferred him from execution.

When this matter was adjusted, and execution availed, my lord declared it executed, and their quarters set up and down the country to the dread of the offenders, as well as the annoyance of the traveller, their extraordinary whippings, though unmerciful, are not to be taken notice of. So we leave this place, and proceed towards the city of Exon: in their way thither, by way of gentlemen's house, divers of the neigh- bouring parts made their part of the lord chief justice in the behalf of some relations concerned happened, that through some disorder amongst his followers, some pibloes were fired that night, which gave him a fulmination, or at least he took it, of some deep upon him; on which he purting he said, Not a man of all those parishes that were of that vicinity, if it go, should escape. And so we proceed, and arrive at Exon, where to the number of 243 prisoners being cuted by affilling the said duke of Monmouth, amongst the rest, Mr. Fower Acers, pleading not guilty, was brought by the jury, the said lord chief justice immediately pronounced him guilty, and ordered an immediate execution, which was done to terrify the rest who all pleaded guilty; so that these unfortunate people had not time to have the fairness of trials allowed them which is a right due by the laws of God and man. In registering number he all condemned; and here was little free, not so many ordered for captivity in the other county, but those that were executed, were hung up and down in most towns of the country, in their quarters and heads scattered up and down the highways and public places. An extraordinary sentence of death for the present was pronounced against Mr. Samuel Staple, of Trenchcomb, for the like reason, and the like tributes, and we shall endeavour to pursue our design, as make as quick dispatch as we can, that time may no loit, the king served, and this miferable's shift quenched with Protestant blood, which is always well pleased to inflict, and go to proceed to the town of Taunton, at which place being arrived, it was thought fit by the lord chief justice to be as expeditious as might be; that late in the afternoon the court sat, where the com- mission being read, he proceeded to give charge, which was very keen and full of sharp invectives, as it is common, itself had not been able to make expiation. Lordhill, to which this his blood the blood of these who ventured their all in defence of the Protestant religion, and here we enter upon the bloodiest part of the tragic in this town, and at Wells in the said county, were not above 500 prisoners.

Now to begin at Taunton, the next morning after the charge given, the assizes began, where some few put the
The Life and Death of George, Lord Jeffreys.

But passing this over, we now find this felon arrived at the pinnacle of honour: the purbe and mace were referred for the trial and death of the lord-keeper of North, and he advanced to the provostship of the city of England; raised by this means, as one might think, above the envy of the crowd; and it might be wishful, in so dangerous a height he had looked better to his foot-steps; for now being created baron of Wem, we find him in the House of Lords, or ecclesiastical court, fuelling the honourable the church of England, from performing the episcopal office and function of that fee, and for no other default, than not readily complying with the king’s letter, in fuelling Dr. Sharp, dean of Norwich, for preaching a sermon in the parish church of St. Mary in the Fields, at the request of the parishioners, flewing the erroneous doctrines of the Socinian religion; the better to confirm them in the faith and doctrine of the church of England. Nor was it this good bishop alone that was aimed at; for Magdalen-College, at Oxford, was next attempted, and in that very mother of learning, and chief seminary of our church, such alterations were made as startled the kingdom; by whose counsel I undertake not to determine; but in the midst of liberty of conscience, as twice declared, the church of England had a tett put upon her fans, which seemed such a paradox that had been rarely heard of, which made the king’s declaration for liberty of conscience in the church during that time, not a sermon, but a mark, and penalties threatened to the refractory; which was evidently demonstrated by the imprisonment of those worthy patriots of the church, the grace the lord archbishop of Canterbury, the lord bishops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Peterborough, Chichester, St. Albans, and Bristol; who for flewing their opinions why they could not comply with this command, by way of humble petition, were sent to the Tower, and afterwards tried upon information of high misdemeanor, at the court of King’s-Bench; where their innocence appearing in a plain manner, they were acquitted, to the scanda of their accusers; yet not content to go into all parts of England, to return an account to the lord-keeper of his excellency that refused to read the declaration, that they might be proceeded against, for a contempt of what their conceptions would not permit them to do; and for a time they were extremely hot upon it. Much about this time there was a considerable suit depending before him in chancery, between a great heiress and others, which he, furtherly talked of in the world, not without loud and deep reflection on his honesty and honour; for having given the cause for the young lady, he very speedily afterwards married her to his son; with this remarkable circumstance, the being a Papist, to make sure work, he married them without his being at the church of Rome, and a divine of the church of England. And here, I think, we may place the height of his honour and happiness, where he is not like to tarry long; for on the news of the great preparations in Holland, and that the prince of Orange was certainly designed for England, the determined councils cooled, and then quite ceased, so that the church of England, whose cause the prince had espoused, were refered again to the commissions and tonts they had been lately deprived of; and amongst other charters that were on this occasion restored, was that of the city of London; and that which makes it most memorable, was, that it was brought to Guildhall by this person, though he was not attended by the floor and acclamations he expected, nor seemed so florid or frolicksome as heretofore, for some looked upon it as a bad omen; and it is reported, that soon after, he being asked by a courtier, What the heads of the prince’s declaration were? he should answer, He was sure his was one, whatever the rest were.

As soon as the late king James was secured at Beverham, he defied to see his landlord, and demanded his name, who proved to be a person who had turned himself over to the service of the church, for a fine which fell upon him (and captain Stanbrooke, in Welminster) by the lord-chancellor’s means at the board; when king James, calling for a pen and ink, bid the gentleman write the discharge
discharge as effectually as he would; which he signified:
adding, that he was now sensible my lord-chancellor had
been a very ill man, and done very ill things. If he
was thus cenured by his master for his former services,
and that his official opinion of it had turned out to be
such any man might predict his service and interest was cel-
el; and his life would have been like the scape-goat,
he must have borne all their crimes, and been bela-
deed for his own, for no less indignation than death was
couched in the words. Thus may be seen what would
have been his fate. He had opinion of his worst enemy.

By this time the court beginning to faces; and the
prince of Orange approaching, the king thought fit to
withdraw himself; upon notice of which the lord-chan-
celler betook himself to Wapping, disguised like a sea-
man, in order to effect his escape to Hamburg in a collier;
but being discovered, he was brought before sir J.
Chapman, lord-mayor of the city of London, in a
frange disguise, very different from the habit in which
he formerly appeared; and by reason of the lord-mayor's
indisposition, he not being able to commit him, he
offered to go to the Tower, to be out of the hands of the
rabble, who there in great numbers with clubs and
flaves, threatened him with preten destruction; but
having a guard of the trained-bands to conduct him, he
got thirstier safe, and soon after was charged in custody,
by a present warrant from the house of commons to White-
hall, where he continued under much afflication and
indisposition, having moved for his Habens Corpus to be
bailed, but was not able to attain it. He had not been
in the Tower many days, but as it is said (whether or
not I cannot affirm) he had a barrel of oysters sent him,
upon sight of which he said to the bearer, I fee I have
some friends left still; but upon opening the barrel, he
found them to be only friends that were impatient till
they gave him a prospect of his future destiny, for ve-
riably the mighty pretent was nothing but a good flout
halter. Now as I said before, whether this passage be true
or not, I cannot say, but this I am sure (if we con-
consider his lordship's life and crucibles) the moral of it
is most excellent.

In this manner he continued for some months in the
Tower, his chronic indispositions, the Rone, &c. in-
creasing very fast upon him.

Dr. Lover (a very ingenious man) was his phy-
cian; but nature being now tired out by a tedious con-
bat with his disease, and the guilt of his former
bloody life, notoriously known, he contracted an ill
habit of body, and at last very happily for himself, if
not his relations too, died in the Tower, about nine
o'clock in the morning, Ann. Domini 1689.

A full Account of the direc Perfection of the Right Hon.
Lord George Gordon, President of the Pro-
tellant Association, and of the indirect Tyranny thrown
on God's Body in General, through the Artifices of many
Ennemies.

The better to trace this nefarious busines to its
original, it will be necessary to observe, that in the
year 1778 a bill was brought into the House of Common
by sir George Savile, and afterwards passed
into an act, for the repeal of certain provisions and pen-
nal laws, affecting the Roman-Catholics in this country;
which said provisions and penal laws were contained in
an act of parliament passed in the 14th and 15th years of the
reign of King William the Third. This mo-
noxious act being now set aside by the late repeal,
every Papish pritiei is consequentely permitted to exer-
cise any part of his function in this kingdom; Papists
are allowed to keep schools, and take upon them the
education, government, or boarding of youth, to pur-
se knowledge in the schools, and to profess and
instruct in any manner whatsoever.

It is further observable, that it being proposed, the
following winter, to bring a similar bill into parliament,
to take off some penalties which were inflicted by the
laws of Scotland upon the Roman-Catholics of that
country; this measure was to be carried by the Scots,
and on the 10th of February an instruction happened in
the city of Edinburgh; in consequence whereof, two popis
chaplains, one of them being the master of the house of
the Roman-Catholics in different parts of the town,
were ransacked and demolished; and the tumult rose to
such a height, that the utmost exertions of the civil au-
trate, affid by some of the fencibles, were not suffi-
ient to suppress it, till the provost of the city gave assurance,E
that the law would be strenuous, but that the scheme was dropped,
and no act of parliament would be applied for, depic-
ting the Roman-Catholics of Scotland. Such was the
effectual opposition the proceedings of the then vigorous
British minifter and parliament met with in the North,
and on the first appearance of countenancing the Pa-
pists there.

Affairs remained quiet for some time in Englan
d, but at length the fears and jealousies of the people were
roufed, from a belief (too justly founded) that the
repeal of the statute of King William would be amend-
ated with immediate danger to the state, and to the Pro-
testant religion; whereupon an association, called The
Protestant Association, was formed; whose main
object was, to defend the Protestant religion, as it was
establisht, against the encroachments of Popery; and
to prepare and present a petition to parliament, in a
repeal of the act of Union in behalf of the Roman-
Catholics. The right honourable lord George Gordon was
president of this association; and many respectable
and pious ministers, with a great number of worthy
private Christians, compos'd a considerable part of this
association.

By means of previous notice given in the public
prints, upwards of 40,000 persons, with the members
of the Protestant Association of London, Welbminster,
Southwark, &c. assembled in St. George's Field, on
Friday, the 20th of June 1680, in the morning, some
weeks after the proceedings in Scotland were reported to the House of Commons with their petition, which
was carried by Mr. Hodgkinson. They conformed to
four divisions; namely, the London, the Scouch, the
Welbminster, and the Southwark. When they arrived
at the Parliament-House, their petition, praying for a
repeal of the acts lately passed in favour of the Roman-
Catholics, was presented by lord George Gordon, the
president; and, being received, the subject mat-
ter of it was referred to the consideration of the
House.

Of this, however, as on other occasions of the like
nature, where a mixed multitude is collected together,
many evil-minded persons, unknown to the association,
began to be very riotous, and committed awful outrage,
by attacking and setting fire to Newgate and other pla-
s, releasing the persons confined in them; and doing
the greatest damage and destruction of several
Roman-Catholics, and others, on presence of a zeal for
the Protestant religion, but in fact for the sole purpoe
of indulging themselves in rioting, excets, and rubbign.
Thee laws of licentiousnes continued their enormites in
Tuesdays week, and a tremendous scene occurred, and
the whole city of London was thrown into the
most conformation, on account of the many gads
and houses that were burning at one and the same time;
and had not his majesty collected together a military
force on the next day to protect the city, it was appre-
chens, that the conflagration would have been un-
iversal.

During the perpetration of these horrid and by
an abandoned rabble, lord George Gordon, accompanied
by one of the sheriffs, went in persons to severa places,
where the tumults were feeding, to disarm the out-
granges bands, and prevent any thing out of a peaceable de-
portment; but all without effect. Such, however, was
the malice of his enemies, who were bent on his de-
finition, that notwithstanding he employed every effort
in his power to suppress the rage, and prevent such cliens.
deferred to the rioters, they did not scruple to ac-
charge him of being their ringleader and principal abettor.
In consequence of this unjust accquation, his lordship was apprehended on Friday, the 12th of June, by warrant on the hand of one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, and was the same day committed a close prisoner to the Tower, where he was charged the use of pen, ink, and paper, and no person to speak to him; and a keeper was appointed to watch him night and day, to carry the above rigorous order of his execution.

His lordship was treated and confined in this severe manner till Michaelmas term of the fast year; on the 23d of October, he petitioned the court of King's Bench for a hearing. He was tried and set at liberty: a few days after, in the same term, an indictment for high treason was framed against him, and presented to the gentleman grand jurors for the county of Middlesex, who returned it into the court of King's Bench a true information.

We shall here, in order to shew the unreasonable, not to say injustice and cruelty, of these proceedings against his lordship, who was delusive, throughout a whole affair, of prevailing the utmost order and good name, infect some of the resolutions of the Protestant Association, previous to leaving out of the prosecution.

Revoked, for the sake of good order and regularity, the Association, in coming to the ground, do divide themselves into four distinct divisions, viz. the London division, the Westminster division, the Southwark division, and the Scotch division, and the Scotch division upon the last, all wearing the cockades, to distinguish themselves from the others, and those who approve of the late act in favour of Popery.

Revoked, that the magistrates of London, Westminster, and Southwark, be required to attend, that precept may overawe and control any riotous evil-minded persons, who may wish to disturb the peaceable and peaceable department of his Majesty's Protestant subjects.


By authority we add to this, that on his lordship's trial at St. George's Fields, the people there assembled round about him; in which situation, he made a short speech to them, strongly recommending a peaceful deportment and behaviour, and that in this disposition they would proceed to the house with their petition.

This hand-bill inciting the same pacific temper and conduct was likewise distributed.

Furthermore, to make it evident that neither lord Gordon, nor any of his friends, could with any degree of justice or propriety be charged as the promoters or encouragers of the horrid enormities afterwards committed and abandoned by the (which atrocities he fully abhorred); the Protestant Association thought fit to publish the following advertisement by order of the committee, and signed by Mr. Butler, their secretary:

The Protestant Association think it their duty, as subjects and members of civil society, in the most peaceful manner to shew their contempt with their feelings, who have for several days past, under the support of opposing Popery, and promoting the felony of the Protestant petitions, committed the most infamous and dreadful depredations in and about the city.

They cannot but feel the deepest concern for the difficulties that have been brought on many individuals, by such unprecedented and illegal proceedings, and hereby publicly declare their abhorrence of such infamous conduct.

This full and clear vindication of his lordship and Protestant adherents, will, we humbly trust, to every unprejudiced mind, prove a sufficient testimony of their Christian moderation, and united desire to maintain the public tranquility by every expedient possible.

But the perfecting rage exerted against lord George Gordon, the iniquity of which was manifested in his imprisonment and trial, will appear the more glaring, when we consider that the man on whom upon which the indictment was found. They are thus described, and their accounts represented as follow:

Mr. Chamberlayne, solicitor to the treasury, produced a paper, signed "G. Gordon," which had been given to a man, by way of certificate, of his being a Protestant, to preserve him from being delinquent by the rioters. He swore that he had seen lord George Gordon's writing, and did believe that this letter was written by him.

William Hay swore, that he heard lord George Gordon say publicly, at a meeting at Coach-Makers to the faint that the king had forfeited his crown, and therefore they had a right to take up arms to recover their religious liberties.

The Rev. Thomas Bowen ( swore, that he heard lord George Gordon say (out of the house) say to the people, that they must be firm and stand by him, for that the Scotch did not obtain their religious liberty till they had pulled down the maus houses: and that he came a second time, and declared to the people, that alderman Bull and alderman Sawbridge were violent against their petition.

McRae (an Irishman) swore, that he heard lord George Gordon say, the petition should be granted, or else — On being asked, What else? He answered, Else! Else! Else! — He was diffident.

Mr. Judge Wright swore, that his house was broken into by the rioters, but could not say whether at the instigation of lord George Gordon or not.

Mr. King (a surgeon, for John Fielding's runners) swore, that they saw lord George Gordon in St. George's Fields, with a great number of people around him, and that he remained there some time, but they could not say how long.

The other witnesses were William Metcalf, John Anlambourne, John Cates, Esq. Mr. Joseph Pearson, Sampson Rainford, Thomas Baker, David Miles, Mr. Thomas Gates, William Hyde, Esq. right honourable lord Porcher, John Lucy, Barnard Turner (a fagot-refiner) Richard Pond, John Dingwell, &c.

His lordship's trial came on in the court of King's Bench, on Monday, the 20th of October. The counsel for the cause were, Mr. Attorney-General, Mr. Solicitor-General, Mr. Bercroft, Mr. Lee, Mr. Howarth, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Norton. The council for the prisoner were Mr. Kenyon and Mr. Erkine.

Mr. Kenyon made a very able defence in behalf of the noble prisoner, and several gentlemen were called to support the wish that he had urged in favour of his lordship, and in contradiction to every fact alleged in the prosecution.

The names of the witnesses on behalf of the prisoner were, the Rev. Erasmus Middleton, Mr. T. Evans, lord viscount Stormont, Sir Philip Jennings Creeke, Barr. for James Lowther, Barr. William Smith, Mr. Whittingham, Alexander Johnstone, Alexander Fraser, John Humphries, Sampson Hodgkinson, John Robinson, Mrs. Yaud, and Mr. alderman Pugh.

Mr. Erkine then spoke, for he begged to be permitted to refer what he had to say till after the evidence on their part should be examined, which was granted. This gentleman displayed both his eloquence and underling on the occasion. The Solicitor-General replied, and lord Mansfield then summed up the evidence, but declined making any comments, and as soon as he had delivered his charge he led the case.

The jury withdrew, and in about twenty minutes returned. Just as they were taking their seats, Mr. Erkine fainted away. Some time was lost by this accident. The verdict was then pronounced — NOT GUILTY.
The burst of applause that took place on this was very great, and attended by circumstances that made it highly affecting; lord William Gordon fainted away, and the old faithful servant of lord George fell into fits.

After the tumult had subsided, lord George Gordon, being rescued from the numbers that pressed upon him with their congratulations, came forward and addressed the jury in the following words:

"Gentlemen of the jury, you have done perfectly right in giving me the verdict you have given. I am not the person I was charged to be. I declare to God, that I am as innocent as any one of you, and never designed any thing of treason against my king or country. Gentlemen, it has been a wicked and infamous prosecution—" His lordship was interrupted by the jury, upon which he concluded "Gentlemen, I beg your pardon; excuse my warmth. I heartily thank you, and God bless you."

Judge Willes then informed lord George that he was discharged, and of course at liberty to depart, and his lordship, at near fix o'clock on Tuesday morning (the 6th), went from the hall, attended by his brothers, the duke of Gordon and lord William Gordon. The duke of Richmond, lord Derby, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and many other public gentlemen, were also present.

The stupidity and contradictory nature of many of the evidence, collected together to procure the conviction and death of lord Gordon, for a crime of which he had always retained an utter detestation; together with the very able and clear justification of his conduct by his learned counsel, for his innocence in so conspicuous a point of view, to bring about an honourable acquittal, to the credit of his own conduct and the complete satisfaction of all real friends to civil and religious liberty, and the Protestant cause; and we have the pleasure to observe, that his lordship was much indebted to the very just and sensible defence of the Protestant Association given by the Rev. Mr. Middleton, who was a member thereof.

And there never was a single person either convicted, tried, or even apprehended, on suspicion of being accessory to, or any ways promoting the riots, who was a member of that respectable body, the Protestant Association; there was not one of these members who, by the same conduct and description, who it is notorious that the pernicious and lord George Gordon was set on foot and carried on by unprincipled Protestant, and avowed Papists, in order to take away the life of this truly honourable man, who had always approved himself a hearty and zealous friend to his king and country, a warm defender of civil and religious liberty, a firm supporter and detester of the tenets and practices of the Roman-Catholics, as inimical to the bell and dearest interests of mankind in general.

Such being the amiable disposition of mind possessed by his lordship, and so pure and well-directed were his views, and intention respecting the importance of the event in which he engaged, that it is matter of astonishment such a spirit of persecution, nearly allied to that of a Popish inquisition, should go forth against him, were we not assured, from the sacred records, that the seed of the serpent will never cease to persecute and harass the seed of the dragon. But as truth and innocence always have, and ever will, prove victorious over error and malvolence, so it happened in this instance.

As a further elucidation of his lordship, and the members of the Protestant Association, it may be necessary to observe, in general, that there was not one man in that body of people, who either abetted the rioters in the commission of such dreadful enormities and execrations; nor was there any man among the Association who was either tried, or taken up on suspicion, except his lordship's, who, too far toward zeal might perhaps precipitate him into measures which he was far from intending, or any of his friends. By such a conduct, the execrations, and its environs, were thrown into a state of convulsion unparalleled in the annals of history. The horrid outrages committed by those abandoned wretches, the rioters, were so numerous and terrifying, and the further mischief dreaded from their menaces were so tremendous, that (as was remarked of one of the other Roman emperors) one would almost think the Divine Being had given more strength to the menaces than to the lengths, to show what horrid excellence the human mind is capable of, when left without restraint to act upon evil bias. But the punishment due to such heinous crimes soon overtook many of them, though it is not feared not all of the most guilty; since several more pretended to their guilt, by a confession of the principal actors, had involved themselves in the same punishment. But, however, the sufferings of some of the most notorious offenders, at the same time that they may serve as an example to terror to evil doers, as sufficiently proves, that how daringly false wickedness may triumph for a season, it will descend after it a punishment justly due to the transgression of laws, and, without repentance, an obnoxious fruit of Almighty's vengeance.

All perfections, particularly those on the most religious, are in themselves diabolical, and those diabolically inspired, mix and mingle with every species of folly and madness, its characteristic was, acting consistently with wrong principles; it went on this grand error, the man could judge of the opinion of another, better he who entertained it: it might naturally be imagined, that the philanthropic doctrines of Christian for Christ's sake, has never been more truly for the error; but, were the depravity of the human heart, the revery had run out to be the fact, and torture and death had been introduced, to force men from their religious opinion into such as those in power entertained.

If the secret order he may be so fall, went originally upon a principle of kindred: its prime intention was, to promote unity of opinion with respect to the truth, as handed down to us by Christ and his apostles, and the extinction of those opinions which were conceived to be erroneous: but in process of time, as they have given way to the mild and benevolent spirit of the depository of human heart, the revery had run out to be the fact, and torture and death had been introduced, to force men from their religious opinion into such as those in power entertained.

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Impressed with these ideas, we may safely infer, a profound for Christ's sake, is for this error in terms; the weapons of Christ's soldiers are not carnal, much more diabolical and infernal; such being injurious to the cause, and scandalous to true religion. The word Spirit of God are the most proper instruments for purging and impressing the truths as it is in John's, and the dispensations for the church in general, if we bear his name to be like-minded—not only to over no evil themselves, but to bear it patiently from others. We have been so much used to bear, by observing such a fidelity in Christ, has been convinced that they are governed by the Spirit of God, and that the dispensations of scripture, right reason, good laws, and public order, lead us in the ороs; the same eyes even of his oppressors and persecutors, that his mind may be constrained to throw down their arms, and submit under its banner.
PART II. Being a Supplement.

CONTAINING COMPLETE HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS of the LIVES, SUFFERINGS, and DEATHS, of the PRIMITIVE AND EARLY MARTYRS, From the Creation of the World, to the Time of Queen Mary I.

CHAP. I.

A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT of the PERSECUTIONS in the FIRST AGES of the WORLD.

H Lindsey, the Jews were persecuted by the neighbouring idolaters during the time of their building and fortifying Jerusalem, till that great work was finished by the care of Nebuchadnezzar; but after its completion they were frequently disturbed by the Persians, and the succedors of Alexander the Great, though that monarch himself had granted favours the most unlimited.

About a little more than a century and a half before the birth of Chrifi, Antiochus feized upon and sacked the city of Jerusalem, plundered the temple, and murdered many of the Jews who refused to conform to his idolatry, by scourging, strangling, crucifying, and flaying them, and by closing up the mouths of the caves to which they fled for refuge.

However, Antiochus and the idolatrous tormentors were at length bravely oppossed by Matthias a priest, and his valiant sons, the principal of whom was Judas Maccabes. This able commander Judas, with his brave brothers, inspired the dispirited Jews with new courage, defeated the generals of Antiochus, freed their country from bondage, and afterwards turned their arms against the Edomites and Ammonites, over whom they were equally successfull.

Antiochus at length died a terrible death, his flesh having been some time before quite putrid, and producing maggots; so that he became loathsome to himself, and nauseose to all about him. His succedors, however, continued their enmity to the Jews; but they were oppossed by the Maccabees with various successes.

Now the Jews entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with the Romans; but soon after lost their worthy champion Judas Maccabes, who was slain in a bloody battle.
battle fought with the Greeks, under the command of their general Bacchides. While Antiochus Epiphanes reigned in Syria, having some success against the Jews, he went to Jerusalem, where he ordered Eleazar the priest to be put to death in the most cruel manner, for refusing to eat swine's flesh. Then feizing on a family of Maccabeus, confining a matron named Salamona, and her seven sons, he carried them all to Antioch. Here he would fan have persuaded them to embrace his idolatry, which they nobly and unanimously refusing, he ordered them all to be put to death.

Accordingly Maccabeus, the eldest, was stripp'd, stretched on the rack, and severely beaten. He was next fastened to a wheel, and weigh'd hung to his feet till his flesh cracked. Afterwards his tormentors threw him into a slow fire, till he was Jain; then they drew him out, cut out his tongue, and put him into a frying-pan, with a flow fire under it, till he died. As long as he had life, and power of expression, under these exquisite torments, he fervently called upon God, and exhorted his brothers to a similar perseverance. When the second son had his hands fastened with chains, with which he was hung up, his skin was flayed off from the crown of his head to his knees. He was then cast to a leopard, but the beast refusing to touch him, he was suffered to languish till he expired with the excruciating pain, and loss of blood.

Machir, the third son, was bound to a globe till his bones were all dislocated; his head and face were then flayed, his tongue cut out, and being cast into a pit he was fried to death.

Judas, the fourth son, after having his tongue cut out, was beat with ropes, and then racked upon a wheel.

Achias, the fifth son, was pounded in a large bran mortar.

Arach, the sixth son, was fastened to a pillar with his head downwards, slowly roasted by a fire kindled at some distance; his tongue was then cut out, and he was kill'd finely in a pan.

Jacob, the seventh and youngest son, had his arms cut off, his tongue pluck'd out, and was then tied to a tree.

They all bore their fate with the same intrepidity as their elder brother, and called upon the Almighty to receive them into heaven.

Salamona, their mother, after having in a manner died for deaths in beholding the martyrdom of her children, was, by the tyrant's order, stripp'd naked, severely scour'd, her breasts cut off, and her belly burn'd till fire expired.

The inhuman tyrant who inflicted these cruelties, afterwards struck with madness; and then his steeds became corrupted, and his bowels mortified, which was an end to himself and his wickedness.

C H A P, II.

Containing a full and particular Account of the LIFE, SUFFERINGS, and cruel MARTYRDOM of Our Blest Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST; together with that of his APOSTLES EVANGELISTS, &c. the TEN GREAT PERSECUTIONS in the PRIMITIVE CHURCH, &c. &c.

WHEN Herod the Great was informed that a king of the Jews should be born in Bethlehem, he sent a number of troops to destroy all the children under two years of age, in that place, and throughout the neighbouring coasts. By this cruel order he hoped to completely destroy the child Jesus; but in this he was not only disappointed, but punished with such a spirit of lowness, that he flew his own wife, children, relations, friends, &c. He was afterwards visited by the most grievous maladies, particularly an inward burning, flow, but unremitting; an uncommon apoplexy, continually craving, but ever unsatisfied; a cramp that racked him with pain; a flux that reduced him to weakness; worms that bred in him and gnawed him; vermin that engendered about him and devoured him; a general putrefaction that consumed him; and, in fine, all those complicated disorders which could really render him hateful to himself, and odious to others. His tormentors at length became intolerable, not that having either of the comforts of religion, or the support of a good conscience to sustain his linking spirits, he attempted to lay violent hands upon himself. Being prevented in this attempt by thosse about him, he at last fink under the opprobria on his afflictions, and in the most miserable manner expired.

Now when Herod the Lest married the daughter of the king of Arabia, he repudiated her, and espoused Herodias, his brother Philip's wife: for which marriage, full of incest and adultery, John the Baptist boldly and severely reproved him. This freedom of mind he obtained from Herodias; for we are informed by St. Matthew, in the xiv. chapter of his gospel, that "when Herod's birth-day was kept, the daughter of Herodias danced before them, and pleased Herod: whereupon he promised with an oath, to give her whatsoever she would ask. And the being before in bribled of her mother, said, Give me here John Baptist's head in a charger. And the king was sorry: nevertheless, for the oath's sake, and that which sat with him at meat, he commanded it be given her; and he sent and beheaded John in the prison. And his head was brought in a charger, and gave the daughters of Herodias, for she was the sister of Herodias being after hand dancing upon the ice, it broke, and she fell in, and her head was severed from her body by its again clad; and Herod, with the incensed adulteress Herodias, falling under the displeasure of the Roman emperor, was banished, and died miserably in exile. At this event the Nativity was happened on the 24th of June, accordingly at that day the church celebrates his memory.

Let us now proceed with the history of our Blest Redeemer. In the reign of Herod the Great already mentioned, the angel Gabriel was sent by the Almighty to a holy virgin, called Mary. This maiden was betrothed to a carpenter named Joseph, who resided at Nazareth, a city of Galilee, but the consummation was not then taken place; for it was the custom of the eastern nations to contract perfons of each sex far their childhood, though the cohabitation was not permitted till years of maturity. Upon this the angel informed Mary how highly she was favoured of God, and that she should conceive by the Holy Spirit, which happened accordingly for travelling to Bethlehem to pay the capitation then levied, the town was so crowded that they could only get lodgings in a stable, where the holy virgin brought forth our Blest Redeemer, which was announced to the world by a star and an angel: the wise men of the East saw the star, and the shepherd's song: the virgin was filled with the holy spirit; after Jesus had been circumcised, he was presented in the temple by the holy virgin; upon which occasion Simeon broke out into the celebrated words noted...
of death, the Jews mocked him, and said, "If thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross." The chief priests and scribes also reviled him, and said, "He saveth others, but cannot save himself!" Indeed, one of the malefactors who was crucified with him, cried out, and said, "If thou art the Messiah, save thyself and us!" But the other malefactor, having the greater reliance upon Jesus, exclaimed, "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." To which Christ replied, "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise." When Christ was upon the cross, the earth was covered with darkness, and the stars appeared at noonday, which is a great marvel to the Jews with terror. In the midst of his tortures Christ cried, "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and then expressed a desire to drink. When one of the soldiers gave him, upon the point of a reed, a sponge dipped in vinegar, which, however, Jesus refused. About three o'clock in the afternoon he gave up the ghost, and at the same time a violent earthquake happened, when the rocks were rent, the mountains trembled, and the graves gave up their dead. These were the signals prodigies that attended the death of Christ, and such was the mortal end of the Redeemer of mankind—Hominem Salvator!!!


I. St. Stephen,

THE Protos, or first martyr, was elected, with six others, as a deacon, out of the Lord's seventy disciples. Stephen was an able and successful preacher. The principal persons belonging to five Jewish synagogues entered into many altercations with him; but he, by the goodness of his doctrine, and the strength of his arguments, overcame them all, which so much irritated them, that the Sanhedrin, which had authority to accuse him of blasphemy against God and Moses, being called before the council, he made a noble defence, but that so much exasperated his judges, that they resolved to condemn him. At this instant Stephen saw a vision from heaven of Jesus, in his glorified state, sitting at the right hand of God. This vision so greatly rejoiced him, that he exclaimed in raptures, "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God." They then condemned him, and having dragged him out of the city, stoned him to death. On the spot where he was martyred, Eudocia, the empress of the emperor Theodosius, erected a chorus church, to the memory of this holy man, which is annually celebrated on the 30th day of December.

The death of Stephen was succeeded by a severe persecution in Jerusalem, in which 2000 Christians, with Nicae the deacon, were martyred; and many others obliged to leave that country.

II. St. James the Great, a Galillean, was the son of Zebedee, a fisherman, the elder brother of St. John, and a relation to Christ himself; for his mother Salome was cousin-german to the Virgin Mary. Being one day with his father fishing in the sea of Galilee, he and his brother John, were called by our Saviour to become his disciples. They cheerfully obeyed the command, and leaving their father, followed Jesus. It is to be observed, that Christ placed a greater confidence in them, than in any other of the apostles, Peter excepted.

Christ called these brothers Boanerges, or the sons of thunder, on account of their fiery spirits, and impetuous temper.

When Herod Agrippa, was made governor of Judea by the emperor Caligula, he raised a persecution against the Christians, and particularly singled out James as an object of his vengeance.

When James was condemned to death, he showed such an incorruptible spirit, and constancy of mind, that his very accuser was struck with admiration, and became a convert to Christianity. This transition so enraged the
the people in power, that they likewise condemned him to death; when James the apostle, and his penitent accu-
er, were stoned on the same day, and with the same sword. These events took place on the year of Christ 44; and the 29th of July was fixed by the church for the commemoration of this saint's martyrdom.

About the same period, Timon and Parmenas, two of the seven deacons, suffered martyrdom; the former at Corinth, and the latter at Philippi, in Macedonia.

III. Sr. PHILIP. This apostle and martyr was born at Bethsaida, in Galilee, and was the first called by the name of Disciple. He was honoured with several important missions by Christ, and being deputed to preach in Upper Asia, laboured very diligently in his apostleship. He then travelled into Phrygia, and arri-
ing at Heliopolis, was greatly grieved to find the inha-
bitants so sunk in idolatry, as to worship a large serpent. St. Philip, however, converted many of them to Chris-
tianity, and even prepared the death of the serpent. This so enraged the magistrates, that they committed him to prison, had him severely flogged, and afterwards crucified. His friend, St. Bartholomew, found an opportunity of taking down the body, and burying it; for, when he was crucified, he suffered the same fate. His martyrdom happened eight years later that of St. James the Great, A.D. 52; and his name, together with that of St. James the Less, is commemorated on the 1st of May.

IV. Sr. MATTHEW. This evangelist, apostle, and martyr, was born at Nazareth in Galilee, but refi-
ded chiefly at Capernaum, on account of his business, which was that of a toll-gatherer, to collect tribute of such as had occasion to pass the sea of Galilee. On be-
ing called as a disciple, he immediately complied, and left everything, leaving his master. After the ascen-
d of his master, he continued preaching the gospel in Je-
uaea about nine years. Designing to leave Judea, in order to go and preach among the Gentiles, he wrote his gospel in Hebrew, for the use of the Jewish con-
verts; but it was afterwards translated into Greek by St. John the Less. Going to Ethiopia he ordained preachers, settled churches, and made many converts. He then proceeded to Parthia, where he had the fame fiscelles; but returning to Ethiopia, he was slain by a half-breed in the city of Nadabor, about the year of Christ 60; and his festal is kept by the church on the 25th day of September. He was inoffensive in his conduct, and in his mode of living remarkably temperate.

V. Sr. MARK. This evangelist and martyr was born of Jewish parents, of the tribe of Levi. It is imagined, that he was converted to Christianity by St. Peter, whom he served as an amanuensis, and whom he attended in all his travels. Being entreated by the con-
verts at Rome to commit to writing the admirable dif-
courages they had heard from St. Peter and himself: this request he complied with, and compiled his gospel ac-
cordingly, in the Greek language. He then went to Egypt, and continued a bishopric at Alexandria; after-
wards he proceeded to Libya, where he made many converts. Returning to Alexandria, some of the Egyp-
tians, exasperated at his success, determined on his death. To accomplish this they tied his feet, dragged him for several miles; he was thrown into a dungeon bruised as he was, in a dungeon all night, and the next day burned his body. This happened on the 25th of April, on which day the church commemorates his martyrdom. His bones were carefully gathered up by the Christians, decently interred, and afterwards removed to Venice, where he is confided as the tutelar saint, and patron of the state.

VI. Sr. JAMES THE LESS. This apostle and martyr was called fo, to distinguish him from St. James the Great. He was the son, by a first wife, of Joseph, the reputed father of Christ; he was, after the death of his bish-
on, elected bishop of Jerusalem; he wrote his general epistle to all Christians, and converts whatever, who pre-
fer a dangerous error then propagating, viz. that a faith in Christ was alone sufficient for salvation, as out good works are necessary. It was about the same time, given
enragad that St. Paul had escaped their fury, and
pealing to Rome, determined to wreak their venge-
on James, who was now ninety-four years of age; he
accordingly threw him down, beat, bruised, and then
had stones dashed on his brains, as a club, he was
used by fullers in dreading clothes. He was, how-
together with that of St. Philip, is kept on the 1st of

VII. Sr. MATTHIAS. This apostle and the first called to the apostleship after the death of Otho to
family the venerated place of Judas, who had betrayed
his master, and was likewise one of the seventy disi-
iples. He was martyred at Jerusalem, being flogged first
and then beheaded; and the 24th of February is allow-
ed for the celebration of his festival.

VIII. Sr. ANDREW. This apostle and the brother of St. Peter, and preached the gospel many Asiatic nations. Arriving at Edessa, the govern-
or of the country, named Egeas, threatened him with
hard for preaching against the idols there worshipping. St. Andrew perfiling in the propagation of the truth, was ordered into prison, the ends of which were twarney fixed in the ground. He politely told his accusers, that he would not preach the glory of the cross, had he feared to die.

And again, when they came to crucify him, he said that he was worthy to die for the cross, and not to die in it. He was crucified to the cross, and bared his body.

In this situation he continued two days, preaching the greater part of the time to the people; and expired on the 30th November, which is commemorated as his festival.

IX. Sr. PETER. This great apostle and martyr was born at Bethsaida in Galilee, being the son of a poor fisherman, who employment St. Peter himself followed. He was persuaded by his brother to turn fish-
man; when Christ gave him the name of Cephas, mean-
ing in the Syrian language, a rock. He was called the same time as his brother, to be an apostle; gave common proofs of his zeal for the service of Christ, and always appeared as the principal speaker amongst the apostles. He had, however the weakness to deny his master, after his apprehension, though he defended the time of their confinement, they believing it an assertion to the atrocioues of his crime.

After the death of Christ, the Jews still contend to persecute the Christians, and even went so far as to order several of the apostles, among whom was Peter, to be flogged. This punishment they bore with great
He was accordingly apprehended, and thrown into prison; but an angel of the Lord released him which so enraged Herod, that he ordered the centurion who guarded the dungeon in which he had been confined to be put to death. St. Peter after various adven-
tures, retired to Rome, where he dwelt till his last

These events, and confounded the magic of Simon, the magician, a great favourite of the emperor Nero: he likewise con-
verted to Christianity one of the confederates of that
march, which so exasperated the tyrant, that he ordered both St. Peter and St. Paul to be apprehended. It is

The death of the two saints is celebrated on the 29th of June, which day he, as well as Paul, suffered. His body
The Burning of the City of ROME by order of the Emperor Nero, while he was at the Conflagration from the top of the Tower of Scauraeum, playing on his Harp, while the City was in Flames, after which he had the Flame on the Christians, which was the first general Persecution.
taken down, embalmed, and buried in the vatican, during which time a great number of the faithful assembled in the church of the basilica of the apostles, where the body was laid to rest. Thus St. Peter, after his martyrdom, was exiled to Rome, where he died and was buried in the basilica of the apostles. His name is commemorated every year on April 29, his feast day.

St. Paul, the apostle and martyr, was a Jew of the tribe of Benjamin, born at Tarsus, in Cilicia. He was a monk and a great friend to the apostles. He was later imprisoned in Rome, where he died in 67 AD. His feast day is on the 29th of June.

St. Jude, the apostle and martyr, was martyred in Jerusalem. He was the brother of St. Thaddaeus, one of the twelve apostles. He was martyred in the year 67 AD. His feast day is on November 28.

St. Bartholomew, the apostle and martyr, was martyred in Jerusalem. He was martyred in the year 67 AD. His feast day is on July 24.

St. James, the apostle and martyr, was martyred in Jerusalem. He was the brother of St. John the Baptist. He was martyred in the year 67 AD. His feast day is on the 26th of January.

St. Andrew, the apostle and martyr, was martyred in Jerusalem. He was the brother of St. Peter. He was martyred in the year 67 AD. His feast day is on the 1st of November.

St. John, the apostle and martyr, was martyred in Jerusalem. He was the brother of St. James. He was martyred in the year 67 AD. His feast day is on the 27th of December.

St. Luke, the evangelist and martyr, was martyred in Jerusalem. He was a Roman citizen. He was martyred in the year 67 AD. His feast day is on the 18th of October.

St. Simon, the apostle and martyr, was martyred in Jerusalem. He was a Roman citizen. He was martyred in the year 67 AD. His feast day is on the 1st of November.

St. John, the apostle and martyr, was martyred in Jerusalem. He was a Roman citizen. He was martyred in the year 67 AD. His feast day is on the 28th of October.

St. Paul, the apostle and martyr, was martyred in Jerusalem. He was a Roman citizen. He was martyred in the year 67 AD. His feast day is on the 29th of June.

The first persecution in the primitive ages of the church, began with the crucifixion of St. Peter, who was martyred in Jerusalem. This event is commemorated every year on the 31st of June.

The first persecution of the church in the Roman Empire began in the year 67 AD, under the reign of Emperor Nero. This persecution was due to the spread of the Christian faith, which was considered a threat to the stability of the empire. Christians were arrested, imprisoned, and sometimes executed. This event is commemorated every year on the 16th of July.

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ERASTUS, the chamberlain of Corinth, was converted by St. Paul, and determined to follow the fortune of that apostle. For this reason he resigned his office, and accompanied St. Paul in his voyages and travels, till the latter left him in Macedonia, where he was first made bishop of that province by the Christsians; and afterwards suffered martyrdom, being tortured to death by the Pagans at Philippi.

ARISTARCHUS, the Macedonian, was born in Thessalonica, and being converted by St. Paul became his constant companion. He was with that apostle at Ephesus, during a commotion raised in that city by Demetrius the silversmith. They were both tried before the officer in the matter of the temple, which they bore with a true Christian patience, giving good advice in return for ill usage, and not in the least retracting any indignity put upon them.

Ariarchus accompanied St. Paul from Ephesus into Greece, where they were very successful in propagating the gospel, and bringing over many from ignorance to a saving knowledge, and from Pagan darkness to the glorious light of Christianity.

He who left Greece they traveled a great part of Asia, and made a considerable stay in Judaea, where they were for fourteen years. On his return to Jerusalem, he who had been a lawyer seemed to fly before them, and truth to diffuse it's rays wherever they came.

After this Ariarchus went with St. Paul to Rome, where he suffered the same fate as the apostle; for being feigned as a Christian, he was beheaded by the command of Nero.

TROPHIMUS, an Ephesian by birth, and a Gentile by religion, was converted by St. Paul to the Christian faith.

When converted he accompanied his master in his voyages and travels; and upon his account the Jews raised a great disturbance in the temple at Jerusalem, the last time St. Paul was in that city. They proceeded so far in their malice against the apostle, that they attempted to murder him, for having introduced a Greek into the temple; for Trophimus being a Greek, was looked upon by the Jews with detestation. Lyttas, the captain of the guard, however, intercepted his authority, and by force refused St. Paul from the hands of the Jews.

Upon quitting Jerusalem, Trophimus followed his master to Rome, and did him every essential service in his measures. He then attended him to Spain, and passing through Gaul, the apostle made him bishop of that province, and left him behind in the city of Arles.

He paid a visit to St. Paul in Asia about a twelvemonth after, and went with him, for the last time, to Rome, where he was witness to the martyrdom of his master; which was but the fore-runner of his own; for being soon after feigned on account of his faith, he was beheaded by the emperor Nero's express orders.

JOSEPH, commonly called BARSABAS, was a primitive disciple, and is usually deemed one of the Seven Sons of Sceva. He was, in some degree, related to our blest Redeemer, and became a candidate, together with Matthias, to fill the vacant place of Judas Hieriot, the traitor.

The gospel and ecclesiastical writers make very little other mention of him; but Papias informs us, that he was more compelled to drink poison, which did not do him the least injury, agreeable to the promise of the Lord to those who believe in him.

He was during his life a zealous preacher of the gospel; and having received many insults from the Jews, at length received the crown of martyrdom, being murdered by the Pagans in Judea.

ANANIAS, bishop of Damascus, is celebrated in the sacred writings for being the person who cured St. Paul of the blindness with which he was struck by the amnog lightnings which happened at his conversion.

He was one of the Seventy, and martyred in the city of Damascus. After his death a Christian church was erected over his place of burial, which is now converted into a Turkish mosque.

Particular Account of the Second Primitive Persecution, under the Emperor Domitian.

T he emperor Domitian, being naturally inclining to cruelty, first slew his brother, and then raised a second persecution against the Christians. His reason for this was that he had brought home to Rome some of the Roman senators who were crucified by Pilate; whereas it was known that the senators, who were their colleagues, had always treated the Jews in a friendly manner, and had been willing to bring about a reconciliation between the Jews and the Romans.

He then commanded all the Jews in the city to be taught by a bishop, and David to be put to death. Two Christians were brought before the emperor, and accused of being of the tribe of Judah, and line of David; but from their answers, they were acquitted of all charges brought against them.

He, however, for his lenity here, was determined to make more fierce upon other occasions: for he took such delight in the admiration and hatred of the Christians, that he banished many of them from the city.

In all which the numerous martyrs that fell during this persecution were Simon, bishop of Jerusalem; Nicodemus, one of the chief priests; and many others, who were put to death by the emperor, and not by the tribunate, to the great loss of the Christians.

There were a variety of fabricated tales during their reign, composed in order to injure the Christians, and make them the object of universal hatred. They were accused of insurrectionamong the populace, and of conspiracies, and of being instigators of sedition, and of having caused earthquakes, and of their religion, which was called the "new religion," and which was supposed to be the cause of all the evils that happened in the world.

Another hardship was, that when any Christian was brought before the magistrates, a tumult was raised when, if they refused to take it, death was promised against them; and if they confessed themselves to be Christians, the sentence was the same. The various laws which were passed against the Christians were severe, and the punishments were severe, and the number of those who suffered was immense.

Many indeed were torn piecemeal, with red mowers, and others were thrown upon the horses to build. After having suffered the cruelties, the fate of the deceased Christians was cut in the best features their poor remains.

The following were the most remarkable of the numerous martyrs who suffered during the persecution.

DIONUSIUS, the Areopagite, was an Athenian by birth, and educated in all the useful and ornamental sciences of Greece. He thus travelled to Egypt, to study astronomy, and made very particular observations of the great and supernatural eclipses, which happened during the time of our Saviour's crucifixion.

Upon his return to Athens, he was highly regarded by the people, and at length was promoted to the governor of that celebrated city. Becoming a Christian, he changed from the worthy Pagans, to the pious Christian fathers; for even in his later days he was always prominent in the church, and was a faithful and zealous laborer for the interests of the Church.

It is easy to be imagined, that a soul which had so much power and authority, and which was so] judiciously applied, must have been respected and loved by all who knew him. His death was a great loss to the Church, and his memory was preserved for all time to come.
The Manner in which IGNATIUS, Bishop of Antioch, was torn to pieces by WILD BEASTS by order of the Romans.
The Third Primitive Persecution.

The fanaticity of his conversation, and purity of his manners, recommended him so strongly to the Christians, in general, that he was appointed bishop of Athens. He delivered his duty with the utmost fidelity and zeal; and was the second martyr of this persecution, viz. A. D. 69, when he was apprehended, and received the crown of martyrdom, by being beheaded.

XICOMEDES, a Christian of some distinction at Rome, during the rage of Domitian's persecution, did not know how to serve the afflicted; comfort the poor, among those confined, exhorting the waiting, and confirming the faithful. For those and other pious actions he was feixed as a Christian, and being sentenced, was scourged to death.

PROTAUS and GERVAUS were martyred at Milan; but the particular circumstances of their deaths are not recorded.

TIMOTHY, the celebrated disciple of St. Paul, and bishop of Ephesus, was born at Lystra, in the province of Lycaonia, his father being a Gentile, and his mother a Jewess. But both his parents and his grandmother embraced Christianity, by which means young Timothy was taught the precepts of the gospel from infancy. After Paul's arrival at Lycaonia, he ordained Timothy, and then made him the companion of his pious labours. It appears, that while he attended the apostle, his real could be only equalled by his fidelity; for St. Paul mentions him with peculiar respect, and declares, he could find none so truly united to him, both in heart and mind, as Timothy. Indeed, the apostle, upon various occasions, speaks of him in the most affectionate terms, which is a sufficient proof of his great merit and evinces, that he was a disinterested and diligent servant of Christ.

Timothy attended St. Paul to Macedonia, and there accompanied, and laboured with avidity in the propagation of the gospel. When St. Paul went to Adana, Timothy was left behind to strengthen the faith of those already converted, or to induce others to quit the darkness of ignorance for the light of gospel-knowledge. St. Paul sent for Timothy to Athens, and then dispatched him to Thessalonica, to strengthen the suffering Christians there against the terrors of the persecution which then raged. As soon as Timothy arrived at the place of his destination, he did all that a zealous Christian could for the honor of his Redeemer. Having performed his mission, he returned to Thessalonica, and there affiliated St. Paul and Silas, in composing the two epistles to the Thessalonians. He then accompanied St. Paul to Corinth, Jerusalem, and Ephesus.

After performing several other commissions for St. Paul, and attending him upon various other journeys, the apostle constituted him bishop of Ephesus, though he was only thirty years of age; and in two admirable epistles gave him proper instructions for his conduct in his present charge.

Timothy was so very temperate in his living, that St. Paul recommended him for being so abstemious, and recom- mend him to the moderate use of wine to recruit his brain and spirits. St. Paul went to Timothy while he was in his last confinement at Rome to come to him; and, after that great apostle's martyrdom, he returned to Ephesus, where he nobly governed the church till A. D. 97. At this time the Pagans exhibited a feast called the Natale, composed of the principal ceremonies of which were, that the people should carry battons in their hands, go naked, and bear about the streets the images of their gods.

When Timothy met the procession, he severely reproved them for their ridiculous riotry, which so exasperated the people, that they fell upon him with their cudgels, and beat him in so dreadful a manner, that he expired of the bruises two days after.

Particular Account of the Third Primitive Persecution under the Roman Emperors.

UPON Nerva's succeeding Domitian, he gave a respite to the Christians; but reigning only thirteen months, his successor, Trajan, in the 10th year of his reign, and in A. D. 108, began the third persecution against the Christians. While the persecution raged, Plinius Secundus, a liberal philosopher, wrote to the emperor in favour of the Christians, to whom a young dwarf, returning this edifying answer, says: 'The Christians ought not to be fought after, but when brought before the magistracy, they should be punished.' Provoked by this abridgment, Petronius exclaimed in the following words, 'O confuted sentence! I would not have them fought, or as innocent, and yet not have them punished as guilty.' The emperor's incoherent answer, however, occasioned the persecution in some measure to abate, as his officers were uncertain if they carried it on with severity, how he might chuse to write his own meaning. Trajan, however, soon after wrote to Jerusalem, and gave orders to his officers to exterminate the flock of David; in consequence of which, all that could be found of that race were put to death.

SYMPHOROSA, a widow, and her seven fons were commanded by the emperor to sacrifice to the heathen deities. Upsetful of this refusal, and being an inhabitant of an impious resort called the emperor, in a rage, told her that for her obstinacy, herself and her sons should be slain, to appease the wrath of his offended deities: to which she answered, that if he murdered her and her children, the idols he adored would only be held in the greatest abomination and contempt.

Now the emperor, being greatly exasperated at this order, ordered her to be carried to the Temple of Hercules, where she was scourged, and hung up, for some time, by the hair of her head; then being taken down, a long cloth was fastened to her neck, and she was thrown into the Tiber river. The express orders of the emperor for she was not to be killed, they were fastened to seven poles, and she was tormented by pulleys, their limbs were dislocated; these tortures, not affecting their resolution, they were thus martyred; Crefentus, the elder, was flayed in the throat; Julian, the second, in the breast; Nemfius, the third, in the chest; Peterius, the fourth, in the navel; Justice, the fifth, in the back; Staceus, the sixth, in the side; and Eugenius, the youngest, was fawed afnder.

PHOCAS, bishop of Pontus, refusing to sacrifice to Neptune, was, by the immediate order of Trajan, cast into a hot lime-kiln, and being drawn from thence, was thrown into a scalding bath till he expired, and the emperor, confident of his power, was not satisfied with this, but ordered that his clothes, which were kept for his execution, should be thrown into a flame, that he might know that he was not respected. Trajan likewise commanded the martyrdom of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch. This holy man was the perfon whom, when an infant, Christ took into his arms, and shewed to his disciples, as one that would be a pattern of humility and innocence. He received the gospel afterwards from St. John the Evangelist, and was exceedingly zealous in his mission. He boldly vindicated the faith of Christ before the emperor, for which being cast into prison, he was tormented in a most cruel manner; for after being dreadfully scourged, he was compelled to hold fire in his hands, and at the same time, papers dipped in oil were put to his face, and fent on light. His flesh was then torn with red hot pincers, and at last he was dispatched by being torn to pieces by wild beasts.

Adrian having succeeded Trajan, he continued this third persecution with as much severity as his predecessor. About this time Alexander, bishop of Rome, with his two deacons, were martyred; as were Quirinus and Hermes, with their families; Zeno, a Roman nobleman, and about ten thousand other Christians.

Many were crucified in Mount Ararat, crowned with thorns, and spears run into their sides, in imitation of Christ's passion. Eutychius, a brave and successful Roman commander, was by the emperor ordered to join
in an idolatrous sacrifice, to celebrate some of his own victories; but his faith (being a Christian in his heart) was so much greater than his vanity, that he nobly refused it. Enraged at the denial, the ungrateful emperor forbade the services of this skilful commander, and ordered him to his head and his whole family to be martyred.

During the martyrdom of Paulinus and Jovita, brothers and citizens of Brescia, their torments were so many, and their patience so great, that Calvinius, a Pagan, beholding them, was struck with admiration, and exclaimed, as the heralds of the early church do, "Great is the God of the Christians!" for which he was apprehended, and suffered a fate similar to others.

Several other cruelties and rigours were exercised against the Christians, till Quadratus, bishop of Athens, made a learned apology in their favour before the emperor, who happened to be there; and Aristeus, a philosopher of the same city, wrote an elegant epistle, which caused Adrian to relax in his severity, and relent in their favour. He indeed went so far as to command, that no Christian should be punished on the score of religion or opinion only; but this gave other handles against them to the Jews and Pagan, for then they began to employ and labour false witnesses, to accuse them of crimes against the state, or civil authority.

Adrian dying in the year 158, was succeeded by Antoninus Pius, one of the most amiable monarchs that ever sat on the Roman throne; he was governed by Aristeus, which he justly deferred, viz. The Father of Virtues. Immediately upon his accession to the imperial throne he published an edict, forbidding any further persecutions against the Christians, and concluded it in these words: "If any hereafter shall vex or trouble the Christians, having been put forth about the matter, he shall be accursed and expelled, and the accusers be punished." This stopped the persecution, and the Christians enjoyed a respite from their sufferings during this emperor's reign, though their enemies took every occasion to do them what injuries they could in an underhand manner.

Antonius Pius was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Philopious, who, being a strong Pagan, began the fourth persecution, in which many Christians were martyred, particularly in several parts of Asia, and in France.

Justus was accused in this persecution, that many of the spectators floundered with horror at the sight, and were ascribed to the intrepidity of the sufferers. Some of the martyrs were obliged to pass with their already wounded feet, over thorns, nails, sharp shells, &c. with their points; others were covered till their faces and veins lay bare; and after suffering the most excruciating tortures that could be devised, they were destroyed by the most terrible deaths.

Germanicus, a young man, but true Christian, being delivcred to the wild beasts on account of his faith, behated not death without courage, that several Pagans became converts to a faith which inspired such fortitude. This enraged others so much, that they cried he merited death, as they did also of Polycarp, the pious and venerable bishop of Smyrna.

Polycarp, hearing that herons were about to apprehend him, escaped, but was discovered by a child. From this circumstance, and having dreamed that his bed suddenly became on fire, and was consumed in a moment, he concluded that it was God's will that he should feed his faith with martyrdom. He therefore would not attempt to make a second escape when he had an opportunity of doing so. Those who apprehended him were amazed at his serene countenance, and comely gravity. After fasting them, he defined an hour in prayer, which being allowed, he prayed with great frequency, that his guards reported they had been instruc-

mental in taking him. He was, however, carried before the proconfenl, condemned, and conducted to the market-place. Wood being provided, the holy man embraced the bagon, after being bound to the stake; and as the flames grew vehement, the tormentors gave up, and left him. In few mean time the bishop sung prayers to God in the midst of the flames, but remained unconquered therein, and the burning of the wood spreading a fragrance around, the guards were much putrified. Determined, however, put an end to his life, they struck spheres into his head, when the majority of blood only flung from the wound extinguished the flames. After considerable attempts, however, they put him to death, and burnt his body, when dead, not being able to consume it while alive. Twelve other Christians, who had been intimate with Polycarp, were soon after martyred.

Metrodorus, a minister, who preached both in the church and Pionius, who made some excellent apologues for the Christian faith, were likewise burnt. Caprus and Pegas, two worthy Christians, and Agathonias, a pious man, suffered martyrdom at Pergamopoliis, in Asia.

Felicitas, an illustrious Roman lady, of a considerate family, and the most shining virtue, of a devout Christian. She had seen two sons, whom she educated in the principles of religion, and had left them in the care of her husband about this time, grievously troubled by earthquakes, famine, inundations, &c. the Christians were accused as the cause, and Felicitas was accused in the accusation. The lady and her family being led, the emperor gave orders to Publius, the Roman governor, that he should not suffer it, he accused through the fons, whom he examined separately. They all, however, remained steadfast in their faith, and unanimous in their opinions, on which the whole body were ordered for execution.

Januarious, the elder, was scourged, and prefixed death with weights; Felix and Philip, the two next, in their brains dashed out with clubs; Silvanus, the bear, was murdered, and being thrown from a precipice, in the three younger sons, viz. Alexander, Vitalis, and Sabas; the emperor beheld with great delight, in order to murder him, the sufferer the same fate, and was beheaded with the same sword as the three latter.

Justin, the celebrated philosopher, fell in this persecution. He was a native of Samaria, and was born A. D. 109. He had education those times could afford, and travelled Egypt, the country where the polite tour of that was made for improvement. At Alexandria he composed of every thing relative to the sciences of the sacred writings, and the books of the philosophers, he formed. He was a born lover of truth, and an universal scholar; he investigated the Stoic and Peripatetic philosophy, he attempted the Pythagorean; but the behaviour of their professors disgusting him, he applied himself to the Platonick, in which he took the year 133, when he was thirty years of age, he converted to Christianity, and then for the first time perceived the real nature of truth.

Justin wrote an elegant epistle to the Gentiles, to covert them to the faith he had newly embraced, and his to introduce himself to so pure and innocent a manner of it was merit the title of a Christian philosopher.

This man likewise employed his talents in communicating the Jews of the truth of the Christian rites, and the great deal of time in travelling, till he took up residence in Rome, and fixed his habitation on the Via Lactea.

He kept a public school, taught many who sev-
God in their hearts; for they, falling prostate on the ground, prayed, not only for me, but for the army also which was with me, beseeching God to help me in that our extreme want of fresh and pure water (for we had been five days without water, and in our enemies land, even in the midst of Germany): I say, falling upon their knees in the midst of the army, and beholding the streets and immediately thereupon fell from heaven a most pleasant and cool shower; but amongst our enemies great flocks of hail, mixed with thunder and lightning: so that we soon perceived the invincible aid of the most mighty God to be with us; therefore we gave these men leave to profess Christianity, left, by their prayers, we be purified by the like: and I thereby make myself the author of all the evil that shall accrue by the perfecion of the Christian religion.

It appears, that the form which so miraculously flowered in the face of the Pagans, was sent to them, that part deferred to the Roman army, the rest were with safe defeated; and the revolted provinces were entirely recovered. This affair occasioned the persuasion to fulfill for some time, at least in those parts immediately subject to the impious invasion of the emperor: and we find that it soon after raged in France, particularly at Lyons, where the tyrants, to which many of the Christians were put, almost exceed the powers of description. The haughty, false accusations, taunts, threats, revilings, menacings, which were but forraees to all manner of punishments, tortures, and painful deaths; such as being banished, plundered, hanged, burnt, &c. and even the fervors and flames of opulent Christians were racked and tortured, to make them accuse their makers and employers. The following were the principal of these martyrs.

Vexius Agathus, a young man, who having boldly pleaded the Christian cause, was asked if he was a Christian? To which answering in the affirmative, he was condemned to death, and received the crown of martyrdom. Many, animated by this young man's intrepidity, boldly owned their faith, and suffered in like manner.

Blinditia, a Christian, but of a weak constitution, being feigned and tortured upon the account of her religion, received so much strength from heaven, that her torturers became tired frequently, and were surfeited at her being able to bear her torments for so great a length of time, and with such resolution.

Sanctus, a deacon of Vienna, was put to the torture, which he bore with great fortitude, and only cried, "I am a Christian." Red hot plates of braze were placed upon those parts of the body that were tenderest, which contradicted the fire; but he remaining inflexible, was re-conducted to the torture. Being brought out from his place of confinement a few days afterwards, his tormentors were astonished to find his wounds healed, and his person as perfect as before they tormented him: they, however, again proceeded to torture him; but not being able, at that time, to take away a life which was preserved, engaged him in a second sentence of torture, and cast him into prison, where he remained for some time after; and having had this respite, received, by being beheaded, the crown of martyrdom.

Biblia, a weak woman, had been an apostate, but having returned to the faith was martyred, and bore her sufferings with great patience. Attalus, of Bergama, was another sufferer; and Pothenus, the venerable bishop of Lyons, who was ninety years of age, was so unmercifully tried by the enraged Pagan mob, that he expired two days after, in the prison.

The Christians, upon those occasions, having received martyrdom, were ornamented, and crowned with garlands of flowers; for which they received eternal crowns of glory in heaven.

Various were the torments; and, exclusive of those already mentioned, the martyrs of Lyons were compelled
pelled to fit in red hot iron chairs till their flesh broiled. This was inflicted with peculiar severity on Sanctus already mentioned, and some others. Some were fewed up in nets, and thrown on the horns of wild bulls; and the carcasses of those who died in prison, previous to the appointed time of execution, were thrown to dogs.

The martyrs of Lyons, according to the best accounts we could obtain, who suffered for the gospel, were forty-eight in number, and their executions happened in the year of Christ 177. They all died with great fortitude and serenity of mind, evidently evincing, that they preferred it to a short and happy life, to the tyrannical fancies of one that was precarious, drenched with afflictions, and at best but short and transitory.

Others, besides the above martyrs of Lyons, who are usually enumerated together, suffered in that city, and in the different parts of the empire, soon after. Of these, the principal were as follows:

Epipodius and Alexander, celebrated for their great friendship, and their Christian union with each other, were born at Lyons, the latter in Greece; they were of mutual affluence to each other, and prepared themselves for receiving a crown of martyrdom in this world, and a crown of glory in the next, by the continual practice of all manner of Christian virtues and godliness.

At the time the persecution began first to rage at Lyons, they were in the prime of life, and to avoid the effects of its severities, they thought proper to withdraw to a neighbouring village. Here they were, for some time, concealed by a Christian widow, whose pious protection, we believe, gave a sanction to their concealment.

Being eminent persons, the malice of their persecutors sought after them with indefatigable industry, and pursu’d them to their place of concealment with unremitting avidity. Dragged from their retirement, they were committed to prison without examination; but their misfortunes did not oppress their spirits; for, shielded by the gospel, they were secure against the woe to which this life is exposed.

At the expiration of three days, being brought before the governor, they were examined in the presence of a crowd of Pagans. They confessed the divinity of Christ, when the governor began at what he termed their infidelity, absurdly said, “What signifies all the former executions, if some yet remain who dare acknowledge the God of the Jews?”

Being prevented, that they should not confide with, or forbid each other, he began to tamper with Epipodius, the youngest of the two. With a diffemid kindred, he pretended to pity his condition, and treated him not to ruin himself by obstinacy. “Our duties (continued he) are worshipped by the greater part of the people in the universe, and their rulers; we adore them with feasting and mirth, while you adore a crucified man; we honour them, launch into plagues; you, by your faith are necessitated from all that indulges the fenses. Our religion enjoins feasting, your’s fasting; our’s the joys of licentious blandishments, your’s the barren virtue of chastity. Can you expect protection from one, who could not secure himself from the persecutions of a contemptible people? Then quit a profession of such authority, and enjoy those gratifications which the world affords, and which your youthful years demand.”

In reply to this implicit harangue, Epipodius condemned his companion, as a heart full of faith could not want it. “Your pretended tendereness, said he, is actual exertion of weak and false lenity, for the sake of living with everlasting death. Christ suffered for us, that our pleasures should be immortal, and hast prepared for his followers an eternity of bliss. The frame of man being composed of two parts, body and soul; the flesh, as mean and perishable, should be rendered subservient to the interrells of the last. Your idolatrous feats can gratify the mortal, but they injure the immortal part, that cannot therefore be enjoying life, which defends the most valuable moiety of your frame. Your pleasures lead to eternal death, and our pains to perpetual happiness.”

Epipodius, for this manly and rational speech, was severely beaten, and then put to the rack, upon which being stretched, his limb was torn with iron hooks. Having borne this torment with incredible patience, and unhonoured fortitude, he was taken from the rack, and beheaded.

Alexander, the companion of Epipodius, was brought before the judge, two days after the execusions of that excellent young man. On his abjuration to renounce Christianness, he was placed upon the rack, and beat by three executioners, who relieved each other alternately. He bore his sufferings with as much composure as his friend had done, and at length received the conclusion of his glorious martyrdom, by being crucified. These martyrs suffered A.D. 179; 181, on the 20th of April, and the other in two days after.

Valerian and Marcellus, who were nearly related to each other, were imprisoned at Lyons, in the year 177, for being Christians. By some means, however, of which we are not informed, they made their escape, and travelled different roads.

The latter made several converts in the territories of Belmonch and Chalons, but being apprehended, was cast before Priscus, the governor of those parts.

Priscus, the magistrat, knowing Marcellus to be a Christian, ordered him to be fastened to some branches of a tree, which were drawn down for that purpose. Whereupon, when the tree was brought to the ground, and afterwards fixed up in the waist in the ground; in which position he expired, A.D. 179, after remaining three days.

Soon after, Valerian was apprehended, and, by the order of Priscus, was first brought to the rack, and then beheaded in the same year as his friend and relation Marcellus.

About the same time the following martyrs suffered, but no circumstantial or particular accounts of their deaths are at present conjectured.

Benignus, at Dijon; Speciuspus, and others at Langres; Androcles, Thyreus, and Felix, at Salern; Symvoriam and Florella, at Antun; Severinus, Felicia, and Exuperus, at Vienna; Cecilia, the virgin, at Sicily; and Thaureus, bishop of Phygris, at Syria.

The emperor Antoninus dying, was succeeded A.D. 180, by his son Commodus, who did not seem to copy his father in any particular. He had neither his virtues nor his vices; he was without his learning and morality, and, at the same time with incredible patience, and unshaken fortitude, he was taken from the rack, and beheaded.

In this reign Apolloinus, a Roman senator, became a martyr. This eminent person was, at once, filled in all the polite literature of those times, and as all the pure precepts taught by the blessed Redeemer. He was, indeed, a sincere Christian, and an accomplished gentleman.

This just person was accused by his own slave Severus, upon an unjust and contradictory, but unexplained charge, of the emperor Trajan’s. This inclement law
Placing "PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS" alive, and cutting out their Tongues during the 10th fiery Persecution.

S. LAWRENCE Burnt on a Gridiron by order of the Emperor Valerianus in the 8th Roman Persecution of the Christian Church.

Another mode of Torture inflicted on the Primitive Martyrs by the Emperor Diocletian. Tongue and foot being poured on the most tender parts while roasting.

Two Primitive Martyrs put into a Copper of Boiling Oil by order of the 2nd procuration of Epaphras during the Reign of Nero, A.D. 69.
condemned the accused to die, unless he recanted his opinions; and at the same time ordered the execution of the accuser for slander.

Apollonius upon this ridiculous statute was accused; for though his slave Severus knew he must die for the accusation, yet such was his obstinacy, and desire of fame, that he courted death in order to involve his master in the same destruction.

As the accused Apollonius refused to recant his opinions, he was, by order of his peers, the Roman senate, to whom he had appealed, condemned to be beheaded. The sentence was executed on the 18th day of April. A. D. 186, his accuser having previously had his legs broken, and been put to death.

Eutychus, Vincentius, Potentianus, and Pergrinus, for refusing to worship Commodus as Hercules, were likewise martyred.

Julius, a Roman senator, becoming a convert to Christianity, was ordered by the emperor, to sacrifice to him as Hercules. This Julius absolutely refused, and publicly professed himself a Christian. On this account, after remaining in prison a considerable time, he was in the year 192, purloined from his sentence, bequeath to death with cudgels. Virtue, whose essence is religion, supported him, however, to the last, and became a glorious martyr to the truth with fortitude and patience.

A full and particular Account of the Fifth General Persecution under the Roman Emperors.

T HE emperor Commodus dying in the year 192, was succeeded by the short-reigned Pertinax; and he was again succeeded by the still shorter-reigned Julianus. On the death of the last, Severus became emperor in the year 193.

When Severus was recovered from a severe fit of relapse by a Christian, he became a great favoer of Christians in general; and even permitted his son Caracalla to be nursed by a female Christian. Hence, during the reigns of the two emperors already mentioned, who successively succeeded Commodus, and some years of the latter's reign, the Christians had a respite of several years, and consequently suffered no persecution.

But at length the prejudice and fury of the ignorant multitude prevailed, and obdurate laws were revived, and put in execution against the Christians.

The Pagans were alarmed at the progress of Christianity, and they reviled the state calumny of placing accidental misfortunes to the account of its professed. Fire, sword, scourges, wild beasts, and cruel imprisonments, were now used; and even the dead bodies of Christians were torn from their graves with pagan prejudice, to be mangled by popular rage.

Yet, through perfecuting malice raged, the gospel hope with resplendent brightness; and, firm as an impenetrable rock, withstood the attacks of its boisterous enemies with success. Tertullian, who lived in this age, informs us, that if the Christians had collectively withdrawn themselves from the Roman territories, the empire would have been greatly depopulated.

Vibor, bishop of Rome, suffered martyrdom in the first year of the third century, viz. A. D. 204, though the circumstances are not ascertained.

Leonidas, the father of the celebrated Origen, was beheaded for being a Christian. Previous to the execution, the son, in order to encourage him, wrote to him in these remarkable words: "Beware, sir, that your fear for us does not make you change your resolution."

Many of Origen's brothers likewise suffered martyrdom; particularly two brothers, named Plautarchus, and Sereus: another Serenus, Heron, and Heraclides, were beheaded: Rhais had boiling pitch poured upon her head, and was then burnt, as was Marcella her mother.

Potamienus, the sifter of Rhais, was executed in the same manner as Rhais had been; but Baflides, an officer belonging to the army, and one ordered to attend her execution, became her convert.

When Baflides, as an officer, was required to take a certain oath, he refused, saying, that he could not swear by the Roman idols, as he was a Christian. Struck with surprise, the people could not, at first, believe what they heard; but he had no sooner confirmed the same, than he was dragged before the judge, committed to prison, and beheaded immediately afterwards.

Trenius, bishop of Lyons, was born in Greece, and received both a polite and a Christian education. It is generally supposed, that the account of the persecutions at Lyons was written by himself. He succeeded the martyr Podinius to bishop of Lyons, and ruled his diocese with great propriety: he was a zealous opposer of heresies in general, and wrote a celebrated treatise against heresy about A. D. 187.

Vitorio, the bishop of Rome, wanting to impose the mode of keeping Easter there, above all other places, it occasioned some disorders among the Christians. In particular, Trenius wrote him a synodical epistle, in the name of the Gallic churches. This zeal, in favour of Christianity, pointed him out as an object of resentment to the emperor; and he was accordingly beheaded A. D. 204.

Now the persecutions extending to Africa, many were martyred in that quarter of the globe; the most particular of whom we shall mention.

Perpetua, a married lady, of about twenty-two years of age, with a young child at her breast, was beheaded upon for being a Christian.

Her father, who tenderly loved her, went to confute with her during her confinement; and at the same time would have been persuaded to renounce Christianity. Perpetua, however, preferring all the reproofs due to a parent, maintained the character of a Christian.

This her resolution so much incensed her father, that he beat her unmercifully, and did not visit her for some days after. This gave her, and some others who were confined at the same time, an opportunity of being baptized, as they were only recently converted before.

When carried before the pro-confil Minusius, she was commanded to sacrifice to idols; but refusing, she was ordered to a dark dungeon. The gloom of this place was itself disagreeable, but the being deprived of her child increased the torture more for her. However, Tertius and Pompeianus, who had the care of persecuting Christians, procured her some few hours daily to breathe the fresh air, during which time she had the satisfaction of being allowed to suckle her child. Foreseeing, however, that the should not long be permitted to take care of it, the recommended it strongly to her mother's attention.

Perpetua's father paid her a second visit, and again besought her to renounce Christianity. His behaviour now was all paternal tenderness, and endeavoring humanity. If any thing worldly could have softened him, this would have been the case; but, thinking that Christ, she knew she must leave every thing for his sake; and she only said to him, "God's will must be done." With an heart almost bursting he left her, and only in tears found consolation.

Perpetua gave the strongest proofs of fortitude on her trial, through of a sex naturally timorous; and exhibited to her friends, as well as a great number of spectators, an amazing strength of mind.

At the same time the judge entreated her to consider her father's tears, her infant's helpless, and her own life: but, triumphing over the false sentiments of nature, he forgot the ideas of both mental and corporeal pain; and determined to sacrifice all the feelings of human infirmity, to that immortality offered by Christ. In vain did they attempt to persuade her, that their offer were gentle, and her own religion otherwise.

Perceiving
Perceiving that the mufi die, the father’s parentaltendernes returned, and in the fury of his anxiety, he attempted to cut off his daughter’s life; on which account he received a severe blow from one of the officers. Irritated at this, the daughter shewed that she had not lost all natural sentiments of filial duty; for she immediately declared, that she felt that blow more severely, than if she had received it herself. For being execrable to prifon, she remained for the day of execution, when several other persons were to be executed with her, of whom we must give an accoimt as follows:

Felicitas, a married Christian lady, was big with child at the time of her being apprehended. The procurator, when he examined her, begged that she would have some pity upon herself, and the child within her, and consider the condition she was in; but she replied, that she was thrown away, for no thought of self-preservation could ever induce her to favour any idolatrous terms. She was delivered in prison of a girl, which was adopted by a Christian woman as her own, and also brought up by her as such.

Revocatus was a Catechumen of Carthage, and a flave. The names of the other prisoners, who were to suffer upon this occasion, were Saturnus, Saturinus, and Secundus.

When the day appointed for the execution arrived, they were led to the amphitheatre, through decency, defied that they might be permitted to put on their clothes, which respect was refused. The bull made his first attack upon Petruita, and flamed her: he then attacked Felicitas, and wounded her much; but not killing them, the executioner did that office with a sword. Revocatus and Satur were delivered by wild beasts; Saturinus was beheaded; and Secundus died in prison. These executions were on the 8th day of March, A.D. 202.

Speratus, and twelve others, were likewise beheaded as a Cithole in France. Aferipodes, bishop of Aisios, suffered many tortures, but they spared his life.

Cecilia, a young lady of a good family in Rome, was married to a gentleman named Victor. Being a Christian herself, the love and faith of her husband caused her heart to embrace the same faith; and her conversion was speedily followed by that of Tiburtius his brother.

This information drew upon them all the vengeance of the civil magistrate: the two brothers were beheaded; and the maximus, or officer, who led them to execution, becoming their convert, suffered in like manner.

When the lady was apprehended, she was doomed to death; the manner of which was thus: she was placed naked in a leaden bath, and having continued there a considerable time, her head was bruck off with a sword, A.D. 252.

Calibus, bishop of Rome, was martyred A.D. 221; but the manner of his death is not recorded: and A.D. 239, Urban, bishop of Rome, met the same fate.

Agapeus, a boy of Prunlile, in Italy, who was only fifteen years of age, absolutely refusing to sacrifice to the idols, was severely flogged, and then hung up by the feet, and boiling water poured over him. He was wounded with wild beasts, and at last beheaded. The officer, named Aniokious, who superintended this execution, while it was performing, fell suddenly from his judicial seat, cried out that his bowels burnt him, and expired; feeling, miraculously, in this world, a sample of the torments due for cruelty in the next: while the martyr patiently suffered, in hopes of a glorious reward.

A full and particular Account of the Sixth General Persecution, under the Roman Emperors.

In A.D. 235, Maximinus being emperor, he raised persecution against the Christians. In Cappadoce, the presidet, Scurmenius, did all he could to extenuate the Christians from that kingdom.

A Roman soldier, refusing to wear a laurel crown bellowed upon him by the emperor, and confining him as a Christian, was scourged, imprisoned, and put to death afterwards.

Pontianus, bishop of Rome, for preaching against idolatry, was banished to Sardinia, and then destroyed.

Ateros, a Grecian, who succeeded the banished bishop in the see of Rome, gave so much offence to the government, by collecting the acts of the martyrs, that, after having held his dignity only four days, he suffered martyrdom himself.

Pammachus, a Roman senator, with his wife and other Christians, to the number of forty-two, were put to death on account of their religion, all beheaded in one day, and their heads set up on the city gates.

Simplicius, another senator, suffered martyrdom in a similar way.

Calepodius, a Christian minister, after being humanely treated, and barbarously dragged about in the streets, was thrown into the river Tyber with a stone felled about his neck.

Quiritius, a Roman nobleman, with his family at domiciles, were, on account of being all Christians, put to the most execrable tortures, and then to the most painful deaths. Thus this nobleman suffered the collection of his effects, poverty, revilings, imprisonment, scourging, tortures, and loss of his life, for the sake of his blessed Redeemer and Mediator.

Martin, a noble and beautiful virgin, likewise suffered martyrdom for the sake of Christ, being variously tortured, and afterwards beheaded.

Hippolitus, a Christian priest, was tied to a mill horse, and dragged through fields, by no places, but &c. till he died.

While this persecution, raised by Maximinus, killed millions of Christians, we re slain without trial, and hanged indiscriminately in heaps; sometimes fifty or a hundred being cast into a pit together, without the least decimation. When the tyrant Maximinus died, A.D. 238, he was succeeded by Gordian, during whose reign, all that of his succesor Philip, the church was free from persecution, for the space of more than ten years; but A.D. 249, a violent persecution broke out in Alexander. It is to be observed, however, that this was the infligitation of a pagan priest, without the emperor's knowledge.

The fury of the people being let loose against the Christians, the mob broke open their houses, stole over the prey of their property, destroyed the repel, and murdered the owners; the universal cry being, "Burn them, burn them; Kill them, kill them." The name of the martyrs (three excepted) and the particulars of their death are not yet recorded.

The three martyrs alluded to were as follows:

Metus, an aged and venerable Christian, relating to blaspheme his Saviour, was beaten with clubs, pricked with sharp reeds, and at length thrown to death.
Quieta, a Christian woman, being carried to the temple, and refusing to worship the idols there, was dragged by her feet over sharp flint stones, scourged with whips, and at last dispatched in the same manner as Mertus was.

Apolonia, an ancient maiden lady, confessing herself a Christian, was at first daunted out her teeth with their fingers, threatened to burn her alive. A fire was accordingly prepared for the purpose, and she fainted to a flake; but requesting to be unloosed, it was gained upon a supposition that she meant to recant, when to their great surprise, she immediately threw herself into the flames, and was there consumed, which plainly evinced that the contention of the fears of death, and cruel to a lasting future reward, for a temporary punishment in this world.

Afflicted particular Account of the Seventh General Persecution, under the Roman Emperors.

NOW Decius, being emperor of Rome, began a dreadful persecution against the Christians, A. D. 250. This was occasioned, partly by the hatred he bore his predecessor Philip, who was deemed a Christian, and partly to his jealousy concerning the amazing increase of Christianity; for the heathen temples were forsaken, and the Christian churches crowded. Pounded at this, Decius attempted the very extinction of the name of Christian; and it was unfortunate for the cause of the gospel, that many errors had, at this time, crept into the church; the Christians were at variance with each other; selfish interest divided them; social love ought to have united; and the absence of pride occasioned a variety of contentions. The heathens in general were ambitious to enforce the imperial decrees upon this occasion; and looked upon the murder of a Christian as a merit in themselves. The martyrs, upon this occasion, were immolated; but the principal we shall give some account of in rotation.

Fabian, the bishop of Rome, was the first person of distinction, who felt the severity of this persecution. The heathen emperor Philip had, on account of his integrity, committed his treasure to the care of this good man. But Decius, not finding much as his avarice had hoped, determined to wreak his vengeance upon a good prelate. He was accordingly feigned; and in the month of January, A. D. 250, suffered martyrdom, by losing his head.

Abdon and Sennen, two Persians, were feigned on stranger; but being found Christians, were put to death on account of their faith; and Mayles, a priest, crucified on the same account.

Filius, a native of Cilicia, as we are informed by Sulpicius, was feigned upon being a Christian; he was frequently tortured, but still remained inflexile; and though often brought from prison for execution, he again remanded, to be the object of greater torments. He, at length, was obliged to travel for twelve months together, from town to town, in order to expose to the inults of the ignorant people.

Perceiving all endeavours to make him recant his Christian faith, he was brought before his judge, crucified, and whipped in a most dreadful manner. He put into a leather bag, together with a number of arges and scorpions, and in that condition thrown into the sea.

Peter, a young man, amiable for the superior quality of his body and mind, was apprehended for being a Christian at the Holy Innocents, and carried before Optimus, pro-confus of Asia.

When commanded to sacrifice to Venus, he said, ‘I solemnised that you should with me to sacrifice an innocent woman, whose debaucheries even your own ancestors avowed, and whose life was of such rations, as your laws would punish. — No! I shall offer the true God the acceptable sacrifice of praise and prayer.’

When Optimus heard this he ordered the prisoner to be stretched upon a wheel, by which all his bones were broken in a shocking manner.

Now, notwithstanding, his torments inspired him with fresh courage; he blessed his tormentors, and esteemed, by the ferocity of his countenance, not to be DAVID. But to applaud his torturers for their sufferings.

As he asked the pro-confus, tired with tormenting him, ordered him to be beheaded; which command was immediately executed; and thus fell into the greatest agonies, dropped down upon the ground, and immediately expired.

Denis, a woman of only fifteen years of age, who beheld this terrible judgment, suddenly exclaimed; ‘O, unhappy wretch, why would you buy a moment’s ease, at the expense of eternal eternity?’ Optimus, hearing this, called to her, and asked if she was a Christian? She replied in the affirmative; and being commanded to sacrifice to the idols, refused to comply.

Enraged at her resolution, Optimus gave her up to torture, and made the object of her lust. Thence took her to her own home, and made many attempts upon her chastity, but without effect. At midnight they were deterred from further attempts by a frightful vision, which so amazed them, that they fell at the feet of Denis, and implored her prayers, that they might not feel the effects of divine vengeance for their brutality. This deliverance, however, did not soften the heart of Optimus; for the danel was beheaded soon after by his order.

Andrew and Paul, two companions of Nicholas and the martyr, on confessing themselves Christians, were beheaded. Accordingly, A. D. 251, they suffered martyrdom by flaying, and expired, calling on their blessed Redeemer and Mediator.

Alexander and Epimachus, of Alexandria, were supposed for being Christians, and confessing the crucifixion, were beat in chains, torn with books, and at length burnt in the fire; and we are informed, in a fragment preserved by Eusebius, that four female martyrs suffered on the same day, and at the same place, but not in the same manner; for these were beheaded.

Lucian and Marcian, two wicked Pagans, though skilful magicians, becoming converts to Christianity, to make amends for their former errors, lived the lives of hermits, and fulfilled upon bread and water only. After some time spent in this manner, they reflected that their lives were ineflicicuts, and determined to leave their solitude in order to bring others to Christianity. Purrant to this pious and laudable resolution they became zealous preachers, and made many converts. The persecution, however, rising at this time, they were feigned upon, and carried immediately before Sabinus, the governor of Bithynia. On being asked by what authority they took upon themselves to preach, Lucian answered, ‘That the laws of charity and humanity obliged all men to endeavour the conversion of their neighbours; and that they owed everything in their power to rescue them from the flames of the devil.’

Lucian having spoken in this manner, Marcian also said, that ‘Their conversion was by the same grace which was given to St. Paul, who, from a zealous persecutor of the church, became a preacher of the gospel.’
When the pro-confound found that he could not prevent them to renounce their faith, he condemned them to be burnt alive, which sentence was executed soon after.

Trypho and Respicius, two eminent men, were feasted as such victims in Jerusalem, and when they were soon after put to the rack, which they bore with admirable patience for three hours, and uttered the praises of the Almighty the whole time. They were then exposed naked to the severity of the open air, which benumbed all their limbs, as it was the very depth of the cold season. With denounced and confirmed, they remained there for a considerable time; and then the cruelities of their persecutors were again evinced. Their feet were pierced with nails; they were dragged through the streets, flogged, torn with iron hooks, tormented with torches, and at Clement, Agrippa, and possibly others. On the first day of Feb.

Agatha, a Sicilian lady, was not more remarkable for her personal and acquired endowments, than her piety; her beauty was such that Quintain, governor of Sicily, became enamoured of her, and made many attempts upon her virtue.

The government being reputed to be a great libertine, and a bigoted Pagan, the lady very differently thought proper to withdraw from two such dangerous enemies, as lust and peripetition. She accordingly retired from the town, but being discovered in her retreat, she was apprehended and brought to Carthage immediately.

Now finding herself in the power of an enemy, both to her soul and body, she recommended herself to the protection of the Almighty, and prayed for death, as a relief from her afflictions.

In order to gratify his passions with the greater con- veniency, the governor put the virtuous lady into the hands of Aphrodite, a very infamous and licentious woman. This wretch tried every artifice to win her to the desired prostitution; but found all her efforts were vain; for her chaste impenitence, and the well knew the virtue although she was exposed to every incitement by his means. Aphrodite, however, remained virtuous and uncorrupted, as her endeavours, who, enraged to be foiled in his designs, changed his lust into refinement. On her confessing that she was a Christian, he determined to gratify his revenge, since he could not have his own love.

Agreeable to his orders she was scourged, burnt with red hot irons, and torn with sharp hooks. Having borne these torments with admirable fortitude, she was next laid naked upon live coals, intermingled with glads, and then being carried back to prison, she there expired on the 5th of February, A. D. 251.

Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was burned, by order of Lucius, the governor of that place, who, nevertheless, exerted himself to obey the imperial mandate, perform the sacrifices, and save his venerable perforn from destruction; for he was now eighty-four years of age. The good prelate replied, that he would submit to any faith requisitions. But as he had long taught others to face their fate, that now he should only think of his own salvation and everlasting welfare.

When the governor found all his persuasions in vain, he pronounced sentence against the venerable Christian, in these words: "I order and appoint, that Cyril, who has lost his fences, and is a declared enemy of our gods, shall be burnt alive."

The good worthy prelate heard this sentence without emotion, walked cheerfully to the place of execution, and underwent his martyrdom with great composure.

The perfection was in no place more than in the island of Crete; for the governor being exceedingly active in executing the imperial decrees, that place blazed with the flames of many.

Cyprian, the saintly martyr, whose names have been transmitted to us, are as follow: Theodosius, Saturinus, and Evouros, were inhabitants of Gortyn, who had been grounded in their faith by Cyril, bishop of that city; and Eunichias, Zetecos, Clement, Agrippa, and Caius, were brought from different parts of the island on accusations relative to their professing Christianity.

When brought into court, they were commanded to sacrifice to Jupiter, which declining, the judge im- pressed them with the severest tortures imaginable. To these menaces they unanimously answered, "To the suffer, for the sake of the Supreme Being, would be their".

The judge's threats failing, he attempted to gain their veneration for the heathen deities, by diciating on their merits, and recounting some of their mythological histories. This gave the prisoners an opportunity of remarking on the absurdity of such fictions, and of provoking the multitude of paying adoration to ideal deities, and real images.

Provoked to hear his favourite idols ridiculed, the govern ordered them all to be put to the rack; the torture was effectual, as they suffocated with writhing.

They at length fulfilled the part of their tyrants. A. D. 251: being all beheaded at the first time.

Babylas, a Chriftian of a liberal education, became bishop of Antioch, A. D. 257, on the demise of Zoroaster, who died with an immitable zeal, and governed the church during the most contemptible times with admirable prudence.

The first misfortune which happened to Antioch during his reign, was the siege of it by Sapor, king of Persia, who having over-run all Syria, took and plundered the city, and left it in the most contemptible times with greater severity than the rest.

However, his cruelties were not lasting; for Ger- dian, the emperor, appearing at the head of a powerful army, Antioch was retaken, the Persians driven entirely out of Syria, purged into their own country, and several places in the Persian territories fell into the hands of the emperor.

On Gordian's death, in the reign of Decius, the emperor came to Antioch, where, having a definite visit on an affembly of Christians, Babylas opposed his coming. The emperor, who was anxious to let him come in. The emperor dissembled his anger at that time, but for his bishop, he sharply reprimanded him for his insolence, and then ordered him to sacrifice to the Pagan deities as an expiation for his seditious crime.

Having refused this, he was committed to prison, loaded with chains, treated with great severity, and then beheaded, together with three young men who had been his pupils.

When they went to the place of execution, the bishop exclaimed, "Behold me, and the children that the Lord hath given me. They were martyred, A. D. 257, and the chains worn by the bishop in prison were handed with him.

Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, about this time was called into prison on account of his religion, where he died through the severity of his confinement.

When Serapion was apprehended at Alexandria, he had bis bones broken, and was then thrown into a high loft, where he was killed by the fall.

Julius, an old man, lame with the gout, and Cen- nion, another Chriftian, were bound on the back- canals, severly scourged, and then thrown into the river, and not finding water, they were left till they were deemed to finish their sentence, they were ordered to be beheaded, as a punishment for entertaining fentiments of tenderness and lenity.

Macar, a Lybian Chriftian, was burned: Hemon, and Idoros, Egyptians; with Diophorus, a chris- tian, and Simeon, another Egy- ptian, were tried as a thief; but being acquitted, was accused of Chriftianity, which confessing, he was scourged, tortured, and finally burnt.

Peter, a Chriftian servant of an Egyptian nobleman, and magistrate, was run through with a pitch of his own matter, for refusing to sacrifice to idols; Ver- how, a youth of fifteen, was martyred in Italy; for forty virgins, at Antioch, after being imprisoned, were destroyed by fire.

Then the emperor Decius having erected a Pagan temple at Ephesus, in the year of our Lord 251, he made
Saturinus, Bishop of Toulouse fastened by the feet to the tail of a bull, and dragged down the steps of the temple, &c., by which his brains were dashed out.
having been bishop about six months, and beheaded March the 4th, A. D. 258. This bishop was succeeded d by Stephanus, a man of a fiery temper, who held the dignity a few years, and might probably have fallen a martyr, had not the emperor been murdered by his general Zenobia when a profound peace succeeded throughout the whole empire, and the persecution of course terminated.

Several of the errors which crept into the church at this time arose from placing human reason in competition with revelation; but the falsity of such arguments being proved by the most able divines, the opinions they had created vanished away like flars before the sun.

A full and particular Account of the Eighth General Persecution under the Roman Emperors.

MILIAN, the general, not being properly supported by the army, was slain, and Valerian elected to the empire.

This emperor, for the space of four years, governed with moderation, and treated the Christians with peculiar lenity and respect. But A. D. 257, an Egyptian magician, who was accused of a great iniquity, was beheaded, and he persuaded him to persecute the Christians.

Accordingly edicts were published, and the ungodly rage of ignorance and superstition was let loose against the Christians. The persecution began in the month of April, and continued for three years and six months.

Innumerable were the martyrs that fell in this persecution, and their tortures and deaths as various and painful. The most eminent martyrs were the following, though neither rank, sex, nor age met with respect. Rufina and Secundus were two beautiful and accomplished ladies, daughters of Allerius, a gentleman of eminence in Rome. Rufina, the elder, was defiled in marriage for Armentarius, a young nobleman; and Secundus, the younger, for Vercius, a person of rank and immense wealth.

These virtuous, at the time of the persecution’s commencing, were both Christians; but when danger appeared, to save their fortunes, they renounced their faith. They took great pains to persuade the ladies to do the same, but failed in their purpose. Rufina and Secundus, though too old to change their religious sentiments, were too diffident of their own strength to remain longer the objects of such solicitations; on which account they left the kingdom.

The lovers disappointed in their purpose, were base enough to inform against the ladies, who being apprehended as Christians, were brought before Junius Maximus, governor of Rome.

Now being inflexible to all remonstrances, and having passed through several tortures, they feasted their martyrdom with their blood, by being beheaded A. D. 257.

Stephen, bishop of Rome, was beheaded in the same year; and about that time Saturninus, bishop of Thoulouzé, was set upon and beheaded by the rabble at that place, for preventing as they alleged, their oracles from speaking. On refusing to sacrifice to the idols, he was treated with all the barbarous indignities imaginable, and then faltered by the feet to the tail of a bull. Upon a flagon given, the enraged animal was driven down the Reis of the temple, by which the worthy martyr’s brains were dash’d out. The small number of Christians in Thoulouzé had not courage sufficient to carry off the dead body, till two women conveyed it away, and deposited it in a deep ditch.

This martyr was of orthodox and worthy primitive Christian, and his virtues are to be firmly depended upon.

Stephen was succeeded by Sexius as bishop of Rome. He was suppos’d to have been a Greek by birth, or by extraction, and had for some time served in the capacity of a deacon under Stephen. His great fidelity, singular wisdom, and uncommon courage, distinguished him upon
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Rufina and Secundus were two beautiful and accomplished ladies, daughters of Allerius, a gentleman of eminence in Rome. Rufina, the elder, was deft in marriage for Armentarius, a young nobleman; and Secundus, the younger, for Verus, a person of rank and immense wealth.

These luters, at the time of the perfecution's commencing, were both Christians; but when danger appeared, to save their fortunes, they renounced their faith. They took great pains to persuade the ladies to do the same, but failed in their purpose. Rufina and Secundus, the luters, were execrated in the sight of the emperors, which they met with a repulse. In this instance Origen obtained an enlargement, and retiring to Tyrre, he remains till his death, which happened when he was in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

The emperor Gallus having concluded his wars, a peace broke out in the empire, facilitating to the Pagans were ordered by the emperor, and superstitiously bowed the knee to false gods.

On the Christians refusing to comply with these rites, they were charged with being the authors of the calamity.

Corinthus, the Christian bishop of Rome, was among those seized upon this occasion. He was first banished to Cerigo, Celei, Civita Vecchia, as it is now called, and after having lived there a short time, he was, on the 3d of September, A.D. 253, beheaded, after having been bishop fifteen months and ten days.

Celsus, who succeeded Corinthus as bishop of Rome, bishop of Thoulouse, was set upon and seized by the rattle of that place, for preventing as they alleged, their oracles from speaking. On refusing to sacrifice to the idols, he was treated with all the barbarous indignities imaginable, and then fastened by the feet to the tail of a bull. Upon a signal given, the enraged animal was driven down the steps of the temple, by which the worthy martyr's brains were dashed out. The small number of Christians in Thoulouse had not courage sufficient to come to his defence, till two wits were sent away to convey it away, and deposited it in a deep ditch. This martyr was a most orthodox and worthy primitive Christian, and his doctrines are to be firmly depended upon.

Stephen was succeeded by Sextus as bishop of Rome. He is supposed to have been a Greek by birth, or by extraction, and had for some time served in the capacity of a deacon under Stephen. His great fidelity, singular wisdom, and uncommon courage, distinguished him upon
upon many occasions; and the happy conclusion of a controversy with some heretics, is generally ascribed to his prudence.

Marcianus, who had the management of the Roman government in the year 458, procured an order from the emperor Valerian, to put to death all the Christian clergy in Rome.

The senate having testified their obedience to the imperial mandate, Sextus was one of the first who felt the severity of the referent. Cyprian tells us, that he was beheaded August 6, A. D. 258. We are likewise informed, that fix of the deacons suffered with him. Laurentius, generally called St. Laurence, the principal of the deacons, who taught and preached under Sextus, followed him to the place of execution; when Sextus predicted, that he should meet him in heaven three days after.

The fact of being pronounced upon this a certain indication of his own approaching martyrdom, at his return gathered together all the Christian poor, and distributed the treasures of the church, which had been committed to his care, among them; thinking the money could not be better disposed of, or left liable to fall into the hands of the Heathens.

Such liberality alarmed the perfecutors, who, seizing on him to make a discovery from whence it arose, and commanded him to give an immediate account to the emperor of such treasures.

Laurentius promised he would do this, but begged a short respite to put things in proper order; when three days being granted him, he was suffered to depart; whereupon, with great diligence, he collected together a great number of gold, silver, jewels, and spices, and repaired to the magistrate, preferring them to him, saying, "These are the true treasures of the church."

Provoked at the disappointment, and fancying the matter meant in ridicule, the governor ordered him to be immediately scourged. He was then beat with iron rods, set upon a wooden horse, and had his limbs dislocated.

He endured those torures with fortitude and perseverance; when he was ordered to be faselised to a large gridiron, with a flame under it, that his death might be the more tedious.

But his unflinching constancy during these trials, and ferocity of countenance, while under such excruciating torures, gave the spectators an exalted idea of the dignity and truth of the Christian religion, that many boasted of having been converted by his fame alone.

Having him, for some time, upon this burning bed, the martyr called out to the emperor, who was present, in a kind of poetical distich, made extempore, which may be translated thus:

"This fire enough is toasting,  
Then turn me, tyrant, and eat;  
And even, whether raw or roasted,  
I from the better meat."  

Accordingly the executioner turned him, and after having lain a considerable time longer, he had still strength and spirits sufficient left to triumph over the tyrant, by telling him, with great ferocity, that he was dead enough, and only wanted fryer up. He then lifted up his eyes to heaven, and with calmness yielded his spirit to the Almighty, on August 10, A. D. 258.

Romans, a forger, who attended the martyrdom of Laurentius, was one of the converts to his sufferings and fortitude; for he could not help feeling the greatest veneration for a God, who inspired his votaries with such courage, and rendered his martyrs emperor to all the cruelties of their enemies.

When the martyr Laurentius was remanded to prison, the brave Romans took that opportunity of fully inquiring into the nature of the Christian faith, and being entirely satisfied by Laurentius, became firmly a Christian, received his baptism from the captive, and seemed to have his mind impress'd with a lively idea of the kingdom of Christ; a kingdom ripe with eternal joys, and everlasting felicity.

Romanus's sudden change was soon known, when he was apprehended, scourged severely, and afterwards beheaded.

Hypolitus was another, who, for the same crime, was feigned in like manner, and suffered a similar fate.

The persecution raged in Africa with peculiar violence; many thousands received the crown of martyrdom, among whom the following were the most distinguished characters:

The patron of Carthage, was an eminent patrician, and a pious ornament of the church. The bounds and elegant of his genius was tempered by the solidity of judgment; and with all the accomplishments of a gentleman he blended the virtues of the Christian. His doctrines were orthodox and pure; his language refined and elegant; and his manners graceful and winning line, he was both the pious and polite preacher. He, indeed, an easy delivery, and polished manner, was not fire in every preacher, who would make an impet on the hearts of his audience. This was the praise of St. Paul, and this was the accomplishment of a

It is said, the latter was so perfectly a master of rules of rhetoric, and the precepts of logic, as to complete the practice of every orator. After the discovery that he was made professor of eloquence in his native city of Carthage, where he came to popular, and taught with such fecundity, by many of his students afterwards became inheritors of his doctrine of eloquence.

He was educated in his youth in the principles of Gentile, and having a confidant fortune, he had, in the very extravagance of splendour, and all the antiquity of pomp. Gorgeous in attire, luxurious in feeding, vain of a numerous retinue, and fond of every kind of amusements, he became remarkable to those who fancy him was born to gratify all his appetites, and die for pleasure only.

In or about the year 458, Celsius, a Christian mi ster of Carthage, became the happy instrument of a Christian's conversion; on which account, and for the great love that he always afterwards bore for the author of his conversion, he was termed Caeceleius Cyprian.

Before his baptism he studied the scriptures with care, and being struck with the beauties of the moral truths contained in them, he determined to become a Christian, and was encouraged to the same by his friends. After his baptism he held, distributed the money among the poor, dedicated himself in plain attire, and commenced a life of seclusion and solitude.

Soon after he was made a presbyter, and being gen erally admired for his virtues, and his works, on the death of Donatus, in A. D. 248, he was almost unanimously elected bishop of Carthage.

The care of Cyprian not only extended over Car thage, but to Numidia and Mauritania. In all his transations he took great care to ask the advice of the clergy, knowing, that unanimity alone could be service to the church: this being one of his maxims: "That the bishop was in the church, and the church the bishop; fo that unity can only be preserved by the concurrence between the pastor and his flock."

Cyprian was publicly proclaimed A. D. 250, by the emperor Decius, under the appellation of Caeceleius Cyprian, bishop of the Christians: and the universal of the Pagans was, "Cyprian to the lions, Cyprian to the beasts."

However, the bishop withdrew himself from the rest of the populace, and his effects were immediately con firmed theacon.

In his retirement he wrote thirty pious and elegant letters, in which he exhorts; but several fictions that were sown into the church gave him great uneasiness. The rigour of the persecution abating, he returned to Carthage, and did every thing in his power to expunge erroneous opinions and false doctrines.

A terrible plague breaking out at Carthage, it was, as usual, laid to the charge of the Christians; and the gilders
The NINTH PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION.

Here it is proper to take notice of thesingular but miserable fate of the emperor Valerian, who had so long and so terribly persecuted the Christians.

At length this tyrant, by a stratagem, was taken prisoner by Spichernus, emperor of Persia, who carried him into his own country, and there treated him with the most unexampled indignity, making him kneel down as the meanest slave, and trampling upon him as a footstool when he mounted his horse, saying, in a vaunting manner, "This postrate is a greater proof which way the victory went, than all the blood of the late Roman and Asiaticans can draw."

Having kept him, for the space of seven years, in this abject state of slavery, he at last cau ed his eyes to be put out, though he was then eighty-three years of age.

His desire of revenge being not yet satiated, he soon after ordered his body to be flayed alive, and rubbed with salt, under which torments he expired; and thus fell one of the most tyrannical emperors of Rome, and one of the greatest persecutors of the Christians.

Gallicius, the son of Valerian, succeeded him A.D. 260, and, during his reign, the empire suffered many commotions, particularly earthquakes, pestilence, inundations, insurrections, and invasions of barbarians.

Gallicius upon this reflecting, that when his father favoured the Christians he prospered, and that when he persecuted them he was unsuccessful, he determined to remove this guilt from the church, and make the church enjoy peace for some years. The chief of the few martyrs alluded to is as follows:

Maurus, a centurion, who being apprehended as a Christian, had but three hours allowed him to deliberate, whether he would forsake the church and become a martyr? Being wavering during this interval, a Christian prolate placed the gospel and a sword before him, and demanding which he would choose, Ma rus took the sword without hesitation.

Agapetus, with the governor, he made a noble confession of his faith, and was speedily after beheaded, in the year 262.

A full and particular Account of the NINTH General Persecution under the Roman Emperor.

A.D. 274, the emperor Aurelian commenced a persecution against the Christians; the principal sufferers are so many that we shall not mention them.

Felix, bishop of Rome. This prelate was advanced to the Roman see in 274. He was the first martyr to Aurelian's persecution, being beheaded in the same year on the 22nd of December.

Agapetus, a young gentleman, who sold his estate, and gave the proceeds to the poor, was feazed as a Christian, tortured, and then brought to Præneste, a city within a day's journey of Rome, where he was beheaded.

These are the only martyrs left upon record during this reign, as it was soon put a stop to by the emperor's being murdered by his own domestics, at Byzantium.

Aurelian was succeeded by Tacitus, who was followed by Probus, as the latter was by Carus: this emperor being killed by a thunder florn, his sons, Carnius and Numerian, succeeded him; and during all these reigns the church enjoyed peace.

Diocletian mounting the imperial throne, A.D. 284, at first shewed great favour to the Christians. In the year 286, he associated Maximian with him, in the empire; and the following Christians were put to death before any general persecution broke out: they were Ursus, the bishop of Rome, Felician and Primitus, two brothers. These Christians were feazed by an order from the imperial court: they owned themselves Christians, and were accordingly scourged, tortured, and finally beheaded.

Marcus and Marcellinus were twins, natives of Rome, and of the same family. But the former went away; the latter, but the tutes, to whom the education of the children were intrusted, brought them up as Christians. Being apprehended on account of their faith, they were severely tortured and then condemned to be beheaded. A relapse of a month was obtained for them by their 9S
friends, when their father, mother, and all their relations, attempted to bring them back to Paganism, but in vain. They were overcome by piety, and religion got the better of worldly feelings.

At last their constancy subdued their persuaders, and their parents and whole family became converts to a faith they had jut before fanatized. As a result of the two young men, was sent for by the prefect to give him an account of the successes of his endeavours. Appearing before the magistrate he confessed, that so far from having persuaded his sons to for sake the faith they had embraced, he became a Christian himself. Indeed, it was sorrowful to see the magistrate had overcome his surprise, and then resuming his discourse, he urged upon the young people the whole of this Christian race, which were accordingly maximized ordered them to poll, and having their feet pierced with nails. After remaining in this situation for a day and night, their sufferings were put an end to by thrutling lances through their bodies.

Zoe, the wife of the gaoler, who had the care of the before-mentioned martyrs, being greatly edified by their different conduct, and seeing that her husband was a Christian; this, as she was dumb with a pally, she could only express by gestures.

Lamenting her condition, they gave her full instructions in the faith, and told her to pray in her heart to God to relieve her from her discomfort. She complied with their request, and was at length relieved; for her paralytic disorder by degrees left her, and her speech returned again.

This enforced her belief, and confirmed her a Christian; and her husband, finding his instruction became a convert to Christianity, these conversions made a great noise, and the converts were soon apprehended. Zoe, was commanded to sacrifice to Mars, which refusing, she was hanged upon a tree, and a fire of straw lighted under her. When her body was taken down it was thrown into a river, with a large bome tied to it, in order to sink it.

Tibertius, a native of Rome, was defended from a family of rank and distinction. Being accused as a Christian, he was commanded either to sacrifice to idols, or have his house burned down. He chose the latter, and passed over them without damage, when Fabian puffed sentence upon him that he should be beheaded: which sentence was performed in the month of August, A. D. 286, and his body was afterwards buried by some pious Christians.

A most remarkable affair occurred in A. D. 286, a legion of soldiers, confining of 6666 men, contained none but Christians. This legion was called the Theban legion, because the men had been railed in the bass: they were quartered in the Eafl till the emperor Maximianus ordered them to march to Gaul, to afflict him against the rebels of Burgundy.

They passed the Alps into Gaul, under the command of Murarius, Candidus, and Exuperius, their worthy commanders, and at length joined the emperor.

About this time, Maximian ordered a general sacrifice, at which the whole army were to affix a likeness of Christ, and each soldier was to bring a little water of baptism. This they complied with, and the emperor ordered that they should also take oaths of allegiance, and swear, at the same time, to afflict him in the extirpation of Christianity in Gaul.

Terrified at these orders, each individual of the Theban legion refused to sign his name and put to the sword. To effect this Maximian, that he ordered the legion to be decimated, that is, every tenth man to be felled from the roll, and put to the sword.

Eke having been put into execution, those who remained alive were still inexcusable, when a second decimation took place, and every tenth man of those living were again put to the sword.

But this second severity made no more impression than the first had done; the soldiers preferred their faith, and their emperor, to the advice of their officers, drew up a remonstrance to the emperors, in which they told him, "that they were his subjects, and not his soldiers, but could not at the same time forget the Almighty; that they received their pay from him, and their existence; that their words (said they) are not contradictory to those of our common master; we shall always be ready to obey, as we have hitherto; but when the orders of our prince and those of the Almighty differ, we must always obey the latter. Our arms are devoted to the emperor's use, and shall be in the same manner devoted to the holy scriptures."

The emperor was furious at the audacity of the soldiers, and the皇上, and we cannot fail to obtain a full hearing of our cause, as we shall be able to show you the impunity with which our citizens are treated by the soldiers."

This might be presumed, a declaration like this, would have softened the emperor, but it had the contrary effect: for, enraged at their perseverance and unanimity, he commanded that the whole legion should be put to death, which was accordingly executed by the other troops, who cut them to pieces with their swords.

This inhuman affair happened on the 2d of September, A. D. 286; and such was the invariable custom of the Roman army, that they put only a few detachments, that had been drafted from the legion, and dispersed to Italy.

An old veteran soldier of another legion, whose name was Vitor, met the executioners of this bloody butchery. As they appeared rather merry, he inquired into the cause of their jocularity, and being informed of the general affair, he sharply reproved them for their barbarity. This excited their curiosity to ask him if he were of the same faith as those who had suffered? On answering in the affirmative, several of the soldiers fell upon him, and put him to death.

Alban, from whom St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, received its name, was the first British martyr. The island had received the gospel of Christ from Lucian, the first Christian king, but did not suffer by the act of persecution for many years after.

This man was originally a Roman, but being naturally of a very humane and tender disposition, he fled to a Christian ecclesiastical, named Amphibalus, when fort officers were in pursuit of him on account of his religion. The pious example, and edifying discourse of the refugee, made a great impression on the mind of Alban, he longed to become a member of a religion which charmed him, and to imitate what he admired.

The fugitive minister, happy in the opportunity, took great pains to instruct him; and, before his conversion, perfected Alban's conversion, which afforded him much satisfaction.

Alban now took a firm resolution to prefer the sentiments of a Christian, or to die the death of a martyr. The enemies of Amphibalus having intelligence of the place where he was lectured, came in the house of prayer, and put to the sword. This noble host defended of protecting his guee, and convert, changed clothes with him, in order to facilitate his escape; and when the soldiers came, offered himself up as the sacrifice to whom they were seeking. Being accordingly killed, not without an admirable example of Christian fortitude, and Amphibalus being absent, that officer determined to wreak all his vengeance upon Alba...
The TENTH PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION.

...the day in which the Terminalia were celebrated, and on which, as the Pagans boasted, they hoped to put a termination to Christianity and faith.

When the day appointed arrived, the persecution began in Nicomedia, on the morning of which the praetorians, in the heat of that midsummer day, were supplied with dainties and various kinds of wine. The emperor and the prefect of the praetorians, with a great number of officers and attendants, went to the Church of the Christians, having forced open the doors, they seized upon all the sacred books, and committed them to the flames.

The whole of this transaction was in the presence of Diocletian and Galerius, who not contented with burning the sacred books of the Church, leveled the edifice. This was followed by a severe edict commanding the destruction of all other Christian churches and books; and an order from this emperor to render Christians of all denominations outlaws, and consequently to make them incapable of holding any place of trust, profit, or dignity, or of obtaining any protection from the legal institutions of the realm.

An immediate martyrdom was the consequence of the publication of this edict; for a bold Christian not only tore it down from the place to which it was affixed, but executed the name of the emperor for his injustice and cruelty, and called down pagan vengeance upon his head; he was accordingly seized, very severely tortured, and then burnt alive.

After this, all the Christian prelates were apprehended, and impri"ved in a very cruel manner. Both Christians privately ordered the imperial palace to be set on fire, and thus the Christians might be charged as the incendiaries, and a plausible pretense given for carrying on the persecution with the greatest severity and rigour.

Now a general persecution was commanded, which occasioned various martyrdoms. Among others, a Christian, named Peter, was tortured, beheaded, and then burnt; several deacons and presbyters were seized upon, and executed by various means; and the bishop of Nicomedia, named Anthimus, was beheaded.

There was no distinction made of age, or sex; the name of a Christian was enough to expose him to the Pagans, that all fell indiscriminately to the sword of their enemies. Many houses were set on fire, and whole Christian families perished in the flames; and others had their heads fastened about their necks, and being tied together were driven into the sea. The persecution became general in all the Roman provinces, but this was sufficiently carried on in the East, and as it lasted ten years, it is impossible to ascertain the numbers martyred, or to enumerate the various modes of martyrdom: some were beheaded in Arabia; many devoured by wild beasts in Phœnicia; great numbers were broiled on gridirons in Syria; others had their skin stretched on a stake, and were left to expire in Cappadocia; and several in Mysopotamia were hung with their heads downwards over flowing fires, and suffocated.

A variety of tortures were used in Pontus, in particular, pins were thrust under the nails of the prisoners, melted lead was poured upon them; and various modes were adopted in tormenting the Christians, the inefficacy of which could be only equalled by the savage barbarities practiced in their execution.

In Egypt, the Christians were martyred by means of the four elements, four were buried alive in the earth, others were devoured by the mothers of the Nile, many were hung up in the air till they perished, and great numbers received their death by being thrown into large fires, &c. &c.

Scourges, racks, daggers, swords, poison, crookes, and famines of various parts to dispatch the Christians; and invention was exhausted in devising tortures against such as had no crime, but thinking differently from the vortaries of superition.

A city of Phrygia, confiding entirely of Christians, was surrounded by a number of Pagan soldiers to prevent any from escaping; who, letting it on fire, all the inhabitants perished in the flames. But though the sufferings of the Christians were many, their souls were triumphant: a perfect regeneration to the chalismens of heaven being one of the greatest Christian duties.
At last tired with slaughter, several governors of provinces represented to the imperial court, that "it was unfit to pollute the cities with the blood of the inhabitants, or to defame the government of the emperors with the death of so many subjects." Hence many were reprieved from execution, but though they did not put an end to death, as much as possible was done to render their lives miserable.

Many of the Christians had their ears cut off as marks of infamy, their noses flit, their right eyes put out, their limbs rendered useless by dreadful dislocations, and their flesh feared in conspicuous places with red hot irons.

Now it is necessary to particularize the most confi- guous perils, who laid down their lives in martyrdom during this bloody persecution.

Sebastian, a celebrated martyr, was born at Narbonne in Gaul, in the principles of Christiinity at Milan, and afterwards became an officer of the emperor's guard at Rome. He remained a true Christian in the midst of idolatry; unaltered by the splendors of a court, unaffected by evil examples, and uncontaminated by the hopes of preferment. Elected by the multitude, beloved by his equals, and admired by his inferiors, he lived happily, and kept his faith and place, till the rigor of the persecution deprived him of the latter, though not of the former. This hero was informed against, and betrayed to Fabian the Roman praetor, by Torquatus a pretended Christian; but being of a rank too considerable to be put to death without the emperor's express orders, Diocletian commissioned with the whole empire.

The emperor, on hearing the accusation, sent for Sebastian, and charged him with ingratitude by betraying the confidence reposed in him, and being an enemy to the gods of the empire and to himself.

To which the emperor replied, that his religion was a good, not a pernicious tendency, and that it did not stimulato him to any thing against the welfare of the empire in general, or the emperor in particular, and that the greatest proof he could give of his fidelity, was the praying to the only true God for the health and prosperity of his imperial person. Incensed at this reply, the emperor ordered him to be taken to a field near the city, termed the Campus Martius, and there to be shot to death with arrows; which sentence was accordingly executed.

A few persons were coming to the place of execution, in order to give his body burial, perceived signs of life in him, and immediately moving him to a place of security, they in a short time effected his recovery, and prepared him for a second martyrdom; for as soon as he was cured, he placed himself in the emperor's way as he was going to the temple. The unexpected appearance of a person suppos'd to be effectually dead, greatly astonished the emperor; nor did the words of the martyr fail surprize him; for he began with great levity to reprehend him for his various cruelties, and for his unreasonable prejudices against Christianity.

When Diocletian had overcome his surprize, he ordered Sebastian to be seized, carried to a place near the palace, and there to death; and that the Christians should not either use means again to recover, or bury his body, he ordered that it should be thrown into the common sewer. Nevertheless, a Christian lady, named Lucina, found means to remove it from the sewer, and bury it in the catacombs, or sepulchres of the dead. As soon as the Christians, upon mature consideration, thought it unlawful to bear arms under an heathen emperor. Their reasons were many and substan- tial; the principal were as follow: 1. That they were thereby frequently under the necessity of practising the Christian Sabbath. 2. That they were obliged, with the rest of the army, frequently to be present at idolatrous sacrifices, before the temples of idols. 3. That they were compelled to follow the imperial standards, which were dedicated to heathen deities, and bore their representations.

Such reasons induced many to refuse to serve in the imperial army, when called upon to do so, for the Roman constitution obliged all young men, of a certain stature, to make several campaigns.

Maximilian, the son of Fabius Victor, being prince of the Gallic province of Aquitania, was ordered by Dion, the pro-confus, to be measured, that he might be enlisted in the service. Maximilian, however, boldly declared himself a Christian, and consequently said to Dion, that he should either serve as a soldier, or be in disobedience. "Do as you please with me (replied Maximilian); behead me if you think proper; I am already a foiler of Christ, and cannot serve any other.

Dion, perceiving the inflexibility of the young man, commanded his father to use his authority over him, in order to persuade him to comply; but Victor only replied, "My son knows well what he has to do."

Dion again demanded of Maximilian, with anxiety, whether he was willing to accept the imperial offices, which had been conceded to receive eternally on the Altar. To which the young man replied, he had already received the mark of Christ. "Have you (exclaiming the pro-confus in a rage) then shall quickly send you to Christ." As soon as you please (answered Maximilian); but that in Christ I shal be justified.

The pro-confus then seeming to soften, reproved to him that it was a great pity he should be lost in the prime of his years. Maximilian replied, that he might die, but should not be lost; for though he left this world, his immortal soul would reside eternally on the Altar. On which the pro-confus pronounced this sentence upon him, "That for disobedience in refusing to bear arms, and for profiting the Christian faith, he should lose his head." This sentence he felt with great irrepressible, and exclaimed, with apparent rapture, "God be praised!"

When at the place of execution, he exhorted his that were Christians to remain; and said, such as not, to embrace a faith which led to eternal salvation.

Addressing his father then, with a cheerful countenance, he declared that the military habit inclined to his wearing, might be given to the executioner; and after taking leave of him, said, he hoped they should meet again in the other world, and be happy in eternity. He then received, at once, the fatal blade, and expired in the faith.

The worthy father beheld the execution with seeming fortitude, and saw the head of his heroic son fall from his body, without any visible emotions, but as if he was pleased to proceed from a conscious pleasure, in leaving the parent of one whole piety and courage, and did him to shewing an example for Christians to imitate in future ages.

Vitus, a Sicilian of a considerable family, was brought up a Christian; when his virtues increased, and his father, who suffered him to deplore all sufferings, and his faith was superior to the most dangerous perils and misfortunes.

Hylas, his father, who was a Pagan, finding that he had been instructed in the principles of Christianity by the wife who brought him up, did all his endeavours to bring him back to Paganism; but finding his efforts vain, he forgot all the feelings of a parent, and formed against his son to Valerian, governor of Sicily, who was very active in persecuting the Christians of that part of the world.

The young man, at the time of his apprehension, upon the information of his father, was little more than twelve years of age; Valerian therefore, on account of his tender age, thought to frighten him out of his faith. He was accordingly threatened with great abuse, and ordered to be very severely scourged.
Having received this punishment, the governor sent him back to his father, thinking that what he had suffered would certainly make him change his principles; but in this he was mistaken; and Hylas, finding his son inflexible, suffered himself to be taken under superscription, and determined to seek his fortune to the idols.

On hearing of his death, the emperor retired to Lucania, where being feasted, he was by order of Valerian put to death, June 14, A.D. 309; but we are not informed in what manner.

His name, Crecentia, which brought him up as a Christian, and thus to a position too exalted for him, were extinguished at the same time, but the man survived.

There was one Vitör, a Christian of a good family at Marcéille, in France, who spent a great part of the night in vilifying the all-fated, and confirming the weak; which power work he could not, confident with his own faith; for in his fortune he was in receiving the distresses of poor Christians, thinking that riches were useless unless subordinated to works of charity, and if otherwise employed, a bane to all professors.

At length, however, he was feasted by the emperor's order, and being carried before two praetors, they advised him to embrace Paganism, and not forfeit the prospect of his princely, on account of a dead man, as he called Christ. In answer to which he replied, "That he preferred the services of that dead man, who was in reality the Son of God, and was risen from the grave, to what he could receive from the emperor's favour: that he was a folder of Christ, and therefore would take care that the post he held under an earthly prince, should never interfere with his duty to the King of heaven; and that as for the gods, whole worship seemed to him, he could not think them any better than evil spirits."

Vitör was loaded with reproaches for this reply, but being a man of rank, he was sent to the emperor to receive his final sentence. When brought before him, the emperor, under the severest penalties, commanded him to invoke the Roman idols. On his absolute refusal to comply, Maximian ordered him to be bound, and dragged through the streets. During the execution of this order, he was treated by the enraged populace with all manner of cruelties and indignities.

Still remaining inflexible, his courage was deemed valiant, and Christian confidence called ill-grounded and irrational; and still he replied, "That the ready abolition of the disciples of Christ too easily suffered on that score, and the joy with which they met the most ignominious and painful deaths, were a sufficient proof of their assurance of the object of that sacrifice." And added, "That he was ready to give an example of what he professed in his own person.

When by the emperor's order stretched upon the rack, returned his eyes towards heaven, and prayed to God to endure him with patience; after which he underwent the tortures with most admirable fortitude. After the executioners were tired with inflicting torments on him, he was taken from the rack, and conveyed to a dungeon.

However, his confinement became a fortunate chance, for he converted the gaoler, named Alexic, Felician, and Longinus. This accident coming to the knowledge of the emperor, he ordered them immediately to be put to death, and the gaoler were beheaded accordingly.

Nov Vitör was again put to the rack, and executed with beating with stubs, and then again sent to the dungeon.

Being a third time examined concerning his religion, he persevered in his principles; a small altar was erected upon it, and he was commanded to offer sacrifice upon it immediately.

Fired with indignation at the request, he boldly stepped forward, and with his foot overthrew both altar and idol.

The emperor Maximian, who was present, was enraged at this, that he ordered the foot with which he had ascended the altar, to be immediately cut off; and Vitör was afterwards thrown into a mill, and stuffed with pieces of the stones thereof.

In some measure, this cruel sentence was put into execution; Vitör was thrown into the mill, but part of the apparatus breaking, he was drawn from it terribly bruised, and the emperor not having patience to tarry till it was finished, ordered his head to be struck off, which, A.D. 309, was executed.

While Maximian, governor of Cilicia, was at Tarus, three Christians were brought before him by Demetrius, a military officer. Tarachus being the eldest, and first, he was asked, according to the first addressed by Maximian, who asked him what he was? The prisoner replied, "A Christian." This reply offered no insult to the governor, he again made the same demand, and was answered in a similar manner. Hereupon the governor told him, that he ought to sacrifice to the god; as that was the condition of his promotion, riches, and honours; and that the emperor himself did not recommend to him now to perform: but to this Tarachus replied, that avarice was a sin, and gold itself an idol as abominable as any other; for it promoted frauds, treacheries, robberies, and murders; it induced men to deceive each other, by which in time they deceived themselves, and bribed the weak to their own eternal destruction.

As for promotion, he defined it not, as he could not in conscience accept of any place, office, or poll, which would subject him to pay adoration to idols; and with regard to riches, he defined no greater than the honourable title of Christian. As for the gods themselves being Pagan, he added with the firmness and self-esteemed and determined spirit, that they were superfluous deceits in adoring feeble gods, and evidently muffled by the machinations of the Devil himself.

For the white of this epoch, his jaws were ordered to be broken, which, when uttered the words should suffer for their suppos'd impiety. He was then stripped, scourged, loaded with chains, and thrown into a dismal dungeon, to remain there till the trials of the other two prisoners.

Then Probus was brought before Maximus, who, as usual, asked him what he was?

Undoubtedly the prisoner replied, the most valuable name he could boast of was that of a Christian; but that the usual appellation by which he was distinguished was Probus; that his father was a Thracian, and that himself was at Sida, in Pamphylia.

To this Maximus replied in the following words: "Your name of Christian will be of little service to you, be therefore guided by me; sacrifice to the gods, engage my friendship, and the favour of the emperor." But Probus nobly answered, "That as he had relinquished a considerable fortune to become a folder of Christ, it might be observed, that he neither cared for his friendship, or the favour of the emperor.

By the governor's order Probus was then scourged; and Demetrius, the officer, observing to him how his blood flowed, advised him to comply; but his only answer was, that the severest torments were agreeable to him. What? cries Maximus, does what he suffered in his master's dread to Probus rejoined, "That either he is badly befalown on one who refuses to worship idols, or what is worse, devils."

After being scourged on the back, he was then scourged on the body, which he suffered with as much intrepidity as before, till repeating the practice, the body bours, and lores blood, the more my soul will grow vigorous, and be a greater. He was then committed to jail, loaded with irons, and his hands and feet stretched upon the flocks.

Andronicus was next brought up for examination, when being asked the usual questions, he faid, he was a Christian, a native of Ephesus, and descended from one of the first families in that city. After a great deal of altercation, in which the governor was unsuccessful in endeavouring to dissuade him from his fate, he was ordered to be scourged, and the punishments similar to those of Probus were inflicted upon Andronicus.

Tarakus and Probus, and then after a time. Having been confined some days, the three prisoners were brought before Maximus again, who began first to reason with Tarachus, laying, that as old age was honoured from the supposition of it's being accompanied by wisdom, he hoped that what had already passed might, on deliberation, have caused a change of his sentiments.
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK OF MARTYRS.

femitations. Finding himself, however, mistaken, he ordered him to be tortured by various means; particularly, fire was placed in the palms of his hands; he was hung up by his feet, and smoked with wet straw; a mixture of herbs was poured into his molaris; and he was then again remanded to his dungeon.

Then Probus being called for, and asked if he would sacrifice, replied, "I come better prepared than before; for what I have already suffered, has only confirmed and strengthened my resolution. Employ your whole power upon me, and you will find, that neither you, nor your maffers, the emperors, nor the gods whom you serve, nor the Devil who is your father, shall oblige me to adore gods whom I know not."

Not attempting to converse with him on religious subjects; for having a flender education, he was proud of dwelling his talents; for those who know little are fond of talking much, and by mislaking falsity for reason, would gain deceive others as they do themselves. He launched forth into the most extravagant praises of the Pagan deities, and as he enumerated them, deified their respective powers, and separate virtues; and inferred, from what himself had laid, that such deities, possessed of such admirable qualities, ought to be worshiped. But Probus, overweighed with this chief objection is a plurality of deities, I will not your sacrifice to all of them; sacrifice only to Jupiter, the chief, the most powerful, and most invincible of our gods.

But Probus, confuting his arguments, turned his calumny into ridicule, and in particular said, "Shall I pay divine honours to Jupiter, to one who married his own sister to an infamous debauchee, as is even acknowledged by your own priests and poets." Provoked at this speech, the governor ordered him to be struck upon the mouth, and for uttering what he called blasphemy: his body was then scared with hot irons; he was put to the rack, and afterwards scourged; his head was then shaved, and hot coals placed upon the crown; and after all these torments, he was again sent to prison.

When Andronicus was again brought before Maximus, the latter attempted to deceive him, by pretending that Tarrachus and Probus had repented of their obstinacy, and owned the gods of the empire. To this the prisoner answered; "I lay not, O governor, such a weakness to the charge of those, who have appeared here before me in this cause, nor imagine it to be in your power to make my fixed resolution with arith speeches. I cannot believe that they have disbelieved the laws of their fathers, renounced their hopes in our God, and obeyed your orders. I am ever full short of them in faith and dependence upon our common Saviour: thus armed, I neither know your gods, nor fear your authority; fulfill your threats, execute your most fantastical inventions, and employ every cruel art in your power on me; I am prepared to bear it for the cause of Christ."

On account of this answer he was cruelly scourged, and his wounds were afterwards rubbed with salt. Being perfectly well again in a short time, the governor reproached the goather for having suffered some physician to attend him. The goather in his own defence, declared, that no person whatever had been near him, or the other prisoners, and that he would willingly forfeit his head if any allegation of the kind could be proved against him. Andronicus corroborated the testimony of the goather, and affirmed that the goather could not have been the most powerful of physicians, and the plant of grace the most sallitory of vegetables.

Afterwards, the three worthy Christians were brought to a third examination, when they retained their courage, and again tortured, and at length ordered for final execution.

When brought to the amphitheatre, several beasts were let loose upon them; but none of the animals, though hungry, would touch them. This so greatly irritated the governor, that he feared the beast he ordered to be a keeper, and ordered him to produce a beast that would execute the business for which he was wanted. The keeper then brought out a large bear, that had that day destroyed three men; but this voracious crea-
ture, and a fierce lioness, both refused to touch the prisoners.

Perceiving the design of destroying them by the means of cruel beasts ineffectual, Maximus ordered them to be slain by a fowrd, which was accordingly executed on the 1st of October, A. D. 309. They all declared themselves to be virtuous to their martyrdom, that as death was the common lot of all men, they wished to meet that for the sake of Christ. They instructed the governor to submit to the idolatrous mandate, and deny their faith to preserve their existence.

While confdring some of the recreant Christians in their condit, he was informed against the emperor, and the governor was about to show him to the tribunal, he boldly avouched himself a Christian, and said he was ready and willing to suffer any thing which he was pleased to inflict upon him for his confession.

When condemned for his faith, he was scourged, put to the rack, his body torn with hooks, his feet cut off, and his forehead pierced, his hands strapped, his cheeks frocket, and his hair plucked up by the roots. This cruelly mangled, he turned to the governor, and very calmly thanked him for what he had done, and for having opened to him so many mouths to preach the doctrine of Christianity; for, says he, every wound is a mouth to sing the praises of Jehovah.

The following circumstance, which happened upon this occasion, is related by Prudentius, and other writers.

Romans offered to stand to the decision of a young child, whole age must be free from malice, or any vice; and to put the truth of the Christians upon the left. Alcapedias (they add) accepted of the proposal, and agreed to put the merits of the cause to that issue; accordingly, a child of about seven years of age was called out of the crowd, and being asked whether he thought it to be true, that men ought to worship but one God in Christ, or to worship many gods? He answered, that certainly, whatsoever men affirm to be God, must he but one, and as this one is Christ, he must of necessity be God; for that there are many gods, concerning whom there are many mysteries, and this one god amazed at this, was highly enraged with the child, and calling him little villain, and young traitor, asked him who taught him that lefden? To which the child replied, "My mother, with whole milk I fed in this lefden, that I must believe in Christ." This is incensed the governor, that he ordered the infant to be horded and most feverly whipped; insomuch that the beholders could not refrain from tears, the mother of the child only excused, who child him for asking for a thought of water to be given him, charging him to thirst for that cup which the infants of Bethlehem had drank of, and binding him remember Isaac, who willingly offered his neck for the sacrifice to his father's fowrd. While the woman was giving her for this lefden, this child called the him and hadd from the crown of his head; his mother at the same time saying to him, "Though you suffer here, my child, you shall shortly be with him, who shall add thy naked head with a crown of eternal glory." Upon which the child smiled upon her and exclaimed, and I shall hope with many gods. Fortitude.

Romans soon after was ordered to be strangal, and the child to be beheaded; which sentences were executed on the 17th of November, A. D. 309.

Marcellinus was an ecclestate at Lyones; being apprised of the account of the remarkal on the 17th of October, he was ordered to be privately executed in the forest, and accordingly beheaded there.

Petra.
The TEN Thesis PERSECUTION. 

Peter, a Christian, apprehended for the same cause, was executed at the hands of the soldiery. At the period Smaragdus, Largus, and Cyriacus, deacons of the Christian church, were murdered; but the mode of their deaths is not specified by our authors.

Sallana, the niece of Caius, bishop of Rome, was professed. She was an emperor Diocletian to marry a noble pagan who was nearly related to him; but this noble lady refused the honour intended her, on account of her religion, which was that of a Christian, which so greatly enraged the emperor, that she was immediately afterwards beheaded. Diocletian, the high chamberlain of the household to Diocletian, was a Christian, and took great pains to convert him. In his religious labours, he was joined by Gorgonius, another Christian, and one belonging to the palace. As they soon had an opportunity of evincing, that worldly honours and temporary pleasures, were nothing when set in competition with the joys of immortality; for being informed against, they were first tortured and then strangled.

Crescens, an eunuch belonging to the emperor, was a Christian of singular modesty and humility. His humility caused him to undertake any menial office to serve the afflicted; and his benevolence occasioned him to serve whatever he professed, to those who needed assistance; convinced that man did not constitute happiness, and that what could give instructions which wealth could never bestow. Having been informed against as a Christian, and confining the charge, he was scourged till his flesh was torn in a most terrible manner; and then fag and vinegar were thrown upon the wounds to render them more grievous. Having endured these tortures with the utmost tranquillity, he was laid on a gridiron, and broiled over a fire until he expired in the greatest agony.

Cyprian, known by the title of the magician, to diffuse him from Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was a native of Antioch. He received a liberal education in the youth, and particularly applied himself to astrology; for which he travelled for improvement through Asia, Egypt, Greece, &c.

When he had finished his studies he settled near Babylon, and being skilled in the Chaldean mysteries, he employed his talents in endeavouring to draw women from chivalry and conjugal faith, and in perfecuting the Christians, and ridiculing Christianity.

He and Cyprian, in the course of time, acquainted with Julianus, a young lady, by whose birth, beauty, and accomplishments, rendered her the admiration of all who knew her.

Juliana had been educated in idolatry, but being converted to Christianity, she induced her father and mother to embrace the new faith, and with a remarkable, and her prudence in avoiding the natural conversion of men was extremely commendable.

A pagan gentleman falling in love with her, and not being able to obtain a favourable return to his advances, applied for assistance to Cyprian.

Cyprian undertook the design, but with a treacherous intent; for under the pretence of acting for his friend, he determined, if possible, to possess the lady himself. He sent this, he employed all his flilies, and effaced a species of formal contrivances; but his endeavours proved ineffectual, for he was finally convinced that a superior power protected her from his evil intentions.

His kinsmen reflections, on this account, awakened him to search into the truths of Christianity, and his researches were beneficial, that he denounced the errors of paganism, and espoused the excellency of which he could not fail to be affrighted.

Cyprian's repentance was truly sincere; he determined to reform his conduct, and to make every amends for the crimes he had committed. Eufemius, a youth, confirmed in him this resolution, prevented him from falling into despair for his past faults and wicked intentions.

Now Cyprian burn his books of astrology and magic, received baptism, and became animated with a powerful spirit of grace. The conversion of Cyprian had a great effect on the Pagans generally, who had addressed to Julianus, and he in a short time embraced Christianity in like manner.

During the persecution of Diocletian, Cyprian and Julianus were feigned upon as Christians, when the former was torn with pincers, and the latter clavified and after suffering other torments, both were decapitated.

Sergius was an officer in the Roman army, and attended the emperor Maximian into Syria. Being accused as a Christian, he was ordered to sacrifice to Jupiter. Refusing to perform any such unnatural command, he was stripped of his military habit, and, by way of derision, drenched in women's clothes. He then was forced to walk a considerable way with nails in his sandals, and had a conclusion put to his sufferings by being at last beheaded.

Bacchus, an officer of the same rank as Sergius, being apprehended at the same time, underwent similar sufferings, and was beheaded A. D. 309, on the same day.

A Spanish lady of a Christian family, named Eudoxia, who was remarkable in her youth for a faultless of temper and solidity of understanding, seldom found in the praiseworthy of juvenile years, was apprehended as a Christian. The magistrate attempted, by the mildest means, to bring her over to Paganism, but she answered him in a firm tone, and, not to suffer the Pagan deities with such aperity, that the judge, incensed at her behaviour, ordered her to be tortured.

Accordingly her sides were torn by hooks, and her breasts burnt in the most shocking manner, till the fire catching her head and face the expected, in December A. D. 309, by the violence of the flames.

The emperor Diocletian falling ill, in the year 304, the persecution was carried on by Galerius, and the governors of the several provinces, when many full victims to the infatuated zeal, or infatuate malice of the perfecutors; among whom the following perfecors are enumerated.

Vincent, a Spani of Cyprian, was brought up by Valerius, bishop of Saragossa, who, on account of his great merits, ordained him a deacon. When the persecution reached Spain, Dacian, the governor of Terragona, ordered Valerius the bishop, and Vincent the deacon, to be beheaded, loaded with iron, and imprisoned.

Some short time after Dacian examined them with great aperity, and threatened them with death, unless they recurred to the practices of their respective offices. Vincent undertook to speak for both, as Valerius had an impediment in his speech, delivered himself with great freedom, and avowed their full determination to perfect in the faith.

Hereupon, Dacian, in a rage at his freedom of speech, declared, that unless he immediately burnt incense to the gods he defied, he should fall a facricate to the contempt he expressed.

But the prisoners being firm in their resolutions, Valerius was banished, and the whole of Dacian's rage directed against Vincent, who was racked, had his limbs disarticulated, his flesh torn with hooks, and was laid on a gridiron, which had not only a fire placed under it, but spikes at the top, which run into his flesh. In this situation, while one side was broiling over the fire, the other was tormented with red hot irons, or falamanders; and then the flesh was thrown over the wounds.

All these torments neither destroying him nor changing his resolutions, he was remanded to prison, and confined in a small loftsome dark dungeon, which, to make it the more disagreeable, was filled with sharp flints, and pieces of molten glass. Orders were given not to suffer him to have any provisions whatever, and that the news of his death should be carried to Dacian as soon as known.

By the time the keepers thought him famished, they entered the dungeon, when, instead of feeding only a corpse as they expected, they beheld, to their great astonishment, Vincent at prayers, his wounds healed, and his body in tolerable health.
Now
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK OF MARTYRS.

Now this speedy recovery and preservation had such an effect upon the keepers, that it became the happy means of their conversion.

However, the impression was confined to the hardiness of his heart, and impenetrable to conviction, instead of being softened by these uncommon circumstances, was enraged at the triumph of Vincent over his cruelties; and gave order for new tortures to be prepared for him of so leve nature, as to make him sink under their weight.

But fortunately, his malice was again disappointed, for before the instruments could be prepared, God took him to himself, and he died with all the serenity of a good conscience, and as much calmness as if he had done quite the right thing.

The extreme hatred conceived by Dacian against Vincent did not conclude with his death, for he ordered that his body should be exposed in the open fields to the birds of prey; but they not offering to touch it, he commanded that it should be thrown into the river, which was done accordingly, A.D. 304, his death happening on the 23rd of January, in that year.

It was in this year the persecution of Diocletian began particularly to rage; when many Christians were put to cruel tortures, and the most painful and ignominious punishments inflicted upon them.

Saturninus, a priest of Albitema, a town of Africa, used to officiate in his clerical capacity, preach, and administer the sacrament to a society of Christians, who privately assembled in the house of Ovidius Felix: for the severity of the times was such, that they could not publicly perform their religious duties.

Having been informed against, Saturninus, with four of his children, and several other persons, were apprehended; and that their punishment might be the more wrongful and public, they were sent to Carthage, the capital of all Africa, where they were examined before Audlius, the pro-consul of that quarter of the globe.

Saturninus, on the examination, gave such spirited answers, and vindicated the Christian religion with such force of eloquence, as showed that he was worthy to preside over an assembly that professed a faith of purity and truth. Audlius, enraged at his superior arguments, which he could not confute, ordered him to be flung into the water more by putting to a variety of tortures, such as scourging, tearing his flesh with hooks, and having his eyes put out. After having been thus inhumanly tortured, he was remanded to prison, and there flared to death.

His four children notwithstanding they were variously tormented, remained ready in their faith, on which they were put to death, and then the other was confined, and were also flared to death in the same manner.

There were eight other Christians tortured on the same day as Saturninus, and much in the same manner. Two expired on the spot through the severity of their sufferings, and the other six died back to prison, were suffocated by means of the clovenfists of the prison.

Thelico, a pious Christian; Datius, a noble Roman senator; Victoria, a young lady of considerable family and fortune, with whom others of less consideration, had been all put to death in the town of Otricoli at Rome, where he was, tortured in a familiar manner, and perished by the same means; sealing their testimony with their lives, and receiving the glorious crown of martyrdom as a reward for their sufferings in this transitory life.

Three filters, Chitonio, Agapie, and Irene, were seised at Thebes, when Diocletian's persecution reached Greece. They had been educated in the Christian faith, but had taken great precautions not to be seised on that account, being, from the foresight of their natures, unwilling to meet the rage of the times.

They now removed to a place remote, where they could spend their hours in performing religious duties. Being, however, discovered and seised, they renounced their former timidity, blamed themselves for being so fearful, and begged of God to strengthen them against the great trial they had to undergo.

When Agape was examined before Dacianus, the governor, was asked whether she was disposed to comply with the laws of the land, and obey the mandates of the state, and she answered, If a Christian, she could not comply with any laws which recommended the worship of idols and devils; that her religion was fixed, and nothing should deter her from continuing in it to the last moment of her life.

Thus the Christian being thus examined, replied in the same manner as Agape had done, when the governor not being able to draw them from their faith, pronounced sentence of condemnation on them; praising to which they were burnt, and March 25, A.D. 304, to receive a crown of martyrdom in the flames.

And thus, his name was engraved upon the calendar of the holy government, who fancied that the death of her filters would have an effect upon her fears, and that the dread of similar sufferings would engage her to comply with his proposal. He therefore exhorted her to acknowledge the blessed deities, to sacrifice to them, to partake of the victual, and to deliver up her books relative to Christianity.

These propositions he heard with indignation, and positively refused to comply with any of them; the governor affirmed her. Who it was that persuaded her, at her filters, to keep those books and sufferings? She said, fearing that God who commanded her to love him to the last, for which reason she was resolved to submit to be burned alive rather than give them into the hands of her professed enemies.

When the governor found that he could not make more profit, he sentenced to death, as a mark of scorn, and to give the victual, which shameful order having been executed, she was burnt, April 1, A.D. 304, at the same place where her filters suffered before her.

One Agatho, a man of a pious turn of mind, of Cadice, Philippia, and Eutychia, were martyred in the same time; but the particulars have never been certified.

Alfo Marcellinus, bishop of Rome, who suffered in that See, was greatly perplexed during his persecution; and having strongly opposed paying any honours to Diocletian, who wished to extort them from the people, and to appear as a god, he was at last seized and committed to a dungeon.

Notwithstanding, his conduct was steady, his oratory immovable, and his patience great. He suffered martyrdom by a variety of tortures under the inhuman laws of the empire, but not inhaling of his foul till he expired with the prospect of those glorious rewards it would receive by his tortures suffered in the body.

Theodosius, a Dalmatian, kept an inn at Aga, being a Christian, and of a very humane disposition, bought a place of land belonging to the people, and a great part of his property to relieve the poor, he afflicted the sick in body, and converted the sick soul, so that he was in every capacity a true servant of Christ; his Redeemer.

Theocritus, the governor of these parts, whose cruelty could be equalled by nothing but his bigotry, received the mandate for persecuting the Christians with great satisfaction, and wrote the emperor word that he would do his utmost endeavours to root out Christians from every place where he had any power to support them, and the Pagans being to inform against, abuse, and persecute the Christians.

Great numbers were seised upon, and imprisoned, their goods were destroyed, and their cattle confiscated. Many fled into the woods, or retired to caves hidden amongst the thick forest, and as they could casually find, and others perished by mine. Indeed many were starved in the city, by means of the following singular stratagem: the governor gave fire order, that no provisions whatever should be exposed to sale in the market, that they might be compelled to eat what had been offered to the Devil, to refrain from food and perish. The latter dreadful alternate was chosen by many, who, to preserve the purity of their faith, heroically gave up their lives.

During these critical times, Theodosius did all the
Accordingly, these seven Chirilian women, whose names were Thekla, Phainume, Claudia, Alexandrina, Julitta, Euphrasia, and Matrona, were forced to the temple; but absolutely refusing to wash the idols, the governor was so enraged that he ordered them all to have their heads tied about their necks, and to be pulled into the water intended for the washing, in which they remained face down for a full three days.

A worthy Christian, of the name of Timothy, being carried before Urban, governor of Paletine, was sentenced to burn to death by a slow fire; which sentence was executed at Gaza, on the 19th day of April, A. D. 303.

Philip, bishop of Heraclea, had, in every act of his life, appeared as a good Chirilian; the chief of his disciples were Severus, a priest, and Hermes, a deacon; and these three did all in their power to promote the cause of Chirilianity. This worthy bishop was advised to fecect himself, in order to avoid the shame of persecution; but he reproved those who counselled him to do so, telling them that their merit would be enhanced by their sufferings, and that death had no terror for the virtuous. He therefore publicly performed his duty.

An officer named Arilomachus, being employed to fetch up the Pagan idols, was supplied with Pagans and most cruelly tortured, to make him confess the names of the church where he used to preach. Philip took upon himself to slay the door, and there exhorted people to patience, perseverance, and godliness.

Such exhortations, of course, caused him to be fecected and carried before the governor, who severely reprimanded him for his conduct, and threatened him with the fate of the Pagans. After many days of imprisonment, Philip was brought before the governor, A. D. 303, tortured, and then beheaded.

There was one Victor, a native of Ancyra, accused of being a Christian, on being accused of having spared his goods. When he was judged, he was seized upon, and committed to prison, his horse plundered, his family turned out, and his estate forfeited. When put to the rack, his resolution failed him, and he began to swear in his father, through the fear of the rack, that he had not made a full recantation, God punished him for his impious audacity; for his wounds mortified, and put an end to his life in a short time.

There were seven aged women of Ancyra, apprehended for their faith; they were examined before the judge, and on being found to have violated the Christian principles, reviled their belief, ridiculed their sentiments, and ordered them to be delivered over to some mean libertines, that their virtue might be abased: this done, one of the deaconesses, more bold and forward, prostrating to the mingled body of the women, exclaimed thus to the tribunal: "What do you, child, can you have on us, who are worn out with toil and infirmities? I am now more than three hundred years old, my companions are not much better; you may look on us as so rotten carcasses, hanging about the rope, for the governor after death refuses us burial; then lifting up her veil, she flew from her tears, and then went on: "You may say, I have a mother of nearly the same age as myself, this should give you some respect to us." The judge, though brave libertines, were so affected that they defiled, and immediately returned to their houses.

Now the governor, upon the failure of his design of procuring the death of the Pagans, was determined to compel them to worship the idols. Now, the Pagans, in the idolatrous rites of washing the goddesses Asclepius and Diana; for it is to be understood, that in Ancyra, it is an idolatrous lawfulness to wash the hands of the god Asclepius, and of Diana, that the washing was confirmed as a material part of the adoration of these idols.
but finding him as inflexible as the bishop, he committed them both to prison. Soon after this, the governor's time of ruling those parts being expired, a new governor named Julian arrived; but he was to the facts as a coal to a fire. For so is it in justice to consider the injustice of the laws.

Now Philip was dragged by the feet through the streets, severely scourged, and then brought again to the governor, who charged him with obstinate railnefs, in continuing disobedient to the imperial decrees; but he held his ground, "My parent behavior is not the effect of railnefs, but proceeds from my love and fear of God, who made the world, and who will judge the living and the dead, whole commands I dare not transgress. I have hitherto done my duty to the emperors, and am at present in conflict with the emperor, acting according to the doctrine of our Lord Christ, which bids us give both to Caesar and to God their due; but I am obliged to prefer heaven to earth, and to obey God rather than man."

On hearing this speech, the governor immediately paffed sentence on him to be burnt, which was executed accordingly, and the martyr expired, singing praises to God in the midst of the fire.

Likelwife Hermes, for behaving in a similar manner, and Severus, who had forrevered himself up in order to become a Christian, was delivered, met with the same fate. which were the effects of a diabolical zeal for the adoration of idols, and such the consequences of the blindnefs of Pagan idolatry.

We are informed by St. Ambrose, that Agricola, was a son of a family of very amiable disposition, that he ever gained the esteem and admiration of the Pagans. Being apprehended as a Christian, he was crucified in imitation of the death of our Saviour; and his body, together with the crosses, were burned at Bologna, in Italy, in one great fire.

Vitulus, the fervent convert of the above martyr, Agricola, was tried upon the same accusation as that of the latter, and being put to the torture, died under the hands of his tormentors, through the severity of his sufferings.

Carphoeeus, Victorius, Severus, and Severianus, were brethren, and all four employed in places of great trust and honour in the city of Rome. Having exclaimed against the worship of idols, they were apprehended, and were scourged, with the pinnabulce, or scourges, to the ends of which were fastened leaden balls. This punishment was exercised with such excess of cruelty, that the pious brothers fell martyrs to its severity.

A worthy Christian of Aquileia, named Chrysegonus, was beheaded by order of Dioclæian, for having inflicted Anathema, a young lady of that city in the Christian faith. This young lady was defended from an accusation of a notorious faffle family, by Flavia, who was a Christian, and dying while her daughter was an infant, the bequeathed her to the care of Chrysegonus, with a brief injunction to infall her in the principles of Christliarty. This Chrysegonus punctually performed; but the father, the young lady, who was a Pagan, gave her in marriage to a person of his own persuasion, named Publius, who was of a good family, but bad morals, and having spent his wife's and his own patrimony, he left the bathefnfs and infalhability of the Christian faith against him in each other. Ag, both receiving the crown of martyrdom with the greatest intrepidity and resolution.

A bishop of Affilium, named Sabinus, refusing an offer that refuselines to Jupiter, and pulling the idol from his hands cut off by the order of the governor of Illyricum. Florus commanded that he should be put to the torture, when finding her confiant in the faith, he ordered her to be burnt, which sentence was put in execution on December 29, A. D. 304. The event taking place about a month after the martyrdom of Chrysegonus,

her instructor as already mentioned.

On the same day, long before, two Christian women of Gaza, were martyred in that city. The former died under the hands of her tormentors, and the latter perished in prison of the wounds she had received when tortured.

Tibby, a deacon of Mauritania, and Maura his wife, had not been united together by the bands of wedlock above three weeks, when they were separated each other by the persecution.

Being apprehended as a Christian, Timothy was carried before Arrianus, the governor of Thessaly, before whom he defended his faith, and induced him to embrace the Pagan superstition.

Perceiving his endeavours vain, and knowing the governor had kept the history of the Holy Scriptures, the governor commanded him to deliver them up, that he might not forswear his faith. Concluding, "Har, children, I would sooner deliver them up without strength, than part from the word of God."
The governor being much incensed at this reply, ordered his symbols put out with red-hot irons, saying, "The books shall at least be useless to you, for you shall not see the sun." So great was his patience under the operation, the governor grew more exasperated; he, therefore, order, if possible, to overcome his fortune, ordered him to be hung up by the feet, with a weight tied to his neck, and a gag in his mouth.

This severity of treatment the worthy Christians derelved with the greatest courage. When some bondsman acquainted the governor that he had been formerly married to a wife, of whom he was extremely in love, and he told him that if she might clefs what menaces could not, and that assurance for his wife might prevail over that intrepid rage which could avail him to perform all the tortures with such ablation and fortitude.

When Maura was sent for, and promised some reward, with the life of her husband, if she would prevail upon him to sacrifice to the idols. This she fiercely attacked upon the principles of Maura: wall nature, wavering in her faith, tempted by a bribe, and impelled by an unbounded affection for her husband to consent to the torture.

When conducted to him, he assailed his confeder with all the persuasive language of real affection. When the gage was taken out of his mouth, in order to give him an opportunity of replying, instead of extending to his wife's entreaties, as they expected, greatly blamed her mistaken love, and declared his resolution of dying for the faith. The consequence was, that Maura repeated her importunities, the martyr, her husband, reproached her for folly, and charged her with weakness, that she returned to his way of thinking, and resolved to imitate his courage and fidelity, and either to accompany, or follow him to his death. Timothy advised her to repair her fault by declaring that resolution to the governor, by whose order she had undergone that shameful and dishonourable punishment. Maura, therefore, first, to comply with his advice, to undertake this dangerous and arduous task. However, being further strengthened by his horations, and the grace of God, she went to Arts and told him, that she was united to her husband's opinion as well as love, and was ready to undergo the most grievous pain in revenge for his late crime, in wishing to see him an apostate. After trying in vain to alter her resolution, the governor ordered her to be tortured, which was executed with great severity. After this, she was crucified, and afterwards was beheaded, each other. Ag, both receiving the crown of martyrdom with the greatest intrepidity and resolution.

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MARTYRDOM of JULIETTA
A Licencon, who was Racked to Death, and her Child bruised on the ground before her face by which the Brain was dashed out.
But young Cyriacus cried bitterly to get at his mother; when the governor observing the beauty, and being moved at the sight of the child, took him into his house, and endeavoured to pacify him. Nothing, however, could quiet Cyriacus; he still called upon the name of his mother, and at length, in imitation of her words, lifted up, “I am a Christian.” This innocent expression turned the governor’s compassion into rage; he took the man in the act, and then violently and cruelly struck him on the head, which fell into the pavement, dashed out its brains. Now the mother, who from the rack held the whole transfixion, thanked the Almighty that her child was gone before her; and she should be without any anxiety concerning his future, for no advantage could be taken of his tender years, to pervert his principles, and hinder him of his salvation.

To complete the execution, Julita had boiling pitch poured on her feet, her sides torn with hooks, and received the conclusion of her martyrdom, by being beheaded on April 16, A.D. 500.

Pantaleon, a native of Nicomedia, was taught most branches of human learning by his father, who was a Pagan, and the precepts of the gospel by his mother, who was a Christian. Applying to the study of medicine, he became eminent in the knowledge of physic, and in respect of time was the first physician to the emperor Galerius. The name of this man in Greek signifies 


Pantaleon, and the appellation well-suited his nature, for he was one of the most benevolent men living. He afflicted the poor, to the utmost of his fortune: and by the help of God he kept in perfect health, and the most alluring successes. However, his extraordinary and well-deserved reputation routed the jealousy of the Pagan physicians, who accused him to the emperor Galerius, finding him a Christian, which he had not before known, ordered him to be tortured, and then beheaded, on the evidence on July 27, A.D. 500, was accordingly executed.

Hermolaus, a venerable and pious Christian, of a great age, and an intimate acquaintance of Pantaleon’s, suffered martyrdom for his faith on the same day, and in the same manner as Pantaleon.

Julita, of Capadocia, was a lady of distinguished capacity, great virtue, and uncommon courage: she was martyred on account of a law-suit, of which Bafil, bishop of Cæcarea, gives an account to the following purport:

She had a troublesome law-suit with one of the principal men in Cæcarea, who was unjustly preficated of a considerable part of her estate, and had seized both her fountains and cattle. This oppressive usurper had found means to bribe the judges in his favour, and hired perfous to swear, that the land and goods in dispute were his property. Julita, supported by the judgements of her cause, thought she had nothing more to do but to give the magistrates a plain and an ingenious account of her title. When the cause came to be tried, the defendant, instead of supporting his claim, or giving any answer to the plaintiff’s plea, urged that the law would not suffer him to engage at that bar, but one of a different religion; so that he could not proceed in his defence, unless the lady, who was the plaintiff, renounced Christianiety.

The judge was too well instructed not to fecord the motion, and gave it as his opinion, that what he afflicted under was according to the laws of the empire. He then ordered an alter to be brought in, and some fire to be put on it, and incence to be prepared, and then told the parties, that if they expected, either of them, to enjoy any benefit of the laws, they must both of them offer incence to the fire.

The usurper, who was an heathen, immediately complied; but Julita made it appear, that her faith was much dearer to her than her goods, or even than life itself. “No, saith she, my affection to what is undoubtedly my own, shall never hinder me from facing my all, my life, my property, even than violate my fidelity to my God and Saviour.” This declaration greatly incensed the judge, but Julita went on with the same intrepidity, and thanked God for the
affaire the had of an eternal inheritance, while was with his own hands thereto, and was taken from her. The magistrates made several attempts to persuade her to renounce her faith, but was always answered her she was the servant of Christ, and as such she could not listen to his proposals without horror; upon this she was condemned to be burnt: which sentence was carried out.

Eutropius, secretary to the governor of Armenia, was thrown into a fiery furnace, for exhorting some Christians, who had been apprehended, to persevere in their faith. Aenetus and Eugenius, two of Eutropius's adherents, were burnt at Nicopolis; Mardarianus, another priest, expired under the hands of his torturers; and Orellus, a military officer, was broiled to death on a gridiron, for wearing a golden crook at his breast.

Theodore, a Syrian by birth, a soldier by profession, and a Christian by faith, set fire to the temple of Cybele, in Amasia, through an honest indignation at the idolatry in which he professed to believe; for which being apprehended, he was severely scourged, and February 18, A.D. 306, burnt to death.

Dorothea, a Christian of Cappadocia, was, by the governor's order, placed under the care of two women, who were ordered to subject her to the most cruel tortures; and she might be induced to follow their example. However, this lady's distresses had such an effect upon the two apostates, that they became re-converted, and were put to death for not succeeding. Soon after which, Dorothea herself was tortured, and then beheaded.

Pammachus, a native of Phrygia, but being made a Christian and brought to Rome, by his uncle, he there suffered martyrdom, being beheaded after the decease of his uncle, who died a natural death a little time before.

Cyrinus, Nazarius, Nabor, and Basilides, four worthy Christian officers at Rome, were thrown into prison for their faith, and being condemned, were scourged with rods of vine, and then beheaded.

Two Roman military officers, Nicander and Marcius, being Christians, were apprehended on account of their faith. As they were both men of great abilities in their profession, the populace were made to induce them to renounce Christianity; but the endeavours being found ineffectual, they were ordered to be beheaded. Crowds of people attended the execution, among whom were the wives of the two sufferers. The comfort of Nicander was a Christian, and encouraged him to adhere to his faith; for the wife of Marcius being a Pagan, entreated her husband to save himself, for the sake of her and her child. Marcius however reproved her for her idolatry and folly, but embraced her and the infant before the stroke was given. Nicander likewise took leave of his wife in that occasion to conform to the blind religion of their prince; but Marcius, who had been well instructed in the duties of his profession, expressed his de-

telation of those profane practices, by throwing at him his sword, and the character, he was a soldier of Christ, the eternal king. He then quitted his arms, and added, that from that moment he ceased to serve the emperor; and that he expressed his contempt of the gods of the empire, which were above them, by laying his sword behind his neck, as if to show that the imperial majesties impose the obligation of sacrificing to them and their gods, as a necessary condition of servitude. I here throw up my commission, and give up my army.

Maurius's behaviour and speeches occasioned no doubt his being beheaded, on a double account of his desertion from the army, and impiety against the emperor. He heard the sentence with resignation, and received the crown of martyrdom with great peace.

Caifian, secretary to the court which tried Sixtus, expelling his disapprobation of such levian exaltations, was ordered into captivity; when avowed himself a Christian, he met with the same fate, and suffered a similar martyrdom.

Quirinus, bishop of Siscia, being carried before the tribunal, the governor, was ordered to sacrifice to the gods, but behaved as if he had been a proselyte to the former emperors. To which he replied, "The emperor has offered his sacrifice to the deities, against the precept of God; to do this is to commit murder, which we cannot mean, because they are, in reality, nothing, whereas the power that I serve is everywhere, and without the secretaries, and am not a buffer to fill greater, that my example may show the women that God has committed to my care, the way to serve the common rewards of the martyrs, for he is the sovereign master, and founder of the universal."

For this speech he was ordered to be severely scourged. When under the hand of the executioner, the prisoner was urgent with him to sacrifice, and offered to make a sacrifice at the altar of Jupiter. He continued, he feared that I should make a sacrifice to the deities; and thus I am free from guilt, that my example may show the women that God has committed to my care, the way to serve the common rewards of the martyrs, for he is the sovereign master, and founder of the universal.

Perceiving his constancy, the governor feared him and ordered him to be heavily ironed; flattered himself, that the hardships of a gaol, and the weight of his chains, might overcome his resolutions.

But being deceived in his expectations, he was allowed a few hours of liberty, and of the governor of Parmon, to the Hungarians, who loaded him with chains, and carried him through the principal towns of the Danube, causing him to ridicule wherever he went.

At length arriving at Sabinia, and finding that Qui- rinus would not renounce his faith, he ordered him to be put into a gaol of Jupiter. His sentence was accordingly put into execution, and Quirinus, floating about for some time, expired in the most pious terms, concluding his admissions with this prayer: "I am no god of thing, O all-powerful Jesus! force to float a courte of rivers, or to cattle a man upon the water, as thou didst thy servant Peter. People, have already seen the proof of thy power in grant me now to lay down my life for thee, O God!"

Having pronounced these last words, he immediately sunk and died, June 4, A.D. 308; and his body afterwards taken up, and buried by some Christian.

There were five Egyptian Christians upon a hill their afflicted brethren in Cæsarea, who were apprehended and carried before Firmilian, the governor of the city. They were beheaded on the spot, and the name, and what they were, was answered by one, in the name of the ref, that they were Christians, and before the glorious city of Jerusalem, speaking allegory of the heavenly Jerusalem. The governor was at the answer, as he knew Vepalian, and his name was considered a town erected by Adrian upon the spot, was led Aldania: he therefore inquired more plen-
The Tenth Primitive Persecution.

More particularly concerning it. The Christian who had spoken against the ancient gods, again replied, and purifying the allegory, described with great force of imagination, the great beauty, riches, and strength of the place. Firmilian, still ministering by understanding his words in this allegorized sense, was dreadfully alarmed; for not thinking that a heavenly city was alluded to, he fancied that the Firmilians were strengthening and fortifying some other city, in order to revolt from their allegiance to the emperor. Full of this mistake, and enraged at the profane audacity which had so insulted his city, he hurriedly wrote to the emperor, and then beheaded; which sentence was executed A. D. 309, on the 16th of February.

Pamphilus, a native of Phencia, of a confederate family, was a man of such extensive learning, that he was called a second Origen. He was received into the body of Christ, and his name was inscribed in the church's library, and spent his time in the practice of every Christian virtue. He copied the greatest part of the works of Origen with his own hand, and, affiliated by Eusebius, gave a correct copy of the Old Testament, which had suffered greatly by the ignorance or negligence of former transcribers. He likewise gave public lectures on religious and literary subjects, in an academy which he had erected for that purpose, till the year 307, when he was apprehended, and carried before Urban, the governor of Palestine.

This governor, thinking that a man of his abilities could do no wrong to any party, did all he could to induce him to embrace Paganism. Finding his endeavours vain, he changed perforations into menaces, and from entreaties began to threaten him. Still Pamphilus maintained his resolution, whereupon he was ordered to be tortured severely, and then flogged. He had his eyes put out, and was delivered to death at Synagogue. Immediately after, Urban, having dispossessed the emperor, was displaced and beheaded; but another was appointed in his room, who was equally prejudiced against the professors of Christianity.

Pamphilus suffered martyrdom under the new governor by being beheaded together with Valens, a deacon of the church of Jerusalem; and Paul, a layman of Jamnia, in Palestine.

Porphyrius, the fervent of Pamphilus, was martyred by means of a fire blade, for only requesting leave to bury the body of his master and other martyrs who suffered.

Theodulus, a venerable and faithful servant to Firmilian, the governor, being accused as a professed of the Christian faith, confessed the charge, and was, by order of his cruel master, crucified, on February 17, A. D. 308; and, on the same day, Julian, a Cappadocian, a soldier.

Marcellus, bishop of Rome, being banished on account of his faith, fell a martyr to the miseries he suffered in exile, A. D. 310, on the 16th of January.

Peter, the sixteenth bishop of Alexandria, by order of Maximus Caesarius, who reigned in the East, was martyred November 26, A. D. 311.

Lucian, a learned and eloquent Syriac, was a man of so benevolent a temper, that he dispersed the greatest part of his fortune in charitable acts. Being advanced to the clerical character in Antioch, he became a true servant of Christ, and a zealous pillar of the church. Appointed, which was immediately put into execution, for the space of nine years, but to the rack, rolled upon sharp flints, nails, &c, and then being tortured to death, his body was thrown into the sea; but it was afterwards found on shore, and received Christian interment.

A Virgin of only thirteen years of age, of the name of Agatha, of Catania, was also a virgin, and at the time of a priest, suffered the same fate at Rome; and Eulamé, a bishop, was martyred in Campania. Cosmus and Damian, in Syria, were martyred in the name of Christ. Barbaba, a young lady, was martyred at Nico- medes. And even Serena, the empress of Diancian, was beheaded for being and avowing herself a Christian.

The Roman army, was first tormented, and then burnt; Menas, an Egyptian soldier, was beheaded; and Barnabas, a noble martyr, as we are informed by Sallustus, having endured the torments of the executioners, even to the very point of death, the tormentors at last brought him out, and flogged him with rods, and offered sacrifice to his idols, and put Frankenstein into his hand, which they lighted, imagining that the heat and force of the fire would oblige him toفئیا the burning incense on the altar, that they might thereby be assured that he had sacrificed; but in this they were disappointed, for they found that he was not moved, which appeared as if he had been covered with red hot embers, while he uttered this exclamation of the psalmist: "Blessed is the Lord my God, who teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight." After which he was regarded as one of the most illustrious of the Roman army. The Pagans having full authority to use the Christians as bad as they thought proper, flung up the doors of a church, in which a Christian congregation were assembled, and having set fire to the building, every person perished in the flames. Many were severely beaten with sticks, cords, furcours, rods, whips, &c.

However, Constanstus the Great determined to redress the grievances of the Christians, for which purpose he raised an army of 30,000 foot, and 8000 horse, with which he marched towards Rome, against Maxentius, the emperor. But previous to his entering upon this expedition he appointed his son, Constantine, to take charge of the city and the coast of the sea; to which it was necessary to have some superior being to confide in, besides his own strength; and at that time there were many deities in the world, he was flutious to learn which was the most worthy for him to fix upon as his protector, and tutelary guardian. He reflected on the fatal mischief which had been visited on Christ's people, and answered them in a manner so surpassing and miraculous, that Eusebius, who relates this history, acknowledges it would not have been credible, had he not received it from the emperor's own mouth, who publicly and solemnly ratified the truth upon his oath. The extraordinary are always the clearest.

"The army being advanced near Rome, and the emperor employed in his devout ejaculations on the 24th day of October, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when the fun was declining, there suddenly appeared to him a pillar of light in the heavens, in the form of a cross, and thereupon, giving this place to the soldiers, said, "YOU AND THE NATION." In this overcome, Constantius was greatly surprized at this strange fight, which was visible to the whole army, who equally wondered at it with himself. The officers and commanders, prompted by the augurs and auguries, or foetidiers, looked upon it as an impious omen, portending an unfortunate expedition; the emperor himself did not understand it, till at length our blest Saviour appeared to him in a vision, with the crofs in his hand, which he had fixed him in the day before, commanding him to make a royal standard, like that he had seen in the heavens, and cause it to be carried before the army. This place was the beginning of a victory, and the enjoin both of victory and safety.

Early the next morning, Constantius informed his friends and officers of what he had seen in the night, and ordering for proper workmen, fat down by them, and descried to them the form of the standard, which he then ordered them to make. He was overjoyed, and at last, in order to con siderly make it as after this manner: a long spear, placed over with gold, with a traverce piece at the top, in the form of a crofs, to which was fastened a four square purple banner, embroidered with gold, and befit with precious stones, which reflected an amazing light towards the sun. The Emperor ordered between his two sons: on the top of the shaft, above the crofs, a crown, overlaid with gold and jewels, within which was placed the sacred symbol, namely the two first letters of Jesus Christ. W
of Christ in Greek, X and P, struck one through the other: this device he afterwards bore not only upon his fields, but also upon his coins, many of which are still extant."

Afterwards engaging Maxentius, he defeated him, and entered the city of Rome in triumph. A law was now published in favour of the Christians, in which Lici-
nus joined with Constance, and a copy of it was sent to Maximus in the East. Maximus, who was a bigoted Pagan, greatly disliked the edit, but being afraid of Constance, did not openly avow his disapproval of it.

After Maximus invaded the territories of Lici-inus, but being defeated, he was so mortified, that he put an end to his life by poison.

Lici-nus, as before observed, was not a real Christian in his heart, but rather affected to appear as such, through the double consideration of his power; for even after publishing several edicts in favour of the Christians, he took occasion to put to death Blase, bishop of Sebaste, several bishops and priests of Egypt and Libya, who were cut to pieces, and thrown into the sea; and forty soldiers of the garrison of Sebaste, who suffered marty- rdom by fire, reduced to the same state. These things offending Constance the Great, he marched against Lici-nus, who was defeated by him, and after- wards flayed by his own soldiers.

St. George, the tutelar saint and patron of England, was born in Cappadocia, of Christian parents, who brought him up according to the tenets of the gospel.

His father dying when he was young, he traveled with his mother into Palestine, which was her native country. Here she claimed a patrimonial estate, which afterwards descended to her son. St. George being a young man, and of a great spirit, took up the profession of a soldier, and was made a tribune or colonel. In this post he exhibited great proofs of his courage, and was accord- ingly promoted in the army of the emperor Diocletian. During the persecution, St. George threw up his com- mand, went boldly to the senate-house, and avowed his being a Christian, taking occasion at the same time to remonstrate against Paganism, and point out the abil- ity of worshipping idols. This freedom of speech provoked the senate, that St. George was ordered to be tortured, which he underwent with great constancy, and without any change in his religious principles. He per- asered at his fortitude and resolution, he was hanged on the Post, and his head was cut off and carried back to the next day.

The calendar commemorates his martyrdom on the 3rd of April; many churches have been dedicated to him, and he is considered as the tutelar saint and patron of England. The order of the Garter, instituted by Edward the Third, is dedicated to the Holy Virgin, St. George, and St. Edward the Confessor.

This saint is represented on horseback, tir- ing at a dragon, which is only allegorical, and implies that he had conquered the devil, or the dragon, by his faith in Christanity, and his fortitude in adhering thereto.

C H A P. III.

Including a minute Account of the PERSECUTIONS of the CHRISTIANS in Persia under Sapor; the PERSECUTIONS under the Arian HERETICS; those under Julian the Apostle, the Goth, Vandals, Sc. and in various other Parts of the World.

A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS of the CHRISTIANS in Persia.

The holy gospel having spread itself into Persia, the Pagan priests were greatly alarmed, and dreaded the loss of that influence they had hitherto maintained over the people's minds and properties. Hence they thought it expedient to complain to the em- peror, that the Christians were enemies to the state, and held a dangerous faction with the Romans, the great enemies of Persia.

The emperor, who was naturally averse to Chris	itanity, hastily believed what was said against the Christians, and gave orders to persecute them in all parts of his empire. On account of these mandates many fell martyrs to the ignorance and ferocity of the Pagan, the sufferings of the most eminent of whom we shall here relate.

Simeon, archbishop of Seleucia, with many other ecclesias, to the number of an hundred and twenty-eight, were apprehended and accused of having betrayed the affairs of Persia to the Romans. Now the emperor being greatly exasperated against them, ordered Simeon to be brought before him. The worthy archbishop coming into his presence, boldly acknowledged his faith, and nobly defended the cause of Christanity. The emperor, being offended at his freedom, not only reproved him for it, but ordered him to kneel before him, as he had always heretofore done.

To this Simeon answered, "That before, having the free admittance to his presence, he did not venture to contend for the salvation of the country; but being now brought before him a prisoner, for the truth of his religion, and the sake of his God, it was not lawful for him to kneel, lest he should be thought to worship and to betray his faith, which he was fully resolved to defend with his last breath."

When the emperor told him that, if he did not kneel, he and all the Christians in his dominions, should be put to death; but Simeon rejected with disdain the proposal to kneel, and told him that he would abide the consequences. On this reply the emperor ordered him to be sent to prison till he had considered what punishment he should inflict.

Some short time after, Simeon, with his fellow-prisoners, were commanded to worship the sun, agreeable to the Pagan customs; but this they all unanimously refused. The emperor then threatened them to be beheaded, and they were accordingly executed.

An aged eunuch, named Uthzarades, who had been tutor to the emperor, and was in great estimation, court, on observing Simeon, the for-mentioned mart- tyr, leading to prison, fainted him. Simeon, however (as Uthzarades had formerly been a Christian, and turned an apostate from the faith to oblige the emperor), would not return his salute, but sharply reproved him for his appr- oach. This so affected the eunuch, that he burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Ah! woe is me! how shall I hereafter look upon my God, whom I have denied, when Simeon, my old companion and familiar acquaintance, is able to give me a gentle word, or to return my salute!"
three SISTERS of Simeon BISHOP of SEALENCE, in Persia, sawed into quarters which were hung up in different parts of the City.
The PERSECUTIONS of the CHRISTIANS in PERSEIA.

Hormidas, a Persian nobleman, on being convicted of proselyting Christianly, was ordered to attend the emperor's elephants naked. This ignominious task he performed for some time, when the emperor one day, looking out of his window and seeing the sight, commanded that where the elephants were kept, few Hormidas, and perceived that he was rudely tamed. Determining to try him once more, he gave orders that a flint should be put on him, and that he should be brought into his presence.

As soon as he came to the imperial throne, the emperor asked him if he would now deny Christ. On this question being put, Hormidas tore off his shirt, and said, "If you think I will deny my faith for the sake of a flint, take your gift again." The emperor, on hearing this explanation, banished him from Persia; and he died in exile.

Sucre, a Christian nobleman, refusing to deny Christ, had his wife taken from him, and given to one of the meanest of the emperor's slaves; and what added to his mortification was, that he was ordered to wait upon his wife and the flave, which at length broke his heart, and he died.

Theodore, a deacon, was imprisoned for the space of two years, and being released, was ordered not to preach the doctrine of Christ. Disregarding, however, the command, he set out to propagate the gospel of Christ; for which being feasted upon, he was cruelly tortured, by having sharp reeds thrust under his nails; and then a knotty branch of a tree was forced up his body, and he expired in the most execrating agony.

Bademus, a Christian of Meopotamia, gave away his fortune to the poor, and determined to devote his life to religious retirement. This inoffensive Christian, together with seven others, were feasted upon and cruelly tortured for being Christians, and above all for their charity. The seven Christians, who were apprehended with Bademus, received the crown of martyrdom, though the particular manner in which Bademus himself, after having been four months in prison, was brought to the place of execution, and beheaded by Narce, an apostate Christian, who was ordered to act as the executioner of this worthy man, in order to convince the emperor that he was sincere in the renunciation of the truth.

A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS under the Arian Heretics.

ARIUS, a native of Libya, and a priest of Alexandria, was the author of the Arian heresy, and in A.D. 318, began to publish his errors. He was condemned by the council of the Libyan and Egyptian bishops, and that sentence was confirmed by the council of Nica, A.D. 325. After the death of Constantine the Great, the Arians found means to ingratiate themselves into the favour of Constantius, his son and successor in the East; and hence a persecution was raised against the orthodox bishop and clergy. The celebrated Athanasius, and other bishops, were banished, and their feet were filled with riders.

Thirty bishops were martyred in Egypt and Libya, and many other Christians cruelly tormented; and, A.D. 336, George, the Arian bishop of Alexandria, under the authority of the emperor, began a persecution in that city, and its environs, and carried it on with the most injurious severity. He was afflicted in his diabolical malice by Cataphronius, governor of Egypt; Sebastian, general of the Egyptian forces; Faustinus, the treasurer; and a Roman officer, named Heraclius.

So great was this persecution, that the clergy were driven from Alexandria, where their churches were fluent, and the severities practised by the Arian heretics were as great as those that had been practised by the Pagan idolaters. If a man accused of being a Christian, made his escape, then his whole family were massacred, and his effects forfeited.

Now the orthodox Christians, being deprived of all places...
places of public worship in the city of Alexandria, used to perform their devotions in a defec test place at some distance from it. Assembling for this purpose on a Trinity Sunday, the Christians, who were in the street, were seized by the soldiery, which was on the watch, and were taken to their headquarters, where they were put to death. On this occasion several fell a sacrifice to the popular fury of the troops, and received the crown of martyrdom for no other offence than performing necessary acts of piety. The modes of cruelty were various and the degrees different; for they were beaten over their faces till all their features were disfigured; then they were lashed with twigs of palm trees newly cut, with such violence, that they expired under the blows, or by the mortification of the wounds.

Several, whose lives had been spared, were, however, banished to the deserts of Osiris, where they suffered unpeakable hardships; but their exile admitted of their indulgence of the most pious thoughts, and their forsworn were of a salutary nature.

Secundus, an orthodox priest, differing in point of doctrine from a prelate of the same name, the bishop, who had imbibed all the heretical opinions of Arianism, determined to put Secundus to death, for rejecting opinions which he had thought proper to embrace. Taking Secundus, who was a Catholic, and an Arian as himself, they fought out Secundus privately, and being unable to make him change his opinion, they fell upon and murdered him: when the holy martyr, just before he expired, called upon Christ to receive his soul, and to forgive his enemies. Disturbed at the cruelties exercised upon the orthodox Christians in Alexandria, the principal persecutors applied to the emperor for an order to banish them from Egypt and Libya, and to put their churches into possession of the Arians.

Having obtained the request, an order was sent for that purpose to Sebastian, the commander in chief of the Roman forces in those provinces.

When the general received the order, he signified the emperor's pleasure to all the fisah-governors and officers, and commanded, that the mandate should be immediately put into execution. Hence a great number of the clergy were seized, and imprisoned for examination; when it appeared that they adopted the opinions of Athanasius, an order was signed for their banishment into the most wild, uncultivated, and desert places. Thus were the orthodox clergy reduced to the laity, who were condemned to the mines, or compelled to work in the quarries. Some few indeed escaped to other countries, and several were weak enough to renounce their faith, in order to avoid the severities of the persecutors.

Paul, the bishop of Confinantine, was a Macedonian by birth, and was designd, from his birth, for a clerical life. When Alexander the predecessor of Paul was on his death bed, he was consulted by some of the clergy on the choice of a successor: when, as we are informed, he told them, * That if they were deterred to choose a person of an exemplary life, unexceptionable character, and thoroughly capable of instructing the people, Paul was the man; who, though young, had all the prudence and gravity of more advanced age; but if they rather have a person of a well-composed, happy frame, and worldly affairs, and fit for the conversation of a court, they might then choose Macedonius, who had all the proper qualifications." Macedonius was a deacon in the church of Confinantine, in which office he had spent many years, and gained great experience; and the dying prelate desired his advice, and was in a manner led by his wishes. Nevertheless the Arians, with their acclamations, gave out, that Alexander had bestowed great commendations on Macedonius for felicity, and had only given Paul the reputation of eloquence, and a capacity for business. Indeed, he was a master in the art of speaking and persuading; but the vexations of his life and sufferings sufficiently evinced the absurdity of their deeming him a man formed for the world; for, after some struggle, the orthodox carried their point, and Paul was consecrated accordingly. ever, Macedonius, being greatly offended at this, did his utmost to crown Paul, and very severely upon his moral character, gaining any belief, he dropped the charge, and said himself to Paul. This, however, was not with Eusebius of Nicomedia, who refused the consciences under two heads, which were as follows:

1. That he had led a disorderly life, being condemned.

2. That he had been placed in the fee tainule without the consent of the bishops of Asia and Heraclea, two metropolitans who had been confirmed upon that occasion.

Eusebius, to support these accusations, proved the emperor's authority, by representing, that Paul had been chosen during the absence of Confinantis, partial dignity had been inflicted. This he received, and Paul being deposed, Eusebius was in his stead.

Thus Paul having lost all his authority in the territories of Confinantis, in the West he was well received by the orthodox presbyters and bishops, and confirmed Athanasius, when he was held there, by Julius, the bishop of that see, being written by this council to the eastern Paul returned to Confinantine, but was not to his bishopric till the death of Eusebius. The however, constituting Macedonius their bishop, with the help of Confinantine, a kind of civil war ensued, in which many were slain.

Confinantis, the emperor, who was then at the hearing of these matters, laid the whole blame to Paul, and closed that he should be expelled Confinantine. Hermogenes, the officer who had the emperor's order, attempted in vain to execute; for the orthodox Christians resisted Paul, Hermogenes was killed in a few conseqently arose.

Now this transgression greatly exasperated the who left Antioch, though in the depth of in immediately returned to Confinantine, with to punish the Christians severely. But the million and enticences frustrated him, and the other provinces.

Hereupon Paul retired again to the territoriary, where the protection of that emperor, his intercession, was again vailed in his fee oats, we are informed, that his re-legal did not inform his monarch, who was at Confinantine, and who was conlandly employed, both in secret and open against his life, against which the affections of were his only security; and being convin the emperor had no other motive for allowing at Confinantine, but the dread of disobliging such, Paul could not think himself wholly to his bishopric, while things were in this state being very much concerned at what the orthodox suffered from the power and malice of the Arians joined Athanasius, who was then in Italy, in a general council. There a council was held at Sarica, in the year 347, at which were present bishops of the western, and seventy-nine eastern empire. But against the people of Confinantine, the East retired to Philipopolis, and took the city of Confinantine. From which place they pretend ed an excommunication against Julius, bishop Paul, bishop of Confinantine; Athanasius, and several other bishops.

The emperor Confinantis died, A.D. 350, the vigorous and courageous, so that he proceeded to the emperor Confinantis, who being an his heart, wrote an order to the prefect Philip move Paul from the bishopric of Confinantine banish him again, to retire Macedonius.
The PERSECUTIONS of the CHRISTIANS under JULIAN the APOSTATE.

The persecution was more dangerous than ever before. The emperor Julian aimed to make the foundations of Christianity, instead of attacking the superstition; and under the mark of eunuchry, practiced greatest cruelty in withholding many thousands of their true children.

Thus the Christian faith was in more danger of being exterminated than ever had been before, by the means of

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perfidious; who, at first, made his attempts, not by the means of free, forcible, and positive, but by flattering gifts, and favours; not by using racks and tortures, but by bewitching the minds and dignities; and then, by prohibiting Christian schools, he compelled the children of the gospel either to become idolators or remain illiterate.

Among other methods taken by Julian were, to order that Christians might be created coldly upon all occasions, and in all parts of the empire, and to employ several witty persons to turn them, and their principles, into ridicule. Many were likewise martyred in his reign; for though he did not publicly persecute them himself, he connived at their being murdered by his governors and officers. He added to all this, he afflicted them for their murders, he never offered to punish them for their delinquency. We shall recount the names, sufferings, and martyrdoms of such as have been transmitted to the present times, that their example may inspire fortitude, and their lives give to mankind in general a useful lesson.

Firstly, by his opposition to Ariusian, Bafil made himself famous, which brought upon him the vengeance of the Arius bishop of Constantinople, who flogged out an order to practice duelling. He sent word to Persia, however, to perform his duty at Anycra, the capital of Galatia. Enraged at his orthodoxy and manly proceeding, his enemies accused him of being an incendiary, and a disturber of the public peace; the monarch, however, was too intemperate to make any expedition to Persia, to take notice of the accusation, and their malice at that time was wholly frusturated.

Now Basil continued to preach frequently against the idolatry of Paganism on the one hand, and the errors of Ariusian on the other; and earnestly exhorted the people to serve Christ, in the purity of faith, and fervency of truth. By this conduct, both heathens and Arians were exasperated against him, and appeared equally delirious of accomplishing his ruin.

One day, and with a number of his principal preachers going in procession to a sacrifice, he boldly expressed his abhorrence of such idolatrous proceedings, and inveighed against such abjurer worship, at once in a manly and decent manner. This freedom caused the people to seize him, and carry him before Sauronius, the governor, where they brought three accusations against him, viz. Reviling the gods, abusing the emperor, and disturbing the city's peace.

Having heard these accusations, which were equally malicious as groundless, Sauronius, on the application of the bishop of Conchepal, the bishop of the fabulous deities. Julian, upon receiving the letter, sent Pagolus and Elpidius, two apostles, to Anycra, the city where Basil was confined, to employ both promises and threats to engage him to renounce his faith, and in case of their failure, to give him up totally to the power of the governor; for it was the policy of Julian to appear all moderation and clemency, and to suffer others, as much as possible, to feed the infamous persons in acts of cruelty. In this affair, however, a future circumstance made the emperor forget his usual policy, and sacrifice his afflicted mercy to his resentment and rage.

In vain the emperor's agents tampered with Basil by means of promises, threats, and racks; he was firm in the faith, and remained in prison to undergo some other sufferings when the emperor came to Anycra by meet accident.

As soon as the people knew of Julian's approach, they met him in grand procession, and preferr'd him to their idol, and the great Heaviest. The two agents then gave the emperor an account of what Basil had suffered, and how firm he had been. Julian, on this, determined to examine Bafil himself, when that holy man was brought before him, the emperor did every thing
thing in his power to dissuade him from persevering in the faith. Baal not only continued as firm as ever, but with a prophetic spirit, foretold the death of the emperors, and that he should be tormented in the other world.

Provoked at what he heard, Julian0 loft his usual affection of clemency, and told Baal, in great anger, that though he had an inclination to pardon him at first, yet he had now put it out of his power to grant any clemency to him. He then commanded, that the body of Baal should be torn every day in four different parts, till his skin and flesh were entirely mangled. This inhuman sentence was executed with rigour, and the martyr expired under its severities. A.D. 362, on the 2nd of the Ides of August.

About the same time, Domnus, bishop of Arezo, and Hilarius, a hermit, suffered for the faith; the first being beheaded, and the latter flayed alive.

One Gordin, a Roman magistrate, having a Christian before him for examination, was so charmed with the confession of his faith, that he not only discharged the prisoner, but became himself a Christian. This so enraged the Roman prefect, that he ordered him to be flayed alive; and this sentence was in the year 362 executed.

Two brothers, named John and Paul, of a good family, and in high offices under the emperor, on being accused of profaning Christianity, were deprived of their dignities, and imprisoned along with a number of their friends, in order that they would renounce their faith and be promoted, or retain their faith and be martyred? Making choice of the latter alternative, they were both, A.D. 362, beheaded.

Aurelius, commander in chief of the Roman forces in Egypt, being a Christian, had two charges exhibited against him, by the Pagans, as follow: 1. That he had formerly demolished several idols in the reign of Constance the Great. 2. That he had affiled the bishop of Alexandria in public meetings.

Julian, who was then at Antioch, on the exhibition of these charges, ordered the general to repair thither, in order to answer to them. On Aurelius's arrival, he owned the charges, and his faith: when he was first deprived of his commission, then of his citizee, and last of all beheaded.

One Caflian, a school-master of Imola, in the province of Romagna, for refusing to sacrifice to the idols, was hurried before the judge; who being apprized of his protestation, ordered him to be thrown into a dungeon with an aversion to him on account of the fierceness with which he kept them to their fladies, determined that they should have permission to murder him. He was accordingly delivered, with his hands tied behind him, to the executioner; who, with sword, fowls, and flies, or the fleec penciles which were used in writing, and murdered him. This singular martyrdom happened A.D. 365, on the 13th of August.

Maximilian and Bonosus, two officers of the Hercules guards, upon Julian's taking away Constanine the Great's standard of the crows of Christ, threw up their colliminations. Being apprehended on account of their faith, they were carried before the governor of the East, who commanded them to sacrifice to the gods, and obey the emperor's orders. They replied, that as they had no longer his soldiers, but the soldiers of Christ, they would do neither. The governor then had them separately examined, and finding them as inflexible when questioned together, he ordered Bonosus to be beheaded with whips that had been used at the baths at the end of the thongs, and Maximilian to be scourged also.

When remanded back to prison, they were allowed nothing but bread and water for subsistence, and the bishop of the city, it is said, did the coarsest thing in the world, the imprefion of which was an idol; on which account they refused to eat it. They were soon afterwards again examined, and then beheaded according to the sentence pronounced upon them.

Diantha was the daughter of Flavian and Dafrofa, two Christians. Flavian, her father, held a considerable post under the government, but being banished for his faith, died in exile. Dafrofa, her mother, was, for the fame reason, ordered to be flayed; but Apamen, governor of Rome, thinking her too long a time had her beheaded immediately.

Nebula, another girl of fifteen, Demetria, after the death of their parents, were stripped of all their cloth, being brought before the governor, were ordered to renounce their religion. Demetria suddenly dropped down lifeless, and the governor of Rome, being moved with compassion, refused to renounce her faith, on which she was scourged to death, A.D. 362, on the 17th of the Ides of August.

About the latter end of the year 363, the persecution raged dreadfully; but as many of the particulars have not been handed down to us as it is necessary to remark in general, that in Palestine many were burnt alive, others were dragged by their feet through the streets naked till they expired; some were flayed to death, many flayed, and great numbers had their brains beaten out with clubs. In Alexandria innumerable were the tyrants who suffered by the sword, burning, crucifixion, and being flayed. In Aretusa, several were rapped open, and corn being put into their bellies, live were brought to feed therein, who, in devouring the grain, likewise devoured the entrails of the martyrs; and, in Thessalonica, Emilianus was burnt at a stake; and Domitian murdered in a cave, whether he had fled for concealment.

Likewise, Theodoreus, for his faith, and finging the prophesies of God, was apprehended and put to the torture, and dying, was cast out of the window. One Appius, from the rank, he was asked how he could so patiently endure such exquisite tortures? To which he returned this remarkable reply: "At the first I felt some pain, but afterwards there appeared to flind by me a young man, who wiped it from my face, and frequently refreshed me with cold water, which so delighted me, that I regretted being let down from the rack." Marcus, bishop of Aretaria, having defied a Pagan temple in that city, erected a Christian church in its room, and in due time account of him, the emperor, the emperor, as a Christian. Being apprehended, his persecutors had no reft to his venerable person, but stripping him naked, most cruelly beat him. He was then thrust into a filthy jail, or dungeon, there was fell fuffocated; afterwards he was mazed with sharp pointed ficks; and lastly, he was hung up in a bullet in the heat of the sun, after having been smeared all over with honey, in order to be tormented to death by vaip. As soon as he was hung up, they offered him cold refreshments; but he rejected them, and would neither rebuild it nor advance a single dote direct towards it being rebuilt; upon which they left him, and he fell a martyr to the dreadful fings of those troublesome and tormenting insects. After this, in the time of Julian, two Christian officers, were put to death for reproving the emperor, on account of his idolatries; but the manner of their deaths is not ascertained.

Now we shall enter upon some detached particulars necessary to be preserved, and finish this account with the conclusion of the persecutions under Julian the apostate. When Julian intended an expedition against the Persians, he let a large fine upon every one who refused to sacrifice to the idols, with the promise of a great sum from the Christians towards defraying his expenses. Many of the officers in collecting these fines, exceed more than their due, and some of them turned the Christian religion; and upon the demand demanded, at the same time telling them in derision, "that when they were injured, they ought to take it patiently, for their God had commanded them so."

The inhabitants of Caesarea were fined three hundred pounds weight of gold, and were threatened with the same impreffion of which an idol was on; on which account they refused to eat it. They were soon afterwards again examined, and then beheaded according to the sentence pronounced upon them.

The clergy were obliged to serve in the wars, as a punishment for having overthrown the temples of Jupiter, Fortune, and Apollo. The governor of Meris, in Phrygia, having ceased and opened a Pagan temple, the Christians broke in, and demolished the idols, accursed to Julian. After this the governor ordered all Christians that accidentally came in the way to be seized, that he might make examples of them, and by this means was going to execute several
Martyrdom of Cassian, Master of Imola, who was scourged and beaten to death by his own scholars for refusing to sacrifice to idols.
Marcus, Bishop of Arethusa rubbed with honey hung up in a basket, and stung to death by wasps.
The PERSECUTIONS of the CHRISTIANS by the GOTHs, &c.

men of perfons. But thofe who really perpetrat- the fact, being too noble and jull in their sentiments to offer such an injustice, voluntarily delivered them- felves up, when they were full of all fcurged revolve- ry, and their conceptions of the frights males and punitions put them to death.

This wicked emperor, Julian, the apostate, died in a fpirit which he received in his Perifian expedition, A.D. 363, and even while expiring, uttered the most painful blasphemies. He was fucceeded by Jovian, who offered peace to the church. After the defecfion of Jovian, fpreaded, and fucceeded to the empire, and afcribed to himfelf Valens, who had been commander in the East.

This Vafen was a great favourite of Arianifts, and fo zealoid againft the Christians, that he ordered, on a cer- tain day, all of them in Edifa to be flain, while they were making their devotions in their church. The officers, however, being more compaffionate than the emperor, privately gave notice to the Christians not to affemble on that day, fo that they might ecape death, and be executef for non-performance of duty.

Multitudes of the Christians thanked the officers for their virtue, but disaffeered both that and the emperor's benevolence, fearing that they would not neglect their duty. They rendibly repaired to church, and the troops being com- pelled, by the provinfe's of the command, were put in motion to drive them. As they marched along, a woman, with the body of her child, was fcarcely going through the ranks, when the officers unordered her to be brought before him, and asked her if she was going? She replied, to church, whither her mother were making all the realie they could. "Have ye heard, fays the officer of the emperor's order, to put to death all who are found there?" "I have, fays the, and for that very gore he drive me the more hearty. "And whither, faid the officer, do you lead that child?" "I take him, replied the mother, that he also may be reckoned in the number of martyrs." Upon this the human officer returned to the emperor, and told him that all the Christians were prepared to die in defence of their faith, and represented to him how fit it was for the king to shew great multitude, and treated the emperor to drop the design, at least for the present, with which he at length complied.

Eubius, Maceducus, and Theòdorus, with several of their orthodox clergy, to the number of four hundred, wrote a piteful letter, petitioned the emperor, in a most humble manner, to relieve them from the oppressions, persecutions, and cruelties of the Ariafans, and that the emperor, instead of redreffing their grievances, ordered all to be embarked in a flip, and the flip flit fire, when this infernal and inhuman order being exe- cuted, they all perifhed in the flames.

SEVERAL Scythian Goths having embraced Christiani- zation about the time of Constantine the Great, light of the great church spread itself confiderably in Scy- thia, though the two kings who ruled the confederacy, and majority of the people, continued Pagans. Fritze- n, king of the Well Goths, was an ally to the Ro- man empire; but Athanarick, king of the East Goths, was at war with the Romans. The Christians, in the dominions of the two kings, lived unmolefled; but the latter, having been flayed by the Romans, wreaked his vengeance on his Scythian people.

One Sabas, a worthy Christian, upon this occafion, who felt the enraged king's misplaced refentment, Sabas was humble and humane, mild and modest, different in every respect for the advancement of the church. Remarkable for his contempt of riches, singular in flaving every fenfual enjoyment; the excellence of his life, and the purity of his manners were such, that his greatf ease to his doctrines. He neither acquired the rational, and confounded the obfcurate; nor became, at once, famous for his doctrines and miracles.

In the year 370, Athanarick gave orders, that all

persons in his dominions should facrifice to the Pagan deities, and eat the meat which had been offered to the idols, or be put to death for disobedience. Many Pagans, who had Christian relations, endeavoured to save them by offering them meat which had not received the idolatrous consecration, while the magiftrates were to be informed on, and made to believe that all had been done according to their direction. But Sabas too well knew St. Paul's principles, to allow that the faith lay in eating: he knew that fecondazation the weak, and giving the enemies of the faith an advantage over them, was all that made that action criminal in Christians, neither of which consequences would be avoided by this dixtiguate. He accordingly refused to comply with what was proposed to him, but publicly declared that he who sheltered themselves under that artifice, were not true and faithful Christians.

Soon after, Sabas was apprehended on account of his faith, and carried before a magiftrate, who inquired into his fortune and circumstances. Finding that what he had upon his back was the principal part of what he possessed, he was deflimified as a perfon of little or no confequence.

Now Sabas went to spend the enfling Easter with Sanfa, a Christian priest, of great piety: they lived in great tranquillity for three days, and through the night they were both feized by a party of foardiers. The king was allowed to defire himself, and to ride, but Sabas was obliged to leave his clothes behind him, and to walk; and during the journey, they drove him through thorns and briars, beating him with great violence almost continually. This cruelty he bore without murmuring, and in the evening they extended him between two beams, fastening his legs to the one and his arms to the other; and in that posture left him for the night, while they retired to repose. The woman of the house, however, hearing the king had been defiled, went and released him; but though he was now at liberty, and his persecu- tors asleep, he did not avail himself of the opportunity to make his escape.

On the next morning the persecutors began to prac- tice on these two worthy Christians, and taunted them to renounce their religion, and eat the meat con- fecrated to the idols. This, however, they would re- fuse, and positively declared, that they were ready to meet the most cruel death, rather than comply with such detestable idolatry. Sanfa was at length charfagd, and Sabas ordered to be drowned; which sentence was put into execution. A.D. 373, on the 18th of April.

Necatas was of a Gothic extraction, served in the banks of the Danube, and though he had been long a Christian he never met with any moleftation on that ac- count, till the above-mentioned persecution began by Athanarick. That monarch ordered an idol to be drawn on a chariot, through all the places where the Christians lived: the images, fat upon, and were thrown into fome of the rivulets. A.D. 372, on September 15.

The great Eufebius, bishop of Samofata, makes a most distingufhing figure in eccclesiastical history, and was one of the most eminent champions of Chrift against the Arian heresies. The Arians, having advanced Milet- tas to the see of Antioch, thinking him of their party, the infrrnment of his advancement was placed in the care of Eufebius. When Miletus preffed his first sermon, the Arians, to their great surprife, found they had been greatly mifleigned in him, for his doctrines were orthodox and pure. Hence proceeded their unfatisfaction, they perfuaded the emperor to difplace him, and incited the people to turn outment out of the hands of Eufebius. Miletus was ac- coringly deposed, and the emperor sent to Eufebius to deliver the infrrnment. Eufebius's answer was that he could not give a true report in him by too great a number, without the compofition of all concerned in it. The emperor, incensed attis reply, wrote to him on
Arian woman threw a tile at him from the top of the belfry, which fractured his skull, and in the fall, terminated his life.

The Empress Marcellina, bishop of Aptas, a late great of merit, who was very active in suppressing suppurative idolatry in his own diocese, on which account his life was in continual danger, till Cyngellas, the chief, arrived with a considerable body of troops, who kept the Pagans in awe. This officer's design was not to abolish idolatry, to effect which he determined to destroy the temple of Jupiter; he however, considering the more difficult attempt than he had imagined, the building was so strong, the stones so unwieldy, the work so durable, and the iron cramps so fast, that he confined his undertaking to go through with what the time and means given up, and the business was executed according to the following method.

First of all, this person examined the foundations of the edifice, and finding it surrounded by a gallery, supported by lately pillars, ten yards in circumference, judged it would be more to his purpose to weaken the foundation than pretend to attack the body of the building directly; with this view he dug at the bottom of said pillars, and bored them with timber beams. When he had thus weakened three of the most considerable pillars, he set fire to the wood, which, by the heat of the pillars fell, and drew twelve more with them, brought down one whole side of the building; in which the people flocked together from all parts of the town, and prated God, who had thus triumphed at his own expense.

Now the bishop and prelates continued defining great number of idol temples, when being at Anjou upon this business, while the troops were busily in demolishing the buildings, some Pagan priests feigned upon the bishop, and burnt him, A.D. 355.

A full and particular Account of the Persuasion of the Christians under the Arian Vandal

THE Arian Vandals passing from Spain to Africa in the fifth century, under their leader Genseric, met the most unheard-of cruelties. They perfected the Christians wherever they came, and even laid the country as they passed, that the Christians behind, who had escaped them, might not be alive for want of fullers' water. This is a testimony that the bishops and ministers of a variety of tortures. In particular, they poured burning oil and vinegar down the throats of some till expired; suffocated others by filling their mouths with sand, and martyred many by stretching their limbs, coats till the veins burst, and fine bones cracked. It also wreaked their vengeance on several of the dead and nobility, whom they loaded with heavy burdens and obliged them to carry their baggage; and if they did not travel fast enough, they pricked them on sharp goads, in such manner that they were killed, and the chief churches in Carthage employed in their own heretical worship, or put to prophanes use, where any cattle held out against them, they hung great numbers of Christians, and beat them, leaving gashed bodies lying under the walls, that the befouled be forced to surrender on account of the offensive filth thereof.

When they had feigned and plundered the church of St. Thame, they put the bishop and the clergy, in their unprüms, and wanted the money of the church thinking that they must all perish of course; but they arrived safe at Naples through the Divine Providence.

Several orthodox Christians were beaten, flogged, and banished to Capri, where it pleased God and them the means of converting many of the populace. 

Christians
The PERSECUTIONS of the CHRISTIANS under the ARIAN VANDALS.

By this edict it was ordered that all the orthodox bishops should meet at Carthage on the first of the ensuing February, for the purpose of disputing with the Arian prelates; the king's fractagam evidently appeared to Eugenius, and several other bishops, particularly to Victor, bishop of Vita, the learned author of the original account of this persecution; for they well knew that he artfully meant to establish Arianiem under the appearance of justice and censure.

They determined, after a considerable deliberation, to send a petition to the king; which was written by Eugenius accordingly, and presented by a person who had great interest with the king, that he might have a handle for the Arian prelates did not decline the proposed conference out of a sense of the weakness of their cause, or a diffidence of their own abilities to maintain the orthodox faith; but as the whole church was concerned in the dispute, they had the resolution that they could engage in it without the bishops of Europe and Asia.

To this Hunicus replied, that what they desired was impossible, unless the whole world was in his hands. Upon which Eugenius declared his majesty would be pleased to write to Odoacer, king of Italy, and other princes in his interest; and allow him to send to the bishops, that the common faith might be thus authentically published.

But the king, disregarding this remonstrance, refused being obeyed, and then, previous to the time appointed, very artfully took an occasion to banish Eunomius to several of the barbarous provinces, and to confine his other adherents, on various pretences; that the cause of truth might be weakened, and the Arians have the greater advantage.

At the appointed time for the conference, the orthodox clergy chose ten of their number to act the name of the rest. Cyrilus, an Arian, took the style of patriarch upon the occasion, and was seated on a magnificent throne. The Arian prelates were allowed to sit near him, but the orthodox bishops were obliged to stand. They complained of this partial mode of behaviour, as it was injurious both to Arianism and the cause on which the Arians took occasion to abuse them in a most illiberal manner. Eugenius, perceiving that they did not intend to come to any candid decision, proposed to adjourn to some future day; but instead of complying with this, each orthodox prelate, by the king's order, as Cyrilus affected, received an hundred blows with a stick.

Eugenius protected against such violence, but in vain; the prelates were turned out of the place unheard, their churches were shut up, and the revenues of their bishoprics were seized.

Immediately on this, they were compelled to quit Carthage, when they lay without the walls of that city, exposed to all the inclemencies of the open air. The king passing out of one of the gates, the orthodox clergy presented themselves before him, and modestly complained of the treatment they had met with.

Instead of redressing their grievances, Hunicus ordered his guards to fall on them, and chastise them for their insolence, as he termed it. The soldiery complied with the tyrant's request, and treated them as unmercifully as he could wish. The king ordered them to appear on a certain day at a place which he then fixed.

Accordingly, at the time appointed, they assembled on the spot, when one of the king's officers showed them a folded paper, and informed them that the king was inclined to forget what was past, and to restore them to their livings, provided they would swear to the truth of what that paper contained. The prelates,-surprised at this unreasonable proposal, declared that they could not in conscience think of swearing to the truth of that which they were instructed to endure. They were then suffered to read the writing, and approved of the contents, they would take the oath with readiness.

But the officer replied, that was unnecessary; for he would tell them the contents, which were not of a religious but of a political nature, and he was sure to swear that they were willing prince Hilderic should succeed his father in the throne. Several of the prelates innocently thinking that there could be no harm
in swearing they were willing a son should succeed his father, as that was but a piece of natural justice, offered to comply. But the relift, with greater precaution, and well knowing the Ariamites, or, rather, to take the oath, as they justly judged to simple a proposal would not have been made them, unless some deep artifice was underneath concealed.

As they were disapproving this upon the head, the officer took an advantage of their discour, and committed them to separate prisons, those who were willing to fec to one, and those who were unwilling to be intruded into the presence of offering to break an establised precept of the Scripture, viz. "Swear not at all," Matt. v. 34. And those who had related to swear, were banished as enemies to the legal succession. Thus did the crafty Arians accomplish the ruin of the prelates, by wresting a text of the gospel to a wrong sense, and putting a piece of political sophistry to an improper use. The former were obliged to work as slaves in distant colonies, and the latter were sent to the island of Corfu to cut timber. Tripoli was the place to which this banishment was destined. Anthonius, a violent Ariam bishop, threw him into a botome dungeon, and made him fuller every hardship that cruelty could devise, in order to deliver him by a lingering death. The damps of the place gave Eugenius the privilege of washing of water, and, finding him in a very weak condition lying on the floor, he poured some living vinegar down his throat, with a delusion to have choked him. It had, however, a contrary effect; for instead of suffocating, it promoted an immediate perspiration, which was especially serviceable in curing his palsy, and restoring him to perfect health.

Upon the decease of Huneric, his successor recalled Eugenius, and the rest of the orthodox clergy, the Arians, it appeared, persuaded them to bend them again, which he complied with, when Eugenius, being exiled to Longinos in France, died there of the hardships he underwent, on the 5th of September, in the year 505.

A lady of fortune, and a widow, named Dioniassa, being apprehended as an orthodox Christian, was stripped naked, and exposed in a most indecent manner, and feverously scourged. Her son, a young lad, being letted at the same time, fainted afraid of the sight, and looked pitifully on his mother, who ordered him not to fear any torments that could be inflicted on him, but to be constant to the faith in which she had brought him up. When he was upon the rack, the boy again comforted him with words to the following effect.

"Remember, O my child, that we were baptized in the name of the ever Sacred Trinity, let us not lose the benefit thereof, lest it should be hereafter laid, call them into outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth; for that path which never endeth is indeed to be dreaded, and that life which endareth to eternity to be defied." Whereupon the youth patiently persevered, and from the force of his torments renounced his soul to him that made it.

Hereupon this weak monarch, believing all that Cyriaca told him, sent for several of the most eminent Christians, who were particularly obstinate to that prelate, i.e. at first, attempted to draw them from their faith by flattery, and to bribe them from the hopes of future salvation, by the promise of immediate worldly rewards. Being firm and constant in their faith, they were proof against the former, and delivered the latter; declining insolently against Arianism, and faing, we acknowledge but one Lord, one faith, and one baptism; you shall therefore do whatever you please with our bodies, but it is impossible that there should be found a few temporary priests, than to endure everlasting misery.

The king was greatly exasperated at this forced, and sent them to a filthy dark dungeon, and ordered that they be put into irons. The keeper, however, not being of the same opinion, or common to such cruelly treated with the care of guards, suffered their prisoners to have access to them; by which they received great consoled, and became daily more and more confirmed in their resolution of dying for the sake of their Religion. But the king, unwilling to allow them by their keeper, was exceedingly angry, and ordered that they should be more closely confined, and loaded with heavy fetters. He then began to mention in his mind by what means he should put their death, and after revolving over and over and all records of cruelty that he could recollect, at length determined to imitate the monstrous barbarity of the emperor Valerian, who, as we have already related, caused fourteen thousand to be put together in a ship. But finding upon this case of infamy, he ordered those Christians to be put on board a ship filled with combustible material, and the vessel being set fire to, they received the crown of martyrdom. The names of those of the principal were, Gallicius, Libanius, Ambrose, Eutocius, Sulpicius, Servius, Septimius, and Boniface.

A full and particular Account of the Persecutions about the Middle of the Fifth, to the Conclusury of the Seventh Century.

Proterius was a priest by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, who was well acquainted with his life and actions. He was a zealous supporter of Cyril, and at his death, the see of Alexandria was filled by Dioscorus, an immoderate enemy both to the memory and soul of his predecessor. Dioscorus, however, knowing the protection of Proterius, and his great interest, did not consult in his power to gain his confidence and trust as he thought he might be of singular service to him in carrying on his evil intentions.

However, Proterius was not to be corrupted, and he seared the face of the church for next his heart, and no price of what he could command could bribe him to lend his duty and honest designs.

Now Dioscorus being condemned by the council Chalcedon for having embraced the errors of Eunomus was deposed, and Proterius chosen to fill the vacant place. He was very careful of the safety of the city of Alexandria, divided into two factions; the one to espouse the cause of the old, and the other of the new prelates. A great deal of mischief was done on both sides, and Proterius in the most imminent peril, was sent to Alexandria, from a few chalices that would neither obey the decisions of the council nor the emperor's commands.

The disordered becoming serious, the government Theodosius marched at the head of a body of troops, and the edict. But the populace, however, worked up their imaginations to a kind of mania, when they heard of the approach of the governor, armed themselves, marched out of Alexandria, or him battle, and defeated him. He added intelligence to the moment, and chanced to meet with two thousand men against them, the appearance of whom, and the prudence of the governor, the whole name was Flavian, soon reduced city of Alexandria, and tranquility.

However, the discontented party still beheld Proterius with an eye of retenment; so that he was able to have a guard out of respect to his personal safety, from length, though naturally of a sweet and mild nature, was so to them, as to obtain their banishment from Alexandria. Elected bishop, however, informs us that, "When the gia
The PERSECUTIONS of the CHRISTIANS in various Parts.

Felix had only added with a zeal for the deities he himself adored, but he determined to put up with the loss, and retire from a place which was become too often truly disagreeable.

Hermenigildus was a Gothic prince, being the eldest son of Leovigildus, king of the Goths, in Spain. This prince, who had been educated to the orthodox faith, by means of his wife Ingunda. When the king heard that his son had changed his religious sentiments, he stripped him of the command at Seville, where he was governor, and threatened to excommunicate, unless he renounced the faith he had embraced so lately.

In order to prevent the execution of his father's menances, the prince began to put himself into a posture of defence; and many of the orthodox perfidians in Spain declared for him, the king, exasperated at his act of rebellion, began to punish all the orthodox Christians who could be seized by his troops; and thus a very severe persecution commenced: he likewise marched against his son at the head of a very powerful army.

The prince, knowing that he was unable to oppose the formidable force that his father was bringing against him, implored the assistance of the Roman troops that were left to garrison those parts of Spain, which the emperor still possessed. The Roman commander engaged the skillful Heremigildus, but he broke his promise. Leovigildus then made it his business, as much as possible, to detach the orthodox Christians from the interest of his son; and in this he had great success, for it was effected in 582, by convening a synod of the Arian prelates at Toledo, who abolished the practice of re-baptizing the heretics that came under their jurisdiction, drew up a capitular confession of faith, which deceived many, and prevailed upon them to quit the interest of Hermengildus.

Thus forsoaken by numbers of those whom he most confided in, the prince was obliged to retire towards Seville, in which city he soon after flung himself up, and sent to Constantinople for assistance from the emperor.

The death of that monarch, however, prevented him from receiving any relief; for Maurice, who succeeded him, found his own hands too full to afford any succour to Hermengildus. The king, who had information of every step which his son took, proceeded to Seville, and laid siege to it. The prince defended the place with great bravery, and even held out for the space of twelve months; but finding that the city must fall, he privately made his escape, and fled to the Roman troops to beg protection. Being informed that they intended to give him up, he precipitately retired to Cordoba, and from thence went to Aftico, which he fortified and prepared for defense.

Upon the escape of the prince from Seville that city surrendered, and the king having properly garrisoned it, pursued his son, laid siege to Aftico, and soon obliged him to surrender. The unfortunate prince being driven to this extremity, flew to a church for sanctuary. The king having too much respect for the sanctity of the place to force him in, sent an officer, named Reccevados, to assure him of his pardon, upon his submitting to it. The prince believing his father to be sincere, immediately went in, and then threw himself on his father's feet. The king, however, instead of forgiving him, loaded him with chains, and carried him to Seville, where he endeavored to make him renounce the orthodox faith both by promises and menaces.

But the prince remained constant to the truth; and at the feast of Easter, when the king sent an Arian bishop to him to administer the eucharist, Hermengildus absolutely refused to receive it, which so enraged the king, that before he gave himself time to reflect, he ordered some of his guards to go and cut the prince to pieces, which they speedily performed. A.D. 586, on the 13th of April.

Anastasius, a Persian, was brought up a pagan, and bore arms as a soldier under Cohroes, king of Persia, at the time that monarch plundered Jerusalem; and, among other things, he cut off Chrestus, a bodyguard of the emperor Chrestus was crucified. Anastasius could not imagine why the
The Christians had such a veneration for a person who had died to mean a death as that of being crucified; for that mode of death was, by the Peripans, held in the greatest reverence, and none but the very lowest and most defensible malefactors were executed in that manner. Applying to some Christian captives, he was inquired into this matter in the name of the mystery, and being charmed with the purity of a faith which inspired such fortitude, he left the army, and retired to Syria: here he learned the trade of a goldsmith, and then going to Jerusalem, he supported himself by that means; was baptized by Modellus, vice-geral of Jerusalem; and fasted a week with his two brethren Elish.

As soon as that time was over, and he was now to quit the white clothes which he wore at his baptism, according to the then practice of the church, he defied the priest would put him in a way of renouncing the world entire, and of breaking chains to die, and in the agitations of his profession without interruption. Elias recommended him to Justin, abbot of a feminary four miles from Jerusalem, who employed a proper person to instruct him in the Greek tongue, and teach him the Psalms; and then admitted him into his religious community. Anastasius palled seven years in that house, where he divided his time between the most humble domestic employments, and the truly Christian entertainments of the word of God, the lives of the fathers, and the acts of the martyrs. He was most feebly afflicted with those most mortal infirmities of the mind, the horror of death and the fear of judgment; and conceived a strong desire to lay down his life for his blessed Redeemer.

Having gone to Caesarea, which was then in the hands of the Peripans, he was taken up for a spy, and brought before Marzabanes, governor of that city, to whom he owned that he was a Christian, and was on that account feted to prison. When he had lain there some time, Marzabanes sent for him, and gave him a fresh assurance of favour and promotion, if he would but renounce his religion: but he deplored and rejected every work of friendship, and wished to be discharged from his God, and the governor ordered him to be beaten till he should agree to his proposals. Then remanded him to prison, where he spent his time in prayer, and such labours as were imposed on him as part of his punishment. Justin being apprized of his sufferings, recommended him to the prayers of the whole community, and sent two of his people to encourage him to perseverance and fortitude.

The governor at length wrote to the king concerning Anastasius, and on receiving an answer, told the prisoner, who gave him his liberty if he would renounce the Christian religion, only before him and two witnesses, and that his renunciation should not be known. Anastasius heard this proposal with horror, and rejected it with disdain; when the governor sent him his prisoners, and libelled him, and there to be dealt with as the king should command.

Now the king did all in his power to engage him to renounce his religion, but finding his endeavours in vain, he ordered him to be executed, which was performed in this manner: he was laid upon a block with a piece of wood under him, and killed down with the weight of two lousy men: he was then severely beaten, hung up by one hand, with a weight fastened to his foot; and after being flanged, his head was cut off, and sent to the king.

Martin, bishop of Rome, was born at Todi, in Italy. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and his parents bestowed on him an admirable education. He had every liberal endowment that the sciences could bestow, and all the worthinesse that a mortal could derive from the favour of his ancestors, and Christian courtiers, and on the death of Thedob, bishop of Rome, was advanced to that important acre, by an unanimous election, in which all parties gave him the fullest praises, and admitted, that he well merited a truf of such great consequence. An eminent writer has thus drawn the character of this virtuous pontiff:

"His compassion for the poor appeared in large contributions for their relief, and the offices of hospitality, which he performed in favour of strangers. His life was rigorous and frequent, and prayer employed a very considerable part of his time. He was always ready to receive returning sinners; took no small pains to fecch through the paths of repentance, as well to forbear by tears; and comforted them by lecting from the Holy Scriptures: he had a mind to God, in his good. He loved his clergy with a brotherly tenderness, and honoured the episcopal character wherever he met with it."

The first vexation he received in his episcopal capacity, was from an act of heretics, called Manichæans; who not daring, after the express decisions of the council of Chalcedon, to maintain the unity of nature in Christ, altered artfully, that he had but one will and operation of mind. This fact was patented by the emperors Heracleus; and the first who attempted to flee the progress of these errors, was Sophronius, bishop of Jerau-

Now Martin, who perfectly coincided in feminism with the bishop of Jerusalem, called a council, which consisted of 105 bishops, and they unanimously condemned the errors in question.

Provoked at these proceedings, the emperor ordered Olympius, his lieutenant in Italy, to repair to Rome, and seize the bishop, provided it could be done without causing an insurrection. The lieutenant performed his journey; but on his arrival he found the people so prejudiced against the new opinions, and the pope so much beloved, to attempt anything by open violence. Hence he had recourse to treachery, and suborned a man to affront the bishop at the altar; but the following day, after promising to execute the bloody deed, was filled with such horrors of mind, that he had not strength to perform his promise. Olympius, finding it would be very difficult to perform any thing against Martin, withdrew from Rome, and putting himself at the head of his troops, marched against the Saracens, who had made some inroads into Italy, but during this expedition he died.

He was succeeded by Callipus, who received the prefects of the city with much joy. Olympius, the emperor's lieutenant, was immediately sent against him, with two epistles to the emperor to the comons of the faithful bishop against him with specif to his faith and loyalty. The substance of which was, that for a proof of the foundness of the fore, he appeals to the testimony of the whole clergy, the bishop's own solemn profession to defend himself, and to live as he had always done. In answer to such objections as had been made against the latter, he declared he never sent for money, letters, or advice to the Saracens, but only to perform a relief for poor Christians and the people in general. He concluded with saying that he was sure that the bishop would have been against him concerning the blessed Virgin, whom he firmly believed to be the mother of God, and witness of all honour after her divine Son. In his second epistle, he gives a particular account of his being a bishop in Rome, as already related, and his indignation and indignity since he was dragged from that city: and then, with suitable and hoping his persecutors would regard of his conduct, when the object of their hatred was removed from this world.

The emperor alleges that Martin had been gone, and his intimates to great, that on the day appointed for his trial, he was forced to be brought in a chair, as he was unable to walk. When before the court, the judge ordered him to be bound, which not being able to do, was ordered to be beaten: but he still continued as before they were directed, and charged him with having committed crimes that had been invented for the
Martin began his defence, but as soon as he entered upon an investigation of the errors which he had condemned, one of the senators slapped him, and said, that he was examined respecting civil affairs, and consequently that ecclesiastical matters had nothing to do in his defence. The judge then prevented him from going on, and having him bound he sent the proceedings to the emperor. Martin was ordered to be exiled to the most public places of the town, to the ridicule of the people; he was divested of all episcopal marks of distinction, and treated with great scorn and severity. All these rigours hardened his Christian-like patience, and in an increased degree of fortitude.

Martin, after laying some months in prison, was sent to an island at some distance, and there cut to pieces, A.D. 655.

John bishop of Bergamo, in Lombardy, was a learned man, and a real Christian. He did not, however, determine to clear the church from the errors of Arius, and joining in this holy work with John, bishop of Milan, he was very successful against the heretics. Grimaldi, however, an Arian, having usurped the throne of Lombardy, the orthodox Christians feared for their liberty, and in order to oppose the measures of the new king, the bishop of Bergamo used such persuasive arguments with Grimaldi, that he brought him from the errors of Arius, to profess the orthodox faith.

On the death of Grimaldi, and his son who succeeded him, Pantharit came to the crown and again introduced the Arian heresy into Lombardy; but the bishop of Bergamo used such persuasive arguments with Grimaldi, that he brought him from the errors of Arius, to profess the orthodox faith.

Kilien was born in Ireland, and received from his parents a pious and Christian education. His favourite study was theology, and he took great delight in perusing the holy scriptures. Hence an ardent afflication for the glory of God glowed within him, and he was very diligent in bringing many to the light of the gospel.

The narrow limits of his native island seeming too small for his unbounded zeal, he crossed the sea, together with eleven other persons, in order to make converts on the continent. On landing, they directed their course to that which is now called the Circle of Francania, in Germany. Coming to the city of Wurzburg, they found the people in general, and their governor Gozbert, very ready to listen to their arguments. They, of course, conceived great hopes of converting them from idolatry and superstition to the gospel faith. Previous to making this attempt, however, he deemed it necessary to go to Rome, in order to obtain his mission from the pontiff. He accordingly went thither, attended by one Columbanus, a Franciscan monk, two boys, and two laymen, and accompanied him from Ireland, and found in the chair. He showed them a favourable reception, and being informed of Kilien's business at Rome, after some questions about his faith and doctrine, consecrated him bishop, with full permission to preach to the infidels, wherever he found them. Thus authorized, Kilien returned to Wurzburg, where he opened his mission. He had not been long employed in these evangelical labours, when Gozbert sent for him, and desired to know the nature and tendency of this new religion, which he recommended to vigorously, and proposed to hold. Our holy bishop had several conferences with the governor on that subject, and Gozbert gave such a blessing to his endeavours, that Gozbert received the faith, was baptized, and gave him free leave to preach wherever he had any power. As the example of great men has a work of influence of those of inferior rank, the bishop of Wurzburg, in consequence of the attention of his Pagan subjects to what our preside had to offer, and much the greatest part of them became Christians in less than two years.

It is remarkable that Gozbert had married his brother's widow, for which Kilien, though he knew the absurdity of the thing, did not chuse to rebuke him till he was thoroughly confirmed in his faith. When he thought him fully instructed in the principles of Christianity, and ready to instruct the people, it's precipice, he entreated the governor, as the last proof of the sincerity of his conversion, to quit that person whom he had hitherto looked upon as a wife, as he could not cohabit with her without committing sin. Gozbert, surprised at the proposal, told the bishop this was the hardest demand he had ever heard, and that he was unable to comply with it, since he had renounced my own inclinations and pleasures in so many particulars for the love of God, I will make the work complete, by complying with your advice in this too.

The wife of the governor being informed of this affair, determined to be removed on those who had persuaded Gozbert into such a resolution. The millionaries were sensible of that wicked woman's design; and the only shield they had, confided of prayer, patience, and resignation. She lent according to the place where the usually assembled, and had them all beheaded. Kilien, and his companions, submitted without resistance, the former telling them, that they need not fear those who had no power of the soul, but could only kill the body, which in a short time, would of itself decay. This happened, A.D. 689, and the martyrs were privately buried in the night, together with their books, clothes, &c. &c.

A few writers add what follows, as the sequel of this bloody affair: "Some days after this impious tragedy was averted, Gozbert, surprised that he had not seen Kilien lately ordered diligent search to be made for him, the governor of the country, gozbert, and his companions, and having obtained the body of Kilien, without giving any account of their motions. But the intrusion of her revenge, the executioner, violently wacked with remorse of conscience, ran about like a mad man, and declared that Kilien burnt him. Thus disordered, he was seized, and Gozbert was considering what to do with him, when a creature of the governors, a man of great eloquence and artifice, and a pretended convert, advised him to leave the God of the Christians the task of doing himself justice on his enemies, and proposed the event as a test of his ability.

Now Gozbert was weak, enough to tempt God, by putting it on that issue. The murderer, being fet at liberty, went raving mad, tore his own flesh with his teeth, and died in a most miserable condition. Geilana was so perplexed in her conscience, that it tormented her till she expired; Gozbert's raifhines and criminal conclusion, were punished by a violent death, and in a few years his whole race was exterminated.

A particular Account of the several Persecutions from the early Part of the Eighth, to near the Conclusion of the Tenth Century.

Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, and father of the German church, was an Englishman, and is, in ecclesiastical history, looked upon as one of the brightest men of this time. In his native name was Winfrid, or Winfrith, and he was born at Kirton, in Devonshire, then part of the West-Saxon kingdom. When he was only about six years of age, he began to discover a propensity to reflection, and seemed fain to gain information on religious subjects. Soon after, some evangelical visitors came to chance on Kirton, and happened to fix their abode at his father's house. From thence he understood, that the principal step to salvation was, to deny himself, and follow Christ. He considered seriously of what he heard, and, in process of time, determined to devote himself to a religious life. Winfrid's conduct pleased his father, and the latter would willingly have dissuaded him from it; but finding him fully resolved, he permitted him to go and reside at a monastery in the city of Exeter. Wolfrad, the abbot, finding that he possessed a bright genius as well as a strong inclination to study, had him removed to Manciula, a seminary of learning, in the diocese of Winchelser, where he would have a much greater opportunity of attaining improvement than at 92.

Exeter.
Exeter. The abbot of Nutcele, who was as much celebrated for his great learning as his Christian virtues, took uncommon pains with the young pupil, who, in time, attained to a proficiency and an acquired knowledge, and was, at length, employed at Nutcele as a principal teacher.

We are informed by the ancient Saxon historians, who speak highly of his praiseworthy labours, that those who studied under him knew not how to go to any other place to find what they had begun, for he gave them lessons in grammar, poetry, rhetoric, and philosophy; and explained the holy scriptures in the literal, moral, and mystical senses. But his example was as instructive as his lectures, and while he formed his scholars to learning by his discourses, he encouraged them in the practice of virtue, by the prudent conduct of his life.

The abbot of Nutcele, seeing him thus qualified for the priesthood, obliged him to receive that holy order, when he was about thirty years old. From that time he began to preach, and labour for the salvation of his fellow-creatures; in the progress of which he gave the first proofs of that apostolical zeal, that afterwards made such glorious conquests in a multitudes of barbarous parts of the world.

But perhaps the most important occasion to assemble a synod of bishops in the kingdom of the West-Saxons, was that judged expedient to depose one of their body to the archbishop of Canterbury, to inform him of the exigency of affairs. Upon conferring who was proper to be charged with that office, the synod, by an unanimous vote, and by the synod, and by the unanimous choice of the synod, and the choice was by the then reigning king of the West-Saxons approved of, and confirmed.

Boniface discharged this trust with great prudence, and obtained the applause of every member of the synod; but far from being vainglorious and conceited, he proceeded to fulfill his charge, as far as the times and occasions would allow. He repaired to Helfen, where he brought knowledge of the real truth to two brothers, who, though they called themselves Christians, were sunk into woe of the errors of Paganism. They became such fearless preachers of the Gospel, that they gave their share to Boniface, who did not apply it to the reformation of his own country, and ended a religious community; after which it proceeded to Saxon, where he converted some thousands to the Christian faith.

Having laboured in this new field with prodigious success, he journeyed to Rome, where he met one of his companions, who was with an account of what he had done; upon which Gregory I. who was still in possession of that see, sent him a letter desiring him to return to that city; in consequence of which he set out in Rome, and after an honorable literary expedition. On his arrival, the bishop treated him as his character deserved, gave him all marks of esteem and affection, and was solicited not to let him return to his labours without the episcopal character, that he might pursue them with more authority, and to greater advantage. He was accordingly consecrated on the last day of November 737, from which time he took upon himself the name of Boniface.

Thus qualified for forming his new church, he left Rome, well provided with much books as would be necessary for his flock, or those to whom he should think fit to preach the Gospel.

Boniface had with him six letters from the pope; one to Charles Martel; a second to all bishops, priests, deacons, and such, a third to the clergy and people under his immediate direction; a fourth to the five princes of Thuringia, and their Christian subject; a fifth to the Pagans in their dominions; and a sixth to the whole body of Saxons. The purpose of all which was, to recommend him to the protection of the Christian powers, and exhibit the Pagans to hear him, and quit their errors and superstition.

But many converts in different parts, he returned to his mission in Germany, and was very successful, though he met with many that would willingly have been Christians only by halves; they were ready enough to acknowledge Christ, but did not care to be completely His disciples; in fine, they did not desire the name, but had not resolution enough to conform to the practice; and some were far dually, as to fall back into their former superstition and idolatries. They were exceedingly fond of worshipping a large oak-tree. This tree Boniface stormed when the Pagans, finding that Jupiter did not take any notice of those whom had cut it down, began to own the weakness of such pretended deities, and desired to be baptized. But, naturally diffident of his own abilities, Boniface had frequent recours to such persons as he thought
thought might be of any service to him in his present difficulty. Pope Gregory and Daniel, his old disciple, were his most considerable counsellors. But, indeed, he had more need of assistance than advice, and therefore, by the care of the bishop of Winekeller, received from this island, large supplies of munificies.

In the meantime, Gregory appointed Boniface to the chair, upon which aecession Boniface sent proper persons to Rome to acquaint him with the success of his labours, testifying his obedience, and deferring assistance in some difficulties which occurred in his mission. The pope not only sent him supplies by affording him of the mission and friendship of the country, but granted him the pallium, granted him the title of archbishop, or metropolitan of all Germany, and empowered him to erect new bishoprics.

Now Bavaria went to the utmost extent of every religious duty, and not only erected new bishoprics, but built several monasteries. He then made a third journey to Rome in 738, when pope Gregory the Third, who had as much affection for him as his predecessor, felt an extraordinary pleasure at his appearing in that city, and determined there the great part of the year.

Boniface having left Rome, went directly for Bavaria, upon the invitation of Oidilo, duke of that country, where his business was to reform those abuses introduced by persons who had never received holy orders, and yet exercised the functions of the priesthood, and even such persons who were of a scandalous character, to the no small prejudice of the poor deluded faithful.

At this time Bavaria had only one bishop; therefore, pursuant to his commission from Rome, erected three new bishoprics, one at Salzburg, a second at Freising, and a third at Ratrithon, and thus all Bavaria was divided into four dioceses. This regulation was soon after confirmed by the pope, and the time thought of the predacious success of Boniface's missions, and directed him not to confine himself to one place, but carry the divine message into such parts of Germany as wanted the light of the gospel.

In the year 734, Gregory the Third was succeeded in the papacy by Zachary, and the latter confirmed Boniface in his power; and approved of all he had done in Germany, making him at the same time archbishop of Mainz, and metropolitan over thirteen bishoprics. He did not, however, respect his humility, and in this way thus added to the great difficulties he had; but laboured to preserve that humility, which is so beneficially recommended in Matt. v. 12.

Pepin, during the minority of this meek prelate, was created king of France. It was that prince's ambition to be crowned by the most holy prelate he could find, and Boniface was pitched on by several persons who had been at Rome, which he did at Soissons in 752. The next year his great age, and many infirmities lay so heavy on him, that the content of the new king, the bishops, &c. were so great, he consecrated Lupus, his countryman, and faithful disciple, and placed him in the see of Mainz. When he had thus eased himself of his charge, he recommended to the church of Menziz, the see of the new bishop in very strong terms, defined he would not, but to the church of Fulde, and see him buried in it, for a long time as approaching.

The emperor also knew he took boat for the Rhine, and went to Friedland, where he confirmed and baptized several thousands of the barbarous natives, destroyed the temples, and raised churches on the ruins of their infidel establishments.

When he had appointed a day for confirming a great number of new converts, he ordered them to assemble in an open plain near the river Bourde. Thither he arrived the day before; and, ponting a tent, determined to remain on the spot all night, in order to be ready in the morning early.

Several of his enemies, who were his invertebrate enemies, having intelligence of this, poured down upon him, and the companions of his mission, in the night, in such a manner as sufficiently evinced their design of massacring them. The fervants of Boniface were for repelling the barbarians by force of arms; but he cooled the motion, told them, it was a time of prayer, and that he had long wished for was now come, and exhorted his friends in the ministry to prepare themselves for martyrdom. While he was thus employed, the Pagans rushed in upon him, and killed him and fifty-two of his companions at Fulde; and a plot was contrived on June 5, A. D. 755. Thus fell the great father of the Germans, the father of the land of England, and the glory of the age in which he lived.

There were forty-two persons of Armorian, in Upper Phrygia, who were martyred in the year 845, by the Saracens, the circumstances of which transfiguration are thus,

During the reign of Theophius, the Saracens ravaged many parts of the eastern empire, and gained several considerable advantages over the Christians; and at length laid siege to the city of Armorian. The garrison bravely defended the place for a considerable time, and, in all probability, had obliged their enemies to raise the siege, had not a piece of arms been exposed, which was a neggedo. Great numbers were put to the sword, and two general officers, with some other persons of distinction, were carried prisoners to Bagdai, where they were loaded with heavy chains, and thrown into a dark dungeon.

These people continued in prison for a considerable time without seeing any persons but their gauders, or receiving any allowance greater than what would barely suffit them; the bare ground was their bed, and hope their only consolation. During this time, however, they only conformed themselves as prisoners of war; but at length they were informed, that nothing could preserve their lives but renouncing their religion and embracing Mahometanism.

In order to induce them to comply, the caliph pretended a very great zeal for their welfare; and declared, that he looked upon converts in a more glorious light than conquests; and the great amount of gold, of much greater importance than the subduing of kingdoms. Agreeable to these maxims, after they had suffered all the hardships of a dark and noisome prison, and were reduced to a state that might oblige them to accept of relief on any terms, he sent some of the most ingenious and artful of the Mahometan philosophers, and the promises of other advantages they might receive from themselves by a bare abjuration of Christianity; which, according to the corrupt cunning of those infidels, might be made without quitting their faith. But our martyrs, well instructed in the simplicity and sincerity of the gospel, rejected the proposal with horror and contempt. After this they were attacked with those falacions and delusive arguments which the Mahometans fill life in favour of themselves, and their monstrous absurdities! They were defied to judge of the merits of the cause by the success of those who were engaged in it; and chide the reformation, which they affirmed was an infidelity, and was but rewarded with the good things of this life, which they called the blessings of heaven. But our noble prisoners were proof against all these temptations; and argued with fire against the authority of their false prophet. This incensed the Mahometans, and drew greater hardships upon the Christians during their confinement, which lasted seven years. At the end of that time, Zobit, the renegade, that had betrayed Armorian, brought them the welcome news of their sufferings being to conclude in martyrdom the next day. To which he added his advice to them to save their lives by disunion, a fault very execrable, which they did not follow. But they knew what curse was denounced by Christ against such as deny him before men; and were therefore prepared to meet death in any shape, rather than commit that horrid offence.

When they were brought from their dungeon, they were again solicited to embrace the tenets of Mahomet; but
but neither threats nor promises, the denunciations of malice, nor allurement of rewards, could induce them to forsake the true faith, or prevail on them to espouse the doctrines of an impollor.

Perceiving their resolution, and that their faith could not be by any means deterred, the caliph ordered them to be conducted to Theodore. Theodore, one of the number, had formerly received priest's orders, and officiated as a clergymen; but afterwards quitting the church, he had followed a military life, and raised himself by the sword to some considerable point of political influence. He had taken prisoner. The officer who attended the execution, being apprized of these circumstances, said to Theodore, "You might, indeed, pretend to be ranked amongst the Christians, while you served in their church, but since you have taken up, which not only engages you in bloodshed, is to contrary to your former employment, that you should not now think of palling upon us, for one of that religion. When you quitted the altar for the camp, you renounced Jesus Christ. Why then will you dissent any longer with the world? Would you not act more conformable to your own principles, and make your conduct all of a piece, if you came to a resolution of saving your life by owning our great prophet?"

Now Theodore covered with a religious confusion at this time, and fell full of determination, and unshaken in his faith, made the following answer: "It is true, says he, I did in some measure abandon my God when I engaged in the army, and fear not live the name of a Christian. But the Almighty has given me grace to feel as a true believer, and in the name of my grace, I hope he will be pleased to accept my life, as the only favour I can now offer to expiate my guilt. His mercies are infinite, and therefore I have room to hope my blood may be allowed to wash away my crimes. And in this I apply to you, with a peaceable mind."

If, in all your cruelty, you have taken any one that had left your service, and rambled negligent of his duty for some time, should at last return, and offer to lay down his life for you, would not you inclined to forget all that was past, and receive him into your family again?"

This manly and pious answer confounded the officer, who only answered, that he should preferredly have an opportunity of giving that proof of his zeal for, and fidelity to, his master. Upon which, Theodore and the reti, to the number of forty-two, were dispatched. This day Flora, two ladies of distinction, suffered martyrdom at the same time. Flora was the daughter of an eminent Mahometan, at Sciville, in Spain; from whence he removed to Corduba, where the Saracen king reigned, and kept his court. Her father dying while she was young, she, with the care of her mother, who, being a Christian, brought her up in the true faith, and inpired her with sentiments of virtue and religion. A priest of Corduba, who personally knew both her and her mother, who wrote the account of her martyrdom, hath given us the following portrait of her character: "Flora, says he, was a great proficient in the spiritual life, at an age when little is thought of but the word and its vanity; her whole thoughts seemed turned to Jesus Christ; her whole discourse was inflamed with the divine love; God was her friend, and she rigorously diverted from carnal favour; her concern for the poor morn furpirging and edifying; and the precepts of the gospel were her constant study."

Her brother being a professed enemy to Christiannity, with the addition of a barbarous and savage temper, Flora was some time obliged to use small caution in the practice of such virtues, as must have exposed her to a domestical persecution at least. She was too zealous to bear this restraint long; for which reason the left Corduba, in company with her sister.

Flora's departure soon alarmed her brother, who, in revenge, informed against several Christians of Corduba; for as he did not know whether his tier was gone, he determined to wreak his vengeance on such Christians as were present.

When Flora was informed of these proceedings, the confederated herself as the cause of what the Christians had suffered at Corduba, and having an interior conviction that God called her to fight for her faith, she turned to that city, and made there direct to the persecutors, among whom she found her brother, 'it paid our gloom, or martor, I, as the object of your inquiries, the fervency of God are tornable to me, I now freely offer myself to your disposal. If I believe, I believe in Jesus Christ, glory in his cross, and profess the doctrine which he taught. This now is the confession; and I hope through the grace of him that can deliver those who believe to make myself or alter it.' None of the company seemed so much agitated as this declaration as her brother, who after first threats, struck her; this violent proceeding was follow by attempts of a softer nature; for he endeavored to raise her spirits, and soothe her by promises of kindness. Finding her equally insensible to all he said, he then informed against her, and undertook to prove her a Christian before the judge. He inquired that Flora had been educated in the religion of Jesus, but had renounced it at the suggestion of some Christians, who inspired her with the utmost contempt for the great prophet. When she was called on to give the charge, she declared the he had never owned Mahomet, but followed the Christian religion in his words, as well as his acts, and ascribed all his kindness.

The magistrate, finding her resolution, delivered her to her brother, and gave him orders to use both his most endeavours to make her a Mahometan. She, however, found an opportunity of escaping over sea in the night, and, after examining the banished Christians, the judge withdrew to Tucei, a village of Andalusia, where she met with her sister, and never separated again till her martyrdom.

Mary, who was martyred at the same time, was the daughter of a Christian tradesman at Elremadura, after whom she was named Corduba. As soon as the persecution began under Abdermann, king of the Saracens, in Spain, Mary's brother was one of those who fell a victim to the rage of the infidels on the occasion. Mary, hearing of his martyrdom, and falling a genuine confession at being left behind by one much younger than herself, gave a free loo to his grief, which proceeded not so much from the loss of her brother, as her not being allowed to enjoy the benefits then in his possession.

She went full of these thoughts to Corduba, where going into a church, the found Flora, who had left her retreat on the same motive, and was there recommending herself to the author and rewarder of such visions as Christians then enjoyed. Infidels. Upon coming together, and finding they asked upon their relations of the faith of her mother, who, being a Christian, brought her up in the true faith, and inpired her with sentiments of virtue and religion. Accordingly, without further hesitation, they proceeded to the magistrate, when Flora boldy told him, he looked on Mahomet as no better than a false prophet, an adulterer, and magician.

Hercupon Mary told the magistrate, that she professed the same faith, and entertained the same sentiments as Flora, and that she was to Walterus, who had already suffered for being a Christian. This behaviour enraged the magistrate, that he ordered them to be committed to close confinement for some time, and then to be beheaded: which sentence was executed A. D. 850, on the 4th of November.

Perpetua was born at Corduba, in Spain, and brought up in the Christian faith. Having a quick genius, he had himself matter of all the useful and polite literature of that age; and, at the same time, was not more celebrated for his abilities, than admired for his piety.

At length he took priest's orders, and performed the duties of his office with great affability and politeness.

One day walking in the streets of Corduba, four Arabsians entered into conversation with him, and among other questions, asked him his opinion of Jesus Christ, and of Mahomet. Perpetua gave them a very exact account of the G.
FLORA and MARY, two Young Ladies
BEHEADED by the Saracens at Corduba in
Spain, for professing CHRISTIANITY.
ADALBERT, BISHOP OF PRAGUE
murdered with Darts in the City of
Dantzick by the Pagans.
The PERSECUTIONS of the CHRISTIANS in Various Parts. 865

...faith, respecting the divinity of Christ, and the redemption of mankind; but begged to be excused from delivering his sentiments concerning Mahomet. The Arabs preferred the other choice; but he declined it. Living, therefore, what he should utter would not be agreeable to his ideas, and consequently that it would be damaging to their ears; he therefore thought better to be silent, as he wished not to offend any one. Diffuseness with this artifice, he had, in the exercise of his thoughts, declaring at the same time, that they would not be offended at anything he should say.

Believing these fancies, and hoping this might be the favourable time allotted by God for their conversion, Persecutus left them, and joined the Christians who had aadorned one of the false prophets foretold in the gospels, who were to subdue and deceive great numbers, to their eternal ruin. To illustrate this assertion, he placed before them some of the actions of that grand impostor; and endeavoring to show them the impious doings, abominable abstractions of the Alcoran; and ended with exhorting them, in very strong terms, to quit the miserable state in which they then were, and which would certainly be followed by eternal misery.

It may safely be imagined, that the infidels could not be moved for a moment without feeling some warmth, and conceiving an indignation against the speaker. They thought proper, however, to disguise their refractions at that time, but were resolved not to let him escape without punishment. At first, indeed, they were unwilling to put any violence to them, for they had given him a solemn assurance he should come to no harm, for the liberty he took at their request; but zeal for their law, and its author, soon cajoled them of that example. They watched a favourable opportunity, feigned on him, hurled him away to one of their chief magistrates, and accused him of blasphemy against their great prophet and legislator.

The whole allegation having been heard, the judge ordered him to be put in chains, and closely confined in prison, till the fall of their Ramadan, or feast, when he should be made a victim to Mahomet. He heard the determination of the judge with joy, and prepared for his martyrdom with great fervency.

When the time arrived, he was led to the place of execution, where he again made a confession of his faith, declared Mahomet an impostor, and infall, that the Alcoran was filled with absurdities and blasphemies. In consequence of this he was sentenced to be beheaded, and was accordingly executed, A. D. 850; after which nobody was honourably interred by the Christians.

...Winfeld, at first declining engaging in this task, till maturer years had rendered him better qualified; but upon his grandmother's pressing to affix him with her advice, and direct him in his conduct, he complied with her request; and, to prevent all future disputes, divided the country between himself and his younger brother Bolilaw, whose name a town in, and a considerable district of, that country still retains.

On this change of affairs Drahomira attacked herself to Bolilaw, who, like herself, was a pagan, and followed implicitly her maxims. With regard to the behaviour of Winfellaus after his assuming the sovereignty, and the fate of the aged and worthy Ludmilla, the annals of Bohemia furnish us with these particulars: "Winfellaus, pursuant to the impressions of virtue which he had received from his grandmother, and others employed in his education, was more careful than ever to preserve the innocence of his manners, and admitted no degree of perfection every day. He was as humble, sober, and chaste, when master of his own motions, and in full possession of sovereign authority, as when under the government of those on whom he was taught to look as his superiors. He spent great part of the night in prayer, and the whole day in acts of charity; directing all his views to the establishment of peace, justice, and religion, in his dominions. He was afflicted in these charitable and truly Christian labours by able ministers; and nothing of consequence was done without the advice of Ludmilla. That excellent prince's being informed that Drahomira, transported with rage at the success of her directions, had formed a design against her life, and that it would hardly be in her power to avoid the blow, was so far from being disturbed at the apprehensions of death, or deploring from what wicked work she exerted herself more vigorously than ever for the maintenance of religion, and confirming the prince in his resolutions. Being now assured that her death was near, and that several perjuries were actually employed to dispatch her with the fiendish opportunity, he called all her servants together, acknowledged their fidelity in her service with a liberal hand, and distributed her goods and money among the poor. Thus divested of all the poisons in the world, she went to her chapel, received the holy eucharist, and then spent the expenses of her prayer, recommended her soul to God, and expected his will with the utmost tranquillity and resignation. This was her situation, when two ruffians entered the chapel, feigned on her, and strangled her with her own veil.

"The young prince, severely for the loss of his grandfather; and the more so, as he did not choose to punish the offenders, well knowing that they had been instigated to what they did by his mother. He therefore addressed himself to God only, entreated the throne of grace for his mother's perpetual repose, and happily, from henceforth, was happy to dispense the dispensation of Providence.

As many factions were stirred up in his dominions by means of his mother and brother, and as Winfellaus himself seemed of an unrivalled disposition, a neighboring prince determined to invade that part of Bohemia which was subject to him. The young prince, Ragniulph, prince of Gurima, who entered Bohemia at the head of a considerable army, and immediately commenced hostilities.
When he thought proper to retire before the rest of the company, as he was not fond of late hours, and he never neglected his devotions to the Almighty, previous to retiring down to his deep sleep.

As soon as he was withdrawn, Drahomira urged Bohi-
law not to trifle their revenge to another hand, but to follow his brother innately, and murder him. The bloody prince took his mother's fanatical advice, and repairing to the warden's chamber, he found him brand-
ing and fervent prayer to the Almighty; when, moved by that pious appearance, he rushed upon him, and plunged a dagger to his heart. Thus, in A.D. 999, fell Wincefals, the third Duke of Bohemia, by an infernal act of treachery as ever was recorded in the annals of his sex.

Adalbert, bishop of Prague, was a Bohemian by birth. His parents were perfons of rank, but not distinguished for their virtue and piety than for their opulence or lineage. They were happy in a son, whose downing perfections gave them a pleasing hope, that he would be as an ornament to the temple of his country. That he might fulfill their expectations, they gave him a complete education; but their joy was in some measure damped, by his falling into a drop, from which he was with difficulty recovered.

When he was effectually rescued, they sent him to Magdeburg, and committed him to the care of the archbishop of that city, who completed his education, and confirmed him in piety and virtue. The rapid pro-
gress which Adalbert made in human and divine learn-
ing, made him dear to the prelate, who, to the authority of a teacher, joined all the tenderness of a parent for his son.

Having spent nine years at Magdeburg, he retired to his own country upon the death of the archbishop, and entered himself among the clergy at Prague. Dibna, bishop of Prague, died soon after the return of Ada-
lbert to that city; and, in his expiring moment, pointed to Adalbert as his successor. This step was followed by a powerful archbishop of Prague, to the great joy of the people. The name of Adalbert was among the number, and, so favourably acceded to the bishop's dying sentiments, that he received him as an ornament to the temple of his country, which he afterwards exercised with the greatest mem-
tion, spending his time in prayer, and relieving the poor with a cheerful liberality.

A few days after the decease of Dibna, an armi-
mony was held for the choice of a successor, which en-
couraged the parteys of Prague and Bohemia. Adalbert's character for every virtue that is important required, soon determined them to call him to the vacant see, which they did on the 17th of February 893. Meffengers were immediately dispatched to Verona, to define Otho II., would enter the Civilians the church, and, in his expiring moments, ordered Adalbert to repair to court for investiture, gave him the ring and crozier, and then sent him to the archbishop of Mentz for consecration. That ceremony was performed on the 25th of June the same year; and he was received at Prague with all possible demonstrations of public joy. The king, in his expression of his joy into four parts, according to the division of the country in the fifth century. The first was employed in the fabric, and ornaments of the church; the second went to the maintenance of the clergy; the third was laid out for the relief of the poor; and the fourth referred for the support of himself and family; which was always made to include twelve indentured persons, whom he allowed daily subistence.

He now performed his duty with the utmost fidelity, and spent a great portion of his time in preaching and writing. His principles of faith were different from his public; and his manner neither too severe nor too indulgent; so that his flock were not terrified into dis-
ord, or flattered into presumption. But some things which he could not remedy gave him great uneasiness, particularly the having a plurality of wives, and falling the Civilians on the Jews, for trivial offences. Hence he determined to consult the pope, and made a journey...
Prague met him, on his arrival, with great joy, and promised obedience to his directions; but they soon forgot their promises, and relapsed into their former ways, which obliged him, a second time, to leave them, and return to Rome.

The archbishop of Mentz sent another deputation to Rome, and defined that his suffragan might be again ordered back to his diocese. Gregory V. who was then pope, commanded him to return to Prague; and he obeyed, though with great reluctance.

The Bohemians, however, did not look upon him as before, but deemed him the censor of their faults, and the enemy to their pleasures, and threatened him with death upon his arrival; but not having him yet in their power, commanded him to be sent to Prague, and falling on his relations, several of whom they murdered, plundered their estates, and set fire to their houses. Adalbert had intelligence of these outrageous proceedings, and could not judge it prudent to proceed on his journey. He therefore went to the duke of Poland, who had a particular respect for him, and engaged that prince to found the Bohemians in regard to his return; but could get no better answer from that wretched people, than that they were smitten, hardened in iniquity; and Adalbert a faint, and consequently not fit to live among them; for which reason he sent to Rome for a tolerable reception at Prague.

The bishop thought this message disheartened him from any further concern for that church, and began to direct his thoughts to the conversion of infidels; to which end he repaired to Dantzic, where he resided for some years, and there lived in great seclusion, and was so enraged at the pagan priests, that they fell upon him, and dispatched him with darts, on the 25th of April, A. D. 997.

An Account of the PERSECUTIONS in the ELEVENTH Century.

ALPHAGE, archbishop of Canterbury, was descended from a confederate family in Gloucestershire, and received an education suitable to his illustrious birth. His parents were worthy Christians, and Alphage seemed to inherit all their virtues. He was prudent and humble, pious and chaste; he made a rapid progress both in polite learning and religious conversation; and at once, the admired scholar, and devout Christian: he prove to make the arts useful to the purposes of life, and to render philosophy subservient to the caufe of religion. In order to be more at leisure to contemplate the divine perfections, he determined to renounce his worldly connections, and to place himself under the guidance of monks; accordingly retired to a monastery of Benedictines, at Deerhurst, in Gloucestershire, and soon after took the habit.

Considering that the principal business of a Christian was to subdue his passions, and mortify his appetites, he lived with the utmost temperance, and spent the greatest part of his time in prayer. But not thinking the austerity he underwent in this monastery sufficiently severe, he retired to a lonely cell near Bath, and lived in a manner still more rigid and mortifying. He thought to remove that unknown, but some devout persons finding out his retreat, his sanctity took fire because the subject of conversation in the neighbouring villages, where many flocked to him, and begged to be taken under his paterlar care. He yielded to their importunities, raised a monastery near his cell, by the contributions of several well-disposed persons; formed his new pupils into a community, and placed a prior over them.

Having prefcribed rules for their regulation, he again retired to his beloved cell, fervently wishing to pass the remainder of his days in religion's seclury; when the following affair once more drove him from his retreat.

The see of Winchberge being vacant by the death of Ethelwold, it was no easy matter to agree upon the choice of a successor to that bishopric. The clergy had been driven out of the cathedral for their scandalous lives, but were admitted again by King Ethelred, upon certain
certain terms of reformation. The monks, who had been introduced upon their expulsion, looked upon themselves as the chapter of that church; and hence arose the character of the canons and laymen, leaving only every tenth person alive: so that they put 2766 persons to death, and left only four monks, and 800 laymen about after which they confined the archbishop in a dungeon, where they kept him close prisoner for several months.

During his confinement, they proposed to him to resign his liberty with the form of his church; and not to insult the king to purchase their departure from the kingdom, with a further sum of 10,000l. Alphage, circumstances would not allow him to satisfy the extravagant demand; they bound him, and put him to torture, and it was no wonder that in the end he confessed himself helpless for the church; upon which they affrilled him of his liberty.

The prelate knew, that what they insisted was the inheritance of the poor, not to be thrown upon the barbarous enemies of the Christian religion, and therefore perished in refusing to give them an account of it. They remanded him to prison again, confined him six days longer, and then taking him to Greenwich, brought him to a trial there. It still remained inflexible with respect to the church insurors; but exhorted them to forake their idolatry, and come to the spirit of the pure church, as they appeared in the Church of England. Dantes, that the souldiers dragged him out of his chamber, and beat him unmercifully. Alphage bore this thing patiently, and even prayed for his persecutors. One of the soldiers, who had been converted and baptized, was greatly afflicted, that his pains should be like those of his master. Instead of replying to this, Dantes, therefore, with the fury of a desperate zeal, and all the barbarous compasition, cut off his head, and threw the finishing stroke to his martyrdom, on April 15, A.D. 1212. This transaction happened on the very spot where the church at Greenwich, which is dedicated to his name, stands. After his death his body was taken into the Thames, and being found the next day, was buried in the cathedral of St. Paul’s, by the bishop of London and Lincoln; from whence it was, in the year 1224, removed to Canterbury by Ethelnoth, the archbishop of that province.

Gerard, a Venetian, devoted himself to the freed God from his tender years; entered into a religious house for some time, and then determined to visit the Holy Land. Going into Hungary, he became acquainted with Stephen, the king of that country, who professed that he only regulated his subjects by wholesome laws, and taught them religious duties. Finding Gerard very qualified to instruct his people, he tried, by every means, to detain him in his kingdom; and, at length, having visited several churches, he made Gerard bishop of that Choront.

Gerard had a very difficult task to perform; the people of his diocese were fond of, and accustomed to idleness; and their perseverance was equal to their immensity. The new bishop, however, affidavits in his charge, and full of zeal for the salvation of his flock, laboured diligently to bring them to the sense of duty. He soon had the pleasurable to find that his endeavours were not unsuccessful, for his sweetests of diffusion won upon the people so much, that they could not help believing one whom they loved, and his miracles of curing the sick, and bringing back to the church thousands of a man they had given reason to reverence.

His conquests over idolatry were not confined to his own diocese, but extended to the adjacent counties, where his doctrines successfully spread, and met with the most effectual opposition. Wherever the faith made its way by his ministry, he took care to establish ecclesiastical discipline for the preservation of religion, and made several useful regulations in the service of the church. His exemplary conduct was at least as instructive as his fatherly discourses; and in many instances, by confirming the consciences of truth and dignity of their new profession; for who could doubt of the excellency of a religion, that raised above the weaknesses and passions of human nature?
STANISLAUS, Bishop of Cracow, Murdered at the Altar, by BOLESLAUS King of Poland.
The PERSECUTIONS of the CHRISTIANS in Various Parts.

on the demise of his parents became possessed of a plentiful fortune. Sensible that riches constituted no part of a Christian's happiness, any further than as they enabled him to afford the necessary comforts; he devoted most of his property to charitable uses, retaining only a small portion for his own sustenance.

His views were now solely directed to the ministry; but he remained for some time undetermined, whether he should enter the festive life, or engage among the secular clergy. He was at length persuaded to the latter by Lambert Zulu, bishop of Cracow, who gave him holy orders, and made him a canon of his cathedral. In this capacity he lived in a moli pious and exemplary manner, and succeeded so well in the discharge of his duties with unremitting fidelity and fervent devotion, that Lambert could not help being charmed with the many virtues which especially distinguished Stanislaus, and which convinced him that his former objection declined, and on account of his age, he declined the acceptance of the prelacy.

Determined however to conquer his scruples, the king, clergy, and nobility unanimously joined in writing to pope Alexander 11, who at their entreaties sent an express order that Stanislaus should accept the bishopric. Thus commanded, he obeyed, and exerted himself to the utmost in the improvement of his flock. He was equally careful with respect to both clergy and laity; and exhorted the former to a good example as much as he exhorted the latter to improve. He kept a lift of all the poor in his diocese, and by feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and administering remedies to the sick, he proved himself not only the godly pastor, but the bountiful physician, and generous benefactor.

Bollusius, the second king of Poland, had, by nature, many good qualities, but giving way too much to his passions he ran into many enormities. He daily grew worse and worse, and from being deemed a good king, at length had the appellation of a Cæsar belothing on him. The nobility was shocked at his conduct, but did not care to speak to him concerning it, for fear of his proceedings with grief, but were afraid to reprehend him. Stanislaus alone had the courage to tell him of his faults, when taking a private opportunity he freely displayed to him the enormity of his crimes.

The king, however, not presently corrected his evil manners, but, swayed by the virtues of the bishop, disbelieved his repentance, and appearing to be convinced of his errors promised to reform his conduct. So far however from designing to perform his promise, he complained to some of his hypocrites of the freedom that Stanislaus had taken with him; and they, to flatter his follies, condemned the boldness of the bishop. The king, soon after, attempted the chastity of a married lady, who rejected his offers with disdain; which piqued his pride to such a pitch, that he sent for his force, and violated her by compulsion. This greatly alarmed all the nobility; none knew how long his own wife, daughter, or father might be safe; and each dreaded for the peace of his family. They, at length, assembled together, and caling the clergy to their assembly, entreated Peter, archbishop of Gniezno, to forthwith obtain from the pope of Rome the approbation and sanction of the Sacred College; and adding, that it was more particularly his business so to do, as prince of Poland.

The archbishop, however, declined the dangerous task: for that he was a man of faulty virtue, he being a dissipation uncommonly timid. Several other prelates fluctuated themselves behind his back, and gave their fear the name of modesty, which would not permit them

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to undertake what their metropolitan had thought too great for his abilities. Staniflous alone was, as before, the only one of the prelates of Westminster who performed his duty, though he looked upon it as a most important and indissoluble duty. He, therefore, put himself at the head of a feckless number of ecclesiastics, noblemen, and gentlemen; and, proceeding to court, addressed the king in a solemn and serious manner, and fully represented the benison of his crimes, and what would be the fatal consequences of his debaucheries.

The king had scarce patience to hear him out; and, as soon as he had done speaking, flew into a violent passion, at once complaining of the want of respect to his royal dignity, and voicing revenge for what he called an insult to his person. Staniflous, however, not in the least intimidated by his menaces, visited him twice more, and remonstrated with him in a similar manner, which so much exasperated the king, that he knew not how to contain himself.

The nobility and clergy, finding that the admonitions of the bishop had not the desired effect upon the king, thought proper to interpose between them. The nobility entertained the bishop to refrain from any more exasperating a monarch of so ferocious and untractable a temper, and the clergy, on their part, thought of pacifying the king not to be offended with Staniflous for his charitable remonstrances. Neither, however, succeeded, for the king remained as obstinate, and the bishop as zealous, as ever. The haughty sovereign, at length, determined, at any rate, to get rid of a prelate, who, in his opinion, was to extremely troublesome. Hearing one day that the bishop was by himself, in the chapel of St. Michael, at a small distance from the town, he dispatched some soldiers to murder him. The soldiers readily undertook the bloody task; but when they came into the presence of the prelate, the venerable aspect of the prelate struck them with such awe, that they could not perform what they had promised. On their return, the king, finding they had not obeyed his orders, formed at them violently, flinched a dagger from one of them, and ran furiously to the chapel, where, finding Staniflous at the alter, he plunged the weapon to his heart. The prelate immediately expired, on the 8th of May, A.D. 1279, receiving a crown of martyrdom, as a reward for his zeal.

As Account of the PERSECUTIONS of the WALDENSES, in FRANCE.

POPE having brought various innovations into the church, and overspread the christian world with darknes and superstition, some few, who plainly perceived the pernicious tendency of such errors, determined to shew the light of the gospel in its real purity, and to dispel those clouds which awful priests had raised about it, in order to blind the people, and obscure its real brightness.

The principal among these was Berengarius, who, about the year 1200, boldly preached gospel truths according to their primitive purity. Many, from conviction, attended to his doctrine, and were, on that account, perilous objects to the pope. To bring them to the test, Peter Bruis, who preached at Troulloue, under the protection of an earl, named Hildephonson; and the whole tenets of the reformers, with the reasons of their separation from the church of Rome, were published in a book written by Bruis under the title of Antichrist. The pope, finding that the reform was very great, and the probability of their increasing alarmed the pope, who wrote to several princes to banish them their dominions, and employed many learned men to write against their doctrines.

As usual, the bishops, for they esteemed their most eminent preacher, they were called Henriesians; and as they would not admit of any proofs relative to religion, but what could be deduced from the scriptures themselves, the popish party gave them the name of Apollos. At length, Peter Waldo, or Valdo, a native of Lyons, became a fireuous opposer of Pope; and from him the reformed, at that time, received their name.

Peter Waldo was a man eminent for his learning, piety, and benevolence; so that his doctrines were approved of by great numbers, and he was followed by multitudes. The bishop of Lyons taking umbrage at the spread of his doctrine with which he treated the pope, and the Roman clergy, sent to admonish him to refrain, in future, from such difficulties. To which meffage Waldo returned, in reply: "That he could not be silent in a cause of such importance as the salvation of men's souls; whereas, in a cause of so little moment, the good and extraordinary acts of Christ which was nailed to the cross: that they believe there is a place called purgatory, where the souls of persons, after this life, are purged from the fumes of multitudes, and may be abated according to the merites gained by the money paid to the priests; that they teach, the communion of one kind, or the receiving the wafer only, sufficient for the lay-people, though the clergy must be indulged with both bread and wine; that they pray to the Virgin Mary and saints, though they are by no means sufficient for the redemption of the elect; that they forbid marriage to the clergy, though God allowed it; and that they use many things in baptism, though Christ used only water.

Pope Alexander the Third being informed of the traitorous proceedings of Waldo and his adherents, and commanded the bishop of Lyons to exterminate them, if possible, from the face of the earth; and hence began the papal persecutions against the Waldenses. Before we describe the sufferings and martyrdom of the Waldenses, it is necessary to shew their tenets, which will explain how, and for what reason, they differed from the church of Rome:

1. That holy oil is not to be mingled in baptism.
2. That prayers used over things inanitory are
superstitious.
3. Penance may be eaten in Lent; the clergy may marry, and auricular confession is unnecessary.
4. Confirmation is not a sacrament; we are not bound to pay obedience to the pope; minifters should live upon tithe; no dignity sees one clergyman above another, in their superiority can only be drawn from real sound.
5. Images in churches are absurd; image-worship is idolatry; the pope's indulgences ridiculous; and the miracles pretended to be done by the church of Rome are false.
6. Fornication and public fees ought not to be allowed; purgatory is a fiction; and deceased persons call for no prayers at all.
7. Extreme unition is not a sacrament; and all indulgences, and prayers are of no service to the dead.
8. The Lord's prayer ought to be the rule of all worship.

Waldo himself remained three years undiscovered in Lyons, though the utmost diligence was used to apprehend him. However, being greatly beloved, he was not betrayed; but at length found an opportunity of escaping from the place of his concealment to the town of Dauphiny. Waldo, in his turn, meant to propagate his doctrines in Dauphiny and Picardy, which was exasperated Philip, king of France, that he put the latter province, as the most noxious of the two, under military execution; destroying above 3000 gentle men's feasts, erasing some walled towns, burning ru
The Devil was cast into the Lake of Fire and Brimstone, where the Beast and False Prophets are shall be Tormented Day and Night for Ever and Ever. 

Revelations, Chap. XX, ver 10, 15.

The above Compartments contain an Emblematical Representation of the Rise, Introduction and Publication of the Roman Superstitions, of the Reformed Protestant Church, which Issued up from Popish Flames, the Aths of the Glorious Martyrs, who, at the Sound of the Trumpet, where the Messiah is now to be all his Glory to Judge the World, and to stand with Vails of Victory triumphant over their Enemies. In this Time, the first Grand Apotheosis Wills, Antichrist, all their Followers, shall themselves to be cast into the Lake of Fire, as described in the Revelations of St. John.
The PERSECUTION of the WALDENSES in FRANCE.

The reformers and driving others into Flanders and Germany. Notwithstanding these persecutions, the reformed religion flourished and the Waldenses were more numerous than ever. Hence the pope accused them of heresy, and the monks with impiety; and the first affecting that they had fallen into many errors, and the latter into all manner of licentious practices. These they denied, and refused in a modest publication, which at once defended the purity of their doctrines, and the piety of their lives.

"The pope, for this reason tried all manner of ways, in order to punish them, as in order to convert them. He endeavored to destroy their existence in a variety of ways, such as excommunications, anathemata, canons, constitutions, decrees, &c. by which he circulated everywhere the power of the church, and was not permitted to be buried in consecrated ground.

One of the Waldenses having taken refuge in Spain, Alphonse, king of Aragon, at the invitation of the pope, published an edict, strictly ordering all Roman Catholics to persecute them wherever they could be found; and decreasing that all who gave them the least assistance should be deemed traitors, and punished accordingly.

The year after this edict Alphonse was severely defeated by the hand of Providence: for his son was defeated in a great battle, and 50,000 of his men slain, by which a considerable portion of his kingdom fell into the hands of the Moors.

Notwithstanding these persecutions, the Papists, the excommunicated ministers preached boldly against the Romish church; and Peter Waldo, in particular, wherever he went, asserted,

1. That the pope was antichrist.
2. That the mass was an abomination.
3. That the bishop was an idol.
4. That papistry was a lie.

Their proceedings were so inhuman as to be a great example to those who had not the good and the very good, and to be a subject of blame in the cause of Popery. This was the origin of which, from him, was the order of the Dominicans friars; and the members of the order, greater and less, have since been principal inquisitors in the various persecutions the world. The power of the inquisition was unlimited; they proceeded against whom they pleased, with or without any justification of age, sex, or rank. The accusers were even infamous, the accusations were false, and the anonymous information fancied was thought sufficient evidence. To be rich was equal to being guilty; and all who had been accused of heresy, or of being favourers of heresy, that they might be obliged to pay for their lives, were declared traitors, and many, even as much as their kindred, could without danger, serve any one who was imprisoned for religion. To convey to theh who were accused, a little straw, or give them a cup of water, or a bit of fruit, or even as much as they could extract from the church, was to risk their lives. A man on horseback was accused of being a follower of Waldo, and his estates were confiscated, and the heir to them defrauded of his inheritance; and those were even obliged to make public acknowledgment of the error of the Holy Land, while the Dominicans took possession of their houses and properties, and when the owners returned would often pretend not to know them.

Enraged a knight, being induced by their opinion of Waldenses, to deliver it to the secular power, and burn at Paris, A.D. 1301. About the year 1280 such numbers of the reformed were apprehended, that the archbishops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, took possession of them, and thus expressed themselves to the inquisitors. "We hear that you have apprehended such a multitude of the Waldenses, that it is not impossible to destroy the charge of their food and comfort, but to provide lime and stone to build prisons for them."

In the year 1380, a monk inquisitor, named Francis Boraill, was committed to prison by pope Clement the seventh, to search for and punish the Waldenses in Aix, Arles, Vienne, Arumbre, Vessele, and Avignon.

Boraill opened a commission at Arumbre, and summoned all the inhabitants to appear before him. Those who appeared, and who were found to be of the reformed religion, were immediately delivered over to the secular power, and burnt; and those who did not appear were excommunicated for contumacy, and had their effects confiscated. In the distribution of the effects, however, they provided well for the sons of the church; for the clergy had two thirds of the property of every man, and the other third was condemned, and the secular power only one third. All the reformed inhabitants of the other places, named in the commission of this ecclesiastic, were equal sufferers; for devastations marked their journey, and their footsteps might be traced in blood.

In the year 1400, the Waldenses, who refined in the valley of Pralega, were, at the instance of some priests, suddenly attacked by a body of troops, who plundered their houses, murdered many, and occupied the Alps, where great numbers were frozen to death, being in the depth of winter.

A.D. 1450, a procession was carried on in Dauphiny against the Waldenses, by the archbishop of Arumbre, who employed a monk, named John Vayle, and this monk proceeded with such violence, that not only the Waldenses but even many Papists were sufferers. For if any Papists expressed compunction or pity for the indifferent people, who were so cruelly treated, they were sure to be accused of favoring the Waldenses, and to be punished for commiserating the miseries of their fellow-creatures. At length Vayle's proceedings became intolerable, that a great number of the Papists themselves went to petition against him to the king of France.

The monarch, on receiving this petition, granted the requital of the petitioners, and sent an express order to the governor of Dauphiny to stop the persecution.

Vayle, however, by the order of the archbishop, still continued the persecution; for taking advantage of the laudable cause of the edict, he pretended that he did nothing contrary to the king's precept, who had ordered punishment to such as ventured any thing against the holy catholic faith. This persecution of Vayle concluded with the death of the archbishop, which happened A.D. 1487.

Pope Innocent the eighth, A.D. 1488, determined to persecute the Waldenses. To this end he sent one Albert de Capitanicius, archdeacon of Cremona, to France. When Albert arrived in Dauphiny, he caused the enmity of the king's lieutenant exterminate the Waldenses from the valley of Lyone. The liege was very readily granted, and the clergy and people of all the inhabitants, who had retired to the mountains, and hid themselves in caves, caverns, &c. The archdeacon immediately filled the town with the troops, and catching many, they cast them headlong from precipices, by which they were dashed to pieces. Several, however, retired
retired to the further parts of the caverns, and knowing the intricacies better than the troops, they were able to conceal themselves. The archdeacon and lieutenant, not being able to come at them, ordered the mouths of the caves to be filled with faggots, which were set on fire. On the caves being afterward searched, 400 infants were found smothered, either in their cradles or their mother's arms; and, upon the whole, about 2000 men, women, and children, were destroyed in this perfecion.

Having executed his trusted work, the lieutenant and archdeacon proceeded with the troops to Praga, and Frasianiere, in order to persecute the Waldenses in those parts. But there, having heard of the fate of their brethren in the valley of Loyve, thought proper to arm themselves, and, singling out the chief of the paupers, bravely disputing the palisages through them, so harrowed the troops, that the lieutenant was compelled to retire without effecting his purpose.

In 1594, Anthony Fabri, and Christoffer de Saltz, having a commission to persecute the Waldenses of Dauphiny, put some to death, feated the clefts of others, and conformed the goods and chattels of many; but Lewis the twelfth coming to the crown in 1595, on the decease of his predecessor, the Waldenses petitioned the new magistrate, that in the bare name of justice, they determined to have the affair impartially examined, and to this end sent a commissioner of his own, together with a commissary from the pope, to make the proper inquiries. The wittes against the Waldenses having been examined, the commissioners perceived the cause to be evidently scandalous, and the king's commissioner in particular declared, "That he only desired to be as good a Christian as the worth of them." When this favourable report was made to the king, he immediately gave orders that the Waldenses should have their property restored to them. The archbishop of Ambrone, having the greatest quantity of their poor people's goods, it was generally imagined that he would let a good example to others, by being the first to restore them. The archbishop, however, to the surprise of the people in general, and to the affliction of the Waldenses in particular, declared, that he would not restore any of the property alluded to, for they were incorporated with, and became part of his archbishopric itself. He, however, with an affection of some small degree of candour, offered to relinquish several vineyards, of which he had dispossessed the Waldenses, provided, at the same time, the lords of Dauphiny would restore all they had taken from those poor people. This the lords absolutely refused, for they were even fond of keeping their ill-gotten gains.

The Waldenses, finding, by these means fruitless, and unjust proceedings, that they were not likely to recover any of their property, without something further being done, again appealed to the king. The monach having attended to their complaints, wrote to the archbishop; but that artful and aversive prelate replied, "That at the commencement of the persecution the Waldenses had been excommunicated by the pope, in consequence of which their goods were detained; therefore, till the sentence of excommunication was revoked and solemnly declared to be absolved, they could not be restored with propriety, or confident with the respect due to the pontiff." This plea was allowed to be reasonable; and application was ineffectually made to the pope to remove the sentence of excommunication against them. The pope, supposing this would be the case, had used all his interest at the court of Rome, to prevent such application from succeeding.

Thus were the poor Waldenses robbed of their property, only because they would not sacrifice their conscience to that of their inferiors. The Waldenses having spread from Dauphiny to several other provinces, became very numerous in Provence. At their first arrival, Provence was almost a desert, but became great industry it soon abounded with corn, cattle, &c.

The pope, by being often near them at his seat at Avignon, heard occasionally many things concerning their differing from the church of Rome. His influence greatly exasperated him, and he determined to have them persecuted on account of their religiousness. Proceeding to some extremities, under God's directing, the king undertook the crown of France, the latter became alarmed, and sent his master of requets and his confessor, to examine into the affair. On their return they reported that the Waldenses were not such dangerous objects as had been represented; that the king, and all his court, perfectly honestly, were friendly to all, hurt none, and their children to be baptized, had taught them to the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments; and promised the scriptures with purity, kept the Lord's day holy; and, Oxonians, dedicated to the flute. Then, said the king, they are much more Christians than myself or my catholic subjects, and therefore they shall not be persecuted: the king was good as his word, and sent orders to keep the persecutions according.

Some time after, the inhabitants of Melidee received a summons, that the heads of the families of the town should appear before the ecclesiastical court. When they appeared, and confessed themselves Waldenses, they were ordered to be burned, but they managed to evade the king, and was killed only to the flatte. Then, said the king, they are much more Christians than myself or my catholic subjects, and therefore they shall not be perfected: the king was good as his word, and sent orders to keep the persecutions according.

The president of Opdeh sent several commissaries to burn some villages that were occupied by Waldenses, which they performed; and, without the least return of injury, the Waldenses immediately ravished the women, cut off the breasts of males, and then suffered the infants to famish, &c. The president likewise proclaimed, that none should give any manner of assistance, or turbulence, to the Waldenses.

Going to another small town, the president found there only a boy, who had forrandered himself to another, for the other inhabitants had defected the male. The boy he ordered to be shot by the forlorn to whose father he had forrandered, and then defrosted every house in place.

After this the president marched against Cahiers and began to cannonade it. At this time there were not above thirty poor peasants, with their families, in town; and they sent him word, that he need not expect much upon his arrival. He could not open the gates, and underhand, provided they might be permitted to retire, with their families, to Geneva. This was promised them; but the garrison no sooner opened, than the president ordered all the dead to be cut in pieces, which cruel command was executed with the most barbarity. Several women and children were crammed into a large barn, which was set fire to and every one perished in the flames. Other wise and children having taken refuge in a church, the president ordered one of his officers to go in and kill all the captain, as well as his family. "Such a necessary cruelty is becoming a military man," said the president, being displeased at this reply, said, "I told you, on pain of being accused of mutiny, immediately to obey my orders!" when the captain, afraid of consequences of such a nature, thought proper to reply, and make a faciety of humanity to the for military punishment.

The president then sent a detachment of his troops, ravage the town of Calais, which despond was empty of people, and being greatly harried, and cruelties were such, shocking both to modality and nature.

At length, the judgment of God overtook this flower of cruelty, the president; for he was, at last, afflicted with a dreadful bloody flux, and a painfull flux and flux and flux, that in extremity of misfortune, he was put to another and another, who, on examining his disorders, told him two was a signallaneous nature, and much worse than he had ever
A Bookseller burnt at Avignon in France for selling Bibles in the French tongue; with some of them tied round his Neck.
The PERSECUTIONS of the ALBIGENSIANS.

The Albigensians were people of the reformed religion, who inhabited the country of Albi. They were condemned on the charge of heresy, and at the Council of Lateran, by order of pope Alexander the Third. Nevertheless they interceded so prodigiously, that many cities were inhabited by persons only of their persuasion, and several eminent noblemen embraced their doctrines. Among the latter were Raymond, earl of Toulouse, Raymond, earl of Foix, the earl of Beziers, &c. The pope, at length, pretended that he wished to draw them to the Roman faith by found argument and clear reasoning; and for this end ordered a general disputation, in which the heretics were entirely overcome by the arguments of Arnold, a refined clergyman, whose reasons were so strong, that they were compelled to confess their force.

A friar, named Peter, having been murdered in the dominions of the earl of Foix, the pope made a murder a pretext to persecute that nobleman and his subjects. To effect this, he sent perfidious through all Europe, in order to raise forces to act coercively against him.
delivered up at discretion, or the most dreadful con-
sequences should ensue.

The earl of Beязiers returning into the city, told the
inhabitants he could obtain no mercy, unless the Alba-
genians would abjure their religion, and conform to the
worship of the church of Rome. The Roman Catholic
lord asked the Albigensian bishop, "In the name of the
Lord, will you forsake your religion for the sake of
your life?" and the Albigensian, would not answer, that
they would not forsake their religion for the base price
of their frail life: that God was able, if he pleased, to
defend them; but if he would be glorified by the confection
of their limbs and blood, let him have them. The earl
asked if what he had said was not true, and the bishop
said, it was. That they had rather displease the pope, who
could but kill their bodies, than God, who could call
both body and soul into hell.

The pope's partisans finding their opportunities insec-
tate, and that they might rob the pope's legate, beheading
him, not to include them in the chaste-ment of the Albi-
genians; and representing, that the belief means to win
the latter over to the Roman-Catholic persuasion was by
gentile means, and not by rigor. The legate, upon
hearing this, flew into a violent passion with the bishop,
and declared, that "If all the city did not acknowledge
their fault, they should suffer of one curse without
dilution of religion, lex, or age."

The inhabitants refusing to yield upon such terms, a
general appearance was made of the army, and the pope's
legate executed the beheading of the bishop, when it is impossible for the imagination to paint a more
horrid scene than now ensued. Every cruelty that bar-
barous superstition could devise was practised: nothing
was to be heard but the groans of men who lay werteb-
ing in their blood; the lamentations of mothers who
were found, overwhelmed in the body by the spears
of the soldiers, and to the foul, by having their children
taken from them, and daubed to pieces before their
faces. The plaints of violated maidens and rav-
ished matrons, the cries of helpless infants, and the excreta of women with the bloodstained teeth of the
crucifies, added to the famis of horror. The city being
fired in various parts, new scenes of confusion arose;
in several places the streets were flooding with blood:
here lofty buildings appeared in clouds of smoke, and
there large ranges of houses were seen in flames. Those
who hid themselves in the cellars of their dwellings, had
only the dreadful alternative to remain and perish in the
flames, or rush out and fall by the swords of the soldiery.
The bloody legate, during these infernal proceedings,
beheaded the bishop's carriage, and men cried out to the
traveller, "Kill the bishop, kill him, kill him. Woman
and child; kill Roman-Catholics as well as Albigensians,
for when they are dead the Lord knows how to pick
out his own." Thus the beautiful city of Beязiers
was reduced to a heap of ruins; and 60,000 persons of
both sexes, and both classes, were murdered upon the
occasion.

The earl of Beязiers and a few others made their
ecape, and went to Carcassion, which they put into the
belt of defence of the city. The legate, not to lose an
opportunity of falling blood during the forty
days which the troops were to serve, led them immedi-
ately against Carcassion. As soon as the place was in-
vaded, a furious assault was given, but the besiegers
were repulsed with great slaughter; and upon this oc-
casion the earl of Beязiers gave command to his...
The PERSECUTIONS of the ALBIGENSES.

The bishop with the canons of the cathedral church marched out of the city in solemn procession, barefooted and bareheaded, taking with them the cross, banner, bolt, &c. and proceeded in that manner to the legate's army. Here they were received with the greatest courtesy, and proceeded as perfect martyrs, and the legate thought this a sufficient excuse to proceed against the earl of Thoufoul, for having as he termed it, relapsed from the truth. The legate attempted to get him into his power by first taking, but the earl being apprized of the design, escaped the snare.

Enraged at his disaffection, the legate laid siege to the castle of Montclerc, which belonged to the earl, and was garrisoned by Baldwin himself, and paved by the first summrs, Baldwin not only surrendered, but altered his religion, and turned Papist. This stroke, which severely afflicted the earl of Thoufoul, was followed by another that gave him still greater mortification; for his old friend the king of Arragon forsook his interest; and it was flattered, that the king of Arragon's daughter should be married to earl Simon's eldest son.

The legate's troops were then joined by the forces of Arragon and those belonging to earl Simon, when they jointly laid siege to Thoufoul.

The earl of Thoufoul determined to interrupt the besiegers by frequent sallies. In the first of these he met with a severe repulse; but in the second he took the earl of Simon's son prisoner, and in the third he unhorsed earl Simon himself. He then led his army, composed of the popish army, and some other auxiliaries, of the Albigensians, the earl of Thoufoul compelled his enemies to raise the siege. In their retreat they did much mischief in the countries through which they passed, and put many of the people to death.

The earl of Thoufoul now did all he could to recover the friendship of the king of Arragon, and as the marriage ceremony between that monarch's daughter, and earl Simon's son, had not been performed, he entered into an engagement with him to break off his present precarious match, and propos'd another more proper, viz. that his own eldest son and heir to the earldom of Thoufoul should wed the princesses of Arragon, and that by this match their friendship should be again united and more firmly cemented.

The king of Arragon was easily persuaded not only to come into this proposal, but to form a league with the principal Albigensians, and to put himself as captain general at the head of their united forces, confiding in his own people, and of the troops of the earls of Thoufoul, Foix, and Comminges. The Papists were now alarmed at these proceedings; earl Simon sent all over Chiffendom to engage the affiance of the Roman Catholics, and the pope's legate began hostilities by entering the dominions of the earl of Foix, and committing the most shocking depredations.

The army of the Albigensians being ready to take the field, the king of Arragon began his operations by laying siege to Murat, a town near Thoufoul, belonging to the Roman-Catholics, strongly fortified, and plentifully situated upon the river Garonne. Earl Simon, by force of marches, came to the affiance of the place; and unfortunately the king of Arragon, who kept up very little discipline in his army, was feasting and reveling, at a time when all his attention was requisite. Earl Simon suddenly attacked the Albigensians, who were in confusion, when the united forces of the reformers were defeated, and the king of Arragon himself was slain. The loss of this battle was imputed to the negligence of the king of Arragon, who kept up no manner of order in his army, and was as fond of entertainment in a camp, as if he had been securely at peace in a palace.

Flushed with this victory, the popish commanders declared they would entirely rout and extirpate the whole race of the Albigensians, and every rapine and inhuman usage was resorted to. The king of France, hearing of this, sent to the earl of Thoufoul, and the earls of Foix and Comminges, to deliver to him all the castles and fortresses of which they were possessed. These noblemen did not think proper to return an answer to the demand, but retired to their respective territories, in order to put them into the best posture of defence.
Earl Simon marched towards the city of Thouolouze, when the earl of Thouolouze, who had retired to Montalban, sent word to the citizens of the former place, to make the best terms they could with the Roman-Catholics, as he was confident they could not hold out a siege, but at the same time recommended them to preserve their hearts for him, though they surrendered their persons to another. The citizens of Thouolouze, upon receiving this intimation, sent deputies to earl Simon, with offers of immediate surrender, provided the city itself, and the persons and properties of it's inhabitants, should be perfectly safe, and protected from devastations or injury.

These conditions were agreed to immediately, and earl Simon, in order to gratitate his envoys, at court, wrote a letter to Lewis, the son of Philip, King of Castile, informing him that the city of Thouolouze had offered to surrender to him; but being willing that the prince should have the honour of receiving the keys, and taking the homage of the people, he begged that he would repair to the camp for that purpose.

Prince Lewis, pleased with the invitation, went directly to the army, and had the city of Thouolouze surrendered to him in form. The pope's legate, however, was greatly displeased at the mild conditions granted to the people of Thouolouze, and inferred, that, though the prince might take upon himself the homage of the place, and receive the homage of the people, yet the plunder belonged to the holy pilgrims (for to the popish soldiers employed in these expeditions were called) and that the place, as a receptacle of heretics, ought to be difmantled.

In vain did the prince and earl Simon, remonstrate against such harsh proceedings, in so contrary to the conditions granted at the surrender of the place: the legate was peremptory, when earl Simon, and the prince, unwilling to come to an open rupture with him, gave up the point, and requested him to do the same.

The legate immediately sent his holy pilgrims, as he termed them, to work, when they presently dismantled the place, and plundered the inhabitants: thus the poor people were stripped of all their property, at a time they thought themselves perfectly secure, by the articles of the treaty of surrender.

The pope's legate finding that among the Albigenese were many lucrative places, which would of course fall to the disposal of the prince, he determined, by an artifice, to deprive him of any advantage which might accrue from them. He thought the Ronsil church ought to be engorged and monopolize every thing that was valuable to this end. He gave abolution to the Albigenese, which, though they had not in the least changed their religious opinions, he cunningly called reconciling them to the church. The prince, not apprized of this, or of his fitch of his officers as he thought merited encouragement, into the possession of some places of profit; when, to great amazement, the legate informed him, that he had no power to dispose of these places. The prince demanded an explanation of his motive: the legate, in reply, explained the legate's reasons, is, that the people have received abolution, and being reconciled to, are consequently under the protection of the church; therefore, all places among, or connected with them, are in the disposal of the church only.

The prince, though offended at this curious mode of reasoning, and highly displeased at the meanness of the subterfuge, thought proper, at that time, to dissemble his resentment. Determined, however, to quit the legate, he put the troops that were under his command in motion, as if he was going to another fortress: but he found, wherever he came, that the legate had played the same trick, and plaintively perceived, if he continued his military operations, that when unsuccessful, he should hear all the blame, and when successful, the legate would run away with all the credit of the victory. The colonel charged him of the folly of remaining longer in the army; he therefore left it in disgust, and returned to court.

Earl Simon now, with his own forces, those the prince had just quit, and some other auxiliaries, undertook the siege of Foix, being provoked to it by the deaths of his brother, who was slain in the battle of Courtenay, and of his father, who was killed in the battle of Poitiers. He lay before the castle of Foix for the space of 30 days, during which time he frequently affrighted his own troops, as well as the enemy. Hearing that an army of the Albigensians were in full march towards him, in order to revenge the death of their king, he raised his face, and went to meet them. The earl of Simon, immediately faltered out and barricased his rear, while the Albigenese attacking his front, gave him a bad defeat, which compelled him to flint himself up carelessly.

The pope's legate called a council at Montpellier, renewing the military operations against the Albigenese, and for doing proper honour to earl Simon, who was present; for the Albigensians not taking advantage of their victory, had neglected to block up Carcassonne, which omission earl Simon had the liberty to repair at Montpellier.

At the council the legate, in the pope's name, declared, that no compliments to earl Simon, and declared, that he should be prince of all the countries that might be taken from the Albigenese, and made free; by this means, he intended to effect his designs.

- The most excellent solider of Jesus Christ, and the invincible defender of the Catholic faith. But just as the earl was going to return thanks for these great honours, and immunities, a messenger brought word, that the peace between the prince and earl Simon was ended, and that hostilities were going to break forth, which is a common disturber.

This threw the whole council into great confusion, and earl Simon, though a minute before highlyblasted as the invincible Defender of the Faith, was glad to jump out of a window, and fly away from the city by the private passages.

The affair becoming serious, according to the orders of the papal secretary, the pope himself came from another council, to be held at Lateran, in which great powers were granted to Roman-Catholic inquisition; and the Albigenese were immediately put to death. This counsel of Lateran likewise confirmed to earl Simon the honors intended him by the council of Montferrat, and empowered him to raise another army against the Albigenese.

The prince immediately repaired to court, read his inquisition from the French king, and began to levy forces. Having raised a considerable number of troops, he determined, if possible, to exterminate the Albigenese, when he received advice, that his country was in great danger, by the presence of earl Simon. He immediately proceeded to the relief of his wife, when Albigenese met him, gave him battle, and defeated him. He, however, found means to escape from the fight, and get into the castle of Narbonne.

During earl Simon's misfortunes, Thouolouze was covered by the Albigenese, but the pope stilloplay earl Simon's cause, raised forces on his account, enabled him, once more, to undertake the siege of the city. The earl allayed the place furiously; but was repulsed with great loss, he stormed the castle, and when the pope's legate failed in carrying him, not least in his body, made another vigorous assault; but was defeated by the townsmen, and his townsmen were up by any means recover the city, and destroy the inhabitants; and those of our men who are in flight, I will assure you shall immediately pass by the city. One of earl Simon's principal officers, in this assault, with a fierce assault, met a Monsieur Cardin, with great assurance; but if the earl beheld he will, as heretofore, pay dearly for his confidence.

Earl Simon, however, took the legate's advice, and another assault, and was again repulsed. To cut his misfortunes, before the Albigenese could recover the confusion, the earl of Foix made his appearance at the head of a formidable body of forces, and seizing the already dispersed army of earl Simon, put them to the rout; when the earl of Simon, who was now easily escaped being drowned in the Garonne.
DOMINICOBERTO after having been lanced in the Town, even near with his Ears and Nose cut off, whelked over in his Cheeks, torn and death, with red hot ironers.
The PERSECUTIONS of the ALBIGENSES in FRANCE.

which he had halfingly plun ged, in order to avoid being apprehended.  

So this miscarriage almost broke earl Simon's heart; but the pope's legate had him yet be of good cheer, for he would raise him another army; which promise, with some diligence, and three years delay, he at length performed, and made of the Albigenses a nation, and placed them in the field. He sent his whole force against Toulouse, which he besieged for the space of nine months, when in one of the sallies made by the besieged, his horse was wounded. The animal being in great anguish, ran away with him, and bore him directly under the ramparts of the city, where an archer, seeing him, shot him in the thigh with an arrow; and a woman immediately after throwing a large stone from the wall, it struck him upon the head, and killed him instantly. Upon the death of the earl, the siege was raised; but the legate, greatly enraged to be disappointed of his wished end, entered the beleaguered city, engaged the king of France in the cause, who sent his sons to besiege it. The French prince, with some chosen troops, fortunately assaulted Toulouse, but meeting with a severe repulse, he grew sick of the enterprise, and abandoned Toulouse to the besiegers. The archbishop of Toulouse came to the siege, and put to the sword all the inhabitants, consisting of 5,232 men, women, and children.

Bertrand (for that was the legate's name) being very old, grew weary of following the army; but his position for blood-thirsty still remained, as appears by his edition of the things he had done, and caused to be placed on the walls of the city, where it was seen by the inhabitants, and caused them to curse the archbishop. The king of France, the son and heir of earl Simon, undertook the command of the troops, and immediately laid siege to Toulouse, before the walls of which he was slain. His brother Almeric succeeded to the command; but he was soon obliged to raise the siege by the spirited conduct of the besiegers.

Thenceupon the legate prevailed upon the king of France to undertake the siege of Toulouse in person, and reduce to the obedience of the church those obstinate heretics; therefore they proceeded to call the brave Albigenses. Hearing of the great preparations made by the king of France, the earl of Toulouse sent the women, children, cattle, &c., into secret and secure places in the mountains, ploughed up the land, that the king's forces might obtain no forage, and did all that a skilful general could do to harm his country, and distress the enemy. By these wise regulations the French army, soon after entering the country of Toulouse, suffered all the extremities of famine, which obliged the troops to feed on the carcasses of horses, on dead fowls, cats, &c., which unwholesome food produced the plague in the army. The cowards deserted the king's camp; nevertheless, his son, who succeeded him, determined to carry on the war, but was defeated in three several engagements by the earl of Toulouse. However, the king, the queen-mother, and three archbishops formed another formidable army, and had the good fortune to persuade the earl of Toulouse to come to a conference, when he was treasurer-on-feigned, made a prisoner, forced to appear bare-footed and barred before his enemies, and compelled to subscribe the unspeakable and ignominious conditions which followed.

1. That he should abjure the faith he had hitherto defended.  
2. That he should be subjected to the church of Rome.  
3. That he should give his daughter Joan in marriage to one of the bishops of the king of France.  
4. That he should maintain in Toulouse the use of the liberal arts, and two grammarians.  
5. That he should take upon him the cross, and serve five years against the Saracens in the Holy Land.  
6. That he should level the walls of Toulouse with the ground.  
7. That he should destroy the walls and fortifications of thirty of his other cities and castles, as the legate should judge necessary.  
8. That he should remain prisoner in the Louvre at Paris, till his daughter was delivered to the king's commissaries.  

These cruel conditions were followed by a severe persecution against the Albigenses (many of whom fell not for the cross), and expelled orders, that the laity should not be permitted to read the sacred writings.

The persecution against the Albigenses was very great in the year 1620. At a town called Tolb, while the minister was preaching to a congregation of the reformed church, the windows were broken and many of the people. A lady of considerable eminence, being exhorting to change her religion, if not for her own sake, at least for the sake of the infant she held in her arms, the lady, with an undaunted courage, said, "I did not quit Italy, my native country, nor forsake the state I had there, for the sake of John Chrift, to renounce him here. With respect to my infant, why should I not deliver him up to death, since God delivered up his Son to die for us?" As soon as she had done speaking, they took the child from her, delivered it to a papish nurse to bring up, and then cut to pieces the poor mother.

A youth of fifteen named Dunsdon, hearing of the fate of his betrothed, resolved to turn Papist, was let upon an aff with his face to the tail, which was obliged to hold in his hand for a bribe. In this condition he was led to the marketplace, amidst the acclamations of the populace; after which they cut off his nose, ears, and cheeks, and burnt his limbs in several parts of his body, till he at last died.  

There was an Albigensian young lady, of a noble family, feized by the Papists, and carried through the streets with a paper mitre upon her head. After mocking, beating and infuring her face with dirt, they bade her call upon the saints; to which she replied, "My trust and salvation is in Christ only; for even the Virgin Mary, without the merits of her Son, could not be favored." On hearing this, the multitude fell upon her, and soon put an end to her existence.

A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS in FRANCE, previous to, and during the Civil Wars of that Nation.

A learned man, named Almericus, and six of his disciples, were in the third century ordered to be burnt at Paris, for holding these tenets:  
1. That God was no otherwise present in the sacramental bread, than in any other bread.  
2. That it was idolatry to build altars, or altars, to saints.  
3. That it was ridiculous to offer incense to saints.  
4. That it was ridiculous to kill the relics of saints.  

However, the martyrdom of Almericus and his pupils did not prevent many from acknowledging the justness of his notions, and feeling the purity of the reformed religion; so that the faith of Chrift continually increased, and in time not only spread itself over many parts of France, but diffused the light of the gospel over various other nations.

About the year 1524, at a town in France, called Melon, one John Clark set up a bill on the church door, wherein he called the pope Antichrist. For this offense he was repeatedly whipped, and then buried in the church: his body was thrown from the pulpit and cast into the churchyard; but he was found with a loud voice, "Blessed be Chrift, and welcome these marks for his fake." Going afterwards to Metz, in Lorraine, he demolished some images, for which he had his right hand and nose cut off, and his arms and breadstorn by sharp pincers. He fulfilled these cruelties with amazing fortitude, and met his death in throwing himself into the flight of the 11th plain, which expressly forbids superition.
Having fum this psalm with admirable patience, he was burned into the fire, and burnt to ashes.

Several persons of the reformed persuasion were about this time, beaten, racked, scourged, and burnt to death, in several parts of France; but more particularly at Paris, Malda, and Limonin.

There was a native of Malda burnt in a flow fire for saying he was a Roman Catholic. Some were burnt in the denial of the death and passion of Christ. At Limoin, John de Caduro, a clergyman of the reformed religion, was apprehended, degraded, and ordered to be burnt.

On his degradation, a friar undertook to preach a sermon upon the occasion; when opening the New Testament he plunged into it, and preached of St. Paul's apostle, to Timothy, chap. iv. ver. 1. "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils." The friar began to expound this verse in favour of the Roman-Catholic persuasion, and in condemnation of the reformed religion, when John de Caduro called to him, and begged, that before he proceeded in his sermon, he would read the two verses which followed that he had chosen for his text. The friar again opened the Testament, but on calling his eye on the passage, he fled mute and confounded.

John de Caduro then defended that the book he had chosen was not contrary to the faith, being compiled with, he read thus, "Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience feared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth." The friar had only looked into it, but had not considered sufficient to own their error; but instead of thanking the person who pointed out their being wrong, they condemned him to the flames, and he was accordingly burned.

Alexander Kanaus, a reformed clergyman, was burnt at Paris in a flow fire; four men were committed to the same prison, but were afterwards discharged and the saying mafs. One had his tongue bored through for speaking ill of the Romish superstitions. Peter Gaudet, a Genoese, was burnt by the decree of his own uncle, a bigoted Roman-Catholic; and John Pointer, a fur-Geon, had his tongue cut out, and was then committed to the fire.

Many were martyred at Arras, Fontainas, and Ru- tiers, for being of the reformed religion; in particular, at the latter place, one Stephen Brune was condemned to be burnt for refusing to attend mafs. When the fire was kindled, the flames were driven from him by a brisk gale of wind; this occasioned much confusion among the flames, and pour oil on them. Still, however, the wind blew the flames into a contrary direc- tion, when the executioner abdurly grew angry with Stephen Brune, and in his passion struck him on the head. Brune very calmly laid in return, "As I am condemned only to be burnt, why do you strike me with a flail like a dog?" This expression so greatly enraged the executioner, that he ran him through with a pike, and then burned the body when lifeless.

One Aymond de Lavoy, a miniller of Bourdeaux, had a complaint lodged against him by the Romish clergy of that city. On hearing this, his friends advised him to abjure, but he had in his mind to defy the Romish clergy. He brought to trial, was ordered to be racked, when in the extremity of the torture he com- ported himself with this expression: "This body must once die, but the soul shall live; for the kingdom of God endureth for ever." At length he frowned away, but on recovering, prayed for his perfection. The question was then put to him, "Whether he embrace the Roman-Catholic persuasion; which partly refusing, he was condemned to be burnt.

At the place of execution he said, "O Lord, make haste to help me; tarry not; despise not the work of thy hands." And then he added, "I have no right to speak for this form, but I address them thus, "My friends, I expect to study and learn the gospel; for the word of God abideth ever. Labour to know the will of God, and fear not them that kill the body, but have no power over the soul. The executioner then strangled him, and burnt him, but did not spill his blood.

An apothecary of Blois, of the name of Hufon, went from that city to Rouen, and there privately dividend and feared about several small pamphlets, explaining the tenets of the reformed church, and exposing the Ro- mish superstitions. These books gave a general alarm, and a council being called, an order was issued for diligent search to be made for the author and distributor. With some difficulty it was at length discovered that Hufon had brought them to Rouen, and that he was gone towards Dieppe. Orders for a pursuit were given, and Hufon being apprehended, was brought back to Rouen, where he confessed that he was both author and distributor of the works. He was frequently occasioned his condemnation, when he was executed in the following manner. His tongue being cut out, his hands and feet were tied behind, and he was drawn up by a pulley to a gibbet, and then let down into a fire kindled beneath; in which situation he called upon the Lord, and desired him to support him.

One Francis Bribard, secretary to cardinal de Bellen, for speaking in favour of the reformed, had his tongue cut out, and was then burnt, A.D. 1544. James Co- bard, a school-maeller in the city of St. Michael, was burnt, A.D. 1544, for saying, "That mafs was ales and abford, and had been about a hundred years time, fourteen men yet alive, in Malda, their wives being compelled to stand by and behold the execution.

Peter Chapot brought a number of Bibles in the French tongue to France, and publicly sold them there in the year 1546, for which being apprehended, he was condemned to be burnt; which sentence was executed a few days after it passed. Soon after a cripple of Montes a school-maeller of Fera, named Stephen Pollot, and a man named John English, were burnt for the truth.

The choice being offered to Michael Michelo, either to recant and be beheaded, or to perjure and be burnt; he chose the latter, making use, at the same time, of this noble and true maxim, "I am in a great measure to deny the truth, will give me strength to endure the fire." Many, about the same time were burnt at Paris, Bar, &c. and at Langres, five men and two women, by the Roman-Catholics, committed to the flames for being of the reformed religion: wherein young woman encouraged the other, laying. "The day shall we be married to Jesus Christ, and he with for ever.

A rich jeweller, named Monsieur Blondel, was, A.D. 1548, apprehended at Lyons, and sent to Paris; where he was burnt for the faith, by order of the high coun-

A.D. 1549. Hubert, a youth of nineteen years, was apprehended, and went to his deaths at Dijon; as was Florence Veneto, at the same time.

There was a lady, named Ann Audcber, who desig- ned, on account of her faith, to retire to Geneva, feiz'd and sent to Paris. Being condemned, she was led to execution by a rope placed round her waist, and a stake fixed at her right side. She was on a Saturday, the 4th, I was married to a man on a Saturday, and now I shall be married to God on the same day of the week." She was at length fainted to the flake, and burnt, meeting her fate with the most exemplary fortitude and resignation.

Many singular circumstances happened immediately after the corollation of Henry the Second, king of France, which we shall relate. A taylor was apprehended for working on a sail day's; being after
Mr. John Calas, a French Protestant Merchant, Broke on the Wheel by order of the Parliament of Thoulouse.
The judge and all who were present, from these words he supposed he had been a murderer, or thief, and that what he spoke was through contrition for his past crimes. The judge, however, was more severe; he was beyond doubt convinced, and ordered him to explain precisely what he meant; when Serre, with tears in his eyes, cried, "O! I was formerly that abominable thing—A Popish Priest." This reply surprised all who heard it, and so much exasperated the judge that he condemned Serre to be first degraded, then to have his tongue cut, and afterwards to be publicly burnt; which sentence was punctually executed.

Two men of the reformed religion, with their faith, and their daughter of eight years of age, were burnt at Nievre, in the year 1554, apprehended and committed to the castle of Nievre. On examination, they confessed their faith, and were ordered for execution; being smeared with greafl, brimstone, and gunpowder, they cried, "Salt on, salt on this sinful and rotten flesh!" Their tongues were then cut out, and they were afterwards committed to the flames, which mno confounded them, by means of the combustible matter with which they were bemearmed all over.

A priest of the name of Philip Hamlin, was apprehended for having renounced the errors of Popery, and embraced the reformed religion. A piece of wood was stuck into the back of the stake, the faggots were piled about him, when he began earnestly to exhort the people to quit the errors of the church of Rome. The officer who presided at the execution, on hearing this, ordered the faggots to be immediately lighted, and that one flower should be thrown upon the fire, while Hamlin was burning. This act, the people would not hear his voice, or be induced to change their opinions from what he might say to them.

A full and particular Account of the Martyrdom of John Calas.

Seeing that we are now treating of the persecutions in the kingdom of France, it may not be improper to look a little forward to modern times, where we may fee the fame pernicious spirit of Popery, that raged formerly, most strikingly exhibited in the martyrdom of John Calas.

Without doubt, this is one of the most singular affairs that ever happened, and by being translated in a polished age, the impressions it will have are of no account. It may root out the inveterate prejudices of the Roman-Catholics; or render them less cruel, or inexorable, to the Protestants.

This John Calas was a merchant of the city of Toulouse, where he had been settled, and lived in good repute, and had married an English woman of French extraction.

Both Calas and his wife were Protestants, and had five sons, whom they educated in the same religion; but Lewis, one of the sons, became a Roman-Catholic, having converted by a maid-servant, who had lived in the family above thirty years. The father, however, did not express any resentment or ill-will upon the occasion, but kept the maid in the family, and fettered an annuity upon the son. In October 1761, the family confided of John Calas and his wife, one woman ferment, Mark Anthony, and the other, the sister of John Calas, the second son. Mark Anthony was bred to the law, but could not be admitted to practice, on account of his being a Protestant; hence he grew melancholy, read all the books which he could procure relative to Faitistes, and seemed determined to destroy himself. To this may be added, that he led a dissipated life, was greatly addicted to gaming, and did all which could constitute the character of a libertin. On which account his father frequently reprehended him, and sometimes in terms of severity, which considerably added to the gloom that seemed to oppress him.

Mr. Gobert La Vaffe, a young gentleman about nineteen years of age, the son of La Vaffe, a celebrated advocate of Toulouse, having been some time at Bordeaux, came back to Toulouse to see his father on the 13th of October 1761; but finding that he was gone to
his country-houfe, at some distance from the city, be sent to several places, endeavouring to hire a horfe to carry him thither. No horfe, however, was to be hired, and no one offered to undertake the journey. John Calas the father, and the elfted fon Mark Anthony, who was his friend. Calas, the father, invited him to supper, as he could not set out for his father’s that night, and La Vaiffe conferred. All three, there-fore, proceeded to Calas’s houfe together, and when they came thither, finding that Mme. Calas was not at home, the room in which she had just quitted that day, La Vaiffe went up to see her. After the first compliments, he told her, he was to sup with her by her husband’s invita- tion, at which she expreffed her fatisfaction, and a few minutes after left him, to give some orders to her maid. When that was done, he went to look for her fon Anthony, who was fitting alone in the fhop, very penive; he gave him fome money, and defired him to go and buy fome Rouquefort cheefs, as he was a better judge of the quality of cheefs than any other person in the family. She then returned to her guelf La Vaiffe, who very foon after went again to the livery-Rable, to fee if any horfe was come in, that he might fecure it for the next morning. Anthony in a fhort time after went, having bought the cheefs, and La Vaiffe alfo coming back about the fame time, the family and their guelf went down to supper, in a room up one pair of fairs; the whole company con-fiding of the father, mother, brother, and his friend, Peter Calas the fon, and La Vaiffe the guelf, no other person being in the houfe, except the maid-fervant, who has been mentioned already.

Now it was about seven o’clock: the supper was not long; but before it was over, or, according to the French expreffion, “when they came to the defert,” Anthony left the table, and went into the kitchen, which was on the fame floor, as he was accufomed to do. The maid asked him if he was cold? He anfwere-Red, “Quite the contrary, I burn;” and then left her. In the mean time his friend and family left the room they had fupped in, and went into a bed-chamber; the father and La Vaiffe got down together on a fofa; the younger fon Peter in an elfbow chair; and the mother in another chair; and without making any inquiry af-ter Anthony, continued in conversation together till between nine and ten o’clock, when La Vaiffe took his leave. and Peter, who had fallen asleep, was awakened to attend him with light.

The guelf was in the great ftoom of Calas’s houfe a fhop and a warehoufe; the latter of which was divided from the shop by a pair of folding-doors. When Peter Calas and La Vaiffe came down fairs into the shop, they were extremely shocked to fee Anthony hanging in his fhirt, from a bar which he had laid across the top of the two folding-doors, having half opened them for that pur-pose. On discovery of this horrid fcene, they shrieked out, which brought down Calas the father, the mother being feized with fuch terror as kept her trembling in the paffage above. The unhappy old man rushed for-ward, and taking the body in his arms, the bar, to which the body was feized, fell out, stepped off from the folding-door of the warehoufe, and fell down on the floor. Having placed the body on the ground, he loofed and took off the cord in an agony of grief and anguish not to be expreffed, weeping, trembling, and deploring himself and his child. The two young men, his fecond fon and La Vaiffe, who had not had preface of mind enough, having a fudden idea of the murder, and inflamed by fury, with amazement and horror. In the mean time the mother, hearing the confufed cries and com-plaints of her husband, and finding no one come to her, found means to get down fairs. At the bottom fie faw La Vaiffe, and f hastily demanded what was the matter. This having been a man in a rage, and inflamed in an instant, it was not only to quell theVoice, but to almoft proceed to murder his child, the fent down the maid to know what was the matter. When the maid difcoverfed what had happened, the continued below, either because the feared to carry

an account of it to her miftrefs, or because the fent herself in doing fome good office to her miffrefs, who was well engaged in the defpotic effay which was among this defpotic effay which was among this new method in which the effay was among this defpotic effay which was among this new method in which the effay was among this defpotic effay which was among this new method in which the effay was among this defpotic effay which was among this despotism. The mean time Peter had been fent for La Moire, a furgeon in the neightbourhood. La Moire was at home, but his come, at fome fent for La Moire, in the opinion of the body when it was open, that there was not a black talfh, fea the mark of the cord, and fent it immediately pronounced that the deceafed had been ftriangled. This particular had not been told, for the poor old man, when Peter was going for La Moire, eried out, “Save at leaft the honour of my family, it was plain. He informed me that your brother has not left away with himself.”

A crowd of people by this time were gathered at the houfe, and one Caing, with another friend of the family, were come in. Some of those who had been in the freet had heard the cries and exclamations of the father, the mother, the brother, and his friend, and they knew what was the matter; and having heard it, the guelf, Anthony Calas was ftudily dead, that the furgeon, who had examined the body, faw that he had been ftriangled, they took it into their hands, and had been murdered; and as the family were Protestant, the priests came to comfort the poor Anthony Calas, who had been to change his religion, and had been put to death for that reafon. The cries they had heard they fuc-ceeded to the deceafed, while he was refiding in violence that was offered him. The tumult in the inc-creased every moment: some faid that Anthony had been to have abolished the next day, others, that Pen-flants are bound by their religion to ftringe or cut the throats of their children when they are inclined to come Catholics. Others who had found out that La Vaiffe was in the houfe when the accident happened, very confidently affirmed, that the Protestant, the fent him of the church, which he had been appointed, had come to Calas’s to hang his fon.

Now the poor father, who was overwhelmed with grief for the lofs of his child, was advis’d by his fent to fend for the officers of justice, that he may the more furely fatisfy the nurucr, who fuppofed that he had murdered his fon. This was accordingly done; messenger was difpatched to the capitou, one of the fent magiftrates of the place; and another to a ferior officer, called an affellor. The capitou is already fet oft, having been alarmed by the news, went the fentence of the fon from Calas’s houfe. He entered Calas’s houfe with forty fide- men took the father, Peter the fon, the mother, La Vaiffe, and the maid, all into cuffsdy, and fet a guard over them. He fent for M. de la Tour, a phyfician, M. la Marque and Perronet, furgions, who examined the body for the prefence of the family, and laffed off the ftring that was the fent, the hair of the deceafed done up in the usual manner, perfectly fmooth, and without the leaf cicatrice the clothes were alfo regularly folded up, and laid up counter, nor was his fhirt either unbuckled or torn.

The capitou, notwithstanding these appearances thought they had a large hint of the opinion of the fent, and took it into his head that old Calas had fent for La Vaiffe, telling him he had a fon to fend for; the fent came to perform the office of execution, and that he had received aflifiance from the fent brother.

The fent took the account of these notions the capitou order fent, the body of the deceafed to be carried to the towns- with the clothes. The fent and fon were fent to a dark dungeon; and the mother, La Vaiffe, the father, and Caing, were imprifonned in one that admitted no light. The next day, what is called the vera- was taken at the town-houfe, instead of the specia-
the body was found, as the law directs, and was dthered at Calas's house to conceal the irregularity. This verbal
prosecution is somewhat like the coroner's inquest in En-
land: witnesses are examined, and the magistrate makes his
report, which is the same there as the verdict of the
coroner's jury in England. The witnesses are examined by the
captains of the list of the physician and surgeon, who
were called upon to say that Anthony Calas had been strangled. The
further having been ordered to examine the sleep of
the deceased, deposed also, that the food which was
found there had been taken four hours before his death.

Seeing that no provision was made, the magistrates of the
capitoulet had recourse to a monitory, or
"general information," in which the crime was taken for
granted, and all persons were required to give such
testimonial against it as they were able, particularizing
the points to which they wished to speak. This was the
action of the Bond, who had committed himself to the execu-
ctioner in ordinary, when any of their chil-
dren were to be hanged for changing their religion: it
recipient, that when the Protestantus thus hang
their children, they compel them to kneel, and one of the
protestants was, when he was in speech, some of the
children who was not Anthony Calas, but his father, the
St. Ste-
phen church, which was accordingly done, forty prieats,
and all the White Penitents, assailing in the funeral pro-
cedure.

Some short time after the interment of the deceased,
the White Penitents performed a solemn service for him
in their chapel: the widow and the queen mother, and
Ambroise was raised in the middle of it, on the top of which
was placed a human skeleton, holding in one hand a pa-
ter, on which was written, "Abjuration of hereby," and
in the other a palm, the emblem of martyrdom.

Then followed the solemn service of the fame
ffair for him the next day; and it is easy to see how
much the minds of the people were inflamed by this
funeral folly of their magistrates and priests.

Still the capitoulet continued the persecution with un-
repentant severity; and though the grief and distra-
ation of the family, when he first came to the house, were
sufficient to have convinced any reasonable being
that they were not the authors of the event which they
deplored, yet having publicly attested that they were
guilty, it was inevitable that they should
be put among the ironies and the tory,
and to that all on the 18th of Novem-
ber. Calas was enlarged upon proof that he was not
Calas's house till after Anthony was dead.

From the dreadful proceedings the sufferers appeal-
ed to the king himself, in the most
impartial and cogent manner, to
all the facts of the case, and annihilated the fear
of the capitoulet as irregular; but the prosecution still
continued.

As soon as the trial came on, the hangman, who had
been taken to Calas's house, and used the folding-doors
and the like, was not only called to his oath that it was impossible Anthony should
hang himself, but also that he had seen him
in the key-hole of Calas's door into
the room, where he saw men running hastily to and fro.

A third swore, that his wife had told him, a woman
named Mandrin told her, that a certain woman
unknown had declared, she had heard the cries of Anthony
Calas at the farther end of the city.
A full and particular Account of the RISE, PROGRESS, &c. of the INQUISITION.

As soon as the reformed religion began to diffuse the gospel light throughout Europe, pope Innocent the Third entertained great fear for the Romish church. Unwilling that the spirit of free inquiry should gain ground, or that the people should attain more knowledge than the priests were willing to admit, he determined to impede, as much as possible, the progress of reformation. He accordingly inflituated a number of inquisitors, or persons who were to make inquiry after, apprehend, and punish heretics, as the reformed were called by the Papists.

One Dominick was at the head of these inquisitors, whom he had been canonized by the pope, in order to render his authority the more respectable. Dominick, and the other inquisitors, spread themselves into various Roman-Catholic countries, and treated the Protestants with the utmost severity. In process of time, the pope, not finding these roving inquisitors so useful as he had imagined, revolved upon the establishment of fixed and regular courts of inquisition. After the order for these regular courts was established in the city of Tholouf, and Dominick became the first regular inquisitor, as he had before been the first roving inquisitor.

Now courts of inquisition were erected in several countries; but the Spanish inquisition became the most powerful, and the most dreadful of any. Even the kings of Spain themselves, though arbitrary in all other respects, were taught to dread the power of the lords of the inquisition; and the horrid cruelties they exercised, compelled multitudes, who differed in opinion from the Roman-Catholics, carefully to conceal their sentiments.

The Dominicans and Franciscans were the most zealous of all the popish monks, and those who most implicitly obeyed the church of Rome: thefe, therefore, the pope thought proper to invest with an exclusive right of preordaining over, and managing the different courts of inquisition. The friars of these two orders were always selected from the very dregs of the people, and therefore were not much troubled with pablilities of honour: they were obliged, by the rules of their respective orders, to lead very austerely lives, which rendered their manners unfriendly and humiliating; and, of course, the better qualified them for the employment of the inquisition.

Now the pope thought proper to give the inquisitors the most unlimited powers, as judges delegated by him, and immediately representing his person: they were permitted to excommunicate, or sentence to death, whom they thought proper, upon the most light information of heresy. They were allowed to publish edicts against all whom they deemed heretics, and enter into leagues with foreign princes, to join those edicts with their forces.

In the year 1244, their power was further increased by the emperor Frederic the Second, who declared himself the protector and friend of all inquisitors, and published two very cruel edicts as follows:

1. That all heretics, who continued obstinate, should be burned.
2. That all heretics, who repented should be imprisomed for life.

This zeal in the emperor for the inquisitors, and the Roman-Catholic persuasion, arose from a report which had been propagated throughout Europe, that he intended to renounce Christianitv, and turn Mahometan: the emperor therefore attempted, by the height of bigotry, to contradict the report, and by cruely to shew his attachment to Popery.

The officers of the inquisition, are, three inquisitors or judges, a fiscal or procurator, secretaries, a magistrat, a minister, a receiver, a gaoler, an agent of confined penitents; several afeffors, counsellors, executors, physicians, surgeons, doorkeepers, fanatics, and visitors, who are all sworn to profound secrecy.

The chief accusation against those who are falsely accused...
An ACCOUNT of the RISE, PROGRESS, &c. of the INQUISITION.

are the objects of its power, into obedience. High birth, distingushed rank, great dignity, or eminent employments, are no protection from it's severities; and the lowest officers of the inquisition can make the highest characters dread them.

Such are the circumstances which subject a person to the rage of the inquisitors; and the modes of beginning the process are four in number, viz.

1. To proceed by imputation, or prosecute on common report.

2. To proceed by the information of any indifferent person who criticizes to impeach another.

3. To found the prosecution on the information of those spies who are regularly detained by the inquisition.

4. To prosecute on the confession of the prisoner himself.

As soon as a perfon is summoned to appear before the inquisition, the best method (unless he is sure of escaping by flight) is immediately to obey the summons; for though really innocent, the delay increases his criminality in the eye of the inquisitors, as one of their chief treasures, and makes it always easier for them to create guilt in the perfon summoned; and if he escapes, it is the fame as perpetual banishment, for should fuch ever return, the moft cruel death would be the certain conquence thereof.

Now the inquisitors never forget or forgive; length of time cannot efface their renfentments; nor can the humbleft concessions, or most liberal prefents, obtain a pardon: they carry the defire of revenge to the grave, and would have both the property and lives of those who have offended them. Hence, when a perfon once found guilty, after escaping or being reterned, he ought seriously to prepare himself for martyrdom, and arm his fowl against the fear of death. Every perfon, in fuch a fituation, ought to be compofed for the awful occaflon, without expectation of remedy.

If a positive accusation is given, the inquisitors direct an order under their hands to the executioner, who takes a certain number of familiars with him to affift in the execution. The calamity of a man under fuch circumftances can fcarce be defcribed, he being probably feized when furrounded by his family, or in company with his friends. Father, fon, brother, fitter, husband, wife, mult quietly furround his affiduous ftag, and fpeak; either would subject him to the punishment of the devoted victim. No reprieve is allowed to fettle the moft important affairs, but the prisoner is infamously hurried away to meet his fate.

It is a fubject of fuch universal danger, that it is absolutely dangerous to be the fubject of fuch accusations as the inquisitors entertain in countries where there is an inquisitorial tribunal; and how carefully cautious all flates ought to be who are not curfed with fuch an arbitrary court, to prevent it's introduction. In speaking of fuch fubjects, an elegant author pathetically fays, "How horrid a fene of perfidy and inhumanity! What kind of community muft be that whence gratitude, love, and mutual forbearance with regard to human frailties are banifhed! What mult that tribunal be, which obliges parents not only to erafe from their minds the remembrance of their own children, to expel all those keen fentiments of tenderness and affection wherein nature infpires them, but even to extend their inhumanity fo far as to force them to commit their accufers, and confequently to become the cause of the cruelties inflicted upon them! What ideas ought we to fave in our imaginations of tribunal, where obfides children not only to efface every fond impulse of gratitude, love, and reffpect, due to thofe who gave them birth, but even forces them, and that under the moft rigorous penalties, to be spies over their parents, and to difcover to a fecret or infidious tribunal, the crimes, the errors, and even the little lapses to which they are expoèd by human frailty. In a word, a tribunal which will not permit relations, when imprisoned in it's horrid dungeons, to give each other the fuccour, or perform the duties which religion enjoins, muft be of an infinual lamp. What diforder and confusion must fuch conduct give rise to, in a tenderly affectionate family?
family? An expression innocent in itself, and perhaps, but too true, shall, from an indiscriminate zeal, or a panic of fear, give infinite uneasiness to a family; shall ruin it’s peace entirely, and perhaps cause one or more of its members to be unhappy victims of the unbarbarous of all tribunals. What distractions must necessarily break forth in a house where the husband and wife are at variance, or the children lose and wicked! Will such children crepule to sacrifice a father, who en-dureth torture, or be he unhappily defeated by such or paternal corrections? Will not they rather, after plundering his house to support their extravagant and riot, readily deliver up their unhappy parent to all the horrors of a tribunal, founded on the blackest injustice? A riotous husband, or a loose wife, have an easy oppor-tunity to be detected by means of the present confes-sion, to rid themselves of one who is a check to their vices, by delivering him, or her, up to the rigours of the inquisition.

As soon as the inquisitors have taken umbrage against an innocent person, all expedients are used to facilitate the condemnation. False confessions, testimonials, founded on perjury, are directed by the virulence of prejudice to find the accused guilty; and all laws, divine and human, all institutions, moral and political, are sacrificed to bigoted revenge.

For a perfidy, accepted and imprisoned, his treatment is deathable indeed. The gaolers first begin by searching him for books or papers which might tend to his conviction, or for instruments which might be employed in self-murder, or breaking from the place of confinement. But it is to be observed, that the obvious articles of the search are not the only things taken from a prisoner; for the confiscations gaolers make free with money, rings, buckles, apparel, &c. under various pretences, such as, that money or rings may be swallowed, to the great detriment of the prisoner’s health, the prongs of buckles may be used to take away life, by the help of which a person may hang himself, &c. &c. Thus he is punished under the plausible pretext of humanity, and used ill through pretended affection.

When the prisoner has been searched under the name of care, and robbed beneath the mask of justice, he is committed to prison by false and fictitious condemnations. Here, says an authentic writer, he is conveyed to a dungeon, a fight of which must fill him with horror, torn from his family and friends, who are not allowed access, or even to send him one consolatory letter, or take the leaf from his fancy in order to prove his innocence. He feels himself in the dark without knowing the judges, to melancholy and despair, and even often to his most inveterate enemies, quite uncertain of his fate. Inno-cence on such an occasion is a weak reed, nothing being easier than to ruin an innocent person.

The usual portion of a prisoner is death, the mildst sentence being imprisonment for life; yet the inquisitors proceed by degrees, at once subtle, slow, and cruel. The gaoler first of all infames himself into the prisoner’s favour, by pretending to wish him well, and advise him well, and among other hints, falsely kind, tells him to petition for an audit.

The law allows a prisoner can do, for the mere petition is deemed a supposition of guilt, and he is perfused to it only with a view to entrap him. When he is brought before the consilium, the first demand is, What is your request?

To this the prisoner very naturally answers that he would be set at liberty.

Hereupon one of the inquisitors replies, your hearing is this—confess the truth—conceal nothing, and rely on our mercy.

Then if the prisoner makes a confession of any trifling affair, they immediately found an indictment on it: if he is not guilty, they make a new indictment upon him, but a scanty allowance of bread and water till he overcome his obstinacy as they call it; and if he declares he is innocent, they torment him, till he either dies with the torment, or confesses himself guilty.

On the re-examinations of such as confess, they con-tinually say, "You have not been sincere, you tell not all—you keep many things concealed, and therefore you must be remanded to your dungeon." When that vile mood are called for re-examination, if they continue silent, false and fictitious answers as whether they did or did not kill them, and whether they know of the innocence of any others, before them, and they are solemnly exhorted to tell out of their confession of faith. This brings them to the tell, they must either swear they are Roman-Catholics, or confess that they are not. If they acknowledge they are not Roman-Catholics, a firing of accusations is brought against them, to which they are obliged to answer extemporary, no time being given even to put their answears into proper method, adopted and written into a paper, which it is required shall in every degree coincide with the verbal answer. If the verbal and the written answer differ, the prisoners are charged with perjury; if one confesse, the other, they are both willing to conceal certain circumstances; if they both agree, they are accused with perjured artifice.

After the perfom impeached is condemned, he is, either severely whipped, violently tortured, fust to the galleys, or sentenced to death; and in either case he is, if not executed, incarcerated. In the former case is performed to the place of execution, which ceremony is called, an Auto de Fe, or Act of Faith.

The following is an exact account of an Auto de Fe, performed at Madrid in the year 1688.

The officers of the inquisition, preceded by trumpets, knock at the doors of the prisoners, and announce that on the 30th of June the sentence of the prisoners would be put in execution. The whole city has not been a festival of this kind in Madrid for several years before, for which reason it was expelled by the inhabitants with as much inhumanity as a day of the greatest festivity and triumph.

When the day appointed arrived, a prodigious num-ber of people appeared dressed as splendid as their pre-cincts and circumstances would admit. In the place square was raised a high scaffold; and thither, from seven in the morning till the evening, were brought criminals of both sexes; all the inquisitions in the kingdom sending their prisoners to Madrid.

Twenty men and women out of these prisoners were ordered to the gallows, and the rest to be put to the galleys: these last wore large pole-board caps, with inscriptions on them, having a ball about their neck, and torches in their hands.

On this solemn occasion the whole court of Spain was present. The grand inquisitor’s chair was placed in a fort of a tribunal far above that of the king. He, besides the other, presided, the heads of the kingdom, leading such criminals as were to be burned and holding them when fall bound with thick cords the rest of the criminals were conducted by the fac-siors of the inquisition.

There was among those who were to suffer, a young Jewess, named Salome benvey, and but fourteen years of age. Being on the same side of the scaffold where the queen was seated, she addressed her, in hope of obtaining a pardon, in the following pathetic speech: "O, queen! will not your royal preference be of any force to vice to me in my miserable condition? I am about five years old, I am about to be burned, I am about to die, for professing a religion imibed from my early infancy." Her majesty seemed greatly to pity her difficulty, but turned away her eyes, as she did not wish to speak a word in behalf of a person who had been declared an heretic by the inquisition.

Mats now began, in the midst of which the part of
The Celebration of the Auto Da Fe or Act of Faith in the Inquisition.

A Prisoner under Examination in the Hall of the Inquisition.

The Procession of the Inquisition preceding the Burning of Heretics.
An ACCOUNT of the RISE, PROGRESS, &c. of the INQUISITION, 885

came from the altar, placed near the scaffold, and feated himself in a chair prepared for that purpose.

Then the chief inquisitor descended from the amphi-

theatre, drew in his cope, and having a mitre on his

head. After bowing to the altar, he advanced towards

the king's balcony, and went up to it, attended by some

of his officers, carrying a crown of thorns, went-

ning on the fingers on which the kings of Spain

used themselves to protect the catholic faith, to extir-

pate heretics, and support, with all their power, the

proscriptions and decrees of the Inquisition.

On the approach of the inquisitor, and the presenting

this book to the king, his majesty robed, bare-headed,

and four to maintain the oath, which was read to him by

one of his counsellors: after which the king continued

standing till the inquisitor was returned to his place;

when the secretary of the holy office mounted a fort

of pulpits, and administered a like oath to the counsellors

and whole assembly. The masses was begun about

seven at night, and did not end till nine in the evening,

being prorogued by a proclamation of the fomenters of

the several criminals, which were all leprously rehearted

about one after the other.

As the following is a matter of twenty-one men

and women, whose impudence in suffering that horrid

death was truly astonishing: some thrust their hands

and feet into the flames with the more dextrous fortune,

and all of them yielded to their fate with such

resolution, that many of them, armed with peculiar

strength, such heroic feats had not been more enlight-

ened.

The near situation of the king to the criminals render-

ed their dying groans very audible to him: he could not, therefore, be absent from this dreadful scene, as it is

claimed a religious one; and his coronation oath obliges him to give a fanatical by his preface to all the

acts of the tribunal.

Another Auto de Fe is thus described by the rever-

end Doctor Geddes:

"At one place of execution there are so many flames set

as there are prisoners to be burned, a large quantity

of dry furze being set about them. The flames of the

Protestants, or, as the inquirers call them, the profes-

sors, are about four yards high, and have each a small

brand, whereas the prisoner is seated within half a

yard of the top. The profligated then go up a ladder

beside two priests, who attend them the whole day

of execution. When they come even with the fore-

mentioned board, they turn about to the people, and

the priest fingers near a quarter of an hour in exhorting

them to be reconciled to the fee of Rome. On their

refusal, the priest orders them down, and the executioner

standing, turns the profligated from off the ladder upon

the feet, chairs their bodies close to the flames, and

leaves them.

"Then the priests go up a second time to renew their

exhortations, and if they find them inexorable, usually

tell them at parting, "That they leave them to the

Devil, who is flaying at their elbow ready to receive

their souls, and carry them into the flames of hell fire, as soon as they are out of their bodies."

"A general shout is then raised, and when the priest

gets off the rope he cries out, "Let the dogs' beards be made" (which implies, finge their beards); this

is accordingly performed by means of flaming furzes

thrust against their faces with long poles.

"This barbarity is repeated till their faces are burnt,

and is accompanied with loud acclamations.

Fire is then set to the furzes, and the criminals are

condemned.

Innumerable are the martyrs who have borne these

figures with the most exemplary fortitude: and we hope

that even the Protestant, whole fate may expiate him to the

mercy of Providence. Papists, with their confession on the
day of a Christian, when they consider the greatest rewards

that await them.

These remarks may be applied to inquisitions in gen-

eral, as well as to that of Spain in particular. The In-

quisition belonging to Portugal is exactly upon a similar

plan to that of Spain, having been inclined much about

the same time, and put under the same regulations, and the proceedings nearly resemble each other; we shall

therefore introduce an account of it in this place.

The house, or rather palace, of the inquisition, is a noble ed-

ifice. It contains four courts, each about forty feet square,

round which are about three hundred dungeons, or cells.

The disposition of the great majority of the cells is, to

the lowest class of prisoners, and those on the second

story to persons of superior rank. The galleries are

built of fireclay, and hid from view both within and

without by a double wall of about fifty feet high,

which greatly increases the gloom, and darkens them

exceedingly.

So extensive is the whole prison, which contains so

many turnings and windings, that none but those well

acquainted with it can find the way through it's various

avenues. The apartments of the chief inquisitor are

spacious, and elegantly furnished; the audience-room

is through a large gate, which leads into a court-yard, round which are several chambers, and some large falcons for the king,

royal family, and the seat of the court to flail and ob-

serve the executions during an Auto de Fe.

Respectability in the conduct of the prisoners is

confined, they are not only gloomy in their outward, but

as miserably furnished as can be imagined; the only

accommodations being a frame of wood by way of bed-

stead, and a straw bed, mattresses, blankets, sheets, an

unrival, walk-hand bason, two pitchers, one for clean,

the other for drinking, a large bottle, and a laver.

A telution, which is five pence halfpenny English

money, is allowed every prisoner daily; and the prin-

cipal gaoler, accompanied by two other officers, monthly

visits every prisoner, to inquire how he would have his

allowan laid out. This visit, however, is only a

matter of form, for the gaoler usually pays out the

money as he pleases, and commonly allows the prisoner

daily, viz a porringer of broth, half a pound of beef,

a small piece of bread, and a grilling portion of cheese.

All these articles are charged to the prisoner at the

rate of fourteen tensoons in the month; four are allow-

ed for brandy, or wine, two for fruit, making in the

whole twenty-three; and the rest of the money, to make

up the number of telutions for the month, are scandalo-

ously funk in the articles of sugar and soap.

Many, who find their allowance too little, petition

the lords inquisitors for a greater portion, when the peti-

tion is frequently granted; and in this particular the

only mark of humanity hath been casually shewn; in

all other circumstances they are inhuman, cruel, and

fierc. They not only exclude the prisoners from every

intercourse, but subject them to every indignity, and

then suffer every inclemency of a gaol, or torture them

in confinement, but even prohibit them from making

the least noise by speaking loud, firing psalms or hymns,

exclaiming, or even uttering the sighs which affliction

naturally heaves from the breast.

Centinels walk about continually to listen; if the

least noise is heard, they call to, and threaten the pri-

soner; if the noise is repeated, a severe beating ensues, as a punishment to what is deemed the offending party, and

to intimidate others. As an instance of this take the

two following cases: a prisoner, who, as it is alleged, one

of the guards came and ordered him not to make a

noise; to which he replied, that from the violence of his

cold, it was not in his power to forbear. The cough

increasing, the guard went into the cell, stripped the

poor creature naked, and beat him so unmercifully, that

he soon after died of the blows.

In this inquisition, as in that of Spain, if the

prisoners plead their innocence, they are condemned as

obdurate, and their effects embezzled; if they plead

guilty, they are sentenced on their own confession, and

their effects confiscated; and if they are de-

fered to escape with their lives (which is but seldom

the case) as penitent criminals who have voluntarily

acceded themselves, they dare not reclaim their effects,

as that would bring on them an accusation of being

hypocritical and relaxed penitents, when a most cruel death

would be the certain consequence.

Sometimes
Sometimes a prisoner passes months without knowing of what he is accused, or having the least idea of when he is to be tried. The gaoler at length informs him, that he must petition for a trial. This ceremony being gone through, he is taken bare-headed for examination. When they come to the door of the gaoler, the prisoner is made to give the judges notice of their approach. A bell is rung by one of the judges, when an attendant opens the door, admits the prisoner, and accommodates him with a flood.

Then the prisoner is ordered by the precentor to kneel down, and make right hand upon a book, which is presented to him close flush. This being complied with, the following question is put to him: Will you promise to conceal the secrets of the holy office, and to speak the truth?

Should he answer in the negative, he is remanded to his cell, and cruelly treated. If he answers in the affirmative, he is ordered to be again seated, and the examination proceeds; when the precentor asks a variety of questions, and the clerks minute both them and the answers.

When the examination is closed, the hall is again rung, the gaoler appears, and the prisoner is ordered to withdraw, with this exhortation; Tax your memory, recollect all the sins you have ever committed, and when you are again brought here, communicate them to the holy office.

Now the gaoler and attendants, when apprized that the prisoner has made an ingenuous confession, and readily answered every question, make him a low bow, and treat him with an affected kindness, as a reward for his candour.

He is brought in a few days to a second examination, with the same ceremony as before. It is then demanded of him, if he has taken a serious review of his past life, and will divulge it's various secrets, and the crimes and follies into which he has run at different times. If he refuses to confess any thing, many enquiring questions are put to him, and the arts of caudality are exhaust to elicit the same secret from him. But if he confesses himself of any crimes or follies, they are written down by the secretary, and a proceed extracted from them.

The inquirers often over-reach prisoners, by promising the greatest lenity, and even to restore their liberty, if they will accuse themselves. The unhappy performer, who are in their power, frequently fall into this trap, and are sacrificed to their own simplicity, and ill-placed confidence.

Innuences have been known of late, who relying on the faith of the judges, and believing the falacious promises, have accused themselves of what they were totally innocent, in expectation of obtaining benefit of the articles.

The judges often mix up the small arrears of the inquirers, and begins to express his abhorrence of them, when the indictment being fetched out of his hand, the precentor says, "By your denying only those crimes which you mention, you implicitly confess the rest, and we shall therefore proceed accordingly." The prisoner make a ridiculous affection of equity, by pretending that the prisoner may be indulged with a counsellor, if he choses to demand one. Such a request is sometimes made, and a counsellor appointed; but upon these occasions, as the trial itself is a mockery of justice, so too often is the counsellor nothing but a fortune-teller, and begins to say any thing that might offend the inquisitor, or to advance a fallacy that might benefit the prisoner. Amazing profanities, to turn that to a farce, which ought to be reverenced as a superior virtue.

It may be seen from what hath been said, that a prisoner to the inquirers is reduced to the full necessity of defending himself against accusers he does not know, and of answering to the evidence of witnesses he may not see. The only peril he is permitted to have is, to escape death, which is the greatest peril, perhaps, for years together, before his trial is finally decided. When that fatal time comes, if he is condemned to be put out of his misery immediately would be too great a favour, and prevent the inquirers from indulging their fantastical dispositions to the utmost. Instead of this, they intend to inflict. They begin by putting him to torture, under the pretense of making the poor wretch discover his accomplices. For this purpose the tortures are various, and the torments inflicted exercising the full degree. Well might a late writer, in speaking of these sufferings, say, "O God! that I was able to give some faint idea of that variety of tortures when the miserable victims are here forced to suffer! Into what language can represent such a complicated scene of horrors? It is utterly impossible for any words to defend what these poor wretches undergo. It is to exorcise it in kind as to purify all imagination. What detestable monstrosities then must those judges be, who are the inventors, and perpetrators of such misery? They are shap'd, it is true, like other men, but fiendishly seem to have a different kind of souls. They appear as little affected with the groans and agonies of their fellow sufferers, as the cords, chains, racks, and tortures, which are applied to their withering limbs. The hearts of these ecclesiastical butchers are gross callous, and, like those of common butchers, are hardened to the shedding of blood, and horrid sight of mangled carcasses, as to have lost all the sense of fellow-feeling, and every touch and feeling of humanity. Perpetual scenes of horror and distress become so familiar to their minds, that what would rend the very heartstrings of some men, make no more impression on them than on a rock of adamant. Indeed, without the fear of God, no possible for any man to act the part of an inquisitor."

Though the inquirers allow the torture to be of only three times, yet at three times: it is so fiercely inflicted, that the prisoner either dies under it, or returns times after a cripple, and full of torture, as being no longer able to support it. We shall give an ample description of the severe torment occasioned by the torture, from the account of one of whom suffered it the three respective times, but happily survived its cruelties he underwent.

The first Time of Torturing.

A prisoner on refusing to comply with the inquisition demands of the inquirers, by confessing all the crimes they thought proper to charge him with, was immediately conveyed to them; where he was put upon two two candles gave. This tree of the sufferers might not be heard by the other prisoners; this room is lined with a kind of quilting, which covers all the crevices and deadens the sound. Very great was the prisoner's horror on entering its infernal place, when food was brought to him, and after preparing the tortures, friged him naked to his drawers. He was then laid upon on a kindness of floor, elevated a few feet from the floor.

The operation they began by putting an iron collar round his neck, and a ring to each foot, which fitted to the ground. His limbs being thus stretched, they wound two ropes round each arm, and two round of both thighs; which ropes being passed under the scaffold, and the holes made for that purpose, were all drawn right at the same instant of time, by four of the men on a given sign.
We may naturally conceive that the pains which immediately succeeded were intolerable; the ropes which were of a small fize, cut through the prisoner's flesh to the bone. making the blood gush out in eight different places without intimation. As the prisoner persisted in making any confession of what the inquisitors required, the ropes were drawn in this manner four times successively.

Let it be observed, that a physician and surgeon attended, and offered to judge of his sufferings, in order to judge of the danger he might be in; by which means his tortures were for a small space suspended, that he might have sufficient opportunity of recovering his spirits, to sustain each ensuing torture.

During this extremity of anguish, while the tender frame is tearing in pieces, he was, in pieces, while every moment the sharpest pang of death, and the agonizing soul is just ready to burst forth, and quit its wretched mansion, the ministers of the inquisition have the obduracy of heart to look on without emotion, and calmly to advise the poor disfigured creature, to confine its impure gait, in amongst which, tell him he may obtain a free pardon, and receive absolution. All this, however, was ineffectual with the prisoner, whose mind was strengthened by a sweet consciousness of innocence, and the divine conformation of religion.

While he was thus suffering, the physician and surgeon, as if all as to the fear of death, under the torture, he would be guilty, by his obliquity of self-murder. In short, at the last time of the ropes being drawn tight he grew so exceedingly weak, by the circulation of his blood being stopped, and the pain he endured, that he fainted away; upon which he was unloosed, and carried back to his dungeon.

The second Time of Torturing.

Those inhuman wretches of the inquisition, finding that all the torture inflicted, as above described, instead of appeasing the passions of the prisoner, rather increased the more fervently to excite his supplications to heaven for patience and power to persevere in truth and integrity, were to inhuman, six weeks after, as to expose him to another kind of torture, more severe if possible, than the former; the manner of inflicting which was as follows: they forced his arms behind him, so that the palms of his hands were turned outward behind him; when, by means of a rope that fastened them together at the wrists, and which was turned by an engine, they drew them by degrees, nearer each other, in such a manner as the back of each hand touched, and blood exactly poured out in consequence. This violent contortion, both his shoulders became dislocated, and a considerable quantity of blood suffused from his mouth. This torture was repeated thrice; after which he was again taken to the dungeon, and put into the hands of the physician and surgeon, who, in feating the dislocated bones, put him to the most exquisite torment.

The third Time of Torturing.

About two months after the second torture, the prisoner, being a little recovered, was again ordered to the torture room; and there, for the last time, he underwent another kind of punishment, which was inflicted twice without any intermission. The executors fastened a thick iron chain twice round his body, which rolling upon his stomach, terminated at the wrists. They then placed him with his back against a thick board, at each extremity, whereof was a pulley; through which there ran a rope that caught the ends of the chain at his wrists. Then the executioner stretching the end of this rope, by means of a roller placed at a distance behind him, rolled his body of the flesh in proportion as the ends of the chain were taken up. They tortured him in this manner to such a degree, that his wrists, as well as his shoulders, were quite dislocated. They were, however, soon set by the surgeons; but the barbarians, not satisfied with this series of cruelty, made him immediately undergo the like torture a second time; which he sustained, though if possible attended with keen pain, with equal constancy and resolution.

This done, he was again remanded to his dungeon, attended by the surgeon to dress his bruises and adjust the parts dislocated; and here he continued till their Auto de Fe, or goal delivery, when he was happily discharged.

It may easily be judged from the before-mentioned relation, what dreadful agony the sufferer must have laboured under, at being so frequently put to the torture. Most of his limbs were disjointed; and so much was he bruised and exhauatled, as to be unable, for some weeks, to lift his hand to his mouth; and his body became greatly swelled from the inflammation caused by such frequent dislocations. After his discharge he felt the effects of this cruelty for the remainder of his life, being frequently feized with thrilling and exquisitely pains, to which he had never been subjected, till after he had the most fortunate lot under the merciful and bloody lords of the inquisition.

The unhappy females who fall into the hands of the inquisitors, have not the least favour shewn them on account of the softness of their sex, but are tortured with as much severity as the male prisoners, with the additional mortification of having the most shocking inecencies added to the most savage barbarities.

Should the above-mentioned modes of torturing force a confession from the prisoner, he is remanded to his horrid dungeon, and left a prey to the melancholy of his situation, to the anguish arising from what he has suffered, and the dread ideas of future barbarities. Should he refuse to confess, he, in the same manner, is remanded to his dungeon, but a frattagem is used to draw from him what the torture fails to do. A companion is allowed to attend him, under the pretence of watching upon, and comforting his mind till his wounds are healed; this person, who is always selected for his cunning, informs himself into the good graces of the prisoner, laments the anguish he feels, sympathizes with him, and, taking an advantage of the hasty expressions forced from him by pain, does all he can to dive into his secret.

This conversation sometimes pretends to be a prisoner like himself, and imprisoned for similar charges. This is to draw the unhappy person into a mutual confidence, and persuade him in unboforeming his grief, to betray his private sentiments.

Frequenly these fears succeed, as they are the more alluring by being glossed over with the appearance of friendship, kindness, and every tender passion. In fine, if the prisoner cannot be found guilty, he is either tortured, or harasted to death, though a few have sometimes had the good fortune to be discharged, but not without having, first of all, suffred the most dreadful cruelties. If he is found guilty, all his effects are soufficiently confiscated, and he is condemned to be whipped, imprisoned for life, sent to the galeries, or put to death. These sentences are put in execution at an Auto de Fe, or goal delivery, which is not held annually, or at any fainted periods, but sometimes once in two, three, or even four years.

Having allowed the barbarities with which the perpems of prisoners are treated by the inquisitors, we shall proceed to recount the severity of their proceedings against publications.

When a book is published, it is carefully read by some of the familiar belonging to the inquisition. These wretched critics are too ignorant to have taste, too bigoted to search for truth, and too malicious to relish beautes. They feruitine, not for the merits, but for the defects of another, and purrue the flips of his pen with unremittent diligence. Hence they read with prejudice, judge with partiality, purrue errors with airidity, and strain that which is innocent into an offensive vanity.

They misapply, misunderstand, confound, and pervert the sense; and when they have gratified the malignity of their disposition, charge their blunders upon the author, that a prosecution may be founded upon their false concepions, and defiled misinterpercations.

Any trivial charge causes the cenure of a book; but
11. At St. Lucar in Spain refuted a carver named Rochus, whole principal bufans was to make image of saints and other popish idols. Becoming, however, convinced of the errors of the Romish persuasion, he exposed it publicly in carving images, and for subfidence followed the bufans of an engraver only. He had, however, retained one image of the Virgin Mary for a sign; when an inquisitor paling asked if he would sell it; Rochus mentioned a price to the inquisitor objected to it, and offered half the money; Rochus rejected it; I would not have sold it for pieces that take such a trifle. "Break it to pieces: I said the inquisitor, break it to pieces if you dare!"

At this expression Rochus, being provoked, immedi- ately fetched up a chisel, and cut off the nose of the image. This was sufficient, the inquisitor went his way a regular man after that affair no more apprehended. In vain did he plead that what he defaced was his own property, and that if it was not proper to do with his own goods, it was not proper for the inquisitor to bargain for the image in the way of trade. Nothing, however, availed him; his fate was decided; he was condemned to be burnt, and the sentence executed accordingly.

III. One Doctor Caccia, his brother Francis and his sifter Blanch, were burnt at Valladolid, for hap- pening against the inquisitors.

IV. A gentlewoman with her two daughters and her nieces were apprehended at Seville on account of her professed and put on trial, and were almost to the torture: and that when was over, one of the inquisitors set out for the youngest daughter, pretend to sympathize with her, and pity her suffering, then binding him self with a folcan oh not to know her, he said, "If you will disfrock all to me, I promise you will procure the discharge of your mother, brother, and yourself."

Now made confident by his oath, and intrapeppromises, he revealed the whole of the terrors of professed; when the perjured wretch, instead of staying as he had sworn, immediately ordered her to be put the rack, saying, "Now you have reviled me, you will make it grow more." Refusing, however, to say anything further, they were all ordered to be burnt, which sentence was executed at the next Auto de Fe.

V. The keeper of the castle of Triano, belonged to the inquisitors of Seville, happened to be of a different sentiment and thought it necessary to put him in his situation. He gave all the indulgence he could to the prisoners, and showed them every favour in power with as much secrecy as possible. At last, however, the inquisitors became acquainted with his kindnes, and determined to punish him severely for that other gaolers might be deterred from displaying the least traces of that complicity which ought to give the breach of every human being. With this view the superfed, threw him into a drimal dungeon, and put him with such dreadful barbarity that he lost

Fenex.

However, his deplorable situation, procured his favor for franks as he was, they brought him first to prison at an Auto de Fe to the usual place of punishment, with a fambento (or garment worn by criminals), and the rope about his neck. His sentence was read, and ran thus; that he should be placed upon the afs, led through the city, receive two hundred and then be condemned six years to the galleys.

This unhappy frantic wretch, just as they were about to begin his punishment, suddenly sprung from the back of the afs, broke the cords that bound him, fratched the word from one of the guards, and dangerously wound an officer of the inquisition. Being overthrown, he was taken up, found fratched, mfichfez, bound more securely to the afs, and punished accordingly to his sentence. But no inten- bale were the inquisitors, that for the rath effects of madness an additional four years was added to his term in the galleys.

VI. A maid servant to another gaoler belonging to the inquisition was accused of humanity, and detected

Inquisition.
Rochus a Carter of St. Lucan in Spain, burnt by order of the Inquisition for defacing his own image which was the image of the Virgin Mary.
A View of the Principal Place of Execution of Persons Condemned by the Inquisition of Spain.
bidding the prisoners keep up their spirits. For these heinous crimes, as they were called, she was publicly whipped, banished her native place for ten years, and what is worse, had her forehead branded by means of red hot iron, with these words, “A favouress and ruler of heretics.”

VII. One John Pontic, a Spaniard by birth, a gentleman by education, and Protestant by profession, was, principally on account of his great estate, apprehended by the inquisitors when the charges exhibited against him were as follow:

1. That he had said he abhorred the idolatry of worshipping the bolt.
2. That he profaned going to mass.
3. That he affected the meris of Jesus Christ alone was full of Christ.
4. That he declared there was no purgatory; and
5. That he affirmed the pope’s abdication not to be of any value.

All his effects, on these charges, were confiscated to the use of the inquisitors, and his body was burnt to satisfy their revenge and indignation.

VIII. Also John Guitalto, originally a priest, who now embraced the reformed religion, was with his mother, brother, and two fillers, seized upon by the inquisitors. Being condemned, they were led to execution, where they hung part of the 10th plank.

There were at the place of execution to say the creed, which was immediately complied with, but coming to these words, “The holy communion,” they were commanded to add the mononyllable “of Rome,” which absolutely refusing, one of the inquisitors said, “Put an end to their lives directly,” when the executioners obeyed, and strangled them that very instant.

IX. There were four Protestant women who were seized upon at Seville, tortured, and in process of time ordered for execution. On the way thither they began to sing psalms; but the officers of the inquisition, thinking that the words of the psalms reflected on the church, put gongs into all their mouths, to make them silent. They were then burnt, and the houses where they resided ordered to be demolished.

X. A Protestant schoolmaster of the name of Fernando, was apprehended by order of the inquisition, for instructing his pupils in the principles of Protestantism; and after being severely tortured, committed to the flames.

XI. There was a monk, who had abjured the errors of Popery, imprisoned at the same time as the above Fernando; but through the fear of death, and to procure mercy, he said he was willing to embrace his former communion. Fernando hearing of this, got an opportunity to speak to him, reproached him with his weakness, and threatened him with eternal perdition.

The monk, sensible of his crime, returned to promised to continue in the Protestant faith, and declared to the inquisitors that he solemnly renounced his former recantation. Sentence of death was therefore passed upon him, and he was burned at the time that Fernando suffered.

XII. A Spanish Roman-Catholic, named Juliano, on travelling into Germany, became a convert to the Protestant religion; and having entertained no little doubt of the truth he had embraced, he undertook a very arduous walk, which was to convey from Germany into his own country, a great number of Bibles, concealed in cloth, and packed up like a barrel of wine.

This important commission he succeeded in, for as to distribute the books. A pretended Protestant, however, who had purchased one of the Bibles, betrayed him, and obtained an account of the whole affair before the inquisition. No sooner was this discovery made than Juliano was seized without all possible means being used to find out the respective pursuer. The whole church, and eight hundred persons were apprehended upon the occasion.

They were all indiscriminately tortured, and many of them were sentenced to various punishments. Juliano was burnt, twenty were roasted upon a spit, several imprisoned for life, some were publicly whipped, many sent to the galleys, and very few indeed released.

XIII. A Protestant taylor of Spain, named John Leon, travelled to Germany, and from thence to Geneva, where hearing that a great number of English Protestants were returning to their native country, he, and another Spanish Protestant, determined to go with them.

The Spanish inquisitors hearing of these intentions, sent a number of familiar to expeditiously in pursuit of them, that they should overtake them at a feast-port in Zeeland, one of the United-Provinces (which was then under the jurisdiction of Spain) just before they had embarked. Having thus succeeded in their commission, the poor prisoners were herded together, handcuffed, gagged, and had their heads and necks covered with a kind of iron net work. In this miserable condition they were conveyed to Spain, thrown into a dismal dungeon, almost famished with hunger, barbarously tortured, and then burnt in a cruel manner.

XIV. A young lady having been put into a convent, absolutely refused to take the veil, or turn nun. On leaving the cell she embraced the Protestant faith; which being known to the inquisitors, she was apprehended, and every method used to draw her back again to Popery. Having declared, under difficulties, her inexorable judges condemned her to the flames, and for was burnt according to her sentence, perfiling in her faith to the very last moment.

XV. An eminent physician, and learned philosopher of the name of Christopher Lofada, became excommunicated by the inquisitors, on account of exposing the errors of Popery, and inquiring into the tenets of Protestantism. For these reasons he was apprehended, imprisoned, and racked; but these sufferings not bringing him to confess the Roman Catholic church to be the only true church, he was sentenced to the fire; the flames of which he bore with exemplary patience; and returned his faith. Crecytorius de Leibon it was given.

XVI. A priest, of St. Idefonso, named Domingo, at Seville, was a man of great abilities, but of a violent disposition. He sometimes pretended to forfake the errors of the church of Rome, and become a Protestant, and soon after turned Roman Catholic. Thus he continued a long time wavering between both persuasions, till God thought proper to touch his heart, and shew him the great danger of impiety in religious matters. He now became a true Protestant, and bewailed his former errors with contrition. The sincerity of his conversion being known, he was feit by the inquisition, severely tortured, and afterwards burned, having done it in a cruel manner.

XVII. There was a young lady named Maria de Coceico, who resided with her brother at Liébon, taken up by the inquisitors, and ordered to be put to the rack. The exquisite torments she felt flaggared her resolution, and she fully confessed the charges against her. Hereupon the cords were immediately slackened, and she was re-conducted to her cell, where she remained till she had recovered the use of her limbs, and was then brought again before the tribunal, and ordered to ratify her confession, and sign it. She absolutely refused to do, telling them that what she had said was forced, and that the excessive pain she underwent. Incensed at this refusal, they again ordered her again to be put to the rack, when the weakness of nature once more prevailed; and the repeated her former confession. She was immediately remanded to her cell till her wounds were again healed, when being a second time brought before the inquisitors, they in a stern manner said to her: “Be reasonable, or we shall proceed to the third and second confessions.” She answered as before, but added: “I have twice given way to the frailty of the flesh, and perhaps may, while on the rack, be weak enough to do so again; but depend upon it, if you torture me another time, as soon as I am released from the rack I shall declare to you as before, and by pain.” The inquisitors ordered her to be racked a third time, and, during this lait trial, she exceeded even her own expectations. bore the tortures inflicted with the utmost fortitude, and could not be persuaded to answer any of the
the questions put to her. As her courage and con-

fidence increased, the inquisitors imagined that she would deem death a glorious martyrdom, and therefore, to 
disappoint her expectations, they condemned her to a 
feeve whipping through the public streets, and banishment 
for ten years.

XVIII. A lady of a noble family in Seville, named 

Jane Bohorquia, was apprehended on the information of 
his father, who had been tortured, and burnt for pro-

fessing the Protestant religion. While on the rack, through 
the extremity of pain, that young lady confessed that she 

had frequently discourse with her father concerning Pro-

testantism, and upon which she was imprisoned, and 

Jane Bohorquia feixed and imprisoned. Being preg-

nant at the beginning, they let her remain tolerably 
quiet till she was delivered, when they immediately took 
away the child, and put it to nurse, that it might be 

brought up a Roman Catholic.

This unfortunate lady was not perfectly recovered 

from the weakness caused by her labour, when she was 

ordered to be racked, which was done with such severity, 

that she expired a week after of the wounds and 

bruises she received. Upon this occasion the inquisi-

tors were so enraged, and so tickled with the antics 

of the inquisition, which they always publish at an 

Auto de Fe, this young lady is thus mentioned: "Jane 

Bohorquia was found dead in prison; after which, upon 

reviving her profession, the inquisitors disfavored 

that she was innocent.—Be it therefore known, that no fur-

ther prosecution shall be carried on against her, 

and that her effects, which were confiscated, shall be given 
to the heirs at law."

Thus have the lords of the holy office of inquisition 
generously renounced to her innocence, reputation, and 
elate. Since in the inquisition they consider the property, 
and torture the prisoner before conviction of guilt, and 
then to compliment themselves for moderation, in re-
turning what they had no right to seize, and forgiving 
one, who, by their own acknowledgment, had never 
ofended them. One fentence, however, in the above 
vidicious paraphrase, the explanation, viz. That no 

further prosecutions shall be carried on against her.

This alludes to the abode custom of prosecuting, and 

burning the bones of the dead: for when a prisoner 
dies in the inquisition, the procees continues the fame 
as if he were alive; the bones are deposited in a char, 
and if fentence be not pronounced, they are burnt, and 

printed at the next Auto de Fe; the fentence is read 
against them with as much solemnity as against a living 
prisoner, and they are at length committed to the flames. 
In a similar manner are prosecutions carried on against 
prisoners who elope; and when their perons are far be-
yond the reach of punishment, these effcets are burnt, and 

XIX. Isaac Orobo, a learned physician, having 
hented a Moorish servant for healing, was accordingly 
affected by him of professing Judaism. Without con-


derstanding the apparent malice of the servant, the inquisi-
tors feixed the matter upon the charge. He was kept 

three years in prison before he had the least intimiation 
of what he was to undergo, and then suffered the fix 

modes of torture as follow:

1. A coarse linen coat was put on him, and then 
drawn to tight, that the circulation of his blood was 

nearly stopp'd, and breath cut off at the 

body. After this the ftrings were suddenly loofened, 
when the air forcing it's way haffily into his Romach, 
and the blood rushing into it's channels, he suffered the 

most incredible pains.

2. His thumb and forefinger tied with small cords, so hard 

that he could not gaffed from under the nails. 

3. He was feated on a bench with his back against 

a wall, wherein small iron pullies were fixed. Ropes 

being fastened to several parts of his body and limbs, 

were passed through the pullies, and being suddenly 
drawn with great violence, his whole frame was forced into 

distorted heap.

4. After having suffered for a considerable time the 

pains of the left mentioned position, the feit was snatch-
ed away, and he was left huped against the wall in 

the most excruciating misery.
To which he replied, I am an English Protestant, and as such carry no private arms, nor make use of bullets.

When they had taken away his watch, money, and other things, they carried him to the bishop’s prizon, and put on him a pair of heavy fetters. His diffireeted family was, at the time, not turned out of the house where he was tripped; and when they had taken every thing away, they returned the key to his wife, that she and her children might fashe themselves between the bare walls.

About four days after his commitment, Mr. Martin was told he must be sent to Grenada to be tried: he carelessly begged to see his wife and children before he went, but this humble request was cruelly denied.

Now being doubly fettered, he was mounted on a mule, and led out towards Grenada. By the way, the mule threw him upon a rocky part of the road, and almoit broke his back. He was three days on the journey, as it is twenty-two miles of very rugged road from Malaga to Grenada.

Mr. Martin, on his arrival at Grenada, was detained at an inn till it was dark, for they never put any one into the prison during daylight. At night, Mr. Martin was taken to the inquisition, thrown up one pair of irons, and led along a range of galleries till he arrived at a dungeon, which the gaoler unlocked, and said with him till the under-gaoler fetched a lamp, and the things brought back from Malaga by the carrier, which consisted of several beds, a few clothes, and a few blankets.

The gaoler nailed up the latter, and said, they must remain in that state till the lords of the inquisition chose to inspect them, for prisoners were not allowed to read books.

Thus the gaoler took an inventory of every thing which Mr. Martin had about him, even to his very buttons; and having asked him a great number of frivolous questions, he, at length, gave him these orders: “You must observe as great silence here, as if you were dead; you must not speak, nor whittle, nor flog, nor make any noise than can be heard, or any body can hear, or make a noise, you must be still, and lay nothing upon pain of 200 lashes.”

Mr. Martin said he could not always be upon the bed, and asked if he might not have the liberty to walk about the room; the gaoler replied he might, but it must be very rarely. After having given him some wine, bread, and half a dozen of walnuts, the gaoler left him till the morning.

At the time of Mr. Martin’s imprisonment it was frizzly weather, so that he lay extremely cold; for the walls of the dungeon were between two and three feet thick, the floor was of cobble stones, and the door came through a hole of about a foot in length, and five inches in breadth, which served as a window.

On the next morning the gaoler came to light his lamp, and bade him light a fire in order to dress his dinner. He then took him to a turn, or such a wheel as he usually found at the doors of convents, where a person on the other side, whom you cannot see, turns your provisions round to you. He had then given him, half a pound of mutton, two pounds of bread, some kidney beans, a bunch of raitins, and a pint of wine, which was the allowance for three days. He had likewise delivered to him for use, two pounds of charcoal, an ear, a box of pins, some places, a pitch, an urinal, a broom, three baskets; one for bread, meat, and provisions; one for charcoal, and the other for dirt; and a wooden spoon.

Mr. Martin, in a week’s time was ordered to an audience: he followed the gaoler, and coming to a large room found a man sitting between two crucifixes; and another with a pen in his hand, who was, as he afterwards learned, the secretary.

The court inquisitor was the person between the two crucifixes; he inquired about sixty years of age and as very lean. As soon as he had begun, he made him to sit down upon a little stool that fronted him, but the following examination took place, which we will mark by the signatures Q. and A. the first letter implying the question which was asked by the inquisitor, and the last the answer thereto made by Mr. Martin.

Q. What was you brought here for?
A. My lord, I don’t know.
Q. Can you speak Spanish?
A. I can speak Spanish, but not so well as English or French. If you please to fend for an Irish or a French priest, I should be glad; for I am afraid I have not Spanish enough to answer your lordship in some things that you may demand of me.
Q. I find you speak Spanish enough; but what have you done? What is your name? What countryman are you? What religion are you of?
A. My lord, I don’t know what I have done. My name is Isaac Martin; I am an Englishman, and a Protestant.
Q. Will you take an oath that you will answer the truth in what shall be demanded of you?
A. Yes, my lord, I will.
Q. Well, put your hand on that crucifix, and swear by the crofs.
A. My lord, we swear upon scripture.
Q. It is no matter for scripture, put your hand upon that here.

Mr. Martin then put his hand to the crofs, and the other gravely began thus:
You must tell me what your father and mother’s names were:—What their father and mother’s names were:—What brothers and sisters they had:—What brothers and sisters they had:—What children they had; where they were born; and what business they followed, or do follow.

Mr. Martin answered all these questions to the best of his knowledge.

Q. You say you are an Englishman; we have great belief in them; they are generally people that speak the truth; I hope you will.
A. My lord, I don’t know that I have done any thing that I should be afraid of: your lordship has given me my oath, and if you had not, I should have told the truth.
Q. Where were you born, Isaac? And in what parish?
A. My lord, I and my family were all born in London, but in different parishes.
Q. Are you a scholar? Have you studied Latin?
A. No my lord, I have but had a common education.
Q. What do you call a common education in your country? You have been at school, what did you learn there?
A. My lord, I learned to read, to write, and to cast accounts; that is what we call a common education.
Q. What food are you of? For in England you have several religions, as you call them.
A. My lord, there are different opinions in England in matters of religion: I am of that which is called the church of England, and so was my father and mother.
Q. Was you baptized?
A. Yes, my lord, I hope I am a Christian.
Q. How are you baptized in England?
A. We are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.
Q. Do you take the sacrament in your religion?
A. Yes, my lord.
Q. How do you take it?
A. My lord, we take bread and wine, as our Saviour gave to his apostles.
Q. Do you confess your sins to your clergy, as we do in the church of Rome?
A. No, my lord, we confess them only to God Almighty.
Q. Do you know the Lord’s Prayer, the Belief, and the Commandments?
A. Yes, my lord, and will give you an account of my religion if you please, and prove to you that I am a Christian, though I have been called a Jew and an heretic.
Q. What do you believe in your religion?
A. My lord, we believe the same creed that you have.
Q. Have you any bishops in your religion? Have you been confirmed?

A. My
A. My lord, we have archbishops and bishops, but I don't remember whether I have been confirmed.

Q. Isaac, you have been brought up in the dark; it is a pity, but you may enlighten yourself if you will.

A. My lord, I hope I have light enough to save myself if I live according to it.

Here Mr. Martin, through anxiety of mind, began to shed tears; which the inquisitor perceiving, proceeded to speak with great leaning tenderness.

It is not for you to fear; here is nobody put to death here, nor harm done to any body. I hope your case is not so bad but it may be remedied; you are among Christians, and not among Turks.

A. My lord, I know very well that I am among Christians, and that the laws of Christians are merciful; but I have been used as if I had committed murder.

Q. Well! have patience, you shall have justice done you. You must think of what you have done or said during the time you lived at Malaga, and confes it; for that is the only way to get out of your troubles.

But let us continue our examination: to be sure you were not brought here for nothing, was you?

A. My lord, I don't know what I was brought here for.

Q. You must think of that, and you must tell me how old you are; and likewise, as far as you can remember, you have kept, what business you have followed, what countries you have travelled in, and what languages you can speak.

A. My lord, I have been a traveller many years, and have made many trading voyages; sometimes in one country, and sometimes in another, and cannot remember how long I lived in every place, but I will tell you as well as I can.

Q. It is very well, Isaac, tell the truth.

Mr. Martin then gave a circumstantial account to the best of his memory.

Q. It is very well, Isaac, you have been a great traveller, you have been wild in your time.

A. Yes, my lord, we believe that the Virgin Mary is the mother of Jesus Christ carnally, and believe the and the facts are happy, but do not worship them.

Q. What! don't you worship the mother of God, and the facts, that are always praying for us?

A. No, my lord, we worship only one God in three Persons, and nothing else.

Q. [addressing his Secretary.] It is a pity that he has been brought up in heresy, he talks pretty well.

[Addressing the prisoner.] What a pity it is that England has lost the true faith, and has embraced heresy: formerly it produced many facts, but now it produces only felons and heretics; and your bishops and clergy are a strange sort of people to marry as they do.

A. I believe, my lord, England produces as many good men as ever it did.

Q. Hold your tongue, you know nothing of those affairs; think of what you have done during your residence at Malaga, and that you may consider of those things, retire to your dungeon: I will send for you another time.

A. My lord, I hope your lordship will consider that I have a family; I beg therefore that your lordship will dismiss me as soon as possible.

Q. You can to dispatch you; go and think upon what you have done or said. I hope your case is not very bad, and can be remedied, if you think upon what I have said to you.

And thus concluded Mr. Martin's first examination, or audience, as it is called in the inquisition.

Now Mr. Martin tried to make a friend of the gaoler as much as possible, in order to pump what he could from him; but in this he could have but little success,
A. No, my lord, I believe that the blood of Christ is sufficient to cleanse us from our iniquities. P. Poor man, you have been brought up in hypocrisy and ignorance from your youth. I am sorry for you, I will find yourself mistaken when it is too late. I have time to consider of it, and I advise you to do it for your own good. Can you think of anything else that you have done that they have sent you here for? A. No, my lord; I have had some few words with people, but I believe that has no connection with this affair.

Q. What words had you with the Spaniards at Malaga? A. My lord, at first several desired me to speak the language for them, to help them to tell their goods to those who came to load there; and I did, but there came many, that I could not do business for myself; so that I desired them to excuse me and take somebody else; but they still importuned me to go, that I was obliged to tell them that I would trouble myself no more about their business, and that I had business enough of my own to mind; at which they were sometimes fall into a passion, and generally reflect upon my religion, which I could not take.

Q. Very well, Isaac, have you any thing else to say relating to your affairs? A. My lord, I do not know what to say.

Q. Well, go to your dungeon, and think of what you have done; for it will be a great help to your reformation. The inquirer said to me what service I can, but you must do what you can to serve yourself, and think upon what I have said to you.

Mr. Martin had soon after three other audiences, in all of which he was only asked the same questions as we were already inflected, which was to detect him in a falsehood, if he had told one, and to discover if he prevaricated in any part of his story.

The head-gailer told Mr. Martin one morning, that although he had no dungeon very clean, for he was to have visit from one of the lords of the inquisition; at the same time he gave him some anisic to throw into the fire when he heard him coming, in order to take away his breath. On hearing a noise on the stair-case, he did it, and the inquisitor, whose name was Don Pedro Lorenzo, soon after made his appearance.

Now this inquirer asked a great number of frivolous questions with much pomposity; then making a triumph to England, he very liberally abused King Henry the Eighth, queen Elizabeth, and king William, the father of whom he affirmed to have been of no religion, because he had read such an affirmation in a French book. Coming from thence, he attacked the archbishops, bishops, clergy, and all the rest of England in general, and also abusing them with great liberality, he walked away with the most affirmed dignity and consequent.

In a few days after, Mr. Martin was called to his audience, when, after a few immaterial interrogatories, the inquisitor told him the charges against him should be read, and that he must give an immediate and prompt answer to each respective charge.

The First Accusation. That soon after your coming to Malaga, you went to the school-maister for teaching your children the Chriftian religion and you taught them your own religion, and that you sent them to school to learn to read and write, and not to learn religion.

The Answer. My lord, I will confess the truth; I hope your lordship requires nothing else. I did go to the school-maister, and told him, that I sent my children to learn to read and write, and not to learn prayers; that I would not bring them up in my religion, and would not teach them how to pray, but I did not abufe him. I degree, my lord, I have the liberty to bring up my children in my own faith without being called to an account for it.

The inquisitor seemed displeased at this reply, and bid the secretary write him down guilty of the first accusation.

The Second Accusation. That at divers times it was remarked, that you did not pull off your hat, nor pay homage to images, but turned you back on them.

The Answer. My lord, in my religion we pay no respect to graven images. I profess myself to be a Protestant, it is against my conscience to bow to any, and I am not obliged by the articles of protestant to do it. I believe your lordship knows what the word Protestant means.

The inquisitor told him, that as he lived in a country where it was done, he ought to comply with the custom of the place in which he resided. The secretary was then ordered to record the answer.

The Third Accusation. You once said, walking in your own apartment with an English captain, an heretic, like yourself, that purgatory was but an invention of the church of Rome to get money. There was one present who could speak your language, and heard you say so.

The Answer. My lord, I cannot remember every thing that I have said during four years time. It may be, that I have said such a thing; but if it, did it was not to a Roman-Catholic. If there ever was one in the room that heard me say so, he must be an Irishman, who was not very welcome there, for he came more as a spy than anything else.

The inquisitor asking if he thought he knew him, Mr. Martin named the person on whom his episcopel fell. The inquisitor then having blamed him for giving tongue such liberties in Roman-Catholic countries, demanded if he was forry for having said so; he replied, "My lord, if I have said amiss, I beg your lordship's pardon." When the inquisitor, turning to the secretary, said, Write down that the heretic begs pardon for the third accusation.

The Fourth Accusation. That you were once walking with another person, who pulled his hat off to a crucifix. You asked him why he pulled his hat off? He replied, to the crucifix; when you asked, we have no such things in our country, and passed by without pulling off your hat.

The Answer. My lord, I remember the time very well; it is very true, I never pulled off my hat to a crucifix, unless it was carried in procession; and then I used to pull off my hat to it, in not in reverence, but in no regard. Guilt of this accusation by his own confession.

The Fifth Accusation. That you have spoken several times in religious disputes against our faith; and though you have been frequently admonished to embrace the Roman-Catholic persuasion, without which no man can be saved, you would never give ear to such falutary advice.

The Answer. My lord, at my first arrival in the inquisition you allowed that a man might defend his religion: it is what I have done. As for being admonished to change it, that has happened very often; but I have no inclination to change.

Then the inquisitor asked him if he could not defend his own religion without speaking against the church of Rome? To which Mr. Martin made answer, that he really could not do it. But he, if disputing with others, when they spoke against his religion, I naturally spoke against their; and I brought proof of scripture for what I said." He was recorded as guilty of this charge by his own confession.

The Sixth Accusation. That being on board an English ship, with your wife and others, a certain female admonished your wife to change her religion, when you bade her be quiet and mind her own religion. This was on a Friday, and you were most without regarding the day. Do you remember that, Isaac? Yes, my lord, we were very merry drinking Florence wine and punch, and that woman was always talking of religion.
religion to my wife, though the harshly knew what the said, and at best knew but little of the matter. I defied her to be quiet, and told her we did not come on board to talk of religion, but to continue to talk on the same manner, made us very uneasy, so that I bade her hold her tongue, and had a trifling quarrel with her. As for eating meat on a Friday, I generally do, and so did she, though she is a Roman-Catholic.

Hereupon the inquisitor turning to the secretary, exprest himself thus: Write down what the heretic says.

**The Seventh Accusation.**

That being in company with some English heretic captains at church, there were several people kneeling and praying to the image of the Virgin Mary. The captains asked if they prayed to the image? You answered, Yes, they know no better, for they are brought up in ignorance.

**The Answer.**

My lord, I have been divers times walking with captains. I do not remember this particular time; it may be that some person heard me say so; but I am sure I spoke English, and I suppose it must be a Frisian that heard me say so.

The inquisitor was very furious upon this reply; but upon Mr. Martin's asking pardon, he said, "Secretary, write down that the heretic asks pardon; but (constantly shaking his head) I will ask pardon may do."

**The Eighth Accusation.**

That being in company with several merchants, the hoft passed by, when they took off their hats, and some knelt down but you did not so much as take off your hat, which occasioned much great scandal, that some of the people were going to rob you.

**The Answer.**

My lord, I am false: I have lived several years in Roman-Catholic countries, and know that by the articles of peace, I am obliged to have my hat off on all occasions. During my residence at Malaga, I always took care not to cause any scandal; with respect to bowing or kneeling, I did not do it, nor am I obliged to do it, as it is expressly against my religion. As for people rabbling me, I have run through hazards many times on account of my religion.

The secretary was ordered to write down, that he denied the accusation.

**The Ninth Accusation.**

You have been threatened divers times with the pope's authority in these countries, and you have said that you did not value him, and that he had no authority over you.

**The Answer.**

My lord, it is true I have said so.

This answer occasioned the following curious altercation:

Q. How came you to say so? Don't you value the holy father who is God on earth?

A. My lord, talking with some people who were very troublesome about religion, they threatened me with the authority of the pope, and being an English Protestant, I thought they had nothing to do with me.

Q. What? then you value nobody?

A. I beg your lordship's pardon; I value all mankind as being fellow-creatures; I value the pope as bishop of Rome, but not for what authority he has over me, for I think he has not any.

Q. You are mistaken; I see who is the head of the church.

A. My lord, I see to my sorrow, that I was mistaken.

**The Tenth Accusation.**

That being walking with some captains of ships, there was a proceeding going by, when you bid them retire, and not mind it, though it was their duty to fee it: but you hindered them out of displeased to the proceeding.

**The Answer.**

My lord, proceedions are very frequent in Malaga. I have sometimes been in company with captains who were never in Roman-Catholic countries before; so they, not knowing that people went in procession to church and should laugh, and others who have told me off, that I defied them to retire to avoid confusion; I hope there is no harm in that, my lord.

**The Eleventh Accusation.**

That the proceeding (mentioned in accusation as a tenet) went by, and the people knelt down and worshipped, but you fixed with your hat on, and took notice of it.

**The Answer.**

My lord, I remember nothing of the accuasion, but believe it is false; or if I did not take off my hat, it was because the hat was in there. But with respect to kneeling or bowing, I told your lordship I received your lordship to me as a Roman-Catholic; I was a Protestant; I gave a short account of my religion is your lordship at my first coming. Was I a Roman-Catholic, I should certainly be guilty.

The answers to both the last accusations were sealed to be recorded.

**The Twelfth Accusation.**

That being in your own house, an English captain asked you if you was a Jew; when you burl into all of laughter, and answered, you did not value what such indolent people said, for you was ready to give an account of your religion.

**The Answer.**

It is true, my lord, I little valued what such indolent people said, and was always ready to give an account of my faith. Nor did I think of being examined, that I might be examined whether I was a Jew or not, when the clergy are so numerous in Malaga.

**The Thirteenth Accusation.**

That you refused to give any thing to such as beggarly for the fouls that were in purgatory, and violently biffed them from your door.

**The Answer.**

My lord, it is true; but do they mention the reasons why I did so?

The inquisitor did not satisfy him, but bade him relate the reason, which he did, by informing him, that one person in particular, who went about begging alms for the souls in purgatory, did all he could to torment him, and the more Mr. Martin declared he would disseburhe money for any such purpose, the more impatient he became, calling him heretic, dog, and telling him that he would be damned, which at length overcame his temper, and made him, in some manner, return the fellow's alms.

**The Fourteenth Accusation.**

That you had been heard to say you feared no ecclesiastical court of justice, nor even the inquisition, and that you affirmed nothing to do with you as an English Protestant.

**The Answer.**

My lord, I have oftentimes said so.

The twelfth and thirteenth replies were recorded, but Mr. Martin being persuaded to enter a formal confession for the fourteenth, the secretary was ordered to infert, "The heretic begs pardon."
A. My lord, there came a ship bound for Leghorn, with a passenger who came to my house: he spake very good Spanish, and I believe, by his looks, was a Jew. He lay'd with his captain about two hours at my house: I never saw him before or since. He might be a Christian for what I know, but being bound for Leghorn, and speaking Spanish, I thought him a Jew; that is all I know of the man. God knows what religion he was.

Q. Do you know the person that has sent this accusation against you?

A. Yes, my lord, I believe I do; his name is A. H. a man of a very indifferent character.

Q. What is the cause of this ACCUSATION?

A. That it is confirmed by several people, that he sold heretic, Isaac Martin, has, at divers times, flew him self very disaffected against the holy faith of the church of Rome, and has hindered some people from embrasing it; so that it has not been for the sake of his family, he would have been murdered long ago.

Then the remainder of this accusation goes in the first person, by way of petition from the accusers, thus: "We recommend him to your holy office, as a dangerous and pernicious man against the holy faith of the church of Rome; and a great many report he is a Jew. We beg you would examine him with a great deal of circumspection, according to the custom of your holy office, and give him such chastisement as your lordship shall think fit, as well in body as charitably.

The secretary having read this accusation, the inquisitor said, "Well! what have you to say for yourself? and who are the character people give you? Sure you are a very wicked man!" To which Mr. Martin made the following Answer.

My lord, I suppose those are very good Christians that give me this character; God knows best what to do with them. There are none of them can say I ever wronged any body at Malaga. I have always professed myself to be a Protestant; and for that reason, as well as for another, I have been brought here. I hope God will enable me to go through these afflictions. I am very well assured that your lordship knows I am no Jew. As for what character they give me, God knows best whether I deserve it or no. I have answered the truth to your examination at the bell of my remembrance; and I believe your lordship knows it to be so, and know the people on whose affidavit are but people of a very indifferent character, which have always envied me ever since I lived at Malaga.

Q. All of your accusers are your countrymen; sure they would not speak against you, if the things were not so?

A. My lord, those whom you reckon your countrymen are the worst enemies I have: I deny them for countrymen; they are Irinthen: it is true that Ireland belongs to the crown of England; but these people have deserted from our army, and are enemies to my religion, king, and country, and the word that an English Protestant can have abroad. I wonder, my lord, that there is no merchant, or man of good repute, that has declared any thing against me.

Q. Has your tongue, do you think that I will believe all you say? To be sure you have been a very wicked man by what is mentioned here, and many a great many things, and are so malicious, that you give what turn you please to things. I have heard of you four years ago; you are a fly man, but we have tortures to make people speak truth.

A. My lord, you may do what you please with me; I cannot help myself, for your lordship knows that I have declared the truth.

Q. You shall have a lawyer to defend your cause, but I believe it is very bad.

Then a lawyer was called in, to whom the inquisitor made a haranguing, saying, that Mr. Martin was a strong heretic; that he had not been examined, and denied many things of which he had been accused. He then desired the lawyer to write to Malaga concerning him, and concluded by saying, his case is very bad, yet might be remedied; but he is obstinate, and will not have it fo.—The lawyer, to all his lordship's fears, only bowed, and answered Yes or No; but he did not speak to Mr. Martin, though it was pretended he was to plead for him and you decay.

When the lawyer was gone, the inquisitor said, "Go, you are guilty; you may repent what you have said: if you do not, take care: sign these papers, which are what you confess." Mr. Martin having signed the papers, was remanded to his dungeon.

When Mr. Martin's examination, upon the accusations against him, was returned (which was by his own desire) the proceedings followed thus:

Q. Well, Isaac, what have you to say in your defence? You have demanded an audience.

A. My lord, I have nothing to say but what I have said already; I come to beg the favour of your lordship to discharge me; I believe you have done examining me; I remember that it was defined I might be chastised both in body and wealth; I believe that my body has been chastised enough in suffering what I have suffered, and being locked up in a dark dungeon by myself, where I live worse than a dog; as for what wealth God has given me, your lordship is welcome to it. If I am such a bad man as people report, let me, and send me, with my family, aboard any ship; let her be bound where the will, God will provide for us.

Q. Hold, Isaac, things are not done so soon as you think for. You have broken the articles of peace by your own confession.

A. My lord, I am very sorry if I have; I desire your lordship would shew them to me, that I may know in what I am guilty.

Q. I have them; you shall see them another time: there is a great deal to be said in your affair. Have you any thing else to say?

A. No, my lord, I desire to be tried by them (the articles of peace): you was pleased to tell me that you would quickly dispatch me.

Q. Go, to your dungeon, and think of what you have said.

Mr. Martin, upon this occasion, says thus: "When I came to my dungeon, I was resolv'd to ask no more audience, and wondered that such a man, who fat upon a throne between two crucifixes, attributing to himself holiness and infallibility, should tell so many lies; and found, that there was no way of redemption, but by praying to God, to give me strength to overcome the miseries that I was in, and in mercy to deliver me from their hands."

A few days after the third inquisitor, named Don Joseph Egneras, came, with his secretary, to see Mr. Martin, when the following conversation took place:

Q. How do you do, Isaac? Have you any thing to say in your defence? Can I serve you in any thing, tell me?

A. My lord, I have nothing to say but what I have said already: I think it is very hard to be kept here so long.

Q. Bark ye! you Englishmen think that we aim at your wealth, but you are mistaken, there is much such thing. You have confessor that you did not take, you sent that hat off to our images; you ought to do it, living in these Christian countries, whether you believe in them or no; for it shews ill-example if you do not.

A. My lord, we Protestant never do such things, it against our religion and against our confidences to do.

Q. You must do all in this country, and it is a thing that ought to be done. See if I can serve you in any thing?

Q. If your lordship would be pleased to get me out of this misery, I should be very much obliged to you.

A. My lord, I desire to be tried by the faith I am in. - Q. Well,
Q. Well, think upon what I have said to you. Good by to you.
A. No, my lord, I have nothing to say, unless I repeat what I have said already, and I believe that will signify nothing.
Q. Here are several more accusations come against you that you must answer to. A. It is very well, my lord, I will answer to them as well as I can.

The Inquisitor read over the accusations, which consisted of what had already been answered, only altered, mangled, and misplaced, with some additional articles. After having done reading, he said,
Q. Well, Ifac, what have you to say now? A. My lord, this is the same thing over again, only the accusations are altered and misplaced, I can quickly answer to them, and as for those that are added to them, they are already all false, and the Devil has invented them.

Q. Hold, Ifac, you talk fraudulently. A. My lord, I speak the truth; your lordship was pleased to call my first coming that you would dispatch me very soon. I have been here above three months, and am no more likely to get out than the first day.
Q. Hold, hold; do you think that justice is done here as in your country, at random, and I don’t know how. Here things are well examined, and justice is done, as it ought to be done. A. My lord, I believe we have good justice done in England, but I beg your lordship’s pardon; I do not understand this way of justice.
Q. I believe you do not, but I sit no matter, remember, I shall come upon your oath, and answer to articles. A. Mufti answer to those that I have answered already?
Q. Yes, you muft; and take care what you say. A. Very well, my lord.

Mr. Martin then made a second answer to the accusations already exhibited against him; when the Inquisitor ordered the secretary to continue the trial, with the accusations which had not yet been brought forth.

The Seventeenth Accusation.
That you hindered your family from being brought up in the Christian faith, and if it was not for you they would all be Roman and it is against the laws of the country to hinder them.

The Answer.
My lord, it is false that my family had any inclination to be Roman; neither can any law oblige them to be so, or hinder me from bringing them up in my religion. Your lordship, five weeks ago, told me, that you would shew me the articles of peace, and that I had broke them. Pray let me see them, my lord.
Q. You shall see them another time. Answer to these articles.
A. My lord, all my family are as I am; I could never perceive that they were inclined to change their religion.
Q. What do you deny this accusation?
A. Yes, my lord, I do; it is all false.

The Eighteenth Accusation.
You used to flout your window shutters when the processions went by, to hinder your children from kneeling down, and would beat them if they obeyed any inclination to be Roman-Catholics.

The Answer.
My lord, it is true that I have flout my shutters several times; for sometimes I had captains of ships in my house, and they would not pull their hats off when they saw them. As for my children, they went to the window generally to laugh; and I oftentimes bade them not flout themselves till the procession went by, that no scandal might be given; and if I beat them, as it is said, I believe I have the liberty to do it if I please.

Q. No, you have not in some cases. How old are your children?
A. One is fifteen, another eight, and the other five years of age.
Q. They are of age to be brought up in the Christian faith.
A. I hope they are, my lord; but as for the two youngest, they can be brought up to any religion.
Q. I suppose, sir, that your son Abraham is of age, and you are but their father-in-law; you may be brought up in the Christian faith; you have nothing to do with them.
A. My lord, I hope that they are Christians; and I look upon them as if they were my own children.
Q. Then you would have them brought up in your religion?
A. Yes, my lord.

The Nineteenth Accusation.
That your daughter being of age, hath often had in the neighbourhood, that she be a Roman-Catholic, but was afraid you would beat her; and that you had sometimes beat her upon that account.
A. My lord, I have nothing to answer to such lies; it is as false as the Devil is false.
Q. What! have you nothing to say, Ifac, to this article?
A. No, my lord, I never knew my daughter inclined to be a Roman; and I never did beat her upon that account. It is all false, and you may order your secretary to write down what you please.

The Twentieth Accusation.
That you, in Lent, and on other fast days, you caused your family to eat meat, and forbid them to keep any fast days that were appointed by the church of Rome, and beat them if they did.

The Answer.
My lord, these are poor accusations, and they are all false. I thank God that my affairs are itself and all the rounder; I never troubled my head to see what the servants used to eat; and as for myself, wife, and children, we eat meat all the year, without any scruple of conscience. Your lordship knows that.
Q. You English mind nothing but eating and drinking, and living at your ease, without doing any penance.
A. My lord, I beg your pardon, we have fouls to be favored as well as other nations. We are born in a plentiful country, and I believe we live as well as the people of any nation, and serve God as well.
Q. Your country was a good country formerly; it produced a great many fines but now it produces no such thing.
A. My lord, I believe there are no fines now, but I am persuaded it produces as many good men as ever it did.
Q. Hold your tongue, you are all lost men; you are all fallen from the holy church, and there is no salvation for you if you do not return.

The Twenty-First Accusation.
That your children had often been at mas's, and at prayers in the neighbourhood, and would have done it every day if you would have let them. But you beat them, and hindered them being Christians, and thereby endangered their souls.

The Answer.
My lord, I never knew my children go to mas's or prayers in the neighbourhood, or beat them upon the account; I hope God will have their souls in the religion to which they are brought up, though the church of Rome condemns them. The accusation is false.
Q. Why, you deny everything almost.
A. I deny nothing but what is false, my lord.
Q. Well, but you may forget, Ifac.
A. No, my lord, I have nothing else to think of; and I do think there are very insignificant articles to abridge them into. I believe they are false, and I believe they are scandalous people that have invented them.
Q. Hold your tongue! How durst you speak to me?
A. It
The Twenty-Fifth Accusation.

That you offered to divest of your house, and to retire for fear of being taken up by the inquisition.

The Answer.

My lord, it is true that I offered to divest of my house, but not for fear of the inquisition, for I never thought it had anything to do with English Protestants. If I had been afraid of it, I would never have come to live in the country: I had opportunities enough to go on board of English ships, and to retire if I had been afraid.

Q. What! then you thought the inquisition had nothing to do with the English Protestants? You are mistaken.

A. My lord, I see I am, to my sorrow.

Q. What did you design to do after you had divested of your house?

A. My lord, to go to my own country, for I was tired of living abroad, especially when I could have no red, but was daily afflicted upon the account of my religion.

Q. You have a tongue, that you made use of to defend yourself.

A. My lord, you could not always bear their infidelities, but I find they have accomplished their design.

Q. Well, hold your tongue, you may help yourself fill if you will.

The Twenty-Sixth Accusation.

That you took all opportunities of making game of the religion of the church of Rome. Well! what have you to say to that? Let us hear.

The Answer.

My lord, I don't deny that; being in company with some Roman-Catholics, as they have made game of my religion, I have made game of their's; but it was in joke, and not in a profane way.

Q. Religion ought not to be mocked.

A. It is very true, my lord; but I never scandalized them as they did me, upon the account of my religion.

Q. What did they usually fay to you? Let's hear.

A. My lord, you know that the church of Rome don't allow the heretics (as you call us) to be faved: in our faith we have charity for all men; we condemn nobody. I have oftentimes been told, that I and my family were damned, and that it was impossible for us to be faved. My lord, it is very hard to hear such words of the Pope, I have sometimes given them an answer that they did not like; for I could not always bear what they said. I hope to be faved through God's mercy, as well as they do.

Q. So, you say that when they made game of your religion, you made game of their's. Is not that what you say?

A. Yes, my lord.

Q. Well, hold your tongue, you are a fly man; you give what turns you please to things, and deny almost everything; you will repent of this, if you don't take care. We have ways to make people confess who are obstinate. Sign these papers: these are the articles you deny, and you must also deny.—But I won't believe you; I have heard of you a long while ago, and know now that you are a cunning pernicious man against the Roman-Catholic faith.

The lawyer then came in, when the inquisitor asked him a variety of frivolous questions; to which, as before, he answered Yes and No, without so much as looking at his duped client.

Mr. Martin being remanded to his dungeon, was flayed on Whitefriars-street (having only allowed three times a year in the inquisition); and the next day one of the gaolers gave him some frankincense to be put into the fire, as they would give a visit from the lord of the inquisition. Two of them accordingly came, asked many trivial questions, concluding them, as usual, with, We will do you all the service we can. Mr. Martin complained greatly of their having promised him a lawyer to plead his cause; when, instead of a proper person, says he, there was a man that you called a lawyer, but he never spoke to me, nor I to him: if all your lawyers
Accordingly he made a breach in the walls with his cannon, and then entered the city through it, together with his whole army. When he had made every necessary regulation here, he departed to subdue other places, leaving a flying garrison, at once to overawe and defend, under the command of his lieutenant-general M. de Legal. This gentleman, though brought up a Roman-Catholic, was totally free from superstition: he united great talents with great bravery; and was, at once, the accomplished gentleman and skilful officer.

Before his departure, the duke, had ordered the heavy contributions, in the following manner, flouted levied upon the city.

1. That the magnates and principal inhabitants should pay a thousand crowns per month for the duke’s table.

2. That every house should pay one piloto, which would monthly amount to 18,000 pilotes.

3. That every convent and monastery should pay a donation, proportionable to its riches and rents.

The two last contributions were to be appropriated to the maintenance of the army.

The money levied upon the magnates and principal inhabitants, and upon every house, was paid as soon as demanded; but when the proper persons applied to the heads of the convents and monasteries, they found that the ecclesiastics were not so willing, as other people, to part from their cash.

Of the Donatives to be raised by the Clergy:
The college of Jefuista was to pay 2000 pilotes.

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<tr>
<td>Carmelites</td>
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<td>Augulins</td>
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<td>Dominicans</td>
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M. De Legal lent to the Jefuista a peremptory order to pay the money immediately. The superior of the Jefuista returned for answer, that for the clergy to pay money to the army was against all ecclesiastical immunities; and that he knew of no argument which could authorize the procedure. M. De Legal then sent four companies of dragoons to quarter themselves in the college, with this sarcastic message:

"To convince you of the necessity of paying the money, I have sent four substantial arguments to your college, drawn from the system of military logic; and, therefore, you will not need any further admission to direct you in your conduct."

The Jefuista, greatly perplexed at these proceedings, despatched an express to court to the king’s confessor, who was of their order; but the dragoons were much more expeditious in plundering and doing mischief, than the courier in his journey: so that the Jefuista, finding every thing laid waste and ruin, thought it proper to adjust the matter amicably, and paid the money before the return of the messenger.

The Augulins and Carmelites taking warning by what had happened to the Jefuista, prudently went and paid the money, and by that means escaped the fury of military arguments, and of being taught logic by the dragoons.

On the other hand, the Dominicans, who are all kinfolk of, or agents dependent on the inquisition, imagined, that that very circumstance would be their protection; but they were mistaken, for M. De Legal neither feared nor repulsed the inquisition. The chief of the Dominicans lent word to the military commander, that his order was poor, and had not any money what ever to pay the donative; for, says he, the whole wealth of the Dominicans confits only in the first images of the apostles and saints, as large as life, which are placed in our church, and which to remove would be worse than murder.

This impression was meant to terrify the French commander, whom the inquisitors imagined would not dare to be so profane as to with, for the possession of the precious idols.

However, he sent word that the silver images would make admirable subsidies for money, and would be more in character in his possession, than in that of the Dominicans themselves. "For, says he, while you pay fe

A singular Diversity of some private Eunuchs of the Inquisition.

WHEN the crown of Spain was contested for in the beginning of the present century, by two princes, who equally pretended to the sovereignty, France and Spain both endeavored to make the cause of one competitor, and England of the other.

Then the duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II. who abdicated England, commanded the Spanish and French forces, and defeated the English at the celebrated battle of Almanza. The army was then divided into two parts, one to be employed in the campaign of Catalonia; the other body, consisting of French troops only, commanded by the duke of Orleans, proceeded to the conquest of Arragon.

When the troops approached the city of Arragon, the marshal sent a message to the key-bearer of Orleans; but he told them, haughtily, they were rebels, and that he would not accept the keys, for he had orders to enter the city through a breach.
M. De Legal's secretary, in the mean time, fetopen all the doors of the inquisition, and released the prisoners, who amounted to the whole from 400; and among these were 60 beautiful women, who agreed to form a seraglio for the three principal inquisitors.

Now this discovery, which laid the enormity of the inquisitors to open, greatly alarmed the archbishop, who deigned M. De Legal to lend the women to his pa-

The friars did all they could to raise a tumult, but the common people were too much afraid of the troops to venture themselves. The friars themselves, out of necessity, delivered up M. De Legal, who sent them to the mint, and ordered them to be immediately coined.

As the project of raising an insurrection failed, the inquisitors determined to excommunicate M. De Legal, to which end they burnt his name in the mint, before they were melted down, or otherwise mutilated. The French commander absolutely refused to release the images, but said they should certainly travel and do good; upon which the friars drew up the form of excommunication, and ordered their secretary to go and read it to M. De Legal.

This commission the secretary punctually performed, and read the excommunication deliberately and distinctly. The French commander heard it with great patience, and politely told the secretary he would answer it next day.

As soon as the secretary of the inquisition was gone, M. De Legal ordered his own secretary to prepare a form of excommunication, exactly like that sent by the inquisition; but to make this alteration, instead of his name, to put in those of the inquisitors.

The secretary, on being ordered four regiments under arms, and commanded them to accompany his secretary and act according to his direction. The secretary went to the inquisition, and inflicted upon the inquisitors, which, after a great deal of altercation, was granted. As soon as he entered, he read, in an audible voice, the excommunication sent by M. De Legal, against the inquisitors. The inquisitors were all present, and heard it with astonishment, never having before met with any individual who dared behave so boldly. They loudly cried out against De Legal, as an heretic; and said this was a most daring affront against the catholic faith. But, to surmount these ill feelings, the French secretary told them they must remove from their presence, for the French commander wanted to quarter the troops in the inquisition, as it was the most commodious place in the whole city.

The inquisitors exclaimed loudly, when the secretary put them under a strong guard, and sent them to a place appointed by M. De Legal to receive them. The inquisition found all things going well, beg- 

But I, if the French commander had wished to quarter the troops in the inquisition, it was the most commodious place in the whole city.

I had been my duty to take care of the soldiers, said he, I would have punished them, but as I, I could not pretend to exert any authority.
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

but assured me that nobody would come to disturb me:
I am going, said she, about a little business, but
will come back presently, for my bed is in the close
next your's; so I left her for about a quarter of an
hour, and when I returned, she said, Shy! Mary, do not
let me know when you will be pleased to have your
chocolate ready in the morning.

"This greatly surprised me, so that without replying
to her question, I asked her name;—she said, my name
is Mary. Mary, then, said I, for heaven's sake, tell
me whether I am to find you in the house, or only
in the kitchen? She then answered, Yes, sir, I shall be
there, and told you exactly, replied she, that you came here
to be one of the happiest ladies in the world.

"Now we went to bed, but the fear of death prevented
me from sleeping the whole night; Mary waked me.
She was surprised to find me up, but soon rofe, and after
leaving me for about an hour, I awoke in the morning to
cup of chocolate, and some biscuits on a silver plate.

"I drank one cup of chocolate, and desired her to
drink the other, which she did; when we had done, I
said, Well, Mary, can you give me any account of the
reasons for my being brought here? To which she an-
swered, Not yet, madam, you must have patience, and
immediately slipped out of the room.

"In about half an hour after, she brought a great quanti-
ty of elegant clothes, suitable to a lady of the highest
rank, and told me, I must dress myself. Among several
trinkets which accompanied the clothes, I observed, with
surprise, a fine box, in the lid of which was a picture
pierced by a sword, and the initials Ti. This unarrived
me to the mystery of my confinement, and at the same
time roused my imagination to contrive how to evade
receiving the present. If I absolutely refused it, I
thought immediate death must ensue; and to accept it,
was giving him too much encouragement against
my honour. At length I hit upon a medium, and said to
Mary; Pray present my respects to Don Francisco Ti-
regono, and tell him, that, as I could not bring my clothes
along with me last night, modestly permits me to accept
of these garments, which are requisite to keep me de-
cent; but since I do not take fruit, I hope his lordship
will excuse my not accepting the wine.

Mary went with my answer, and soon returned with
Don Francisco's picture, elegantly set in gold, and richly
embellished with diamonds. This message accompanied
it: "That his lordship had made a millstone; his intent
not being to feed me a fruit-box, but his picture. I
was at a great loss what to do; when Mary said, Pray
madam, regard these things as a double service of the picture,
and every thing else which his lordship lends you; for
if you do not, he can compel you to what he pleases,
and put you to death when he thinks proper, without any
body being able to defend you. But if you are obliging
to him, continued she, he will be very kind, and
will be glad to see you happy, a queen; you will have elegant
apartments to live in, beautiful gardens to range in,
and agreeable ladies to visit you: therefore, I advise you
to fend a civil answer, or even not to deny a visit from his
lordship, or perhaps you may repent of your differ-
tence.

"O, my God! exclaimed I, must I sacrifice my ho-
mour to my fears, and give up my virtue to his despotic
power! Alas! what can I do? To refit, is vain. If
I oppose his desires, force will obtain what chaflly res-
dues. I now fell into the greatest agonies, and told
Mary to return what answer the thought proper.

"She said, she was glad of my humble submission, and
ran to acquaint Don Francisco with it. In a few min-
utes she returned, with joy in her countenance, telling
me his lordship would honour me with his company to
 supper. "And now give me leave, madam, fays she,
to call you milhrels, for I am to wait upon you. I
have been in the kitchen all the time, and the custo-
dom perfectly well; but as silence is imposed upon me,
under pain of death, I can only answer such questions as
immediately relate to your own person. But I would
advise you never to oppose the holy father's will; or if
you see any young ladies about, never ask them any
questions. You may divert yourself sometimes among
them, but must never tell them any thing: three days

hence you will dine with them; and at all times you
may have music, and other recreations. In fine, you
will be so happy, that you will not wish to go abroad;
and when your time is expired, the holy fathers will
then move me to die, and send you to some nobleman." After saying these words the left me over-
whelmed with astonishment, and learned what to
think. As soon as I recovered myself I began to
look about, and finding a closet, I opened it, and per-
ceived that it was filled with books: they were chiefly
upwards of such a kind as might serve for relig-
ous matters. I chose out a book of history, and
puffed the interval with some degree of satisfaction, all
dinner time.

"Dinner was served up with the greatest elegance,
and confidit of all that could gratify the most luxurious
appetite. While I was eating, Don Francisco came
to me in his night gown and cap, not with the gravity of
an inquisitor, but with the gaiety of a gallant.

"He flattered me with great respect, and told me, The
he came to see me in order to shew the great respect he
had for my family, and to inform me, that it was my
highs who had procured my confinement, having ascer-
ted me in matters of religion; and that the information
went so far, as to say I was to be burnt alive in a dry
pan, with a gradual fire; but he, out of pity and love to my
family, had flapped de execution of it.

"These words were like daggers to my heart, I drop-
ped at his feet, and said, Ah, my lord! have you

He excised me from my soul, and replied, This is
long to yourself only," and abruptly willed me god

"When he was gone I burst into tears, when Mary
came and asked what could make me cry to bitter. To
which I answered, Oh, Mary! what is the meaning
of the dry pan and gradual fire? for I am told, that I
shall be burnt alive in a dry pan, with a gradual fire,
never fear, you shall feel, or long, the dry pan and gradual fire; but they are
not for those who oppose the holy father's will, not for yet
who are so good as to obey it. But pray, said she, in
Don Francisco very obliging? I don't know, said I,
for he frightened me out of my wits by his discourteous
fearfulness with civility, but left me in an ab-

"Well, said Mary, you do not yet know his temper:
he is extremely obliging to them that are kind to him;
but if they are disobedient, he is as unmerciful as now,
so, for your own sake, take care to obey him. If you
don't obey, dear madam, your fate to suppose it all
be easy. I went to supper, indeed, and afterwards a
bed; but I could neither eat or sleep, for the thoughts
of the dry pan and gradual fire deprived me of appes
and banished drowsiness.

The next morning early, Mary said, that as nobody
was stirring yet, she would inform her forcry, she would
fly to the dry pan and gradual fire; if taking me
down stairs, she brought me to a large room, with
a thick iron door, which she opened. Within it was
oven, with fire in it at the time, and a large brick
wall upon it, with a cover of the same, and a lock. In
the next room there was a great wheel, covered with
fides with thick boards; opening against a small window in the
centre, Mary desired me to look in with a candle; I
saw all the circumference of the wheel, with thin
razors, which made me fludder.

Mary then took me to a pit, which was full of vier-
ous animals. On my expressing great horror at the
sight, she said, "Now, my good mistress, I'll tell you
the use of these things. The dry pan is herculean
and those who oppose the holy father's will and pleased
they are put alive into the pan, being firsh stripped
and the cover being locked down, the executioner
begins to put a small fire into the oven, and by degrees
he augments it, till the body is reduced to ashes. The
twheel is designed for those who speak against the
or the holy fathers of the inquisition; for they are put into this machine through the little door, which is locked after them, and then the wheel is turned swiftly, till they are all cut to pieces. The pit is for those who condemn the images, and refuse to give proper respect to ecclesiastical persons; for they are thrown into the pit, and fo become the food of poisonous animals.

"We went back again to my chamber, and Mary said, that another day she would have me the torments delayed for other transgressors; but I was in such agonies at what I had suffered, that I was unable to think of more. She soon after left me, but without enjoining my strict obedience to Don Francisco; for if you do not comply with his will, says she, the dry pan and gradual fire will be your fate.

"The horrors which the sight of these things, and Mary's reproaches, imperiously in my mind, almost overawed me of my fears, and left me in such a state of suspense, that I feared to have no manner of will of my own."

"The next morning Mary said, now let me dres you as nice as possible, for you must go and with Don Francisco, and break with me, for I was drest, sic conveyed me through a gallery into his apartment, where I found that he was in bed. He ordered Mary to withdraw, and to serve up breakfast in about two hours time. When Mary was gone, he commenced addressing himself to me, and said, the manner in which he spoke, and the dreadful ideas with which my mind was filled, so terribly frightened me, that I pulled off my clothes, without knowing what I did, and flopped into bed, insensible of the inactivity I was transfixed: so totally had the care of self, and inaction dispersed all my other thoughts, and so entirely were the ideas of delicacy obliterated by the force of terror!

"Thus, to avoid the dry pan, did I entail upon myself perpetual infancy; and to escape the so much dreaded gradual fire, gave myself up to the flames of lust. Wept aloud alternately, and trembled in an incalculating fear, and everlasting pollution!

Mary came at the expiration of two hours, and served us with chocolate in the most subtile manner; and for the kneaded down by the bed-side to precede it. When I was drest, Mary took me into a very delightful apartment, where she had first furnished with all the costly elegance; but what gave me the greatest allusion was, the prospect from it's windows, of a beautiful garden, and a fine meandering river. Mary told me, that the young ladies the had requested for me, were ready to take their compliments to me before dinner, and begged me to remember her advice, in keeping a prudent guard over my tongue.

"In a few minutes a great number of very beautiful young ladies, richly drest, entered the room, and, affectingly embracing me, wished me joy. I was so surprised, that I was unable to answer their compliments; which one of the ladies perceiving, said, "Madam, the felicity of this place will affect you in the beginning, but when you begin to feel the pleasures and advantages you may enjoy, you will quite lose your present thoughts. We have here no familiarities; we have five rooms connected with us to-day, and henceforward three days in a week." I returned them suitable thanks in general terms, and went to dinner, in which the most exquisite and favorite dishes, of various kinds, were served up with the most exquisite, delicate and pleasant fruits and sweetmeats. The room was illuminated with all the lights, and a third in the front. I reckoned fifty-two young ladies, the eldest not exceeding twenty-four years. There were five maid servants, besides Mary who waited on us; but Mary confined her attention to me alone. After dinner we retired to a capacious gallery, where some played on the flutes and viols, a few danced themselves with cards, and the rest amused themselves with walking about. Mary, at length, entered the room, and said, Ladies, this is a day of recreation, and go to you may go into whatever rooms you please, till eight o'clock in the evening."

"They unanimously agreed to adjourn to my apartment. Here we found a most elegant cold collation, of which all the ladies partook, and passed the time in innocent conversation, and harmless mirth; but none mentioned a word concerning the inquisition, or the holy fathers, or gave the least dainty hint concerning the taille of the present government.

"At eight o'clock Mary rang a bell, which was a signal for all to retire to their respective apartments, and I was conducted to the chamber of Don Francisco, where I slept.

"The next morning Mary brought me a richer drest than any I had yet had; and as soon as I retired to my apartment, all the ladies came to visit me good morning, drest much richer than the preceding day. We passed the time till eight o'clock in the evening, in much the same manner as we had done the day before. At that time the bell re-" the separar (for took place, and I was conducted to Don Francisco's chamber. The next morning I had a garment richer than the last, and they accosted me in apparel still more sumptuous than before. The transactions of the two former days were repeated on the third, and the evening concluded in similar manner.

"On the fourth morning Mary came into Don Francisco's chamber, and told me I must immediately rise, for a lady wanted me in her own chamber. She spoke with a kind of authority which surprised me; but as Don Francisco speaks a language and looks an authority obeyed. Mary then conveyed me into a dismal dungeon, not eight feet in length; and said, sternly, to me, This is your room, and this lady your bed-fellow and companion. At which word the bounds of the room, and left me in the utmost confusion.

"After regarding my situation in the most dreadful agonies, tears came to my relief, and I exclaimed, "What is this place, dear lady! Is it a scene of enchantment, or is it a hell upon earth? Alas! I have lost my honour, and my soul for ever!"

"The lady took me by the hand, and said, in a sympathetic tone, with tears in her eyes, "This is the name (for this is the name I shall henceforth give you) forbear to cry and grieve, for you can do nothing by such an extravagant behaviour, but draw upon yourself a cruel death. Your misfortunes, and those of all the ladies you have seen, are exactly of a piece: you suffer nothing but what you merit. We have been under the same misfortune, and we have had to bear the same curse - our grief, for fear of greater evils. Pray take courage, and hope in God, for he will surely deliver us from this hellish place; but be sure you discover no uneasiness before Mary, who is the only instrument either of our sufferings, or comfort. Have patience, till we go to bed, and then I will venture to tell you more of the matter.

"My perplexity and vexation were inexplicable; but my new companion, whose name was Leonora, prevailed on me to disguise my uneasiness from Mary. I diffused tolerably well when she came to bring our dinners; but could not help remarking, in my own mind, the difference between this repast, and those I had before partook of. This consisted only of plain, common food, and of that a scanty allowance, with only one plate, and one knife and fork for us both, which the townspeople had dined.

"When we were in bed, Leonora was as good as her word; and upon my solemn promise of secrecy, thus began to open her mind to me: "My dear sister, you think your case very hard, but I assure you, all the ladies in that place have gone through the same time you will know all their stories, as they hope to know yours. I suppose Mary has been the chief instrument of your fright, as she has been of our's; and I warrant she has flown you some horrible places, though not all: and that, at the very thought of them, you were terrified, that you chose the same way we have done, to redeem yourself from death. By what hath happened to us, we know that Don Francisco hath been your Nero, your tyrant; for the three colours of clothes are the distinguishing tokens of the three holy fathers. The red flick belongs to Don Francisco, the blue to Don Guerrero, and the green to Don Alagon."

15 K.
and they always give those colours (after the farce of changing garments, and the short-lived recreations are over) to those ladies whom they bring here for their respective uses. We are frightfully commanded to express all the demonstrations of joy, and to be very merry for three days, when a young lady first comes amongst us, as we did with you, and as you must now do with others. But Mary always charges me with that duty, without seeing any body but Mary, and the other maidservants, over whom Mary has a kind of superiority, for the acts as house-keeper. We all dine in the great hall three days in a week; and when any one of the inquisitors hath a mind for one of his flax, Mary comes among us and fetches them. And lord! what a talking! Some nights Mary leaves the doors of our chambers open, and that is a token that one of the inquisitors hath a mind to come that night; but she comes so silent, that we are ignorant whether he is our patron or not. If one of us happens to be with child, she is removed into a better chamber till it is delivered; but during the whole of her pregnancy, she never sees any body but the person appointed to attend her. As soon as the child is born it is taken away, and carried we know not whither; for we never hear a syllable mentioned about it afterwards. I have been in this house six years, was not four when I came. The first child was removed from my father's house, and has had one child. There are, at this present time, fifty-two young ladies in the house; but we annually lose five or eight, though we know not what becomes of them, or whether they are sent. This, however, does not diminish our number, for new ones are always brought in to supply the place of those who are removed from hence; and I remember, at one time, to have seen seventy-three ladies here together. Our continual torment is to reflect that when they are tired of any of the ladies, they certainly put to death those they pretend to lend away; for it is natural to think, that they have a policy to keep all our crimes and infernal villainy to be discovered, by endeavouring them. Hence our situation is miserable indeed, and we have only to pray that the Almighty will pardon those crimes, which we are compell'd to commit. Therefore, my dear sir, arm yourself with patience, for that is the only palliative to give you comfort, and put a firm confidence in the providence of Almighty God."

"This discourse of Leonora greatly affected me; but I found every thing to be as she told me in the course of time, and I took care to appear as cheerful as possible before Mary. In this manner I continued eighteen months; the time was long, and the hours were too long, from the house; but in lieu of them we got nineteen new ones, which made our number just fifty, at the time we were happily relieved by the French officers, and providentially referred to the joys of society, and to the arms of our parents and friends."

"On the day of my return, my dungeon was opened by the gentleman who is now my husband, who, with the utmost expedition, both Leonora and me to his father's; and soon after the campaign was over, when he returned home, he thought proper to make me his wife, in which situation I enjoy a recompence for all the ills I before suffered."
An Account of the Persecution of Dr. Constantine.

DR. CONSTANTINE, an intimate acquaintance of the already mentioned Dr. Ægidio, was a man of uncommon natural abilities and profound learning; exclusive of Latin and Greek tongues, he was acquainted with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and perfectly well knew not only the sciences called abitrute, but those arts which come under the denomination of police literature.

The doctor’s eloquence rendered him a pleasing, and the soundness of his doctrines a profitable preacher; and it is said that he never preached but to a crowded audience. He had many opportunities of rising in the church, but never would take advantage of them; for if a living of greater value than his own was offered him, he would refuse it, saying, I am content with what I have; and he frequently preached so forcibly and so truly, that many of his hearers, who were not so deliberate upon the subject, took umbrage at his doctrines upon that score.

When fully confirmed in Protandroidin by Dr. Ægidio, he preached boldly such doctrines only as were accevable to gospel purity, and uncontaminated by the errors which had at various times crept into the Romish church. For these reasons he had many enemies among the Roman Catholics, and some of them were determined on his utter ruin.

One Scobaria, a worthy gentleman, having erected a school for divinity lectures, appointed Dr. Conflantine to be reader therein. He immediately undertook to refute the texts and lectors, by porports, on the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles; but while beginning to expound the book of Job, the inquirers feigned him.

When brought to examination, he answered with such prevention that they could not find any explicit charge against him, but remained doubtful in what manner to proceed, when the following circumstances occurred, which served for a salvo:

The doctor had deposited with a woman, named Ghella Martin, several books, which to him were very valuable, but which he knew were exceptionable in the eyes of the inquisition.

Being informed as well as a Protestant, this woman was apprehended, and, after a small process, her goods were ordered to be confiscated. Previous, however, to the officers coming to her house, the woman’s fon had removed away several cheeses full of the most objectionable articles; and amongst these were the books of Dr. Conflantine.

But a treacherous servant, having given intelligence of this to the inquirers, an officer was dispatched to the fon to demand the cheeses. The fon, supposing the officer only came for Conflantine’s books, said, I know not what you come for, and I will fetch them to you immediately.

He then fetched Dr. Conflantine’s books and papers, when the officer was greatly surprised to find what he did not look for. He, however, told the young man, that he was glad these books and papers were produced, but nevertheless he must fulfill the end of his commission, which was, to carry him and the goods he had embezelled before the inquirers, which he did accordingly; for the young man knew it would be in vain to expostulate or resist, and therefore submitted to his fate with quietness.

When the inquirers were thus poffessed of Conflantine’s books and writings, they soon found matter sufficient to form an accusation against him. When he was brought to a re-examination, they preferred one of his papers, and asked him if he knew the handwriting? Perceiving it was his own, he guessed the whole matter, confessed the writing, and justified the doctrine it contained. He confessed all and all my other writings, I have never departed from the word of the gospel, but have always kept in view the pure precepts of Christ, as he delivered them to mankind.”

Having been detained upwards of two years in prison, Dr. Conflantine was at last feized with a bloody flux, which put an end to his miseries in this world. The processe, however, was carried on against his body, which was publicly burnt at the ensuing Auto de Fe.

An Account of Dr. N. Burton’s Martyrdom.

Mr. Burton was a merchant of London, who traded into Spain. Being at Cadiz, a familiar of the inquisition called upon him one day at his lodgings, pretending that he wanted to find a quantity of mercantile information in the Spanish language.

Mr. Burton replied in the negative; saying, That he was sensible, in whatever country we were, respecting, to be paid to the religion of that country: that such knowledge to him was essential, who, as a merchant, was obliged to visit various countries, and conform to all their religious and civil ceremonies.

However, this defence availed him nothing, they proceeded to torture him, in order to gain information. Failing in this, they condemned him for invincible obstinacy, and at the next Auto de Fe he was burnt. When the flames first touched him, he bore the tortures with such exemplary patience, and appeared with so smiling a countenance, that one of the priests, enraged at his serenity, laid with great malice and abnormality, to the reason why he does not seem to feel, is to me very evident; the Devil has already got his soul, and his body is of course deprived of the utihal sensations.

Several others of the English in Spain were, about the time of Mr. Burton’s martyrdom, put to death by the inquirers; particularly John Baker, William Burgate, and William Burges were burnt, and William Hooker was flomed to death; freely giving up their lives for him, who shed his blood for their redemption.

Particulars of William Gardner.

William Gardner was born at Brifol, received a tolerable education, and was, at a proper age, placed under the care of one Paget, an eminent merchant.

When he was in his twenty-six years of age, he was, by his master, sent to Lisbon, to act as factor. Here he applied himself to the study of the Portuguese language, executed his business with affability and fidelity, and behaved with the utmost engaging affability to all persons with whom he had the least concern. He converted privately to a few, whom he knew to be serious Protestants; and, at the same time, cautiously avoided giving the least offence to any who were Roman-Catholics; but he had not gone into one of the Popish churches as yet.

There
There being a marriage concluded between the king of Portugal's son and the Infanta of Spain, upon the wedding-day, the bridgroom, bride, and the whole court were attended by a great concourse, wherein were of all ranks of people, and among the rest William Gardener, who stayed during the whole ceremony, and was greatly thrilled at the superfluities he beheld.

His mind was strongly impressed with the erroneous worship which he had seen; he was miserable, to behold a whole courtly fun, instead of the real divinity, which the truth of the gospel might be to easily obtained. He, therefore, took the inconsiderate, though laudable deign, into his head, of making a reform in Portugal, or perilling in the attempt; and determined to sacrifice his prudence to his zeal, though upon the occasion he became a martyr.

For this purpose he settled all his worldly affairs, paid his debts, closed his books, and confounded his merchandise. On the ensuing Sunday he went again to the cathedral church, and placed himself near the altar, with a New Testament in his hand.

In a short time the king and the court appeared, and a cardinal began mass: at that part of the ceremony in which the people adore the wafer, Gardener could hold out no longer, but springing towards the cardinal, he snatched the host from him, and trampled it under his feet.

The whole congregation were now thunderstruck, and one person drawing a dagger, wounded Gardener in the shoulder, and would, by repeating the blow, have finillicid him, had not the king called him to forbear.

When Gardener was carried before the king, the monarch asked him what crime he was: to which he replied, I am an Englishman by birth, a Protestant by religion, and a merchant by occupation. What I have done is not out of contempt to your royal person, God forbid it should, but out of honest indignation, to see the ridiculous superfluities and gross idolatries which are practiced.

Thinking that he had been stimulated by some other person to act as he had done, the king demanded who was his abettor, to which he replied, My own confidence alone. I would not hazard what I have done for any man living, but I owe that and all other services to my Creator.

Hereupon Gardener was sent to prison, and a general order issued to apprehend all Englishmen in Lisbon. This order was in a great measure put into execution (some few escapeing) and many innocent persons were tortured to make them confess if they knew any thing of the matter; in particular, a person who refuted in the same house with Gardener, was treated with unparalled barbarity, to make him confess something which might throw a light upon the business.

Then Gardener himself was tormented in the most excruciating manner; but in the midst of all his torments he gloried in the deed. Being ordered for death, a large fire was kindled near a gibbet, Gardener was drawn up to the gibbet by pulleys, and then let down near the fire, but not so close as to touch it; for they burnt or rather roasted him by degree. Yet here his fate patiently, and cheerfully resigned his soul to the Lord.

We must observe, that some of the sparks were blown from the fire, which consumed Gardener, towards the haven, burnt one of the king's ships of war, and did other considerable damage. The Englishmen who were taken on this occasion were, soon after Gardener's death, all discharged, except the person who refuted in the same house with him, who was detained two years before he could procure his freedom.

A particular Account of the Life and Sufferings of Mr. William Lithgow, a Native of Scotland.

William Lithgow was defended from a good family, and having a natural propensity to travelling, he rambled, when very young, over the northern and western islands; after which he visited France, Germany, Switzerland, and Spain. He left out on his travels in the month of March 1609, and the first place he visited was Vevey, on the lake of Geneva, where he spent some time. He then prosecuted his travels through Germany and other parts, and at length arrived at Malaga in Spain, the seat of all his embarrassments.

While he resided here, he contrived with the master of a French ship for his passage to Alexandria, but was ordered to be imprisoned on the pretense of some offense, which he never committed or did not know of. In the evening of the 17th of October, the English fleet, at that time on a cruise against the Algerine rovers, came to anchor before Malaga, which threw the people of the town into the greatest consternation, as they imagined them to be Turks. The lieutenant of the town immediately proceeded to the governor of Malaga perceiving the craft of the English in their colors, went on board Sir Robert Mansfield's ship, who commanded on that expedition, and after staying some time returned, and silenced all the people's fears.

Many persons from on board the fleet came ashore the next day. Among these were several well known by Mr. Lithgow, who, after reciprocal compliments, spent some days together in festivity and the amusements of the town. They then invited Mr. Lithgow to go on board, and to show him some presents; he, however, finding the invitation, was kindly received by him, and detained till the next day, when the fleet sailed. The admiral would willingly have taken Mr. Lithgow with him to Algiers; but having contracted for his passage to Alexandria, and his baggage, &c. being in the town, he could not accept the proposal.

When Mr. Lithgow got on shore he proceeded towards his lodgings by a private way (being to embark the same night for Alexandria) when, in passing through a narrow uninhabited street, he found himself suddenly surrounded by nine ferjeants, or officers, who threw their black clubs upon him, and forced him to his governor's house. After some little time the governor appeared, when Mr. Lithgow earnestly begged he might be informed of the cause of such violent treatment. The governor only answered by shaking his head, and gave orders that the prisoner should be strictly watched till he (the governor) returned from his devotions; directing, at the same time, that the captain of the town, the alcaid major, and town notary, should be summoned to appear at his examination, and that all this should be done with the greatest secrecy, to prevent the knowledge thereof reaching the ears of the English merchants, who were in the town at that time.

All these orders were strictly discharged, and on the governor's return, he with the officers having feared themselves, Mr. Lithgow was brought before them for examination. The governor began by asking several questions, namely, of what country he was, and whether he had ever been at Seville, or was lately come thence; and putting his checquer upon his arm, he continued thus: "For, said he, your very countenance shews there is something hidden in your mind, which prudence should direct you to disclose." Finding himself, however, unable to extort any thing from the prisoner, he left him, and reported the name to the governor and other officers, on the subject of which Mr. Lithgow was again brought before them, a general accusation was laid against him, and he was compelled to swear that he would give true answers to such questions as should be proposed.

Then the governor proceeded to inquire the quality of the English commander, and the prisoner's opinion what were the motives that prevented his accepting an invitation from him to come on shore. He demanded, likewise, the names of the English captains in the squadron, and what knowledge he had of the men in the work, or preparation for it before it's departure from England. The answers given to the several questions allied,
tages, if he would confess being a spy; but on his pro-
testing that he was entirely innocent, the governor left
him in a rage, saying, He should see him no more till
further torments constrained him to confess; com-
manding the keeper, to whose care he was committed,
that he should neither be permitted to have access to,
nor commune with him; that his full sentence should
be that he should be despatched by three quarters of
mutton bread, and a pint of water every second day;
that he should be allowed neither bed, pillow, nor
coverlid. "Close up, said he, this window is full of
lime and lime; flop up the holes of the double mats:
let him have nothing that bears any likenes to comfort."
Thus, from several other orders of the like severity were
given, to render it impossible for his condition to be
known to any of his countrymen.

The unfortunate Lithgow continued in this wretched
and melancholy state with seeing any person for sev-
eral days, in which time the governor received an answer
to a letter he had written, relative to the prisoner, from
Madrid; and, pursuant to the instructions given him,
began to put in practice the cruelties devised, which
they hallowed, because Christmas holidays approached,
but being then the forty-seventh day since his confine-
ment.

Between two and three o'clock in the morning, he
heard the noise of a coach in the street, and some time
after heard the opening of the prison doors, not having
any sleep for two nights; hunger, pain, and melanc-
olically reflecting, nothing prevented him from reeling.

Immediately after the prison doors were opened, the
nine sergeants, who had first feigned him, with the guard,
entered the place where he lay, and without uttering a
word conducted him in his iron, through the houlle into
the street, where a coach waited, and into which they
laid him at the bottom on his back, not being able to fit.

Two of the sergeants rode with him, and the rest walked
by the coach fide, but all observed the most profound
silence. They drove him to a vine-pref houle, about
a league from the town, to which place a rack had been
privately conveyed before; and here they shut him up
for that night.

About daybreak the next morning, arrived the gover-
nor and the aldece, into whose presence Mr. Lithgow
was immediately brought, to undergo another examina-
tion. The prisoner defied him might have an interpreter,
which was allowed to strangers by the laws of that coun-
try, but this was refused, nor would they permit him
to appeal to Madrid, the superior court of judicature.

After a long time, he was finally brought before the
magistrate, with a conformity with what he had before
said, that they declared he had learned them by heart,
there not being the least previration. They, however,
preferred him again to make a full discovery; that is,
to accuse himself of crimes never committed, the govern-
ror adding, You are still in my power; I can get you free if you comply:
if not, I must deliver you to the aldece." Mr. Lithgow
still persisting in his innocence, the governor ordered the
notary to draw up a warrant for delivering him to the
aldece to be tortured immediately.

By order of the aldece, he was conducted by the
sergeants to the end of the same garden, where the rack
was placed. The encaroudier, or executioner, immediately
struck off his iron, which put him to very great pain,
The bolts being so clofe riveted, that the fledge hammer
tore away above half an inch of his heel, in forcing off
the bolt; the anguish of which, together with his weak
condition (as it was commonly for three days) occasioned
him to groan bitterly; upon which the men of mercy
levs aldece said, "Villain, traitor, this is but the carnal
of what you shall endure." As soon as his irons were off he fell on his knees,
uttering a florint prayer, that God would be pleased to enable
him to be freed, and undergo courageously the griev-
ous trial he had to encounter; and, after having placed themselves in chairs, he was stripped naked,
and fixed upon the rack, the office of these gentlemen
being to witness of, and set down the confessions and
tortures endured by the unhappy sufferer.
It is morally impossible to describe all the various tortures inflicted upon him. Suffice it to say, that he lay on the rack for above five hours, during which time he received above sixty different tortures of the most hellish nature; and that they continued them a few minutes longer, he must have inevitably expired.

When, however, the inquisitor was satisfied for the present, the prisoner was taken from the rack, and his iron being again put on, he was conducted to his former dungeon, having received no other nourishment than a little warm wine, which was given him rather to prevent his dying, and relieve him for future punishments, than from any idea of charity on the part of his torturers.

As a confirmation of this, orders were given for a coach to pass every morning before day by the prison; that the noise made by it might give fresh terrors and alarms to the unhappy prisoner, and deprive him of all possibility of obtaining the least sleep.

In him, indeed, as he said, almost starved for want of the common necessaries to preserve his wretched existence, till Christmas-Day, when he received some relief from Mariane, waiting-woman to the governor's lady. This woman having obtained leave to visit him, carried with her some refreshments, confidant that the prisoner's mind, and not his body, was affected; for he was at this time remaining in a state of complete imbecility from the sheer terror of the torture, and the appetites of his life. His relapse into reason followed immediately on her departure.

Mr. Lithgow was kept in this loathsome dungeon till he was found prepared with various devices. They craved about his beard, lips, eye-brows &c. so that he could scarce open his eyes; and his mortification was increased by not having the use of his hands or legs to defend himself, from his being so miserably maimed by the tortures. So cruel was the governor, that he even ordered the vermin to be swept on him twice in every eight hours, though he obtained some little mitigation of this part of his punishment, from the humanity of a Turkish flave that attended him, who, at times, when he could do it with safety, destroyed the vermin, and contributed every refreshment to him that he was capable of.

Mr. Lithgow at length received from this flave that information which gave him little hopes of ever being released, but, on the contrary, that he should forfeit his life under new tortures. The suffrance of this information was, that an English friar, a Scotch cooper, had been for some time employed by the governor to learn the English language, all his books and observations; and that it was commonly said in the governor's house, that he was an arch and dangerous heretic.

He was greatly alarmed at this information, and began, not without reason, to apprehend that they would soon find him, indeed, either, by torture, or any other means, bring him to vary from what he had all along said at his different examinations.

About two days after he had received the above information, the governor, an inquisitor, and a canonical priest, accompanied by two Gefius, entered his dungeon, and be fore the governor, he accused Mr. Lithgow if he were a Roman-Catholic; and acknowledged the pope's supremacy? He answered, that he neither was the one, nor did the other; adding, that he was surprised at being called such question, since it was expressly stipulated by the articles of peace between England and Spain, that none of the English subjects should be liable to the inquisition, or any way molested by them on account of divinity in religion.

In the bitterness of his soul he made use of some warm expressions not suited to his circumstances: “As you have almost murdered me, said he, for pretended treason, to no purpose, I intend to make a martyr of me for my religion." He also expatiated with the governor on the ill-return he made the king of England, whose subject he was, for the prince of humanity exercised towards the Spaniards in 1588, when their armada was shipwrecked on the Scotch coast, and thousands of the Spaniards found relief, who must have otherwise perished in a miserable manner.

Now the governor admitted the truth of what Mr. Lithgow said, but replied with a haughty air, that the king, who then only ruled Scotland, was sufficiently afraid of fear than love, and therefore did not defend his throne. One of the Gefius said, there was no faith to be kept with heretics. The inquisitor then rising, added the following words: "You have been taken up as a spy, accused of treachery, and tortured, as we acknowledge, innocently (which appears by the account lately received from Madrid of the intentions of the English) yet it was the divine power that brought those judgments upon you, for parricide, sedition, and grand conspiracies, in the sacred or the deities of Lorda with ridicule, and expressing yourself in such a way, so as not to be irreverently of his holines, the great agent and Christ vicar upon earth; therefore you are justly fallen into our hands by their special appointment: thy books and papers are miraculously translated by the influence of heaven itself.

When this trumpery was ended, they gave the prisoner eight days to confide and resolve whether he would become a convert to their religion; during which time the inquisitor told him, he, with other religious orders, would attend, to give him such affluence thereof as he desired. Mr. Lithgow, said, first making the sign of the cross upon his breast, "Thou art not Christia, but an absurd heretic, and without conversion a member of perdition." The prisoner then told him, it was not conform with the nature and essence of religion and charity, to convince by opprobrious speeches, but to read the words of the Gefius; and from this time he never visited the prisoner again.

The two Gefius returned the next day, and putting a very grave supercilious air, the superior asked him, what resolution he had taken? To which Mr. Lithgow replied, that he was still resolutely-pleased, unless by these shallow arguments to make him alter his opinion.

The superior, after a pedantic display of their several ornam ents, the interrogation of saints, transubstantiation, &c. boasted greatly of their church, her antiquity, univer sality, and uniformity; all which Mr. Lithgow acknowledged; but, to him, who had been ever since the first days of the apostles, and Christ had ever his own church, however obnoxious, in the greatest time of your darkness.

Now the Gefius, finding their arguments had not the desired effect, that terrours could not make his conscience, nor even the fear of the cruel sentence he had reason to expect, would be pronounced and executed, after severer menaces, left him. On the eighth day after, being the last of their inquiry, when femencies was pronounced, they returned again, but quite altered, his in their words and behaviour. After repeating the usual manner of arguments as before, they were seen tears in their eyes, pretended they were forty young for their hearts he must be obliged to undergo a certain death; but above all, for the loss of his foul, and falling on his knees, cried out, "Custum; convert, O dear brother, for our blest lady's ex vert!" To which he answered, "I fear neither death nor fire, being prepared for both;"
An ACCOUNT of the RISE, PROGRESS, &c. of the INQUISITION.

The first effects Mr. Litgow felt of the determination of this bloody tribunal was, a sentence to receive that night eleven different tortures, and if he did not die in the execution, to be confined for life in a dungeon from which he could not again escape, the sentence being that was in, he was, after Easter holidays, to be carried to Grenada, and there burnt to death. The first part of the sentence was executed with great barbarity that night; and it pleased God to give him strength both of body and soul, and he was enabled to bear the torments to the last, and survive the punishments which were thus inflicted.

When these barbarians had glutted themselves with the most unimaginable cruelty, they again put upon their rack, and conveyed him to his former dungeon. The next morning he received, as usual, no comfort from the Turk, and he was still more horridly tortured; but he defended himself with his right hand, and with his left hand he struck the Turk. He was then, he said, very much exercised with his conscience, about his conversation with Mr. Bubich, and his having inflicted such punishment upon Mr. Litgow, he said he would tell the council of Spain, and the Turk, and ask them to claim the privilege of the profession of religion.

Sir Richard Hawkins demanded the delivery of his papers, money, books, &c., before his departure from the Spanish coast, but he could not obtain any satisfaction, and Sir Richard Hawkins gave him two double pistols.

It is here worth the reader's while to reflect, how manifestly Providence interfered in behalf of this poor man, when he was just on the brink of destruction; for by his sentence, from which there was no appeal, he would have been taken, in a few days, to Grenada, and burnt to death. And that a poor ordinary servant, who had not the least knowledge of the profession of religion, nor was any way interested in his preservation, should be so duly feared of his master, and hazard his own life, to discontinue a thing so momentous and perilous a nature, to a strange gentleman, on whose life, and whose action, depended his own existence. By such secondary means does Providence frequently interfere in behalf of the virtuous and oppressed; of which this is a most distinguished proof.

Having lain twelve days in the road, the ship was weighed anchor, and in about two months arrived safe at Deptford. Then the next morning Mr. Litgow was carried on a feather bed to Theobalds, in Hertfordshire, where, at that time, the Spanish and royal family. His majesty happened to be that day engaged in hunting, but on his return in the evening, Mr. Litgow was conducted to his room, and him the particulars of his sufferings, and his happy delivery. The king was so affected at the narrative, that he expressed the deepest concern, and gave orders, that he should be sent to Bath, and his wants properly supplied from his royal bounty. By these means, under God, after some time, Mr. Litgow was restored, from the most wretched state, to a great share of health and strength; but he lost the use of his left arm, and several of the smaller bones were so crushed and broken, as to be rendered over ever after unserviceable.

Though every effort was used, Mr. Litgow could never obtain any part of his money or effects, though his majesty, and the ministers of state, interceded themselves in his behalf. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, indeed, promised that all his effects should be restored, with the best of intentions. English money, as some atonement for the tortures he had undergone, while he was to be paid him by the governor of Malaga. These engagements, however, were but mere promises; and though the king was a kind of guarantee for the well performance of them, the cunning Spaniard found means to elude the bargain. He had, indeed, too great a share of influence in the English council during the time of that pacific reign, when England suffered herself, by most of the states and kings in Europe, to be bullied into flavius, as if you were reading it naturally.
A full and particular Account of the Persecutions in Italy.

Now we shall commence our account of the persecutions in Italy, a country which has been, and still is,

1. The centre of Popery,
2. The seat of the pontifical See,
3. The object of various wars which have spilled themselves over other countries, deluded the minds of thousands, and diffused the clouds of superstition and bigotry over the human understanding.

We shall, in pursuance of our narrative, include the most remarkable persecutions that have happened, and the cruelties which have been enacted against the people of that nation.

1. By the immediate order of the pope,
2. Through the power of the inquisition,
3. At the instigation of particular orders of the clergy,
4. By the bigotry of the Italian princes.

The First Persecutions under the Papacy in Italy.

The first persecutions under the papacy began in Italy in the 16th century, at the time that Adrian, an Englishman, was pope, being occasioned by the following circumstances:

- One Arnold, a learned man, and an excellent orator of Brixia, came to Rome, and was accused against the corruptions and innovations which had crept into the church. His doctrine was so clear, consistent, and breathed forth such a pure spirit of piety, that the faction, and many of the people, highly approved of, and admired his discourses.
- Adrian was so greatly enraged at this, that he commanded a guard to leave the city, as an heretic. Arnold, however, did not comply, for the faction, and some of the principal people took his part, and refuted the pope's authority.

Now Adrian laid the city of Rome under an interdict, which caused the whole body of clergy to interpose; and, at length, persuaded the senators and people to give up the point, and suffer Arnold to be banished. This being agreed to, he received his sentence of exile, and retired to Germany, where he continued to preach against the pope, and to expose the gross errors of the Romish church.

Another instance, Adrian thirsted for his blood, and made several attempts to get him into his hands; but Arnold, for a long time, avoided every snare laid for him. At length, Frederigo Barbarossa arriving at the imperial dignity, requested that the pope would crown him with his own hand. This Adrian complied with, and at the same time asked a favour of the emperor, which was, to put Arnold into his hands. The emperor very readily delivered up the unfortunate preacher, who soon fell a martyr to Adrian's vengeance, being hanged, and his body burnt to ashes, at Apulia. The fame attended several of his old companions and friends.

A Spaniard, named Encenas, was sent to Rome, to be brought up in the Roman-Catholic faith; but having conversed with some of the reformed, and read several treatises which they had put into his hands, he became a Protestant. This, at length, being known, one of his own relations informed against him, when he was burnt by order of Adrian, which he bore like a saint. The brother of Encenas had been taken up much about the same time, for having a New Testament, in the Spanish language, in his possession; but before the time appointed for his execution, he found means to escape out of prison, and retired to Germany.

Encenas, having written, by reading controversial books, became of the reformed religion. An information being exhibited against him to the pope, he was apprehended, and call into prison. His wife, children, relations, and friends, vied him in his confinement, and so far wrangled upon his mind, that he renounced his faith, and obtained his release. But he was no sooner free from confinement, than his mind felt the weight of chains, the weight of a guilty conscience; his horrors were so great, that he found them insupportable, till he had returned from his apostasy, and declared himself fully convinced of the errors of the church of Rome, and reembraced for his falling off, he was openly and freely indulged all he could to maintain the cause of Protestantism, and was pretty successful in his endeavours. These proceedings occasioned his second imprisonment; but he had his life obtained if he would recant again. This proposal he rejected with disdain, for he had sworn to himself, and he feared him, that he could not be reconciled to such a change of mind, and leave his wife and children in distress; he replied, I shall not leave them in distress, I have recommended them to the care of an excellent truthe. What truthe? said the person who had asked the question, with some surprise, to which Faninus answered, Jesu Chri is the truthe I mean, and I think I could not commit them to the care of a better. On the day of execution he appeared remarkably cheerful, which one of his friends said, it is strange you should appear so merry upon such an occasion, when Jesu Christ himself, just before his death, advised his disciples, that for a greater cause, blood and water. To which Faninus replied: Chrish is a sabbattian, a manner of pangs and confusions, with hell and death, on our accounts; and thus, by his sufferings, freed those who really believe in him from the fear of them. He was then strangled, and his body being burnt to ashes, the wind scattered them abroad.

Alfo Dominicus, a learned foldeir, having read several controversial writings, became a zealous Protestant, and retiring to Placentia, preached the gospel in its utmost purity, to a very considerable congregation. At the conclusion of his sermon one day, he said, if the congregation will attend to-morrow, I will give them a deed of execuition, and paint him out in his proper colours.

An immense number of people attended the next day; but just as Dominicus was beginning his sermon, a civil magistrate went up to his pulpit, and took him into custody. He readily submitted; but as he went along with the magistrate, made use of this expression: I wonder the Devil hath let me alone so long. When he was brought to examination, this question was put to him: Will you renounce your doctrines? To which he replied: My doctrines! I maintain no doctrines of my own; what I preach are the doctrines of Christ, and for which I am delivered up, and I am very happy to suffer for the sake of my Redeemer. Every method was taken to make him recant from his faith, and embrace the errors of the church of Rome; but when perjuries and menaces were found ineffective, he was sentenced to death, and hanged in the market-place accordingly.

A Protestant gentleman, named Galeacius, wore a red coat near the castle of St. Angelo, was apprehended on account of his faith. Great endeavours being used by his friends, he recanted, and subscribed to several of the pernicious doctrines propagated by the church of Rome. Becoming, however, faithful to his creed, he publicly renounced the abjuration. Being apprehended for this, he was condemned to be burnt; and according to the order, he was chained to a stake, where he was left several hours before the fire was put to the faggots, in order that his wife, relations, and friends, who surrounded him, might induce him to give up his opinions. He recanted, but not from want of mind, and instead of treating the executioner to put fire to the wood that was to burn him. This, at length, he did, and Galeacius was soon consumed in the flames, which burnt with amazing rapidity, and deprived him of sensation in a very short time.

After this gentleman's death, a great number of Protestants were put to death in various parts of Italy, on account of their faith, giving a false proof of their sincerity in their martyrdoms.
An Account of the several Persecutions in CALABRIA.

A BOUT the 14th century, many of the Waldeneses of Pragaia and Dauphiny emigrated to Calabria, and settling in some walsé lands, by the permission of the nobles of that country, they soon, by the most indolent cultivation, made several wild and barren spots appear with fertility and verdure. The Waldenses of Calabria were highly pleased with their new subject and tenants, as they were honest, quiet, and industrious; but the priests of the country exhibited feverish negative complaints against them; for not being able to accuse them of anything bad which they did, they founded accusations on what they did not do, and charged them, with not being Roman-Catholics.

1. With not being Roman-Catholics.
2. With not making any of their boys priests.
3. With not making any of their girls nuns.
4. With not going to mass.
5. With not giving wax tapers to their priests as offering.
6. With not going on pilgrimages.
7. With not bowing to images.

However, the Calabrian lords looked the priests, by telling them, that these people were extremely harmless; that they gave no offence to the Roman-Catholics, and cheerfully paid the tithes to the priests, whose revenues were considerably increased by their coming into the country, and who, of consequence, ought to be the very last persons to make a complaint.

For this purpose he sent cardinal Alexandrino, a man of a very violent temper, and a furious bigot, together with two monks, to Calabria, where they were act as inquisitors. These authorized persons came to St. Xift, one of the towns built by the Waldenses, and having assembled the people, told them, that they should receive no injury, or violence, if they would accept of preachers appointed by the pope; but if they would not, they should be deprived of both their properties and lives; and that such intentions might be known, mass should be publicly said that afternoon, at which they were ordered to be present. But the people of St. Xift, instead of attending mass, fled into the woods with their families, and thus disappooped the cardinal and his inquisitors. The cardinal then proceeded to La Garde, the other town belonging to the Waldenses, where, not to be served as he had been at St. Xift, he ordered the gates to be locked, and all avenues guarded. The same propsoals were then made to the people of La Garde, as had been made to the inhabitants of St. Xift, but with this additional piece of artifice: the cardinal assured them that the inhabitants of St. Xift had immediately come into his proposals, and agreed, that the pope should appoint them preachers. This falsehood succeeded; for the people of La Garde, thinking what the cardinal had told them to be true, faithfully followed the example of their brethren at St. Xift.

Thus the cardinal having gained his point by deluding the people of one town, sent for two troops of soldiers, with a view to murder the other of them. He, accordingly, dispatched the soldiers into the woods, to hunt down the inhabitants of St. Xift, like wild beasts, and gave them strict orders to spare neither age or sex, but to kill all they came near. The troops entered the woods, and many fell a prey to their ferocity, before the Waldenses were properly apprized of their design. At length, however, they determined to sell their lives as dear as possible, when several conflicts happened, in which the half-armed Waldenses performed prodigies of valour, and many were slain on both sides. The greatest part of the troops being killed in the different encounters, the rest were compelled to retreat, which so enraged the cardinal, that he wrote to the viceroy of Naples for reinforcements.

Hereupon the viceroy ordered a proclamation to be made throughout all the Neapolitan territories, that all out-laws, defectors, and other proscribed persons, should be freed, on condition of making a campaign against the inhabitants of St. Xift, and continuing under arms till those people were utterly destroyed.

Several persons, of desperate fortunes, came in upon this proclamation, and taking into light their weapons, and arms, went to fenc the woods, and to death all they could meet with of the reformed religion. The viceroy himself likewise joined the cardinal, at the head of a body of regular forces; and, in conjunction, they did all they could to harass the poor people in the woods. Some they caught, and hung up upon trees, cut down boughs, and burned them, or ripped them open, and left their bodies to be devoured by wild beasts, or birds of prey. Many they shot at a distance, but the greatest number they hunted down by way of sport. A few hid themselves in caves; but famine destroyed them in their hiding places. The rest were expelled, and driven to the uttermost extremities, in order to save their lives; and the most cruel and terrible conquence of these proceedings was, that all these poor people perished, by various means, to glut the bigoted malice of their barbarous enemies.

No sooner were the inhabitants of St. Xift exterminated, than those of La Garde engaged the attention of the cardinal and viceroy. It was offered, that if they would embrace the Catholic religion, and deliver up their rivals and families should not be injured, but their houses and properties should be restored, and none would be permitted to molest them; but, on the contrary, if they refused this mercy, as it was termed, the utmost extremities would be used, and the most cruel and ruthless conquence of these proceedings was, that all these poor people perished, by various means, to glut the bigoted malice of their barbarous enemies.

In spite of the promises on one side, and menaces on the other, these worthy people unanimously refused to renounce their religion, or embrace the errors of Poppety. This exasperated the cardinal and viceroy to such a degree, that they ordered to be put immediately to the rack, as a terror to the remainder.

The thirty who were put to the rack were treated with such severity, that several died under the tortures: one Charlin, in particular, was so cruelly used, that his belly burst, his bowels came out, and he expired in the greatest agony. All the barbarities, however, did not answer the purposes for which they were intended; for those who remained alive after the rack, and those who had not felt the rack, remained equally confiant in their faith, and boldly declared, that no tortures of body, or torments of mind, should ever induce them to renounce their God, or worship false gods.

There were several then, by the cardinal's order, flippert stark naked, and whipped to death with iron rods; some were hacked to pieces with large knives; others were thrown down from the top of a large tower; and many were covered over with pitch, and burnt alive.

Among the victims of these atrocity were the Waldenses, there was one naturally of a savage and cruel disposition: who entreated him, that he might be freed from some of the blood of these poor people with his own hands; his request being granted, the barbarous man took a large sharp knife, and cut the throats of four men, women, and children, with as little remorse as a butcher has to carve a sheep. Every one of these bodies were then ordered to be quartered, the quarters placed upon stakes, and then fixed in different parts of the country, within a circuit of about thirty miles.

The four principal men of La Garde were hanged, as the elect criminals, thrown from the top of his church steeple. He was terribly mangled, but not quite killed by the fall; at which time the viceroy paffing by, said, Is the dog yet living? Take him up, and give him to the hogs: when, brutal as this sentence may appear, it was accordingly executed.

There were sixty wozt men ractc violentit, that the
cords pierced their arms and legs quite to the bone: when, being reminded to pritun, their wounds morbid, and they died in the most miserable manner. Many others were put to death by various cruel means; and if any Roman-Catholic, more compassion than the refl, interceded for any of the reformen, he was immediately apprehended, and shared the fame, as a favourer of heresies.

Now, the viceroy being obliged to march back to Naples, on some affairs of moment which required his presence, and the cardinal having been recalled to Rome, the marquis of Butiane was ordered to put the finishing stroke to what they had begun; which he, at length, effected, by acting with such horrid rigour, as if there was not a single person of the reformed religion left living in all Calabria.

A great number of inoffensive and harmless people were thus deprived of their property, robbed of their liberty, driven from their homes, and, at length, murdered, by various means, only because they would not sacrifice their conscience to the superstitions of others, embrace idolatrous doctrines which they abhorred, and accept of teachers whom they could not believe. Tyranny is of three kinds, viz. That which enlarges the powers of the prince, the prince increasing the prescribes and dificates to the mind. The two first sorts may be termed civil tyranny, and have been practised by arbitrary sovereigns in all ages, who have delighted in tormenting the perkins, and flealing the properties of their subjects. But the third sort, viz. preening and inflating to the mind, is ecclesiastical tyranny: and this is the worst kind of tyranny, as it includes the other two sorts; for the Romish clergy not only torture the bodies, and befeef the effects of these persecutions, but also take the lives, torment the minds, and, if possible, would terrify the very souls of the unhappy victims in their power.

A particular Account of the Persecutions in the Valties of Piedmont.

SEVERAL of the Waldenses, to avoid the persecutions to which they were continually subjected in France, went and settled in the vallies of Piedmont, where they increased surprisingly, and flourished exceeding, as will be shewn of hereafter.

Notwithstanding they were harmless in their behaviour, inoffensive in their conversation, and paid tithes to the Romish clergy, yet the latter could not be contented, but wished to give them some disturbanee: they, accordingly, complained to the archbishop of Turin, that the vallies of Piedmont were heretic, for the reasons as follow:

1. That they did not believe in the doctrines of the church of the Waldenses.
2. That they made no offerings for prayers for the dead.
3. That they did not go to mass.
4. That they did not confess, and receive absolution.
5. That they did not believe in purgatory, or pay money to get the souls of their friends out of it.

The archbishop ordered a persecution to be commenced upon these charges, and many fell martyrs to the superstitious rage of the monks and priests.

One of the reformed at Turin had his bowels torn out, and put into a bason before his face, where they remained, in his view, till he expired. At Revel, Catechist Giacomo de’Franceschi, a deacon, was burned, to give him up a_flame_ which he refused, thinking that he meant to throw it at somebody; but Girard assuring him that he had no such design, the executioner complied; when Girard looking carefully at the flame, said, When it is in the power of a man to eat and digest this solid flame, the philosophy of which I am about to suffer shall have-an-end, and not before. He then threw the flame on the ground, and submitted cheerfully to the flames. A great many more of the reformed were op-

 prefixed, or put to death, by various means, till the patience of the Waldenses being tried out, they flew into arms for their defence, and formed themselves into regular bodies.

Provoked at this, the archbishop of Turin procured a number of troops, and sent against them; but in most of the skirmishes and engagements the Waldenses was better acquainted with the palfies of the vallies of Piedmont than their adversaries, and partly from the defe-

ration with which they fought; for they well knew, if they were taken, they should not be considered as prisoners of war, but, as heretics, should be tormented to the utmost of their power.

Philip, the seventh duke of Savoy, and supreme lord of Piedmont, determined at length to interfere his authority, and stop these bloody wars, which so greatly disturbed his dominions. He was not willing to disinherit the people, or affront the archbishop of Turin; nevertheless, he sent them both meilages, informing, that he could not any longer tamely desc his dominions over-run with troops, who were directed by priests instead of officers, and commanded by prelates in the place of generals; nor would he suffer his country to be depopulated, while himself had not been even confused upon the occasion.

Perceiving the resolution of the duke, the priests did all they could to prejudice his mind against the Waldenses; but the duke told them, that though he was unacquainted with the religious tenets of these people, he always found them quiet, faithful, and obedient, and was therefore determined they should be persecuted no longer.

Accordingly the priests had recourse to the most pal-

pable and absurd falsehoods: they allured the duke that he was mistaken in the Waldenses, for they were a people of people, and excelled in integri-

rance, uncleanliness, blasphemy, adultery, incest, and many other abominable crimes; and that they were even manly in nature, for their children were born with black throats, with four rows of teeth, and bodies covered over with hair.

But the duke was not to do of common fools as to give credit to what the priests said, though they affirmed, in the most solemn manner, the truth of their assertions. He, however, sent twelve very learned and fable gentlemen into the Piedmontese valleys, to ex-

amine these falsehoods.

These gentlemen, after travelling through all their towns and villages, and conversing with people of every rank among the Waldenses, returned to the duke, and gave him the most favourable account of these people; affirming, before the faces of the priests who accused their ways, that their words were made by a loyal, friendly, industrious, and pious: that they abhorred the crimes of which they were accused; and that, should an individual, through his depravity, fall into any of those crimes, he would, by their laws, be punished in the most exemplary manner. With respect to the children, the gentlemen said, the priests had told the most groove and ridiculous fables, for they were neither born with black throats, teeth in their mouths, or hair on their bodies, but were as fine children as could be seen.

And to convince your highnesses of what we have said, and have been true, we have brought twelve of the principal male inhabitants, who are come to ask pardon in the name of the reformed, for having taken up arms without your leave, though even in their own defence, and to preserve their lives from their medicat enemies. And we have likewise brought several women, of all ages, whilst that your highnesses may have an opportunity of personally examining them as much as you please.

Having accepted the apology of the twelve delegates, converted with the women, and examined the children, the duke graciously pardoned them.

He then declared that they who had attempted to offend him, immediately to leave the court; and gave first orders, that the persecution should cease throughout his dominions.
For many years the Waldenses had enjoyed peace, till Philip, the seventh duke of Savoy, died, when his successor happened to be a very bigoted Papist. About the same time, some of the principal Waldenses proposed, that their clergy should preach in public, that every one might know the purity of their doctrines; for hitherto they had only conducted their confessions as they well knew to consist of none but persons of the reformed religion.

When informed of these proceedings, the new duke was greatly exasperated, and sent a considerable body of troops into the valleys, wounding, that if the people would not cease from preaching, they should have them all put to death. The commander of the troops soon found the impracticability of conquering them with the number of men he had with him: he, therefore, sent word to the duke, that the idea of subjugating the Waldenses, to force them to fly, was ridiculous; that those people were better acquainted with the country than any that were with him; that they had secured all the passes, were well armed, and resolutely determined to defend themselves; and, with respect to slaying them alive, he laid, that every skin belonging to those people would cost four or five hundred pounds. The duke was alarmed at this information, the duke withdrew the troops, determining to act not by force, but by stratagem. He, therefore, ordered rewards for the taking of any of the Waldenses, who might be found flying from those places of preachment and theft. When taken, they were either flayed alive, or burnt.

Hitherto the Waldenses had only the New Testament, and a few books of the Old, in the Waldensian tongue; but they determined now to have the sacred writings complete in their own language. They, therefore, employed a Switz printer to furnish them with a complete edition of the Old and New Testament in the Waldensian tongue, which he did for the consideration of fifteen hundred crowns of gold, paid him by those truly pious people.

Pope Clement the Third, a bigoted Papist, ascended the papal chair, immediately solicited the parliament of Turin to persecute the Waldenses, as the most pernicious of all heretics.

To this the parliament readily agreed, when several were suddenly apprehended and burnt, by their order. Among these was Bartholomew Hedor, a bookfeather and flattener of Turin, who was brought up a Roman-Catholic, but having read some tracts written by the reformed clergy, he was fully convinced of the errors of the church of Rome; yet his mind was, for some time, wavering, and he hardly knew what persuasion to embrace.

After some serious consideration, he at last fully embraced the reformed religion, was apprehended, as we have already mentioned, and burnt by order of the parliament of Turin.

A new confabulation was held by the parliament of Turin, in which it was agreed, to send deputies to the valleys of Piedmont, with propositions as follows:

1. That if the Waldenses would come to the bosom of the church of Rome, and embrace the Roman-Catholic religion, they should enjoy their houses, properties, and should live with their families, without the least molestation.
2. That to prove their obedience, they should send twelve of their principal persons, with all their ministers and school-masters, to Turin, to be dealt with as if them.
3. That the pope, the king of France, and the duke of Savoy, approved of, and authorized the proceedings of the parliament of Turin, upon this occasion.
4. That if the Waldenses of the valleys of Piedmont refused to comply with these propositions, persecution should ensue, and certain death be their portion.

The Waldenses answering these propositions respectfully, made the following very noble replies:

1. That no consideration whatever should make them renounce their religion.
2. That they would never consent to commit their bones and most respectable friends, to the custody and circulation of their wost and most inveterate enemies.
3. That they valued the approbation of the King of kings, who reigns in heaven, more than any temporal authority.
4. That their souls were more precious than their bodies.

These spirited and pointed replies greatly exasperated the parliament of Turin: they continued, with more avidity than ever, to kidnap such Waldenses as did not adopt with proper precaution, who were sure to fall into mort cruel deaths. Among thee it unfortunately happened, that they got hold of Jeffry Varnagle, minister of Angrogne, whom they accursed as a heretic, and committed to the flames.

Then they took a considerable body of troops of the king of France, in order to exterminate the reformed entirely from the valleys of Piedmont; but just as the troops were going to march, the Protestant princes of Germany interposed, and threatened to send troops to afford the Waldenses, if they should be attacked. The king of France was sorely vexed at this disappoininent, and the persecution gradually ceased, as they could only put to death such of the reformed as they caught by chance, and as the Waldenses daily grew more cautious, their cruelty was obliged to subside, for want of objects on whom to exercise it.

When the Waldenses had enjoyed a few years tranquility, they were again disturbed by the following means: the pope's nuncio coming to Turin to the duke of Savoy upon busines, told that prince he was adultery he had not yet either root out the Waldenses from the valleys of Piedmont entirely, or compelled them to enter into the bosom of the church of Rome. This he could not help looking upon such conduct with a falsh eye, and that he really thought him a favourer of those heretics, and should report the affair accordingly to his holiness the pope.

Inflamed by this reflection, and unwilling to be misrepresented to the pope, the duke determined to all with the greatest severity, in order to throw his zeal, and to make amends for former neglect by future cruelty. He, accordingly, issued express orders for all the Waldenses to attend mass regularly, on pain of death. This they absolutely refused to do, on which he entered the Piedmontese valleys with a considerable force of men, and began a most furiously persecution, in which great numbers were hanged, drowned, ripped open, tied to trees, and pierced with prongs, thrown from precipices, burnt, flayed, racked to death, wronged by dogs, crucified with their heads downwards, &c. &c.

All who fled had their goods plundered, and their houes burnt to the ground: they were peculiarly cruel when they caught a minister or a school-master, whom they put to such exquititie tortures, as are almost incredible to conceive. If any whom they took from working in their faith, they did not put them to death, but sent them to the galleys, to be made convicts by dint of hardships.

On this occaion, the most cruel persecutors that attended the duke were three in number, viz. 1. Thomas Incamel, an apostate; for he was brought up in the reformed religion, but renounced the errors of Popery, and turned monk. He was a great libertine, given to unnatural crimes, and foribly licentious for the plunder of the Waldenses. 2. Corbis, a man of a very ferocious and cruel nature, whose buli

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Now these three persecutors were unmerciful to the last degree; and wherever they came, the blood of the innocents was fure to flow. Excessive of the cruelties exer-
cified by the duke, by these three persons, and the army, in their different marches, many local barbarities were committed. At Pigneral, a town in the valleys, was a monastery, the monks of which finding they might injure the reformed with impunity, began to plunder the houses, and pull down the churches of the Waldenfes. Not meeting with any opposition, they went about plundering the people, murdering the men, confining the women, and putting the children to Roman-Catholic nuns.

In like manner the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the valley of St. Martin did all they could to torment the new adherents; they burnt their houses, seized their property, stole their cattle, converted their lands to their own use, committed their minutiers to the flames, and drove the Waldenfes to the woods, where they had nothing to sustain but wild fruits, the bark of trees, roots, &c., &c. A few Roman Catholic ruffians having feigned a miner as he was going to preach, determined to take him to a convenient place, and burn him. His parishioners having intelligence of the affair, the men armed themselves, pursued the ruffians, and determined to refuse their miner; but when they saw no miner perceived, that they had robbed the poor gentleman, and leaving him wailing in his blood, made a precipitate retreat. The affrighted parishioners did all they could to recover him, but in vain; for the weapon had touched the vital parts, and he expired as they were carrying him to safety.

The monks of Pigneral having a great inclination to get a miner of a town in the valleys, called St. Germain, into their power, hired a band of ruffians for the purpose of apprehending him. These fellows were conducted by a treacherous person, who had formerly been a mining to the allgebraic man, and thoroughly well knew a secret way to the house, by which he could lead them without alarming the neighbourhood. The guide knocked at the door, and being asked who was there, answered in his own name. The clergyman, not suspecting any injury from the persons who had been conducted to the house, opened the door; but perceiving the ruffians, he flattered back, and fled to a back door; but they rushed in, followed and feigned him. Having murdered all his family, they made him proceed towards Pigneral, gobbling him all the way with pikes, lances, swords, they had hunted upon their own prisions, and then fastened to the flake to be burnt; when two women of the Waldenfes, who had renounced their religion to save their lives, were ordered to carry faggots to the flake to burn him; and as they laid them down, to fry. Take thee, thou wicked heretic, in recreation. The clergyman was driven into the flake himself with the others. These words they both repeated to him: to which he calmly replied, I formerly taught you well, but you have since learned ill. The fire was then put to the faggots; and he was fiercely confounded, calling upon the name of the Lord as long as he retained his voice. Thieving the troops of ruffians, and belonging to the monks, did great mischief about the town of St. Germain, murdering and plundering many of the inhabitants, the reformed of Lucerne and Aargovia went some bands of armed men to the assistance of their brethren of St. Germain.

The left divisions of armies frequently attacked the ruffians, and often put them to rout, which terrified the monks, that they left their monasteries of Pigneral for some time, till they could procure a body of regular troops for their protection.

Now the duke, not thinking himself so successful as he at first supposed, should be greatly augmented his forces, ordered the bands of ruffians, belonging to the monks, should join him, and commanded, that a general garrison should take place, provided the perfons releasted would bear arms, and form themselves into light companies, to afflit in the extermination of the Waldenfes. As soon as the Waldenfes were informed of the proceedings, they secured a number of their properties as they could, and quitting the valleys, retired to the rocks and caves among the Alps; for it is to be understood, that the vallies of Piedmont are situated at the foot of the prodigious mountains, called the Alps, or the Alpine Hills.

Now the army began to plunder and burn the towns and villages wherever they came; but the troops could not force the passes to the Alps, which were gallantly defended by the ecclesiastics, and the enemy, who called them enemies; but if any fell into the hands of the troops, they were sure to be treated in the most barbarous and severe manner.

A soldier having caught one of the Waldenfes, his right ear off. Saying, I will carry this member of the Waldenfes to France, and present it to the king, and preserve it as a relic. He then flayed the man, and threw him into a ditch.

A party of the troops found a venerable man named of an hundred years of age, together with his grandson, a maid of about eighteen, in a cave. They butchered the poor old man in most inhuman manner, and then attempted to ravish the girl, when the furious girl, and fled from them; but they pursued her, he threw herself from a precipice, and expired.

The Waldenfes in order the people to be able to repel force by force, entered into league with the Protestant powers in Germany, and with the reformed of Dauphiny and Pragel. They were, respectively, furnishing bodies of troops; and the Waldenfes determined, at that time, to reinforce them, and to force the duke's army to evacuate their native valleys. At length, the duke of Savoy was tired of the war; it had cost him great fatigue and anxiety of mind, a vast number of men, and very considerable sums of money. It had become much too tedious and bloody that he expected, as well as more expensive than he could yet have imagined, for he thought the plunder would be discharged the expenses of the expedition; but in this he was mistaken, for the pope's nuncio, the bishop, monks, and other ecclesiastics, who attended the way and encouraged the troops, had had their share in the wealth that was taken, under various pretences. For these reasons, and the death of his duchess, of which he had just received intelligence, and fearing that the Waldenfes, by the treaties they had entered into, would become more powerful than ever, he determined to return to France with his army, and to make peace with the Waldenfes.

Happily he executed this resolution, though great against the will of the ecclesiastics, who were the chief gainers, and the bell pleased with revenge. Before the articles of peace could be ratified, the duke did not long survive the fatal hour of his death. He died in the house where he had frequently enjoined his son to perform what he had intended, and to be as favourable as possible to the Waldenfes.

Charles Emanuel, the duke's son, succeeded to the dominions of Savoy, and gave a full ratification of peace to the Waldenfes, according to the last instructions of his father, though the ecclesiastics did all they could to dissuade him from his noble purpose.

A full and particular Account of the Persiculum Venice.

When the state of Venice was free from insultiors, a great number of Protestant fixed their residence there, and many convicts were made by the puritans. They professed, and the ineffectiveness of the conversations they made use of.

As soon as the pope was informed of the great increase of Protestantism, he, in the year 1549, sent insuitors to Venice, to make an inquiry into the matter, and affirmed such as they deemed dangerous persons. Hence a severe persecution began, and many worthy persons were martyred for serving God with purity, and for eschewing the trappings of idol superstition.

The modes by which the Protestants were deprived of life were several; but one particular method, which
The Martyrdom of Francis Gamba of Lombard, who after having his Tongue bored through was burnt at Milan in Italy.
Various methods of massacring the Protestants in the Vallies of Piedmont in Italy.
An ACCOUNT of the PERSECUTIONS in ITALY.

was first invented upon this occasion, we shall describe: As soon as sentence was passed, the prisoner had an iron chain, which ran through a great stone, fastened to his body; he was then laid flat upon a plank, with his face uppermost, and towed between two boats to a certain depth in the sea, when the boats separated, and by the weight of the stone, he was sunk to the bottom.

When any denied the jurisdiction of the inquisitors at Venice, they were sent to Rome, where, being committed purposely to damp prisons, and never called to an hearing, their friends suspected, and they there died in a most miserable manner. Anthony Ricciuti, a citizen of Venice, being apprehended as a Protestant, was sentenced to be drowned in the manner we have already described. A few days previous to the appointed time for his execution, his father sent to him, and begged him to recant, that his life might be saved, and himself not lose his father. To which the father replied, A good Christian is bound to relinquish not only goods and children, but life itself for the glory of his Redeemer: therefore I am resolved to suffer every thing in this transitory world, for the sake of the Lord in a world that will last to eternity. The lords of Venice likewise sent him word, that he would embrace the Roman-Catholic religion, they would not only give him his life, but redeem a considerable estate which he had mortgaged, and freely present him with it. This, however, he absolutely refused to comply with, and answered them that he would not yield his soul beyond all other considerations; and being told that if a poor prisoner, named Francis Segala, had recanted, he answered, If the poor man, God, I pity him; but I shall continueEdfast in my duty. Finding all endeavours to persuade him to renounce his faith ineffectual, he was sent to a dungeon for several days.

A Protestant gentleman of very great learning, named Francis Spinola, being apprehended by order of the inquisitors, was carried before their tribunal. A treatable prisoner, Dupper was then put into his hands, and he answered all his questions with a noble spirit, that he would not yield his soul beyond all other considerations; and being told that if a poor prisoner, named Francis Segala, had recanted, he answered, If the poor man, God, I pity him; but I shall continueEdfast in my duty. Finding all endeavours to persuade him to renounce his faith ineffectual, he was sent to a dungeon for several days. When brought to the place of examination, he charged the pope's legate, and the inquisitors with being merciful barbarians, and then represented the superiors and inquisitors practised by the church of Rome in various lights, that not being able to refute his arguments, they sent him back to his dungeon, to make him repent of what he had uttered. They asked him, on his third examination, if he would retract his errors? To which he answered, That the doctrines he maintained were not erroneous, being clearly the same as those which Christ and his apostles had taught, and which were handed down to us in the Sacred Writings. All the inquisitors then sentenced him to be drowned, which was executed in the manner already described. He went to meet death with the most fervency, feeming to wish for dissolution, and declaring, that the prolongation of this life did but tend to retard the real happiness which could be only exhibited in the other world.

To an interesting Account of several remarkable Individuals, who were imprisoned in different Parts of Italy, for their Religion.

John Mollius was born at Rome, of reputable parents. At twelve years of age they placed him in the monastery of Grey Friars, where he made such a rapid progress in arts, science, and languages, that he was permitted to take priest's orders at the early age of eighteen years. Mollius was then sent to Ferrara, where, after purifying his flutters six years longer, he was made theological reader in the University of that city. He now, unhappily, exercised his great talents to disseise the Reformers, and to vannish over the errors of the church of Rome. After some years residence at Ferrara, he removed to the university of Bononia, where he became a professor. Having read some treatises written by ministers of the reformed religion, he grew fully sensible of the errors of Popery, and soon became in his heart a zealous Protestant.

This man now determined to expound, according to the purity of the gospel, St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, in a regular concord of sermons. The concourse of people that continually attended, was at first surprising; but when the priests found the tenor of his discourses, they dispatched an account of the affair to Rome; when the pope sent a monk, named Cornelius, to Bononia, to expound the same epistle, according to the tenets of the beliefs of the church of Rome. The people, however, found such a disparity between the two orators, that the audience of Mollius increased, and Cornelius was forced to preach to empty benches. Hereupon Cornelius wrote an account of his bad success to the pope, who immediately sent an order to apprehend Mollius, who was seized upon accordingly, and kept in close confinement. The pope of Rome, however, sent him word, that he must recant, or be burnt; but he appealed to Rome, and was accordingly removed there. He here begged to have a public trial, but the pope absolutely denied him, and commanded him to give an account of his opinions in writing, which he did under the following heads:

1. The infallibility of the church of Rome. 11. The lost.
2. The infallibility of the pope. 12. Prayers to saints.
5. Transubstantiation. 15. Performing service in an unknown tongue.

And all these he confirmed from scripture authority. The pope, upon this occasion, for political reasons, spared him for the present, but soon after, in 1555, had him apprehended, and put to death; he being first hanged, and his body burnt to ashes.

In 1554, Francis Gamba, a Lombard, of the Protestant persuasion, was apprehended, and condemned to death by the senate of Milan. At the place of execution, a monk presented a cross to him; to whom he said, My mind is so full of the real merits and good-nets of Christ, that I want not a piece of fennel's flick to put me in mind of him. For this expression his tongue was bored through, and he was afterwards committed to the flames.

In 1555, Alferius, a student in the university of Padua, and a man of great learning, having embraced the reformed religion, did all he could to convert others. For these proceedings he was accused of heresy to the pope, and being apprehended, was committed to the prison at Venice, where, being allowed the use of pen, ink, and paper, he wrote to his converters at Padua a celebrated epistle as follows:

L E T T E R

From Algerius to his Converters at Padua.

"Dear Friends,

I cannot omit this opportunity of letting you know that sincere pleasure I feel in my confinement; to suffer for Christ is delectable, indeed: to undergo a little transitory pain in this world, for his sake, is cheaply

10 N

purchasing
purchasing a reverie of eternal glory, in a life that is everlasting.

I have found honey in the entrails of a lion; a paradise in a prison; tranquillity in the houset of sorrow: where others weep, I rejoice; where others tremble and faint, I find strength and courage. The Almighty alone conveys these favours on me; be his the glory and the praise.

How difficult do I find myself from what I was before I embraced the truth in its purity? I was then dark, doubtful, and in dread; I am now enlightened, certain, and full of joy. He that was far from me is present with me; he comforts my spirit, heals my griefs, strengthens my mind, and strengthens me in my most profound sorrows, to win him to his purpose. But finding his endeavours insufficient, he ordered him to be burnt, which sentence was accordingly executed.

In 1559, John Alloysius, being sent from Geneva to preach in Calabria, was there apprehended as a Protestant, carried to Rome, and burnt by order of the pope; and James Borelli was burnt at Melfin for the same reason.

In 1560, pope Pius the Fourth ordered all the Protestants to be severely persecuted throughout the Italian states, when great numbers of every age, sex, and condition, suffered martyrdom. Concerning the cruelties practised upon this occasion, a learned and humane Roman-Catholic thus speaks of them, in a letter to a noble lord: "I cannot, my lord, forbear disdaining my sufferings, with respect to the persecution now carrying on: I think it cruel and unceaseable; I tremble at the manner of putting to death, as it resembles more the slaughter of calves and sheep, than the execution of human beings. I will relate to your lordship a dreadful scene, of which I was myself an eye-witness: seventy Protestants were copped up in one filthy dungeon together; the executioner went in among them, picked one from each side, and led him to the stake; he led him out to an open place before the prison, and cut his throat with the greatest composure. He then calmly walked into the prison again, bloody as he was, and with the knife in his hand selected another, and dispatched him in the same manner; and this, my lord, he repeated till the whole number were put to death. I leave it to your lordship's feelings to judge of my sensations upon the occasion; my tears now wash the paper upon which I give you the recital. Another thing I must mention, the patience with which they met death: they seemed all resigned and quiet, fervently praying to God, and sometimes manifesting delight without trembling, how the executioner held the bloody knife between his teeth; what a dreadful figure he appeared, all covered with blood, and with what unconcern he executed his barbarous office."

There was a young Elizabeth, a native of Rome, who happened to be one day passing by a church, when the procession of the holy was just coming out. A bishop carried the host, which the young man perceiving, he snatched it from him, threw it upon the ground, and trampled it under his feet, crying out. "Ye wretched idolaters, that neglect the provide with thee a world of blood. This action provoked the people, that they would have torn him to pieces upon the spot; but the priests having persuaded them to let him abide by the sentence of the pope, they restrained their fury.

As soon as the affair was represented to the pope, he was so greatly exasperated, that he ordered the prisoner to be burnt immediately; but a cardinal diffused him from this hally sentence, saying, it was better to punish him by lawful degrees, and to torture him, that they might find out if he had been instigated by any particular person, to commit an act so atrocious.

This being approved, he was tortured with the most exemplary severity, notwithstanding which they could only get these words from him, "It was the will of God that I should suffer death, that I might glorify God." According to the pope paid this sentence upon him:

1. "That he should be led, naked to the neck, through the streets of Rome, by the executioner.
2. "That he should wear the image of the dead king on his head.
3. "That his breaches should be painted with the presentation of flames.
4. "That he should have his right hand cut off.
5. "That after having been carried about this in procession, he should be burnt.

Having heard his sentence pronounced, he implored God to give him strength and fortitude to go through it. As he passed through the streets he was greatly attended by the people, to whom he said some fervent requests, respecting the Romish superstition. But a cardinal, who attended the procession, over-hearing him, ordered him to be gagged.

As he came to the church door, where he trampled on the host, the hangman cut off his right hand, and fixed it on a pole. Then two tormentors, with pinching torches, tormented and burned his flesh all the way. At the place of execution he knelt the chains that were to bind him to the stake, and, covering his eyes, observing the signs of a father to him, he struck it aside, and then being chained to the stake: fire was put to the faggots, and he was burnt to ashes in an instant.

Shortly after the last mentioned execution, a venerable old man, who had long been a prisoner in the inquisition, was condemned to be burnt, and brought by order of the pope; and James Borelli was burnt at Melfin for the same reason.

Summary of the Persecutions in the Marquisate of Saluces.

In 1561, the marquisate of Saluces, on the south side of the valley of Piedmont, was principally inhabited by Protestants; when the marquis, who was prior of it, began a persecution against them in the inquisition of the then pope. He began by hounding the millers, and if any of them refused to do as they did, they were sure to be imprisoned, and, sometimes tortured; however, he did not proceed so far as to put any to death.

A little after the marquisate fell into the possession of the duke of Savoy, who sent circular letters to all the towns and villages, that he expected the people found all conform to go to mass.

This information, and this requisition, the inhabitants of Saluces returned the following general epistle for answer:

"May it please your highness,

"We humbly entreat your permission to continue in the faith of the religion which we have always professed, and which our fathers have professed before us. In this we shall acquit our conscience, without offending any; for we are sensible that our religion is founded on the Holy Scriptures, by which means we are commanded not to injure our neighbours.

"We likewise implore your protection; for as Jews, infidels, and other enemies to Christ, are suffered to live in your dominions unmolested, we hope the same just
A particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS in the VALLIES of PIEDMONT, in the Seventeenth Century.

WHEN Pope Clement the Eighth sent missionaries into the valleys of Piedmont, to induce the Protestants to renounce their religion, these missionaries, having erected monasteries in several parts of the valleys, became exceedingly troublesome to those of the reformation. Many of these monasteries appeared not only as fortresses to curb, but as sanctuaries for all such to fly to, as had injured them in any degree.

The Protestants petitioned the duke of Savoy against these missionaries, whose insolence and ill-treatment became intolerable, but instead of getting any redress, the interest of the missionaries so far prevailed, that the duke published a decree, in which he declared, that one witch should be sufficient in a court of law against a Protestant; and that any witches, who convicted a Protestant of any crime whatever should be entitled to an hundred crowns as a reward.

Upon the publication of a decree of this nature, it may be easily imagined, that many Protestants fell martyrs to perjury and aversion; for several villainous Papists would swear away any thing against the Protestants for the sake of the reward, and then fly to their own priors for absolution. We find that in Tuscany, and the Roman Catholic, of more confidence than the rest, blamed these fellows for their atrocious crimes, they themselves were in danger of being informed against, and punished as favorers of heresy, which they called Protetantism.

Now these missionaries did all they could to get the hands of the Protestants into their power, in order to burn them; when the Protestants doing their utmost endeavours to conceal their books, the missionaries wrote to the duke of Savoy, who, for the honest crime of not furnishing their bibles, prayer-books, and religious tracts, had a number of troops to be quartered on them. These military officers did great mischief in the houses of the Protestants, and destroyed such quantities of provisions, as occasioned the ruin of many families.

Now, to encourage, as much as possible, the apostacy of the Protestants, the duke of Savoy published a proclamation, wherein he said, 'To encourage the heretics to return Catholic, we have allotted all our still and pleasures, and we do hereby expressly command, that all such as shall embrace the holy Roman faith, shall enjoy an exemption from all and every tax for the space of five years, commencing from the day of their conversion.'

The duke of Savoy also declared, that the Protestants should not have the power to excommunicate any one for excommunicating the heretics. This court was to enter into inquiries concerning the ancient privileges of the Protestant churches, and the decrees which had been, from time to time, made in favour of the Protestants. But the investigation of these things was carried on with the most manifest partiality; old charters were wrested to a wrong sense, and sophistry was used to pervert the meaning of every thing, which tended to favour the reformed.

These severities not seeming sufficient, the duke, soon after, published another edict, in which he strictly commanded, that no Protestant should sit as a schoolmaster, or tutor, either in public or private, or dare to teach any art, science, or language, directly or indirectly, to persons of any persuasion whatever.

Another, equally severe, imperial edict followed this edict, which decreed, that no Protestant should hold any place of profit, trust, or honour; and to wind up the whole, the certain token of an approaching persecution came forth in a final edict, by which it was positively ordered, that all Protestants should diligently attend to their religion.

The publication of this edict, containing such an injurious, may be considered as unfurling the bloody flag; for murder and rapine were certain to follow. One of the first objects that attracted the notice of the Papists, was Mr. Schaffran Bafan, a zealous Protestant, who was seized by the missionaries, confined, tormented for fifteen months, and then committed to the flames.

Before the persecution, the missionaries employed kidnappers to steal away the Protetants' children, that they might privately be brought up Roman Catholics; but now they turned their hands to children by open force, and if they met with any resistance, the wretched parents were immediately murdered.

The duke of Savoy, to give greater vigour to the persecution, called a general assembly of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry, when a solemn edict was published against the reformed, containing many horrors, and including several reasons for extinguishing the Protestants; among which the following were the principal.

For the preservation of the papal authority.

That the church livings may be all under one mode of government.

To make an union among all parties.

In honour of all the saints, and of the ceremonies of the church of Rome.

This severe edict was followed by a most cruel order, published on January 25, A. D. 1655, under the duke's sanction, by Andrew Baldo, doctor of civil laws. This order for the first time "They ordered, that the children, with the individuals of that family, of the reformed religion, of what rank, degree, or conditionsoever, none excused, inhabiting and polishing effaces in Lucerne, St. Giovanni, Bibiana, Campiglione, St. Secondo, Laternus, La, Vivaldi, Valsen, and Sasso, within three days after the publication thereof, should be withdrawn and depart, and be withdrawn out of the said places, and translated into the places and limits tolerated by his highness during his pleasure; particularly Bobbio, Angrogna, Villaro, Ronata, and the county of Bonetti. And all this to be done on pain of death, and the confiscation of house and goods, unless within the limited time they turned Roman Catholics."
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK OF MARTYRS. 916

carnage. "The army, says he, having got footing, became very numerous, by the addition of a multitude of the neighbouring Popish inhabitants, who finding we were the defined prey of the plunderers, fell upon us with an impetuous fury. Exclusive of the duke of Savoy's troops, and the Popish inhabitants, there were several beginning by cutting off Fawkes's company being belonging to the Irish brigades, and several bands formed of outlaws, smugglers, and prifoners, who had been promised pardon and liberty in this world, and abdolition in the next, for affilling to exterminate the Protestants from Piedmont."

"This armed multitude being encouraged by the Roman-Catholic bishops and monks, fell upon the Protestants in a most furious manner. Nothing now was to be seen but the face of horror and despair; blood stained the floors of the houses, dead bodies betrew the street, groans and cries were heard from all parts. Some armed themselves, and skirmished with the troops; and many, with their families, fled to the mountains. In one village they cruelly tormented 150 women and children after the men were fled, beheading the women, and driving out the brains of the children. In towns of Villaro and Bobbio, most of those who refused to go within the walls after many years of age, they crucified with their heads downwards; and the greater number of those who were under that age were flangered."

A woman of fifty years of age, named Sarah Rahulano de Vignes, being seized by some soldiers, they ordered her to come to some fountains, which the refusing, they thrust a fickle into her belly, ripped her up, and then cut her head off.

A handlome young woman, the name of Martha Contifante, was treated with great indelicacy and cruelty by several of the troops, who first ravished, and then killed. Her father, brother, and sister, they killed, and yet before some of their comrades, who eat them without knowing what they were. When they had done eating, the others told them what they had made a meal of, in conformance of which a quarrel ensued, swords were drawn, and a battle took place. Several were killed in the fray, the greater part of which were those concerned in the horrid massacre of the woman, and who had practised such an inhuman deception on their deluded comrades.

A man at Thraffiere was feized by some of the soldiers, who ran the points of their swords through his ears, and then threw him into the town, then tore off the nails of his fingers, and beat him with red-hot pincers, tied him to the tail of an ass, and dragged him about the streets; and, finally, fainted a cord round his head, which they twisted with a fickle in so violent a manner as to wring it from his body.

A Proteus, about of eighty years of age, named Peter Simons, was tied neck and heels, and then thrown down a precipice. In the fall the branch of a tree caught hold of the ropes that fastened him, and suspended him in the mid-way, so that he languished for several days, and at length miserably perished of hunger.

One Elay Garinco, refusing to renounce his religion, was taken in his house, his head being by a bullet, they had missed him. A woman, named Armand, had every limb separated from each other, and then the reflexive parts were hung upon a hedge. Two old women were ripped open, and left in the fields upon the snow, where they perished; and a very old woman, who was dismembered, had her nose and hands cut off, and was left in that manner to bleed to death.

There were several men, women, and children, flung from the rocks, and dashed to pieces. Magdalen Berton, a Protestant woman of La Torre, was stripped flark naked, her head tied between her legs, and thrown down into the precipice. And Mary Raymond, on the same town, had her flesh flied from her bones till she expired in the greatest agony.

Likewise Magdalen Pilot, of Villaro, was cut to pieces in the cave of Caillotus; Ann Charboniere had one end of a fiske thrulth up her body; and the other end being fixed in the ground, she was left in that manner to perill; and Jacob Perrin the elder, of the church of Villaro, and David, his brother, were flayed alive.

Giovanni Andrea Michielan, an inhabitant of La Torre, was apprehended, with four of his children, three of them were hacked to pieces before him, the soldiers asking him, at the death of every child, if he were satisfied with what he beheld, which he coldly refuted. One of the soldiers then took off his left arm and youngst by the legs, and putting the name quies to the father, he replied as before, when the inhumane brute dashed out the child's brains. The father, how- ever, at the same moment flarcted from them, and led; then the soldiers after him, but miffed him; and he, by the twiswills of his heels, escaped to the Alps, where he took refuge.

Account of the Persecutions in the Valleys of Pila-

Giovanni Pelachioni, for refusing to turn Papist, was tied by one leg to the tail of a mule, and dragged through the streets of Lucerne, amidst the acclamation of the town, they put a fickle to his face, and crying out, He is possessed with the Devil, so that neither floning, nor dragging him through the streets, will kill him, for the Devil keeps him alive. They then took him to the river side, chopped off his head, and left that and his body unburied, upon which he fed and grew.

The daughter of Peter Fontaine, a beautiful child of ten years of age, named Magdalene, was ravished and murdered by the soldiers. Another girl, of about the same age, they roasted alive at Villa Nova; and a poor woman, hearing the soldiers were coming towards her house, hid her child under a cloth in which her infant was asleep, and fled towards the woods. The soldiers, however, saw, and pursued her, when the lightseeing herself by putting down the cradle and child, which the soldiers no sooner came to, than they murdered the infant, and continuing the purfit, found the mother in a cave, where they first ravished, and then cut her to atoms.

Jacopo Michielin, chief elder of the church of Bobbio, and several other Protestants, were hung up by means of hooks fixed in their bellies, and left to expir in the most execratory agony.

Lino Giovani Rosignoli, a venerable Protestant, upwards of fifty years of age, had his nose and ears cut off, and lices cut from the follicle parts of his body, till he bled to death.

The following seven persons, Daniel Salaggio and his wife, Giovanni Durant, Lodwich Durant, Barthe- lenten Durant, Daniel Revel, and Paul Reynaud, had their mouths flushed with gunpowder, which being at first to their heads were blown to pieces.

Alfo, Jacob Birone, a school-malter of Rorato, for refusing to change his religion, was whipped quite naked; and after having been very indecorously expos'd, had his nails of his toes and fingers torn off with red-hot pincers, and holes bored through his hands with the point of a dagger. He then had a cord tied round his mid-riot, and was led through the streets with a folder on each side of him. At every turning the soldier on his right hand side cut a gath in his flesh, and the folder on his left hand side struck him with a bludgeon, both facing at the same instant. Will you go to malls? Will you go to malls? He fell replies in the negative to these interrogatories, and being at length taken to the bridge, they cut off his head on the halfbalks, and threw both his body and his body into the river.

A very pious Protestant, named Paul Garnier, had his eyes put out, was then flayed alive, and being divided into four parts, his quarters were placed on four of the principal house of Lucerne. He bore all his sufferings with the most exemplary patience, praising God as long as he could speak, and plainly evincing, what confidence and resignation a good conscience can before.

Daniel Cardon, of Roccapienia, being apprehended by
CYPRIANIA BUSTIA A PIEDMONTESA, after being starved to Death taken from his House, thrown to Dogs to be devoured.
An ACCOUNT of the PERSECUTIONS in the VALLEYS of PIEDMONT.

by some foldiers, they cut his head off, and having fried his brains, eat them. Two poor old blind women, of St. Giovanni, were burnt alive; and a widow of La Torre, with her daughter, were driven into the river, and flomed to death there.

There was one Paul Giles, who, on attempting to run away from some foldiers, fell into a hot chimney, which is about ninety years of age, named Michael Gonet, was burnt to death; Baptista Oudir, another old man, was flomed; and Bartholomew Fronfli had holes made in his heels, through which rope being put, he was dragged like a dog to the goal, where his wounds mortified, and he accelerated his dissilution.

Magdalene de la Peire being pursued by some of the foldiers, and taken, was thrown down a precipice, and dashed to pieces. Margaret Revella, and Mary Pravilini, two very old women, were burnt alive; and Michael Dellino, with Ann Bochardno, were decapitated.

Both the son and daughter of a councillor of Giovanni, were rolled down a steep hill together, and suffered to perish in a deep pit at the bottom. A tradician's family, consisting of himself, his wife, and two sons, were cast from a rock, and dashed to pieces; and Joseph Ciaukt, and Paul Carierno, were flayed alive.

When Cypriania Buffia was asked if he would renounce his religion, and turn Roman-Catholic, he replied, I would rather renounce my life, or turn dog: to which a priest answered, for that expression was flamed both renounce life, and be given to the dogs. They, accordingly, dragged him to prison, where he continued a considerable time without food, till he was famished; after which they threw his corpse into the street before the prison, and it was devoured by dogs and cats.

Joseph Pont was cut through the middle of his body; Margaret Soreatta was flomed to death, and then thrown into the river; and Antonio Bertina had his head cleft and split.

While Daniel Maria, and his whole family, were ill of a fever, several Papil ruftians broke into his house, telling him they were practical physicians, and would give them all present cures, which they did, by knocking the whole family on the head and murdering them.

There were three infant children of a Protestant, named Michael Coronelli, of St. Giovanni, an old widow, named Judith, was beheaded; and a beautiful young woman was stripped naked, and had a blade driven through her body, of which she died.

The wife of Peter Bellino, named Lucy, a woman far gone in pregnancy, who lived in one of the villages of the Piedmontese valleys, determined, if possible, to escape from such dreadful scenes as everywhere surrounded her: she accordingly, took two young children, one in each hand, and set off towards the Alps. But on the third day of the journey she was taken in labour among the mountains, and was delivered of an infant, which perished through the extreme inclemency of the weather, as did the other two children; for all three were found dead by her, and herself just expiring, by the perfon to whom she related the above circumstances.

One Fromagno Gros, the son of a clergyman, had his flesh loosly cut from his body into small pieces, and put into a dill before him: two of his children were murdered before his sight; and his wife was fastened to a pole, that the town beheld all these cruelties practised on her husband and children. The tormentors, as long as he was alive, exercised on him tortures, cut off the heads of both husband and wife, and then flomed the flesh of the dogs of the whole family.

The four Thomas Margher fled to a cave, when the foldiers put the mouth, and he perished with famine. Judith Revella, with several children, was an infant, was cruelly murdered in their beds; and a widow, of near fourscore years of age, was by foldiers hewn to pieces.

Jacob Railo was ordered to pray to the saints, which he absolutely refused to do: some of the foldiers beat him violently with bluegongs to make him comply, but he still refusing, several of them fired at him, and lodged a great many balls in his body. As he was almost expiring they cried to him, Will you call upon the saints? Will you pray to the saints? To which he answered, No! No! Not a word from the mouth of a dog. Then, with one stroke of a sword, clove his head asunder, and put an end to his sufferings in this world; but no doubt his integrity and fortitude has insured him everlasting happiness.

A foldier, attempting to ravel a young woman, named Sufiana Gacquin, she made a stout resistance, and in the struggle, pulled him over a precipice, when he was dashed to pieces by the fall. His comrades, instead of admiring the virtue of the young woman, and applauding her for so nobly defending her chastity, fell upon her with their swords, and cut her to pieces.

A poor peasant of La Torre, named Giovanni Pullius, being apprehended as a Protestant by the foldiers, was ordered by the marquis of Pianeffa, to be executed in a place near the convent. When he came to the gallows, several monks attended, and did all they could to persuade him to renounce his religion. But he told them, he never would embrace idolatry, and that he was happy in being thought worthy to suffer for the name of Christ. They then put him in mind of what his wife and children, who depended upon his labour, would suffer after his decease: to which he replied, I would have my wife and children, as well as myself, to consider their souls more than their bodies, and the next world before this; and with respect to the dilemma I may leave them in, God is merciful, and will provide for them while they live, worthy of his protection. Finding the inliquorableness of this poor man, the monks cried, Turn him off, turn him off: which the executioner did almost immediately, and the body being afterwards cut down, was flomed into the river with indignity.

An elder of the church of Roffana, named Paul Clement, being apprehended as a Protestant, and carried to the neighbouring monastery, was carried to the market-place of that town, where some Protestants having just been executed by the foldiers, he was thrown the dead bodies, in order that the fight might intimidate him. On beholding the shocking objects, he said calmly, You may kill the body, but you cannot prejudice the soul of a true believer; but, with respect to the dreadful spectacles which you have here shown me, you may rest assured, that God's vengeance will overtake the murderers of those poor people, and that they may be punished for this crime on the ground they have spilt. The monks were so exasperated at this reply, that they ordered him to be hung up directly; and while he was hanging, the foldiers amased themselves in flording at a distance, and flooting at the body as if it were a mark set up for sport.

Daniel Radziyn, of Villain, the father of a numerous family, was apprehended, and, with several others, committed to prison, in the gaol of Pavlina. Here he was visited by several priests, who, with continual importunities, did all they could to persuade him to renounce the Protestant religion, and turn Papist, but this he peremptorily refused, and the priests finding his resolution, pretended to pity his numerous family, and told him, that he might yet have his life, if he would subscribe to the belief of the Romish articles as follow: 1. "The Passion of Christ in the holt." 2. "Transubstantiation." 3. "Purgatory." 4. "The pope's infallibility." 5. "That masses said for the dead will release souls from purgatory." 6. "That praying to saints will procure the remission of sins."

Hereupon Daniel Rambaut told the priests, that neither his religion, his understanding, or his conscience, would suffer him to subscribe to any of these propounded articles, for which he was sentenced.
the wafer and wine into the real and identical body and blood of Christ, which was crucified, and which afterwards ascended into heaven, is too gross an abridgment for even a child to believe, who was come to the last glimmering of reason; and that nothing but the most blind superstition could make the Roman-Catholics put a confi- dence on a superstition of their own fabric.

3. "That the doctrine of purgatory was more incon- sistent and absurd than a fairy tale.

4. "That the pope's being infallible was an impo- sibility, and the pope arrogantly laid claim to what could belong to God only, as a perfect being.

5. "That the doctrine for the dead was ridiculous, and only meant to keep up a belief in the fable of pur- gatory, as the fate of all is finally decided, on the de- parture of the soul from the body.

6. "That praying to saints for the remission of sins, is misplaced adoration; as the saints themselves have occasion for an intercessor in Christ. Therefore as God only can pardon our errors, we ought to sue to him alone for pardon."

So highly offended were the priests at M. Rambaut's answers to the articles to which they would have had him subscribe, that they determined to shake his resolution by the ridicule and derision of their neighbours. They drew joint of his fingers to be cut off every day, till all his fingers were gone: they then proceeded in the same manner with his toes; afterwards they alternately cut off, daily, a hand and a foot; but finding that he bore his sufferings with the most admirable patience, increased both the number of his tormentors, and maintained his faith with steadfast resolution, and unshaken constancy, they flayed him to the heart, and then gave him body to the dogs to be devoured.

A Protestant gentleman of considerable eminence, whose name was Peter Gabriola, being seized by a troop of soldiers, and refuseth to renounce his religion, they hung a great number of little bags of gunpowder about his body, and then set fire to them blew him up.

Anthony, the son of Samuel Cadieris, a poor dumb lad, who was extremely inoffensive, was cut to pieces by a party of the troops; and soon after the same ruffians entered the house of Peter Monriot, and cut off the legs of the whole family, leaving them to bleed to death, as they were unable to affix themselves, or help each other in that melancholy plight.

Daniel Benech being apprehended, had his nose flit, his ears cut off, and was then divided into quarters, each quarter being sent in a different direction. But Mary Moni- no had her jaw bones broke, and was then left to languish till she was starved to death.

A handfonc widow, named Mary Pelanchion, belonging to the town of Villaro, was seized by a party of the Irish brigade, who, having beat her cruelly, and ravi- lled her, by way of triumph, I was always careful to renounce the the river, and stripped her naked in a most indecent manner, hung her by the legs to the bridge, with her head downwards towards the water, and then going into boats, they fired her while she died.

Allo, Mary Nigrino, a wife of a workman, who was an idiot, was thrown into the woods, and their bodies left to be devoured by wild beasts: Susanna Bales, a widow of Villaro, was immured till the periﬁed through hunger; and Susanna Calvin, running away from some fellow soldiers, and hiding herself in a barn, they set fire to the barn, by which she was burnt to death.

A child named Daniel Bertino was burnt; Paul Ar- man was hacked to pieces; Daniel Michialino had his tongue plucked out, and was left to perish in that condition; and Andreo Bertino, a very old man, who was lame, was mangled in a most shocking manner, and at length had his head chopped off and his bowels carried away in the point of a halberd.

A Protestant lady, whose name was Contiﬂlia Bel- lione, being apprehended on account of her faith, was asked by a priest if he would renounce the Devil and go to masts; to which she replied, I was brought up in a religion of Christ and the Devil; but should I comply with your desire, and go to masts, I should be sure to meet him there in a variety of

fluates." The priest was highly incensed at what he had, and told her to recant, or she should suffer cruelty. The lady, however, boldly answered, that the values received from his sufferings he could inflict, and in spite of all the tender- ness he could invent, she would keep her confession pure and her faith inviolate. The priest then ordered ﬁre to be brought into her body, which cruelly ﬂe bobe with the most ﬂangent ﬂame, only paying to the priest, what hurried and ﬂaring sen- ments will you suffer in hell, for the trifling and tem- porary pains which I now endure. Exasperated at this ex- predition, and willing to ﬂop her tongue, the priest or- dered her to be thrown over into the salt sea, where she was formerly pratticed on Shrove-Tuesday of ﬂying cocks as it was termed. By this innuance proceeding, her limbs were beat and mangled in a most terrible manner, and left one of the bludogens dafed the poor creature's bran out.

The bishop named Daid Pagliano, attempting to cross to the Alps, with each his fon, were puriﬁed and over- taken by the soldiers in a large plain. Here they bade them for their diversion, goading them with their ﬂood, and making them run about till they dropped down via- fatique. When they found that their spirits were quite ex- hausted, they ordered them to receive a blow on one of his temples, he was stunned, and con- sequently funk and was drowned.

One David Armand was ordered to lay his head down on a block, when a soldier, with a large hammer, but his brains. David Baridona being apprehended a Villaro, was carried to La Torre, where refusing to ren- ounce his religion, he was tormented by means of brimstone matches being tied between his fingers and then setting ﬁre to them. But when he could swim very well, he swam down the stream, thinking to escape, but the soldiers and mob followed both side the river, and kept ﬂoning him, till receiving a blow on one of his temples, he was stunned, and con- sequently funk and was drowned.

Michael Greve, a young man of Bobbio, was appre- hended in the town of La Torre, and being led to the bridge, was thrown over into the river, where he could swim very well, he swam down the stream, thinking to escape, but the soldiers and mob followed both side the river, and kept following him, till receiving a blow on one of his temples, he was stunned, and con- sequently funk and was drowned.

An elderly man, named Hialish Mondon, and a priest, Protestant, fled from the merciless perjuries to a clump in a rock, where he suffered the most dreadful hardships; in the midst of the winter, he was forced to lie on the bare ﬂone, without any covering; his feet were so raw that he could not tash up near his miserable habitation and the only way by which he could procure drink, was to put ﬂow in his mouth till it melted. Here, how- ever, some of the inhuman soldiery found him, and af- ter having beaten him unmercifully, they drove him towards Lucerne, goading him with the pug of their ﬂows.
nearly depopulated most of the towns and villages. One place only had not been pillaged, and that was owing to the difficulty of approaching it: this was the little community of Roras, which was situated upon an eminence.

When the work of blood grew thick in other places, the earl of Chirillope, one of the duke of Savoy's officers, determined, if possible, to make himself master of it and, with that view, detached three hundred men to secure it unharmed.

However, the inhabitants of Roras had intelligence of the approach of these troops, when captain Jolono Gianavel, a brave Protestant officer, put himself at the head of a small body of the citizens, and waited in ambush, to attack the enemy in a narrow pass.

As soon as the troops appeared, and had entered the pass, which was the only place by which the town could be approached, the Protestant kept up a smart and well-directed fire against them, and still kept themselves concealed behind hedges from the sight of the enemy. A great number of the soldiers were killed, and the remainder receiving a continual fire, and not seeing any to whom they might return, thought proper to make a precipitate retreat.

Whereupon the members of this little community sent a memorial to the marquis of Pianella, one of the duke's general officers, setting forth, "That they were forry, upon any occasion, to be under the necessity of taking up arms; but that the secret approach of a body of troops, without any reason alligned, or any previous notice of the purpose of their coming, had greatly alarmed them; that it was their custom never to suffer any of the military to enter their little community, they had repelled force by force, and should do so again; but in all other respects, they professed themselves dutiful, obedient, and loyal subjects to their sovereign, the duke of Savoy."

Now the marquis of Pianella, that he might have the best opportunity of inclining and surpising the Protestant of Roras, resolved to answer, "I hate that he was perfectly satisfied with their behaviour, for they had done right, and even rendered a service to their country, as the men who had attempted to pass the defile were not his troops, or sent by him, but a band of desperate robbers, who had, for some time, infested those parts, and been a terror to the neighbouring country." To give a greater colour to his treachery, he then published the following proclamation.

"To the inhabitants of all the towns, villages, hamlets, in Piedmont, and the Appendages thereto belonging, and to all the United Troops belonging to, or in the Pay of, his Highness the Duke of Savoy, greeting:

WHEREAS the inhabitants of Roras have bravely and loyally routed, killed, or expelled, a band of bloody robbers, and desperate outlaws, and thereby rendered an essential service to the country in general. Be it, therefore, known, that all persons are strictly ordered and commanded, in the duke's name, not to injure, molest, or disturb the inhabitants of Roras, but to do them every possible service, in return for the benefit which the flame hath received from them.

"Given at the Camp near Pillaro." Pianella.

However, the very day after this plausible proclamation, and luscious discourse, the marquis sent 500 men to pollace themselves of Roras, while the people, as he supposed, were lulled into perfect security, by his dissimulation.

But Captain Gianavel was not to be deceived so easily: he, therefore, laid an ambuscade for this body of troops, as he had for the former, and compelled them to retire with a loss very considerable.

The marquis Pianella, though defeated in these two attempts, determined on a third, which should be still more formidable; but first he imprudently published another proclamation, disdaining any knowledge of the second attempt.

Shortly
Shortly after, 700 chosen men were sent upon the expedition, who, in spite of the defection of the defile, entered Roras, and began to murder every perfon they met with, without distinction of sex or age. The Protestant captain Gianavel, at the head of a small body, though he had lost the defile, determined to dispute their passage through a fortified pass, that led to the richest and bell part of the town. Here he was successful, by keeping up a continual fire, and by means of his men being all complete marksmen. The Roman-Catholic commander was greatly staggered at this opposition, as he imagined that he had furnnished all difficulties. He, however, showed his perseverance in forcing the pass, but being able to bring up only twelve men in front at a time, and the Protestants being secured by a breast-work, he found he should be bailled by the handful of men who made the opposition. 

Provoked at the loss of so many of his troops, and fearful of the loss of his life if he perilled in attempting what appeared to be impracticable, he thought it the wisest thing to retreat. Unwillingly, however, to withdraw his men by the defile at which he had entered, on account of the difficulty and danger of the enterprise, he defied to retreat towards Villaro, by another pass called Pampa, which, though at the distance of 9 miles, 

But in this he met with a disappointment, for captain Gianavel having pulled his little hand hard, greatly annoyed the troops as they passed, and even purfied their rear till they entered the open country. 

Hereupon the marquis of Pianella, finding that all his attempts were fruitless, and that every article he wished was only an alarm signal to the inhabitants of Roras, resolved to act openly, and therefore proclaimed, that ample rewards should be given to any one who would bear arms against the obdurate heretics of Roras, as he called them; and that whoever should exterminate them, should be considerably rewarded. 

This stimulated captain Mario, a bigoted Roman-Catholic, and a desperate ruffian, to undertake the enterprise. He, therefore, obtained leave to raise a regiment in the following fix towns: Lucerne, Borget, Camoles, Bobbio, Cavo, and Raleau. When he had completed his regiment, which consisted of 1000 men, he laid his plans not to go by the defiles, or the passes, but to attempt gaining the summit of a rock, from whence he imagined he could pour his men into the town, without much opposition or difficulty. 

Therefore he ordered the Papal-Catholic troops to gain almost the summit of the rock, without giving them any opposition, or even appearing in their sight: but when they had almost reached the top, they made a most furious attack upon them; one party keeping up a well directed and continued fire, and another party rolling down stones of a great weight. 

By this means the career of the Papal troops was stopped; many were killed by the musketry, and more by the stones, which beat them down the precipices. Several fell face to their fury, by attempting a precipitate retreat, they fell down, and were dashed to pieces; and captain Mario himself narrowly escaped with life, for he fell from a craggy place into a river which washed the foot of the rock. He was taken up fence-bits, but afterwards recovered, though he was full of the bruises for a long time; and, at length, fell into a decline and died an expired. 

There was another body of troops ordered from the camp at Villaro, to make an attempt upon Roras; but these were likewise defeated, by means of the Protestants ambusking, and compelled to retreat again to the camp at Villaro. 

Thereupon captain Gianavel, after each of these signals victories, made a suitable discourse to his men, cautioning them to kneel down, and return thanks to the Almighty for his providential protection; and usually concluded with the 11th Psalm, where the subject is, placing confidence in the Creator. 

Still the marquis of Pianella, greatly enraged at being so much baffled by the few inhabitants of Roras, determined, at all events, to attempt their expedition, in such a manner as could hardly fail of succeeding. 

For this purpose he ordered all the Roman-Catholic families in Piedmont to be raised and disciplined. When these orders were completed, he joined to his eight thousand regular troops, and dividing the whole into three distinct bodies, he designed, that three formidable attacks should be made at the same time, until the people of Roras, to whom he lent an account of his great host, would be forced to comply with his conditions, which were as follow: 

1. "To ask pardon for taking up arms."

2. "To pay the expenses of all the expeditions made against them."

3. "To acknowledge the infallibility of the pope."

4. "To go to mass."

5. "To pray to the saints."

6. "To wear beards."

7. "To deliver up their ministrers."

8. "To deliver up their schoolmasters."

9. "To go to confession."

10. "To pay loans for the delivery of souls from purgatory."

11. "To give up captain Gianavel at discretion."

12. "To give up the elders of their church at discretion."

As the inhabitants of Roras, on being acquainted with these conditions, were filled with an insane indignation, and, in answer, threw word to the marquis, that so much worse than comply with them they would fulfill three things, which, of all others, were the most obnoxious to mankind, namely: 

1. To cast their electors to be fixed.

2. Their laws to be burnt.

3. Themselves to be murdered.

Enraged at this message, the marquis sent them the following laconic letter:

"To the obstinate heretics inhabiting Roras."

"You shall have your requital, for the troops sent against you have first injunctions to plunder, burn, and kill."

"PIANELI:" Hereupon the three armies were put into motion, and the attacks ordered to be made thus: the first by the rocks of Villaro, the second by the pass of Bagolo, and the third by the defile of Lucerne. 

By the superiority of numbers, the troops forced their way, and having gained the rocks, pass, and defile, began to make the most horrid depredations, and execute the most cruel cruelties. They knocked off the heads, or cut to pieces; women they ripped open, crucified, drowned, or threw from the precipices; and children they tossed upon spears, minced, cut their throats, or defiled out their brains. On the full cry of gaining the town, one hundred and twenty were feasted in this manner. 

Pursuant to the marquis of Pianella's orders, the likewise plundered the cities, and burnt the houses of the people. Several Protestants, however, made their escape, under the conduct of captain Gianavel, while wife and children were unfortunately made prisoners, and put to Turin under a strong guard. 

Upon this the marquis of Pianella wrote a letter to captain Gianavel, and releasted a Protestant prisoner, that he might carry it him. The contents were, that the captain would embrace the Roman Catholic religion; he should be indemnified for all his losses incurred in his service and in the maintenance of the war; his wife and children should be immediately releasted, and himself honourably promoted in the duke of Savoy's army; but if he refused to accede to the proposals made to him, his wife and children should be put to death; and so large a reward should be given for his capture, dead or alive, that even some of his own confidential friends should, from the grounds of the firm, be tempted to betray him. 

The following answer to this epistle was sent by the brave Gianavel. 

"MY LORD MARQUIS," "THERE is notormen to great, or death so cruel, as what I would prefer to the abjuration of my religion"
An ACCOUNT of the PERSECUTIONS in the VALLIES of PIEDMONT.

As soon as the Roman-Catholics took the alarm, a great number of troops were sent to relieve Briqueras from Cavors, Bibiana, Fenuile, Campiglione, and some other neighbouring places. When these were united, they determined to attack the three Protestant parties, which were marching to the assistance of Briqueras.

When the Protestant officers perceived the intent of the enemy, not being at a great distance from each other, they joined their forces with the utmost expedition, and formed themselves in order of battle.

The captains Jahier and Laurentino had, in the meantime, assembled the people of the country and burnt all the out-houses, to make their approaches with the greater ease; but not being supported as they expected by the other three Protestant captains, they sent a messenger, on a swift horse, towards the open country, to inquire the reason of such neglect.

In a short time the messenger returned, and informed them that it was not in the power of the three Protestant captains to support their proceedings, as they were themselves attacked by a very superior force in the plain, and could scarce fulfill the unequal engagement. On receiving this intelligence, the captains Jahier and Laurentino determined to discontinue the assault on Briqueras, and to proceed, with all possible expedition, to the relief of the people on the plain. This design proved to be of the most effectual service, for just as they arrived at the spot where the two armies were engaged, the Papal troops began to prevail, and were on the point of getting off the field, as the Protestant captains, hearing of their danger, took the advice of their messenger and relieved the town.

The arrival of these troops turned the scale in favour of the Protestants; and the Papal forces, though they fought with a most obstinate intrepidity, were totally defeated. A great number were killed and wounded on both sides, and very considerable baggage, military stores, &c. were taken by the Protestants.

Now captain Gianavel, having information that three hundred of the enemy were to convey a great quantity of baggage, provisions, &c. from La Torre to the castle of Mirabac, determined to attack them on the way. He, accordingly, began the assault at Malmont, though with a very inadequate force. The enemy was long and bloody, but the Protestants, at length, were obliged to yield to the superior numbers, and compelled to make a retreat, which they did with great regularity, and no considerable loss.

Captain Gianavel advanced to an advantageous post, situated between the town of Villaro, and then sent the following information and commands to the people thereof.

1. That he should attack the town in twenty-four hours.

2. That with respect to the Roman-Catholics who had borne arms, whether they belonged to the army or not, he should act by the law of retaliation, and put them to death, for the numerous depredations, and many cruel murders, they had committed.

3. That all women and children, whatever their religion might be, should be safe.

4. That it was not lawful to kill all male Protestants in the town, and join him.

5. That all apostates, who had, through weakness, abjured their religion, should be deemed enemies, unless they renounced their abjuration.

6. That all who returned to their duty to God, and themselves, should be received as friends.

The majority of Protestants immediately left the town, and joined captain Gianavel with great satisfaction, and the few, who through weakness or fear had abjured their faith, recanted their abjuration, and were received into the bosom of the church. As the marquis of Pianella had removed the army, and encamped in a quite a different part of the country, the Roman-Catholics in Villaro thought it would be folly to pretend to defend the place with the small force they had. They, therefore, fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving the town, and most of their property, to the destruction of the Protestant invaders.

Now when the Protestant commanders had called a council...
council of war, they resolved to make an attempt upon the town of La Torre, for the four following reasons:
1. "Because it was a place of great importance.
2. "Because it contained a great quantity of military stores and ammunition.
3. "Because the inhabitants had been some of the most rigid of all the persecutors of the Protestants.
4. "Because it was garrisoned by troops drafted from the ruder brigades, who were the most cruel of all the troops in the kingdom, and whom the town regarded as their sworn enemies."

As soon as the Papists were apprized of the design, they detached some troops to defend a defile, through which the Protestants must make their approach; but these were defeated, compelled to abandon the post, and forced to retire to the city of Tarragona.

Now the Protestants proceeded on their march, and the troops of La Torre, on their near approach, made a furious sally, but were repulsed with great loss, and compelled to seek shelter in the town. The governor, it seems, only thought of defending the place when he noticed the Protestants began to attack in form; but after many brave attempts, and furious assaults, the commanders determined to abandon the enterprise for several reasons, particularly, because they found the place itself too strong, their own number too weak, and their cannon not adequate to the crucial test of the walls of La Torre.

When this resolution was taken, the Protestant commanders began a masterly retreat, and conducted it with such regularity, that the enemy did not chuse to pursue them, or molest their rear, which they might have done with the dread of the descent.

On the next day they mutteried, reviewed the army, and found the whole to amount to four hundred and ninety-five men. They then held a council of war, and planned an easier enterprise, this was to make an attack upon the common property of Crufo, which was inhabited by a number of the most bigoted Roman-Catholics, and who had exercised the most unheard-of cruelties on the Protestants during the persecutions.

The inhabitants of Crufo, hearing of the design against them, fled into a neighboring fortress, situated on a rock, where the Protestants could not come at them, but a very few men could render it inaccessible to a numerous army. Thus they secured their persons, but were in too much hurry to secure their property, the principal part of which, indeed, had been plundered from the Protestants, and now luckily fell again to the possession of the right owners. It consisted of many rich and valuable articles, and what, at that time, was of much more consequence, viz. A great quantity of military stores, four hundred head of cattle, six hundred sheep and goats, a Welshman, who was2 three horses, a nun, and a large quantity of flour, good floure of rafins, and several butts of wine.

The day after the Protestants were gone with their booty, eight hundred troops arrived to the assistance of the people of Crufo, having been disbafted from La Cervera, Briqueras, Càvors, &c. But finding themselves too late, and that a pursuit would be vain, not to return empty handed, they began to plunder the neighboring villages, though what they took was from their friends. After collecting a tolerable booty, they began to divide it, but disagreeing about the different shares, they fell to blows, Irish, and thus did a great deal of mischief to themselves.

Likewise, on the very same day in which the Protestants were so successful at Crufo, some Papists marched with a design to plunder and burn the little Protestant village of Ratera, situated by the road which they had with the Protestant forces belonging to the captains Jabier and Laurenjo, who were pollcd on the hill of Angoronia. A trivial engagement ensued, for the Roman-Catholics, on the very first attack, retreated in great confusion, and were pursued with great heat. After the action was over, one of the struggling Papist troops meeting with a poor peasant, who was a Protestant, tied a cord round his head, and brained it till his skull was quite crumpled.

The captains Gianavel and Jabier now concerted a design together, to make an attack upon Lucerne, but captain Jabier not bringing his forces at the time appointed, captain Gianavel determined to attempt the enterprise alone.

Accordingly, by a forced march, he proceeded so far that place during the whole night, and was close to it by break of day. His first care was to cut the pipes that conveyed water into the town, and then to break down the walls, by which alone provisions from the country could be conveyed.

Captain Gianavel then assaulted the place, and forcibly polled himself of two of the out-ports; but finding he could not make himself master of the place, he petitioned with very little loss, blaming, however, captain Jabier, for the failure of the enterprise.

As soon as the Papists were informed that captain Gianavel was at Angoronia, with only his own command, they determined, if possible, to surprize him. With this view they gathered a number of them from La Torre, and other places: one party of them going to the top of a mountain, beneath which he was posted; and the other party intended to pollad themselves of the gate of St. Bartholomew.

Now the Papists thought themselves safe of taking captain Gianavel and every one of his men, as they confuted but of three hundred, and their own force was two thousand five hundred. Their design, however, was providentially frustrated, for one of the Papist soldiers imprudently blowing a trumpet before the rigid fortifications of Lucerne, captain Gianavel, hearing him, and polls his little company so advantageously at the gate of St. Bartholomew, and at the defile by which the enemy must defend from the mountains, that the Roman-Catholic troops failed in both attacks, and were repulsed with the very greatest loss.

Immediately after, captain Jabier came to Angoronia, and joined his forces to those of captain Gianavel, giving sufficient reasons to excuse his already mentioned failure. Captain Jabier now made several feeters to reduce Angoronia, but always without success, always some of the most active soldiers, belonging both to Gianavel and himself. One day he had put himself at the head of only forty-four men, to proceed upon an expedition, when entering a plain near Ollac, he was suddenly surrounded by a large body of horse. Captain Jabier, and his son, fought desperately, though oppressed by odds, and killed the commander in chief, three captains, and fifty-five private men, of the enemy. But captain Jabier himself being killed, with thirty-five of his men, the red surrendered. One of the soldiers cut off captain Jabier's head, and carrying it to Turin, presented it to the duke de Savoy, who gave him six hundred ducatons as a reward.

The much lamented death of this gentleman was a signal loss to the Protestants, as he was a real man, and enjoyed the confidence of the court; but, in his own words, "I lived a man who had no fear."

To complete the affliction of the Protestants, captain Gianavel was, soon after, wounded in such a manner that he was obliged to keep his bed. They, however, took new courage from misfortunes, and determined not to submit to be thus deprived of a body of Papist troops with great intrepidity; the Protestants were much inferior in numbers, but fought with more resolution than the Papists, and at length routed them, with considerable slaughter. During the action, a sergeant, named Michael Bertino, was killed; when his son, who was close behind him, leaped into his place, and said, "I have loft my father; but courage, fellow-soldier, God is a father to us all."

There were several other skirmishes between the troops of La Cervera, and the Protestants, and the Papists, which in general terminated in favor of the latter.

Andronio, a Protestant gentleman, rased a regiment of horse, and took the command of it himself. The lieut John Leger perfomed a great number of Protestant and Catholic companies; and an elegant officer, named Michelin, descended a few bands of light troops. These being all joined in
the remains of the veteran Protestant troops (for great numbers had been lost in the various battles, skirmishes, sieges, &c.) composed a repugnant army, which the officers thought proper to encamp near St. Giovanni.

Alarmed at the formidable appearance, and increased strength of the Protestant forces, the Roman-Catholic commanders, determined, if possible, to dislodge them from their encampment. With this view they collected together a large force, consisting of the principal part of the garrison of the Roman-Catholic towns, the draft from the Irish brigades, a great number of regulars sent by the marquis of Pianella, the auxiliary troops, and the independent companies.

When these had formed a junction, they encamped near the Protestants, and spent several days in calling counsels of war, and disputing on the most proper mode of proceeding. Some were for plundering the country, in order to draw the Protestants from their camp; others were for patiently waiting till they were attacked; and a third party were for attacking the Protestant camp, and trying to make themselves masters of everything therein.

The last of them prevailed, and the morning after the resolution had been taken was appointed to put it into execution. The Roman-Catholic troops were accordingly separated into four divisions, three of which were to make an attack in different places; and the fourth to remain as a body of reserve to act as occasion might require.

Previous to the attack, one of the Roman-Catholic officers harangued his men in the following manner:

"Fellow soldiers, you are now going to enter upon a great action, which will bring you fame and riches. The hope for your acting with spirit is likewise of the most important nature; namely, the honour of showering your loyalty to your sovereign, the pleasure of spilling heretic blood, and the prospect of plundering the Protestant camp. So, my brave fellows, full on, give no quarter, kill all you meet, and take all you can carry.

When this impious speech was made, the engagement began, and the Protestant camp was attacked in three places with inconceivable fury. The fight was maintained with great obliquity and perseverance on both sides, continuing without intermission for the space of four hours; for the several companies on both sides reckoned the other as totally defeated, and by that means kept up a continual fire during the whole engagement.

In the mean time a detachment was sent from the body of reserve to attack the poll of Castellas, which, if the Papists had carried it, would have given them the command of the vallies of Pernola, St. Martin, and Lucerne; but they were repulsed with great loss, and compelled to return to the body of reserve, from whence they had been detached.

In a short time after the return of this detachment, the Roman-Catholic troops, being hard pressed in the main battle, foment for the body of reserve to come to their support. These immediately marched to their assistance, and for some time longer held the event doubtful, but at length the valour of the Protestants prevailed, and the Papists were totally defeated, with the loss of upwards of three hundred men killed, and many more wounded.

As soon as the tynded of Lucerne, who was indeed a Papist, but not a Luteran, found it wise to fly, the great number of wounded men brought into that city, he exclaimed, Alas! I thought the wolves used to devour the heretics, but now I see the heretics eat the wolves. This expression being reported to M. Marolles, the Roman-Catholic commander in chief at Lucerne, he vent a very fierce and threatening speech to the tynded, who was so terrified, that he fled from the town, and only lived, because he was killed in a few days after he received it.

This memorable battle was fought just before the harvest was gathered; and when the Papists, exasperated at their defeat, and resolved on any kind of revenge, spread themselves by night in detached parties over the finest corn fields of the Protestants, and let them on fire in fudgy places. Some of these flagellating parties, however, suffered for their conduct; for the Protestants, being alarmed in the night by the blaze of the corn, among the corn, pursued the fugitives early in the morning, and overtaking many put them to death. The Protestant captain Bellin, likewise, by way of retaliation, was with a body of light troops, and burnt the harbours of La Torre, making his retreat afterwards with no great loss.

Soon after, captain Bellin, with a much stronger body of troops, attacked the town of La Torre itself, and making a breach in the wall of the convent, his men entered, driving the garrison into the citadel, and burning both the convent and the town. After having effected this, they made a regular retreat, as, for want of cannon, they could not reduce the citadel.

A full and particular Account of the Persecutions of Michael de Molinos, a Native of Spain.

Michael de Molinos, a Spaniard of a rich and honorable family, entered, when young into priest's orders; but would not be found of any preference in the church. Hepossessed great natural politickstics, which he dedicated to the service of his fellow-creatures, without any view of emolument to himself. His course of life was pious and uniform; nor did he exercise the austerities which are common among the religious orders of the old church.

As he was of a contemplative turn of mind, he pursued the track of the mystical divines, and having acquired great reputation in Spain, and being desirous of propagating his sublime mode of devotion, he left his own country, and settled at Rome. Here he soon connected himself with, and became a member of the most distinguished among the literati, who so approved of his religious maxims, that they concurred in assisting him to propagate them; and, in a short time, he obtained a great number of followers, who, from the sublime mode of their religion, were distingued by the name of Quietists.

Molinos published a book, in 1675, entitled, Il Guida Spirituale, to which were subjuncted recommendatory letters from several great personages. One of these was by the archbishop of Reggio; a second by the general of the Frenchians; and a third by father Martin de Eparsa, a Jesuit, who had been divinity-professor both at Salamanca and Rome.

As soon as the book was published, it was greatly read, and highly esteemed, both in Italy and Spain: this raised the reputation of the author, that his acquaintance was coveted by the most respectable characters. Letters were written to him from numbers of people, to that a correspondence was established between him, and those who approved of his method, in different parts of Europe. Some secular priests, both at Rome and Naples, declared themselves open for it, and consulted him, as a sort of oracle, on many occasions. But those who attached themselves to him with the greatest sincerity, were some of the fathers of the Oratory, in particular three of the most eminent, namely, Coloredi, Ciceri, and Petrucci.

May it please your lordship to observe, that the said Molinos, together with his disciples, were of the most strictest prohibition, :]
wife incurred. They were written chiefly for the use of the nuns, and therefore the feme was expresembled in a fyle the most eafe and familiar.

By this time Molinos had acquired such repute, that the Chiefe of his followed and friends were greatly alarmed, and determined to put a flop to the progress of this new method. To do this it was necessary to decrie the author of it; and as hereby is an impuation that makes the strongest impression at Rome, Molinos and his followers were given out to be heretics. Books were written in their defence, and one of the chief against Molinos and his method; but they were all anuerred by Molinos with great and becoming spirit.

However, these disputes occasioned such a disturbance in Rome, that the whole affair was taken notice of by the inquisition. Molinos and his book, and Father Petrucci, with both his writings and books, were brought under a severe examination; and the Jefuits were confedered as the accusers. One of the society had, indeed, approved of Molinos’s book: but the reft took care he should not be again seen at Rome. In the course of the examination both Molinos and Petrucci acquiesced themselves so far, that their books were again approved, and the answers which the Jefuits had written were censured as scandalous and unbecoming.

The conduct of Petrucci on this occasion was so highly approved, that it not only raised the credit of the east, but its own demonstration. For he was soon after made bishop of Jesifs, which was a new declaration made by the pope in their favour. Their books were now esteemed more than ever, their method was more followed, and the novelty of it, with the new approbation given after so vigorous an accusation by the Jefuits, all contributed to raise the credit, and increase the number of the party.

Father Petrucci’s behaviour in his new dignity greatly contributed to increase his repute, so that his enemies were unwilling to give him any further disturbance: and, indeed, there was left occasion given for censure both in his writings and books. Some passages in the latter were not so cautiously expressed, but there was room to make exceptions to them; while, on the other hand, Petrucci fully explained himself, as easily to remove the objections made to some parts of his book.

Thus the great reputation acquired by Molinos and Petrucci, occasioned a daily increase of the Quietists. All who were thought sincerely devout, or at least affected the reputation of it, were reckoned among the number. If these perfons were observed to become more familiar with the Quietists, and were seen at their meetings, their persons appeared less zeal in their whole deportment as to the exterior parts of the church ceremonies. They were not so affidious at mass, nor so earnest to procure mafles to be said for their friends; nor were they so frequently either in processions or at confession.

Notwithstanding the new approbation given to Molinos’s book by the inquisition had checked the proceedings of his enemies; yet they were still invertebrate against him in their hearts, and determined if possible to ruin him. They infinuated that he had ill delusions, and was, in his heart, an enemy to the Christian religion: that under the name of devotion he had a sublimer brain of devotion, he intended to erode from their minds a sense of the mysteries of Christianity. And because he was a Spaniard, they gave out that he was defended from a Jew, or Mohometan race, and that he might carry in his blood, or in his first education, some seeds of those religions which at present are so much more zeal than zeal. This last calumny gained but little credit at Rome, though it was said an order was sent to examine the regifter of the place where Molinos was baptized.

As soon as Molinos found himself attacked with such great vigour, and unremitting malice, he took every necessary precaution to prevent the imputations being credited. He wrote a treatise entitled, Frequent and Daily Communion, which was likewise approved by some of the most learned of the Romish clergy. This was printed with his Spiritual Guide, in the year 1675; and in the preface to it he declared, that he had not written it with any design to engage himself in matters of controversy, but that by the earnest solicitations of many pious people it was drawn from him. It was an attempt to increase the power of showing the molinos’s power in Rome, applied to the see of France, when in a short time, they so far succeeded, that an order was sent to cardinal d’Eftrees, commanding him to protract Molinos with all possible rigour. The cardinal, though so strongly attacked to Molinos, adhered rather to his council that he feared to offend his king of his master. Finding, however, there was not sufficient matter for an accusation against him, he deter- mined to supply that defect himself. He therefore went to the inquisitors, and informed them of several particulars, not only relating to Molinos, but also to Petrucci, both of which, acting together with several of his friends, were put into the inquisition.

As soon as they were brought before the inquisition (which was in the beginning of the year 1684) Petrucci answered the respective questions put to him with so much judgment and temper, that they were likely to be detained, and though Molinos’s examination was much longer, it was generally expected he would have been likewise discharged: but this was not the case. Though the inquisitors had not any just accusation against him, yet they drained every nerve to find him guilty of here, that he might be put to the torture. They searched after different parts of Europe; but of this he was acquitted, as the matter of that correspondence could not be made criminal. They then directed their attention to some fulpicious papers found in his chamber; but Molinos did not clearly explain their meaning, that nothing could be extracted of his prejudice to the inquisition. At length, cardinal d’Eftrees, after producing the order sent him by the king of France for prosecuting Molinos, said, he could prove against him more than was necessary to convince them he was guilty of heresy. To do this he prevailed the meaning of some passages in Molinos’s papers, by which it appeared how truly there were circumstances relative to the inquisitor. He acknowledged he had lived with him under the appearance of friendship, but that it was only to discover his principles and intentions: that he had found them to be of a bad nature, and that dangerous confederacy, but that when a full discovery, he had afforded to several things, which, in his heart, he detested; and that, by these means, he laid the secrets of Molinos; but determined not to take any notice, till a proper opportunity should offer of crucifying both him and his party.

Molinos, in consequence of d’Eftrees’s evidence, was closely confided in the inquisition, where he continued for some time, during which period all was quiet and his followers professed their mode without interup- tion. But on a sudden the Jefuits determined to extort him, and the storm broke out with the most invertebrate fury. The count Vefpiniani and his lady, Don Paolo Rocchi, confessor to the prince Borghese, and some of his family, with several others, in all seventy persons, were put into the inquisition, among whom were those of higher rank and better character. The accu- sation laid against the clergy was, their neglecting to say the breviary; and the rest were accused of going to communion without first attending confession. Now, it was said, they neglected all the external parts of religion, and gave themselves up wholly to inward practice.

The counsellor Vespianian exerted himself in a very particular manner on her examination before the inquisitors. She said, she had never revealed her mind of devotion to any mortal but her confessor. But this improbable story was received without his dis- covering the secret: that, therefore, it was to give over going to confession, if priests made this the end of it, to discover the most secret thoughts intruded upon them; and that she would only make her confession to God for the future.

From this spirited speech, and the great noise made in...
The Baron of Scanaw in Bohemia.

After having cut out his own tongue to prevent accusing himself of heresy, he was racked to death.
had borne him the greatest respect. On his arrival at the prison he entered the cell allotted for his confinement with great tranquility; and on taking leave of the priest thus addressed him: Adieu, father, we shall meet again at the day of judgment, and then it will appear on which side the truth is, whether on my side, or on yours.

While in confinement he was several times tortured in the most cruel manner, till, at length, the severity of the punishments overpowered his strength, and finished his life.

The followers of Molinos were so impressed by his melancholy dissolution, that the greater part of them soon abjured his mode; and by the avidity of the Jesuits, quietism was totally extirpated throughout the country.

A Full and Particular Account of the Persecutions in Bohemia under the Papacy.

The Roman pontiffs having usurped a power over several churches, were particularly severe on the Bohemians, who occasioned them to send two ministers, and four laymen to Rome, and also secured 977, to obtain redress of the pope. After some delay their request was granted, and their grievances redressed. Two things in particular they were permitted to do, viz. to have divine service performed in their own language, and to give their submission to the laity in the sacrament.

However the difference between the Protestant and Catholic churches was no less, as their succeeding popes exerted their whole power to induce the men of Bohemia, and the latter, with great spirit, aiming to preserve their religious liberties.

Some zealous friends of the gospel applied to Charles, king of Bohemia, at Prague, 1375, to call an ecclesiastical council, for an inquiry into the abuses that had crept into the church, and to make a full and thorough reformation. The king, not knowing how to proceed, sent to the pope for directions how to act; but the pontiff was so incensed at the affair, that his only reply was: "Severely punish those rash and profane heretics. The monarch, accordingly, banished every one who had been concerned in the application, and to oblige the pope, laid a great number of additional restraints upon the religious liberties of the people.

When John Hufus, and Jerome of Prague, two holy and pious men, who were condemned by order of the council of Constance, fifty-eight of the principal Bohemian nobility interceded in their favour. Nevertheless, they were cruelly burnt, and the pope, in conjunction with the council of Constance, ordered the Roman clergy, everywhere, to excommunicate such as adopted their opinions, or-condemned their fate.

By means of these orders, great contentions between the papists and reformed Bohemians took place, which was the cause of a violent persecution against the latter. At Prague the persecution was extremely severe, till, at length, the reformed being driven to desperation, armed themselves, marched to the fante-house, and threw twelve senators, with the speaker, out of the fante-house windows, whose bodics fell upon the poor people, which were held up by others of the reformed in the street, to receive them.

When informed of these proceedings, the pope came to Florence, and publicly excommunicated the reformed Bohemians, exciting the emperor of Germany, and all kings, princes, dukes, &c. to take up arms, in order to extirpate the whole race; and promising, by way of encouragement, full remission of all sins whatever to the most wicked perfon, if he did but kill one Bohemian prelate.

A bloody war was the result of this, for several papistical princes undertook the extirpation, or at least expulsion, of the professed people; and the Bohemians, arming themselves, prepared to repel force by force, in the most vigorous and effectual manner. The papistical army prevailing against the Protestant forces at the battle of Cattenburgh, the prisoners of the reformed were taken to three deep mines near that town, and several hundreds were
were cruelly thrown into each, where they perished in a miserable manner.
A merchant, on his way from Prague, going to Breslaw, in Silesia, happened to lodge in the same inn with several priests. Entering into conversation upon the subject of religious controversy, he pitted many encomiums upon the martyr John Hus, and his doctrines. The priest, in a conversation unbroken by a nor upon information that he was to meet the next morning, and he was compelled to prit on as a heretic. Many endeaours were used to persuade him to embrace the Roman catholic faith; but he remained steadfast to the pure doctrines of the reformed church. Soon after his imprisonment, a student of the university was committed to the famous gaol; when, being permitted to converse with the merchant, they mutually comforted each other. On the day appointed for execution, when the gaoler began to fasten the ropes to their feet, by which they were to be dragged through the streets, the student appeared quite terrified, and offered to abjure his faith, and turn Roman catholic if he might be saved. The offer was accepted, his abjuration was taken by a priest, and he was set at liberty. A priest applying to the merchant to follow the example of the student, he nobly said, "Loe no time in hopes of my recantation, your expectations will be vain; I sincerely pity that poor wretch, who has miserably sacrificed his soul for a few uncertain years of a troublesome life; and, far from having the least idea of following his example, I glory in the very thoughts of dying for the sake of Christ." On hearing these words, the priest ordered the executioner to proceed; and the merchant being drawn through the city, was brought to the place of execution, and then destroyed by fire.

Pichel, a bigoted popish magistrate, apprehended 24 protestants, among whom was his daughter's husband. As they all owned they were of the reformed religion, he indiscriminately condemned them to be drowned in the river Abbin. On the day appointed for the execution, a great concourse of people attended, among whom was Pichel's daughter. This worthy wife threw herself at her father's feet, beseeched them with tears, and in the most pathetic manner, implored him to commiserate her sorrow and pardon her husband. The obdurate magistrate sternly replied, "Intercede not for him, child; he is a heretic, a vile heretic." To which the nobly answered, "Whatever his faults may be, or however his opinions may differ from your's, he is fill my husband, a member of my family, and by this time I have a whole consideration." Pichel flew into a violent passion, and said, "You are mad! cannot you, after the death of this, have a more worthy husband?" No, sir, (replied the) my affections are fixed upon this, and my soul is sick of a lost friend. Pichel, however, continued inflexible, and ordered the prisoners to be tied with their hands and feet behind them, and in that manner to be thrown into the river. As soon as this was put into execution, the young lady watched her opportunity, leaped into the waves, and embracing the body of her husband, both sunk together into one watery grave. An uncommon instance of conjugal love in a wife, and of an inviolable attachment to, and personal affection for, her husband.

Ferdinand the emperor, who had sent to the Bohemian prelacy a numerous embassy, not thinking he had sufficiently oppressed them, inflitigated a high court of reformers, upon the plan of the inquisition, with this difference, that the reformers were to remove from place to place, and always to be attended by a body of troops.

The chief names of these reformers consisted of Jesuits, and from their decisions there was no appeal, by which it may be easily conjectured, that it was a tribunal indeed the most odious of all. This tremendous bloody court, attended by a body of troops, made the tour of Bohemia, in which they sedom examined or saw a prisoner, suffering the sufferers to murder the protestants as they pleased, and then to make a report of the number afterwards. The first after was the first victim of their cruelty, whom they killed as he lay sick in bed; the next day they robbed, and murdered another, and soon after this, a third, who was praised in his pulpit.

A nobleman and a clergyman, who dwelt in a peasantry village, hearing of the approach of this high court of reformers and the troops, fled from the place, and sequestered themselves. The soldiers, however, in their progress, seized upon a school master, and bid him where the lord of that place and the prisoner were concealed, and where they had hid their treasures. The school-master replied, he could not answer either of the questions. They then stripped him naked, bound him with cords, and brought him up a most unmercifully cudgel. This cruelty not exterminating any confession from him, they flogged him in various parts of his body, when, to gain a reprieve from his torments, he promised to shew them where the treasures were hid. The soldiers took a notion of this design, and the school-master let them to a ditch full of stones, saying, &c. These stones are the riches ye seek for. Eager after mone.

They, went to work, and soon removed these stones, but not finding what they sought after, beat the school-master to death, buried him in the ditch, and covered him with the very stones he had made them remove. Several of the soldiers ravished the daughter of the worthy protestant before his face, and then tortured him to death. A minister and his wife they tied back to back, and then stoned them to death. Another minister they hung upon a crook beam, and making a fire under him, burnt his body to death. A gentleman they hacked into small pieces, and they filled a young man's mouth with gunpowder, and letting fire to it, blew his head to pieces.

Their principal rage being directed against the clergy, they took a violent protestant lawyer, and made him daily for a month together, in the following manner, making their cruelty regular, progressive, and sitemetic.

1. They placed him amidst them, and made him the subject of their derision and mockery, during a whole day's entertainment, trying to exhaust his patience, but in vain, for he bore the whole with a true christian fortitude.
2. They spit in his face, pulled his nose, and pinched him in most parts of his body.
3. He was hunted like a wild beast, till ready to expire with fatigue.
4. They made him run the gantlet between two ranks of them, each striking him with a twig.
5. He was beat with their fists.
6. He was beat with ropes.
7. They scourged him with wires.
8. He was beat with cudgels.
9. They tied him up by the heels with his bed clothes, till the blood flared out of his nose, mouth, &c.
10. They hung him up by the right arm till it was dislocated, and then had it cut again.
11. The fame was repeated with his left arm.
12. Burning papers, dipped in oil, were placed between his fingers and toes.
13. His flesh was torn with red hot pincers.
14. He was put to the rack.
15. They pulled off the nails of his right hand.
16. The fame repeated with his left hand.
17. He was tied up by the joints, and fastened with cords to a pillar.
18. A flir was made in his right ear.
19. The fame repeated on his left ear.
20. His nose was flit.
21. They whipped him through the town upon a cart.
22. They made several incisions in his flesh.
23. They pulled off the toes nails of his right foot.
24. The fame repeated with his left foot.
25. He was tied up by the joints, and fastened with cords to a pillar.
26. The teeth of his upper jaw were pulled out.
27. The fame was repeated with his lower jaw.
28. Boiling lead was poured upon his fingers.
29. The fame repeated with his toes.
30. An arrow was shot into his face.
31. A sword was thrust through his forehead in such a manner, as to force out his eyes.
A GENTLEMAN of Bohemia, after having his whole family murdered, STRANGLED by five Ruffians for only relieving distressed Protestants.
While these horrid cruelties were carried on, particular care was taken that his wounds should not mortify, and not to injure him mortally till the last day, when the forcing out of his eyes proved his death.

Various were the other murders and deprivations committed by those unfeeling brutes, and shocking to humanity were the outrages inflicted on the unfortunate Protestant prisoners. The winter being far advanced, however, the high court of reformers, with their infernal band of military ruffians, thought proper to return to Prague; but on their way meeting with a protestant pastor, they could not refuse the temptations of food, and with their barbarous eyes with a new kind of cruelty, which had just suggested itself to the diabolical imagination of one of the soldiers. This was to strip the minister naked, and alternately to cover him with ice and burning coal.

The poor creature was immediately put in practice, and the unhappy victim expired beneath the torments, which seemed to delight his inhuman persecutors.

Soon after a secret order was issued by the emperor, for apprehending all noblemen and gentlemen, who had been principally concerned in supporting the Protestant cause in Bohemia, and in nominating Frederic, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, to be king of Bohemia. These, to the number of fifty, were apprehended in one night, and at one hour, and brought from the places where they were taken, to the cellars, where they were confined, and were known to be absent from the kingdom were confiscated, themselves were made outlaws, and their names fixed upon a gallows, as marks of public ignominy.

After this the high court of reformers proceeded to try the fifty, who had been apprehended, and two apostate prelates were appointed to examine them. These examiners asked a great number of unnecessary and impertinent questions, which, after expatiation of the noblemen, who were naturally of a warm temper, that he exclaimed, opening his breast at the same time, "I know it shall find all the rest of you, but the love of religion and liberty: those were the motives for which I drew my sword, and for those I am willing to suffer death."

Seeing that none of the prisoners would change their religion, or acknowledge they had been in an error, they were all pronounced guilty; but the sentence was referred to the emperor. When that monarch had read their names, and an account of the respective accusations against them, he passed judgment on all, but in a different manner, as his proceedings were attended with executions, viz: death, banishment, imprisonment for life, and imprisonment during pleasure.

Twenty, who were ordered for execution, were informed they might send for Jesuits, monks, or friars, to prepare for the awful change they were to undergo; but that no protestants were permitted to come near them. This proposal they rejected, and froze all they could to comfort and cheer each other upon the solemn occasion.

When the morning of the day appointed for the execution arrived, a cannon was fired as a signal to bring the prisoners from the castle to the principal marketplace, in which scaffolds were erected, and a body of troops were drawn up to attend the tragic spectacle.

Failing soldiers, Jews, friars, executioners, attendants, &c., a prodigious concourse of people attended, to see the exit of these devoted martyrs, who were executed in the lowest degree of the Roman Catholic Church.

1. LORD SCHILIK.

This nobleman was about fifty years of age, and was possessed of great natural and acquired abilities. When he was told he was to be quartered, and his parts scattered over the whole kingdom, he replied, "I have lived with great severity, obeyed the laws of Christ, and was educated in the lowest degree of the Roman Catholic Church.

A gentleman who stood by, crying, Courage, my lord; he replied, I have God's favour, which is sufficient to inspire any one with courage; the fear of death does not trouble me; formerly I have faced him in fields of battle to oppose Anti-Christ; and now dare face him on a scaffold, for the sake of Christ." Having said a short prayer, he told the executioner he was ready, who cut off his right hand and his head, and then quartered him. His hand and head were placed upon the high tower of Prague, and his quarters distributed in different parts of the kingdom.

II. LORD VISCOUNT WINCHESLAS.

This pious and venerable nobleman, who had attained the age of seventy years, was equally respectable for his learning and hospitality. His temper was so remarkably pacified when he heard the sentence pronounced against him, that he was allowed to remain with his property intact, and his estates confiscated, he only died, with great compoerse. The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away. Being asked why he could engage in such dangerous cause as that of attempting to support the elector Palantine of the Rhine, against the power of the emperor, he replied, I acted strictly according to the dictates of my conscience, and, to this day, deem him my king. I am now full of years, and with to lay down life, that I may not be a witness of the farther evils which are to attend my country. You have long thirsted for my blood; take it, for God will be my avenger.

Then approaching the block, he stroked his long grey beard, and said, "Venerable hairs, the greater honour now attends ye, a crown of martyrdom is your portion. Then laying down his head, it was severed from his body at one stroke, and placed upon a pole in a conspicuous part of the city.

III. LORD HARANT.

This was a gentleman of good figure, great piety, and much experience gained by travel, as he had visited the principal places in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Hence he was free from national prejudices, and had collected much knowledge.

The accusations against this nobleman were, his being a protestant, and having taken an oath of allegiance to Frederic, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, to be king of Bohemia. When he came upon the scaffold, he said, "I have travelled through many countries, and traversed various barbarous nations, yet never found so much cruelty as at home. I have escaped innumerable perils both by sea and land, and furnissed innumerable difficulties, to suffer innocently in my native place. My blood is likewise sought by those for whom I, and my forefathers, have hazarded our lives and estates; but, Almighty God! forgive them, for they know not what they do." He then went to the block, kneeled down, and kist his forehead to the block, thrice, and to the thrice, hands, O Lord! I commend my spirit; in thee have I always trusted; receive me, therefore, my blessed Redeemer. The fatal stroke was then given, and a period put to the temporary pains of this life.

IV. LORD FREDERIC.

This nobleman suffered as a protestant, and a proponent of the late war: he met his fate with serenity, and only said, he wished well to the friends whom he left behind, forgave the enemies who caused his death, denied the authority of the emperor in that country, acknowledged Frederic to be the only true king of Bohemia, and hoped for salvation in the merits of his blessed Redeemer.

V. LORD HENRY OTTO.

When his lordship first came upon the scaffold, he seemed greatly distressed, and said, with some asperity, as if addressing himself to the emperor, "Thou tyrant Ferdinand, your throne is established in blood; but if you kill my body, and dilapate my members, they will rise up in judgment against you. He then was told that having been without a hat he was to be sentenced, seemed to recover his fortitude, and growing calm, said to a gentleman who fled near, I was, a few minutes since, greatly discomfited, but now I feel my spirits revive; God be praised for affording me such comfort; death no longer frightens me, for my heart is broken, and I am pleased to invite me to participate of some unknown joys. Kneeling before the block, he said, Almighty God! to thee I commend my soul, receive it for the sake of Christ, and admit it to the glory of thy presence. The executioner put this nobleman to considerable pain, by making
making several strokes before he severed the head from the body.

VI. THE EARL OF RUGENIA.

This nobleman was distingished for his superior abilities, and unaffected piety. On the festivity he said, "Yes, who are we, or what words, foolishness to profess to preserve the liberties of the people, and to keep our confinences sacred: as were overcome, I am better pleased at the sentence of death than if the emperor had given me life; for I find that pleases God to have his truth defended, not by our words, but by our blood. He then took boldly to the block, saying, "It was fifty-six from meeting with Christ," and received the crown of martyrdom with great courage.

VII. ST. GASPER KAPLITZ.

This nobleman was 86 years of age. When he came to the place of execution, he addressed the principal officers thus: "Behold a miserable ancient man, who hath often intreated God to take him out of this wicked world, but could not till now obtain his desire; for God delivered me till these years to be a spectacle to the world, and a sacrifice to himself; therefore God's will be done." One of the officers told him, in consideration of his great age, that if he would only ask pardon, he would immediately deliver him. "Ask pardon, exclaimed he, I will ask pardon of God whom I have frequently offended; but not of the emperor to whom I never gave any offence: should I flee for pardon, it might be justly suspected I had committed some crime for which I deserved this condemnation. No, no, as I die innocent, so I die innocently." Thus he was separated from this noble company of martyrs; so saying, he cheerfully resigned his neck to the block.

VIII. PROCOPIUS DORZECKI.

On the scaffold this gentleman said, "We are now under the emperor's judgment; but in time he shall be judged, and we shall appeal as witnesses against him." Then taking a gold medal from his neck, which was struck when the elector Frederick was crowned king of Bohemia, he presented it to one of the officers; at the same time uttering these words, "As a dying man, I requit, if ever king Frederick is restored to the throne of Bohemia, that you will give him this medal. Tell him, for his fake, I wore it till death, and that now I willingly lay down my life for God and my king." He then cheerfully laid down his head, and submitted to the fatal blow.

IX. DIONYSIUS ZERVIUS.

We understand this gentleman was brought up a Roman Catholic, but had embraced the reformed religion for reasons of State. Upon the scaffold the jefuits used their utmost endeavours to make him recant, and return to his former faith, but he paid not the least attention to their exhortations. Kneeling down he said, "They may destroy my body, but cannot injure my soul, that I commend to my Redeemer;" and then patiently submitted to martyrdom, being at that time sixty years of age.

X. VALENTINE COCKAN.

This was a gentleman of considerable fortune and eminence, perfectly pious and honest, but of trifling abilities; yet his imagination seemed to grow bright, and his faculties to improve on death's approach, as if the impending danger revived them. After he was beheaded, he expressed himself with such eloquence, energy, and precision, as greatly amazed those who knew his former deficiency in point of capacity.

XI. TOBIAS STEFFICK.

This person was remarkable for his affability and comeliness. He was perfectly resigned to his fate, and a few minutes before his death spoke in this singular manner: "I have received, during the whole course of my life, many favours from God; ought I not therefore cheerfully to take one bitter cup, when he thinks proper to present it? Or rather, ought I not to rejoice, that I am one of the few who could give up a corrupted life for this of immortality?"

XII. DR. JESSENIUS.

This was an able student of physis, who was accused of having spoken disrespectful words of the emperor, of treason in swearing allegiance to the elector Frederick, and of hereby in being a profligate: for the first accusation he had his tongue cut out; for the second he was beheaded; and for the third, and last, he was quartered, and the respective parts sent to all the principal cities of the empire.

XII. CHRISTOPHER CHOWER.

As soon as this gentleman stepped upon the scaffold, he said, "I come, in the name of God, to die for my glory; I have fought the good fight, and finished my course; so executioner, do your office." The executioner obeyed, and he instantly received the crown of martyrdom.

XIV. JOHN SHULTIS.

There was no person ever lived more respected, or disdained more lamenter than this gentleman. The only words he spoke, before receiving the fatal stroke, were, "The righteous flee to the place of the nine gods, but they only go to hell. Lord Jesus! thou hast promised that those who come to thee shall not be cast off. Behold, I am come; look on me, pity me, pardon my sins, and receive my soul."

XV. MAXIMILIAN HOSTALICK.

This worthy gentleman was famed for his learning, piety, and humility. As he stepped upon the scaffold, he seemed exceedingly terrified at the approach of death. The officer taking notice of his agitation, he said, "Ah! sir, now the fons of my youth crowd upon my mind; but I hope God will enlighten me, I long to see the dell of death, and left mine enemies afar. We have previously tasted the cup of death, and now the cup of salvation." After he was mercifully beheaded, his head was laid in a small box, which was brought to the eminence of Christ. He then told the officer he should repeat the song of Simeon; at the conclusion of which the executioner might do his duty. He, accordingly, said, "Lord! nor let mine heart depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation," at which words his head was lowered at one blow from his body.

XVI. JOHN KUTNAUR.

As soon as this gentleman came to the place of execution, a jefuit said to him, "Embrace the Roman Catholic faith, which alone can save and arm you against the terrors of death." To which he replied, "You superstitious faith! I abhor, it leads to perdition, and I wish for no other arms against the terrors of death than a good conscience." The jefuit turned away, saying, Fartherly. The profligates are impenetrable rocks. You are mistaken, said Kutnaur, it is Christ that is the rock, and we are firmly fixed upon him.

XVII. SIMEON Sussicky.

This gentleman was father-in-law to Kutsaur, and, like him, was ordered to be executed on a gallows. He went cheerfully to death, and appeared impatient to be executed, saying, "Every moment delays me from entering into the kingdom of Christ."

XVIII. NATHANIEL WODNIAINSKY.

He was called up to the scaffold for having supported the protestant cause, and the election of Frederick to the crown of Bohemia. At the gallows, the jefuits did all in their power to induce him to renounce his principles. Finding their endeavours ineffectual, one of them said, "If you will not abjure your heresy, as soon as this day." To which he replied, "You take away our lives under a pretended charge of rebellion; and, not content with that, seek to destroy our souls: glut yourselves with blood, and be satisfied, but tamper not with our consciences." His own son then approached the gallows, and said to his father, "Sir, do not offer to me, as you have offered to me, this accursed apple of sloth, I entreat you to remember Christ, and reject such pernicious overtures." To this the father replied, "It is very acceptable, my son, to hear yourself exorted to confiy by you; but indulge me not; rather endeavour to confirm in their faith your brothers, father,
and children, and teach them to imitate that constancy, of which I shall leave them an example." He had no sooner concluded these words, than he was turned off, receiving the crown of martyrdom with great fortitude.

XIX. WENCESLAUS GISBITZKEY.
As his person, during his whole confinement, had great hopes of life given him, his friends became very apprehensive for the safety of his soul. He, however, continued steadfast in his faith, prayed fervently at the gallowes, and met his fate with unconmion fortitude.

No. 18.

An unfortunate cripple, the accusations against whom were, being charitable to heretics, and lending money to the elector Frederick. His great wealth, however, seems to have been his principal crime; and that he might be plundered of his treasures, he was consequently ranked among the martyrs of those times.

ACCOUNT of the General PERSECUTIONS in GERMANY.

THEN several perfections in Germany were principally occasioned by the doctrines and ministry of Martin Luther. Indeed, the pope was so terrified at the success of that courageous reformer, that he determined to enrage the emperor, Charles the Fifth, at any rate, in the scheme to attempt their extirpation.

For this purpose,
1. He gave the emperor two hundred thousand crowns in ready money.
2. He promised to maintain twelve thousand foot, and five thousand horse, for the space of six months, or during a campaign.
3. He allowed the emperor to receive one half of the revenues of the clergy of the empire, during the war.
4. He permitted the emperor to pledge the abbey lands of five hundred thousand crowns, to affix in carrying on hostilities against the Protestants.

Prompted and supported thus, the emperor undertook the extirpation of the protestants, against whom, indeed, he was particularly enraged himself; and, for this purpose, a formidable army was raised in Germany, Spain, and Italy.

In the mean time, the protestant princes formed a powerful confederacy, in order to repel the impending blow. A great army was raised, and the command given to the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse. The imperial forces were commanded by the emperor of Germany, and the eyes of all Europe were turned on the event of the war.

The armies at length met, and a desperate engagement ensued, in which the protestants were defeated, and the elector of Saxony, and landgrave of Hesse, both taken prisoners. This fatal blow was succeeded by a horrid persecution, the severity of which was such, that exile might be deemed a mild fate, and concealment in a dungeon the most delightful abode for happiness. In such times a cave is a palace, wild roots delicacies, and a rock a bed of daisies.

Such as were taken experienced the most cruel tortures that infernal imaginations could invent; and by their confessions evinced, that a real christian can suffer every difficulty, and despise every danger, to acquire a crown of martyrdom.

Henry Voes and John Eich, being apprehended as protestants, were brought to examination: when Voes, answering for himself and the other, gave the following answers to some questions asked by a priest, who examined them by the order of the magistrate.

Priest. Were you not both, some years ago, Augustinians?
Voes. Yes.
Priest. On account of her abominations.
Voes. In what do you believe?
Priest. In the Old and New Testament.

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Priest. Do you believe in the writings of the fathers, and the decrees of the councils?
Voes. Yes.
Priest. Do not Martin Luther seduce you both?
Voes. He seduced us even in the very same manner as Christ seduced the apostles; that is, he made us sensible of the frailty of our bodies, and the value of our souls.

This excuse was deemed sufficient; they were both condemned to the flames, and burnt alive, charged with that many fortitude which becomes chrillians, when they resign their breath for the truth.

One Henry Surphen, an eloquent and pious preacher, was taken out of his bed in the middle of the night, and compelled to take a foot or two of the fire, so that his feet were terribly cut. He defied a horde, but his conductors said, in derision, A horde for an heretic; no, no, heretics may go barefoot. When he arrived at the place of his destination, he was condemned to be burned; but, during the execution, many indignities were offered him, as those who attended, not content with what he suffered in the flames, cut and slashed him in a manner the most terrible.

Several were murdered at Halle; Middleburg being taken by storm; all the protestants were put to the sword, and great riches were gained and extorted. There was an officer sent to put a minisiter to death; who pretended, when he came to the clergyman's house, that his intentions were only to pay him a visit. The minisiter, not suspecting the intended cruelty, entertained his visitor with great respect and cordially. As soon as dinner was over the officer carried off one of his attendants, "Take this clergyman, and hang him." The attendants themselves were so shocked, after the civility they had seen, that they hesitated to perform the commands of their master; and the minisiter said, 'Think what was to have been done to one of my officers, for thus violating the laws of hospitality.' The officer, however, inflicted upon being obeyed, and the attendants, with reluctance, performed the execrable office of executioners.

A piece divine, of the name of Peter Spengler, of the town of Schafel, was thrown into the river, and drowned. Before he was taken to the banks of the stream, which was to become his grave, they led him to the market-place, that his crimes might be proclaimed; which were, not going to mass, not making confession, and not believing in transubstantiation. After this ceremony was made a most excellent discourse to the people, which, with a kind of hymn of a very edifying nature, continued.

A protestant gentleman being ordered to lose his head for not renouncing his religion, went cheerfully to the place of execution, and asked him, and said these words in a low tone of voice, "As I lay at your mercy, you can use me in any way you please, but I will not suffer your conflagration in my car, and I will abolve your sins." To this the gentleman loudly replied, "Trouble me not, friar, I have confessed my sins to God, and obtained absolution through the merits of Jesus Christ." Then turning to the executioner, he said, "Let me not be treated with these men, but perform your duty." On which at a fingle blow his head was struck off.

John Huglin, and Wolfgang Scuch, two worthy ministers, were executed; the former was Leonhard Keyser, a student of the university of Wurttemburg; and George Carpenter, a Bavarian, was hanged for refusing to recant protestantism.

The perfections in Germany having subsided many years, again broke out in 1630, on account of the war between the emperor, and the king of Sweden, for the latter was a protestent prince, and consequently the protestants of Germany despised his cause, which greatly exasperated the emperor against these protestants.

The imperialists having laid siege to the town of Pafswalk, (which was defended by the Swedes) took it by storm, and committed the most horrid cruelties on that occasion. They pulled down the churches, burnt the houses, pillaged the properties, massacred the ministers, put the garrison to the sword, hanged the townsmen, rained the women, murthered the children, &c. &c.

In
In the year 1631, a most bloody tragedy was transacted at Magdeburg. The general Tilly and Pappenheim, having taken that protestant city by storm, upwards of 20,000 persons, without distinction of rank, age or age, were cut down during the carnage, and 6,000 were drowned in the river Elbe. After this fury subsided, the remaining inhabitants were stripped naked, severely scourged, had their ears cropped, and being yoked together like oxen, were turned adrift.

The see of Hoster was taken by the popish army, and all the inhabitants as well as the garrison were put to the sword; when the houses being set on fire, the bodies were consumed in the flames.

Gripenburg, when the imperial forces prevailed, they first set fire to the market-chamber, and, furrowing it by lighted straw, suffocated them.

Francfort surrendered upon articles of capitulation, yet the inhabitants were as cruelly used as at other places, and at Heidelberg many were flung up in prision and tarred.

The cruelties used by the imperial troops, under count Tilly in Saxony, are as follow:

1. Half strangling, and recovering the perfons again repeated.

2. Rolling sharp wheels over the fingers and toes.

3. Pinching the thumbs in a vice.

4. Forcing the most filthy things down the throat, by which many were choked.

5. Tying cords round the head so tight that the blood gushed from the mouth, eyes, ears, and mouth.

6. Fastening burning matches to the fingers, toes, ears, arms, legs, and even tongue.

7. Putting powder in the mouth and setting fire to it, by which the head was scattered to pieces.

8. Tying bags of powder to all parts of the body, by which the perfon was blown up.

9. Drawing cords backwards and forwards through the fleathy parts.

10. Making incisions with bodkins and knives in the skin.

11. Running wires through the nose, ears, lips, &c.

12. Hanging protestants up by the legs, with their heads over a fire, by which they were smoked-dried.

13. Hanging up by one arm till it was dislocated.

14. Hanging upon hooks by the ribs.

15. Forcing people to drink till they burst.


17. Fixing weights to the feet, and drawing up several with pullies.

Add to these, hanging, flogging, roasting, stabbing, frying, baking, ravelling, ripping open, breaking the bones, rapling off the flesh, tearing with wild hores, drowning, strangling, burning, boiling, crucifying, immuring, poisoning, cutting off tongue, nose, ears, etc., pitting the limbs, hacking to pieces, and skewering them to the beams through the fingers.

Sure these enormous cruelties will be a perpetual stain on the memory of count Tilly, who not only permitted, but even commanded his troops to put them in practice. Wherever he came, the most horrid barbarities, and cruel depredations, ensued: famine and confiscation marked his progress; for he destroyed all the provisions he could not take with him, and burnt all the towns before he left them; so that the full retribution of his conquests were murder, poverty, and desolation.

They stripped an aged and pious divine naked, tied him on his back upon a table, and fastened a large fire cat upon his belly. Then pricked and tormented the cat in such a manner, that the creature with rage tore his belly open, and gushed his bowels.

In Helft-Caftal some of the troops entered an hospital, in which were principally mad women, when flapping all the poor wretched naked, they made them run about the streets for their diversion, and then put them to death.

In Pomerania, some of the imperial troops entering a small town, feit upon all the young women, and girls of upwards of 10 years, and then placing their parents before the doors, they set fire to the buildings while they ravished their children, or else they took them and cut them to pieces afterwards. They then took all the married women who had young children, and threatened they would not content to the grudalisation of their husbands, but burn their children before their faces in a large fire which they had kindled for that purpose.

A band of count Tilly's soldiers meeting with a company of merchants belonging to the city of Boll, who were returning from the great assembly of St. Stephen's, attempted to surround them; all escaped, however, but ten, leaving their properties behind. The ten who were taken begged hard for their lives; but the soldiers murdered them, saying, You must die because you are heretics, and have got no money.

The fame soldiers met with two countesses, who, together with some young ladies, the daughters of one of them, were taking an airing in a lane. The soldiers spared their lives, but treated them with great indecency, and hauled them all stark naked, back the coachman drive.

At last, by means and mediation of Great-Britain, peace was restored to Germany, and the protestants remained unmolested for several years, till some new disturbances occurred in the elector's state, which were occasioned in the following manner.

The great church of the Holy Ghost, at Heidelberg, had, for many years, been shared equally by the protestants and Roman catholics, in this manner: the protestants performed divine service in the nave, or body of the church; and the Roman catholics celebrated mass in the choir. Though this had been the custom time immemorial, the elector Palatine, at length, took it into his head not to suffer it any longer, declaring that Heidelberg was the place of his residence, and the church of the Holy Ghost the cathedral of his principal city, divine service ought to be performed only according to the rites of the church of which he was a member. He then forbid the protestants to enter the church, and put the papists in possession of the whole.

The people thus aggrieved applied to the protestant powers for redress, so that much exasperated the elector, that he apprised the Heidelberg cathedral. The protestant powers, however, unanimously agreed to the demand; and, as they were very angry, they broke an article of the treaty of Weilbach, and the courts of Great-Britain, Prussia, Holland, &c. deputed to the elector, to represent the injustice of his proceedings, and to threaten, unless he changed his resolution, to dismember the empire. The elector, apprehending he would treat their Roman catholic subjects with the greatest severity. Many violent disasters took place between the protestant powers, and those of the elector, and there were greatly augmented by the following incident: the count of the Dutch minister floundering before the done of the resident sent to the prince of Helft, he died by chance carrying a thick perfon; the count took not the least notice, which this who attended the ill observing pulled him from his box, and compelled him to kneel; this exposure of the odiousness of a public minister was highly admired by all the protestant deputies, and, still more to heighten these differences, the protestants presented to the deputies the additional articles of complaint.

1. That military executions were ordered against protestants who should refuse to contribute to the mists of St. Crispin.

2. That the protestants were forbidden to work upon holidays, even in harvest time, under very heavy penalties, which occasioned great inconvenience, and could never be suffered.

3. That several protestant ministers had been expelled of their churches, under pretence of their having been originally founded, and built by Roman catholics.
At length the Protestant deputies became so serious, as to intimate to the elector, that force of arms should compel him to do the justice he denied to their representations. This menace brought him to reason, as he well knew the impossibility of carrying on a war against the powerful states who refused to acknowledge the king as their emperor; and agreed, that the see of the body of the church of the empire should be restored to the Protestants. He accordingly ordered the Heidelberg cathedrals, put the Protestant ministers again in possession of the churches of which they had been dispossessed, and ordered, that no person should be molest for not kneeling when the hour of divine service was read by the Protestant clergy: all these things he did through fear; but to shew his repentance to his Protestant subjects, he, therefore, abandoned Heidelberg, removing all the courts of justice to Mainz, which was entirely inhabited by Roman Catholics. He likewise built a new palace there, making it his residence; and, being followed by the Roman cathedrals of Heidelberg, Mainz had a flourishing place.

In the mean time the prelates of Heidelberg funk into poverty, and many of them became so disreputable, as to quit their native country, and seek an asylum in some other Protestant nation. He, therefore, abandoned Heidelberg, removing all the courts of justice to Mainz, which was entirely inhabited by Roman Catholics. He likewise built a new palace there, making it his residence; and, being followed by the Roman cathedrals of Heidelberg, Mainz had a flourishing place.

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A Cronographical Account of the LIFE, SUFFERINGS, and MARTYRDOM, of JOHN HUSS, BURN'T at CONSTANCE in GERMANY, FOR maintaining the DOCTRINES of WICKLIFE, the ENGLISH REFORMIST.

This man was born at Haffnitz, a village in Bohemia, about the year 1372. His parents gave him the best education their circumstances would admit: having acquired a tolerable knowledge of the classics, at a private school, he was removed to the university of Prague, and gave strong proofs of his mental powers, and was remarkable for his diligence and application to study. He commenced bachelor of divinity in 1406, and wasafter successively chosen parson of the church of Kladitz, in Prague, and dean and rector of the university. In these stations he discharged his duties with great fidelity, and became at length so conspicuous for his preaching, (which was in conformity with the doctrines of Wickliffe) that it was not likely he could long continue in the service of the pope, and his adherents, against whom he inveighed with so small degree of acidity and invective. Wickliffe the English reformist had kindled the light of reformation, that it began to illumine the darkest corners, and its influence spread into Bohemia, and were well received by great members of the nobility, but by none so particularly as John Hus, and his zealous friend and fellow-martyr, Jerome of Prague.

The archbishop of Prague, finding the reformists still inclining, mixed a decree to suppress the farther spreading of Wickliffe's writings: but this had an effect quite different to what he expected, for it stimulated the friends of these doctrines to greater zeal, and almost the whole university united in propagating them.

Hus had considerable influence in the university, not only on account of his learning, eloquence, and exemplary life, but also on account of some valuable privileges he had obtained from the king. He believed the Bohemians in that fealty, by which many Germans had been obliged to leave it, and retire to Leipsic, who afterwards became, on that account, his most inveterate enemies.

Now strongly attached to the doctrines of Wickliffe, Hus violently opposed the decree of the archbishop, who, however, at length obtained a bull from the pope, giving him commission to prevent the publishing of Wickliffe's doctrines in his province. By virtue of this bull, the archbishop commanded all the prelates in Bohemia to deliver up the copies of that divine, and prohibited them, not allying their privileges, to preach to any congregation. Dr. Hus, with some other members of the university, protested against these proceedings, and entered an appeal from the sentences of the archbishop. When this affair was made known to the pope, he granted a bull to Cardinal Hunsenius, to cite John Hus to appear personally at the court of Rome, to answer the accusations laid against him, of preaching both heresies and heresies. Dr. Hus desired to be excused from a personal appearance, and was so greatly favoured in Bohemia, that King Wenceslas, the queen, the nobility, and the university, desired to excise him from the see, such appearance: as also that he would not suffer the kingdom of Bohemia to lie under the accustation of he- retics, but permit them to preach the gospel with freedom: in their places of worship.

Three prelates appeared for Dr. Hus before cardinal Colonna. They endeavoured to excuse his absence, and said they were ready to answer in his behalf. But the cardinal declared Hus contumacious, and excommunicated him accordingly. The prelates appealed to the pope, who appointed four cardinals to examine the process: these commissioners confirmed the former sentence, and extended the excommunication, not only to Hus, but to all his friends and followers.

Hus, from this unjust sentence, appealed to a future council, but without success; and, notwithstanding to seve a decree, and an expulsion in consequence from his church in Prague, he retired to Haffnitz, his native place, where he continued to promulgate his new doctrines, both from the desk, and with the people in the streets. The letters which he wrote at this time were very numerous: and he compiled a treatise, in which he maintained, that reading the books of the prelates could not be absolutely forbidden. He wrote in defence of Wickliffe's book on the commonwealth, and loudly declared against the vices of the pope, the cardinals, and the clergy, in these corrupt times. He cauful a writing to be fixed on the church of Bethlehem, charging the Roman catholck clergy with the following errors:

1. Of saying that we ought to pay adoration to the pope, and renders him as God himself.
2. That the priests can remit the pain and guilt of sin.
3. That every one must obey his superiors, whether their commands are just or unjust.
4. That every excommunication, just or unjust, binds the excommunicated.

Besides these, he wrote many other books, all of which were penned with such strength of argument, as greatly to facilitate the spreading of his doctrines.

The persecutions against the prelates in England had been carried on for some time, and the most cruel scenes were exhibited. They now extended as far as Germany and Bohemia, where Dr. Hus, and Jerome of Prague, were particularly marked out to suffer death in the cause of reform.

In the month of November, in the year 1414, a general council was assembled at Constance, in Germany, in order, as was pretended, for the sole purpose of determining
terminating a dispute then depending between three persons who contended for the papacy; but the real motive was, to crush the progress of the reformation.

Now John Hus was summoned to appear at this council and to defend himself, the emperor sent him his safe-conduct, giving him permission freely to come to, and return from the council. When Hus received this information, he told the persons who delivered it, "That he desired nothing more than to purge himself publicly of the imputation of heresy; and that he esteemed it an inauspicious opportunity of it, as at the council to which he was summoned to attend."

Hus, about the latter end of November, set out on his journey to Constance, accompanied by two Bohemian noblemen, who were among the most eminent of his disciples, and who followed him zealously through reproofs and affection. He caused some placards, or writings, to be fixed upon the gates of the churches of Prague, in which he declared, that he went to the council to answer all allegations that might be made against him. He also declared, in all the cities through which he passed, that he was going to vindicate himself at Constance, and invited all his adversaries to be present for this purpose.

The compliments, and even reverence, which Hus met with on his journey, were beyond imagination. They flocked to him to encourage him, the emperor sent him his safe-conduct; and he passed through Germany in a kind of triumph. He could not help expressing his surprise at the cordial reception he met with, people, whom respect, rather than curiosity, had brought together. He was ushered into the towns with great acclamations; and it may be said, that he passed through Germany in a kind of triumph. He could not help expressing his surprise at the cordial reception he met with, people, whom respect, rather than curiosity, had brought together. He was ushered into the towns with great acclamations; and it may be said, that he passed through Germany in a kind of triumph. He could not help expressing his surprise at the cordial reception he met with, people, whom respect, rather than curiosity, had brought together. He was ushered into the towns with great acclamations; and it may be said, that he passed through Germany in a kind of triumph.

When Hus arrived at Constance, he immediately took lodgings in a remote part of the city. A short time after his arrival, came one Stephen Palatus, who was excommunicated by the clergy at Prague to manage the intended prosecution against him. Palatus was afterwards joined by Michael de Caffis, on the part of the court of Rome. These two declared themselves his accusers, and drew up a set of articles against him, which they presented to the pope, and the prelates of the council.

We have already observed, that the attendance of Dr. Hus, at Constance, was, by the emperor's own request, who gave him a safe-conduct; notwithstanding which, according to the maxim of the council, that no man, even the pope, had a right to defend himself before the council. When it was known that he was in the city, he was immediately arrested, and committed prisoner to a chamber in the palace.

Now this violation of common law and justice was particularly noticed by one of Hus's friends, who urged the case to the pope; but the pope replied, he never granted any safe-conduct, nor was he bound by that of the emperor.

During Hus's confinement, the council acted the part of inquirers. They condemned the doctrines of Wickliffe, and even ordered his remains to be dug up, and burnt to ashes; which orders were strictly complied with.

In the interim the nobility of Bohemia and Poland strongly interceded for Hus; and so far prevailed as to prevent his being condemned unheard, which had been resolved on by the commissioners appointed to try him. As soon as he was brought before the council, the articles exhibited against him were read: they were upwards of forty in number, and chiefly extracted from his writings.

The investigation being finished, he was taken from the court, and a resolution was formed by the council, to burn him as a heretic if he would not retract. He was then committed to a filthy prison, where, in the day time, he was so laden with fetters on his legs, that he could hardly move; and every night he was fastened to the bed, against the prison door.

Having continued some days in this situation, many noblemen of Bohemia interceded in his behalf. They drew up a petition for his release, which was presented to the council by several of the most distinguished nobles of Bohemia; notwithstanding which, to many enemies had Hus in that court, that not the least attention was paid to it, and the wretched and perfected reform was compelled to bear with the punishment inflicted on him by that merciless tribunal.

Some short time after the petition was presented, four bishops, and two lords, were sent by the emperor to the prison, in order to prevail on Hus to make a recantation, but he resolved, and the perfected reform was compelled to bear with the punishment inflicted on him by that merciless tribunal.

The deputies then represented the great weight and authority of the council; to which Hus replied, "Let the sentence be pronounced. I desire no other, but I will then perhaps be able to convince the council of the word of God, and I will submit my judgment to it."

This christian and pious answer had no effect, because he would not take the authority and learning of the council upon trust, without the least shadow of an argument offered. The deputies, therefore, finding they could not make any impression on him, departed, greatly astonished at the strength of his resolution.

Dr. Hus was brought on the fourth of July for the last time, before the council. After a long examination he was deposed to abuse, where he refused without the least colour of reason, to the bishop of Luneburg, who was a bloody perfector of heresy, "concerning the deflation of heretics" the prologue to his intended punishment. After the clothe of the sermon his fate was determined, his vindication disregarud, and judgment was pronounced on him. It was immediately declared a manifest heretic; he was convicted of having taught many heresies and pernicious errors; of having defiled the keys of the church and ecclesiastical issues; of having induced and given scandal to the faithful by his obstinacy, and having rashly appealed to the tribunal of Christ. The council therefore pronounced him for being obstinate and incorrigible, and ordained, "That he should be degraded from the priesthood, his books publicly burnt, and himself delivered to the secular power."

This sentence Hus received without the least emotion. At the clothe of it he knelt down with his eyes lifted towards heaven, and, with all the magnanimity of a primitive martyr, thus exclaimed: "My infinite mercy, O my God! pardon this injudicious mine enemies. Thou knowest the injustice of my accuser, and dost not judge me according to their pretended; how I have been oppressed with worthless witnesses; and a false condemnation; yet O my God! let that mercy of thine, which no tongue can express, prevail with thee not to avenge my wrongs."

But these excellent sentiments were at last esteemed as being insufficient to extenuate his crimes, and to extenuate his adversaries. Accordingly, the bishops appointed by the council stripped him of his priestly garments, degraded him, and put a paper niter on his head, on which were painted devils, with this inscription: "A ringleader of heretics."

The heroic martyr received this mock mitre with an air of unconcern, which seemed to give him dignity rather than disgrace. A ferocity, may even a joy be detected in his looks, which indicated that his fate was cut off many flags of a tedious journey, he had reached the end of everlasting peace and happiness.

When the ceremony of degradation was over, the bishops delivered Hus to the emperor, who put him into the hands of the duke of Bavaria. His 漢 was burnt at the gates of the church; and the fish of justice was led to the furies of Constance, to be bell-alive.

When he had reached the place of execution, he fell on his knees, sung several portions of the Pсалм, bled steadfastly towards heaven, and repeated these words: "Into thy hands, O Lord! I do commend my spirit. As thou hast redeemed me, O me good and gracious God!"

As soon as the chain was put about him at the feet he said, with a firm countenance, "My Lord!..."
The Martyrdom of St. John Badly in Smithfield, who, while the Prior of St. Bartholomew's attended, with twelve torches burned before him, was Henry V. of Edward IV. authorized the Great Martyr's execution.

Dr. John Hus (Reformer of Church in Bohemia and professor of Philosophy in the University of Prague) giving the oath of fidelity to the Empire to Ulrich von Mandersheim, at the Synod of Constance AD 1414.
The CRUEL MARTYRDOM of SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE, Lord Cobham. during the Reign of Henry V. in the Year 1417.
An ACCOUNT of the PERSECUTIONS in GERMANY.

Crifl was bound with a harder chain than this for my sake, and why then should I be ashamed of this old ruffian when the faggots were piled up to his very neck, the duke of Bavaria was so officious as to define him to adore. "No, (said Huf) I never preached any doctrine of an evil tendency; and what I taught with my lips I now feel with my blood." He then fell to the execution of his task as he was going to burn a goose, (the name of Huf signifying gOOSE in the Bohemian language) but in a century you will have a swan whom you can neither reap nor boil. If he were prophetic, he must have meant Martin Luther, who spoke of it almost a hundred years after, and who had a swan for his arms.

As soon as the flames were applied to the faggots, our martyr sang a hymn, with so loud and cheerful a voice, that he was heard through all the cracklings of the combustibles, and the noise of the multitude. At length his voice was interrupted by the savagery of the flames, which soon put a period to his life.

A Generous Account of the LIFE, SUFFERINGS, and MARTYRDOM, of JEROM or PRAGUE, who DIED Feb. 15, 1610, CONSTANCE in GERMANY, for maintaining the DOCTRINE of WICKLIFFE, the ENGLISH REFORMIST.

JEROM of PRAGUE, who was the companion of Dr. Huf, and may be said to be co-martyr with him, was born at Prague, and educated in that university, where he particularly distinguished himself for his great abilities and learning. He likewise visited several other learned seminaries in Europe, particularly the universities of Paris, Heidelberg, Cologne, and Oxford. At the latter place he became acquainted with the works of Wickliffe, and being a person of uncommon application he translated many of them into his native language, having, with great pains, made himself master of the English language.

Upon his return to Prague he professed himself an open favourite of Wickliffe, and finding that his doctrines had made a considerable progress in Bohemia, and that Huf was the principal promoter of them, he became an affiant to him in the great work of reformation.

Jerom on the 4th of April, A.D. 1415, arrived at Constance, about three months before the death of Huf. He entered the town privately, and confuting with some of the leaders of his party, whom he found there, he was daily convinced he could not be of any service to his friend.

Understanding that his arrival at Constance was publicly known, and that the council intended to feign him, he thought it most prudent to retire. Accordingly, next day he went to Berling, an imperial town, about a mile from Constance. From this place he wrote to the emperor, and proposed his readiness to appear before the council, if he would give him a safe conduct; but this was refused. He then applied to the council, but met with an answer no less unfavourable than that from the emperor.

Thus being disappointed, Jerom caured papers to be put up in all the public places in Constance, particularly on the doors of the cardinals houses, in which he declared his readiness to appear at Constance in the defence of his character and doctrine, both which, he said, had been greatly defamed. He also declared, that if any error should be proved against him, he would with great readiness retract it, begging only the negative of the council might be given for his security.

As he received no answer to these papers, he set out on his return to Bohemia. He had the precaution to take with him a certificate, signed by several of the Bohemian nobility then at Constance, testifying that he had used all prudent means in his power to procure an audiur.

However, Jerom did not escape thus. He was seized at Hufraw, by an officer belonging to the duke of Sulf- bach, who, though unauthorized to act, made little doubt of obtaining thanks from the council for a service for which he was not acceptable.

Now the duke of Sulzbach, having Jerom in his power, wrote to the council for directions how to proceed. The council, after expressing their obligations to the duke, desired him to send the prisoner immediately to Constance. The elector palatine met him on the way, and conducted him into the city, himself riding on horseback, with a numerous retinue, who led Jerom in fetters by a long chain; and immediately on his arrival he was committed to a loathsome dungeon.

In the same manner as Huf had been treated so, was Jerom, only that he was much ill-used, and shifted from one prison to another. At length, being brought before the council, he declared that he might plead his own cause, and exculpate himself: which being refused him, he thus gave vent to his indignation: "What barbarity is this? For three hundred and forty days have I been confined in a variety of prisons. There is not a misery, there is not a want, which I have not experienced. To my enemies you have allowed the fullest scope of accusation: to me, you deny the least opportunity of defence. Not an hour will you now indulge me in preparing for my trial. You have swallowd the blackest calumnies against me. You have represented me as an heretic, without knowing my doctrine; as an enemy to the faith, before you knew what I professed; as a persecutor of my country, before you could have any opportunity of understanding my sentiments on that head. You are a general council: in your center all this world can communicate of gravity, wisdom, and fanaticity; but all you are men, and men are incapable by appearances. The highest human power is for wifdom, the greater ought your care to be, not to deviate into folly. The cause I now plead is not my own cause: it is the cause of men: it is the cause of christians: it is a cause, which is to affect the rights of politerly, however the experiment is to be made in your peror." No effect however had this speech: Jerom was obliged to bear his charge read, which was reduced under five heads as follow:

1. That he was a derider of the papal dignity.
2. An enemy to the popes.
3. An enemy to the cardinals.
4. A persecutor of the prelates.
5. An hater of the christian religion.

Jerom to these several charges answered with an amazing force of eloquence, and strength of argument. "Now, (said he) wretch that I am! whither shall I turn me? To my accusers? My accusers are as deaf as adders. To you, my judges! You are but professed by the arts of scurrility.---" As he spake, this speech Jerom was immediately remanded to his prison.

The trial of Jerom was brought on the third day after his accusation, and witnnesses were examined in support of the charge. The prisoner was prepared for his defence, which appears almost incredible, when we consider he had been three hundred and forty days that up in loathsome prisons, deprived of day-light, and almost starved for want of common necessaries. But his spirit foared above these disadvantages, under which a man less endur'd would have been more at a loss for quotations from fathers and ancient authors, than if he had been furnished with books of the best quality.

Such of the accusations were most important were unwilling he thought he heard, knowing what effect eloquence is apt to have on the minds of the most prejudiced. At length, however, it was carried by the majority, that he should have liberty to proceed in his defence, which he began in such an exalted strain of moving eloquence, that the heart of obscurant zeal was then to melt, and the mind of superflion记者从 to admit a ray of conviction. He made an admirable distinction between evidence as relating upon facts, and as supported by malice and calumny. He laid before the assembly the whole tenor of his life and conduct. He observed that the
greatest and most holy men had been known to differ in points of speculation, with a view to diffluent truth, not to keep it concealed. He expressed a noble contempt of all his enemies, and said he would have induced him to retract the cause of virtue and truth. He entered upon an high encomium on Hus; and declared he was ready to follow him in the glorious track of martyrdom. He then touched upon the most defensible doctrines of Wickliffe; and, with observing, that it was far from his intention to advance any thing against the state of the church of God: that it was only against the abuse of the clergy he complained: and that he could not help saying, it was certainly impious that the patrimony of the church, which was originally intended for the purpose of charity, and useful benevolence, should be prostituted to the pride of the eye, in feasts, foppish velliments, and other reproaches to the name and profusion of religion.

When the trial was over, Jerom received the same sentence, that had been passed upon his martyred countryman. In consequence of this he was, in the usual fitle of popish affectation, delivered over to the civil power: but as he was a layman, he had not to undergo the ceremony of degradation. They had prepared a case of paper pavils, with devils, and fiends, put upon his head, he said, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, when he suffered death for me a most miserable sinner, did wear a crown of thorns upon his head; and I, for his sake, will wear this case." He spent him two days in hopes that he would recant; in which time the cardinal of Florence used his utmost endeavours to bring him over. But they all proved ineffectual: Jerom was resolved to seal his doctrine with his blood; and he suffered death with the most dignified magnanimity.

While going to the place of execution he sung several hymns; and when he came to the spot, which was the same where Hus had been burnt, he knelt down, and prayed fervently. He embraced the flake with great cheerfulness and resolution; and when the executioner went behind him to set fire to the faggots, he said, "Come here, and kindle it before my eyes; for if I had been afraid of it, I had not come to this place, having had so many opportunities of making my escape." When the fire was kindled, he sung an hymn, but was soon interrupted by the flames; and the last words he heard was he say were:

Hanc animam in flammas effer, Christi, tibi! "This soul in flames I offer, Christ, to thee!"

A Full and Particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS in the NETHERLANDS.

Seeing that the light of the gospel was now successfully spread over the Netherlands, the pope intended the emperor to commence a persecution against the protestants when many thousands fell martyrs to superstitious malice and barbarous bigotry: among whom the following were the most remarkable.

One Wendelmin, a pious prophetess widow, was apprehended of her remaining with several monks, unsuccessfully, endeavoured to persuade her to recant. As they could not prevail, a Roman catholic lady of her acquaintance desired to be admitted to the dungeon in which she was confined, and promised to exert herself strenuously towards inducing the prisoner to abjure the reformed religion. When she was admitted to the dungeon, she did her utmost to perform the task she had undertaken: but finding her endeavours ineffectual, the said, Dear Wendelmin, if you will not embrace our faith, and keep the law which you profess secret within your own bosom, and strive to prolong your life. To which the widow replied, Madam, you know not what you say; for with the heart we believe to righteous, but with the tongue confession is made unto salvation. As the positively refused to recant, her goods were confiscated, and she was condemned to be burnt. At the place of execution a monk held a crost to her, and bade her kiss and worship God. To which she answered, I worship no wooden god, but the eternal God, who is in heaven. She was then executed by fire, burning her face, and her right hand. A Roman catholic lady, the favour was granted, that she should be strangled before the faggots were kindled.

There were two protestant clergymen burnt at Clee, a tradesman of Antwerp, named Nicholas, was burnt in a black box, burnt to the bone, and dragged and pilloried, a learned student, was carried to the market of a Dutch village in a fool's coat, and committed to the flames.

A protestant minister was ordered to attend the execution of a certain friar, pretendent to some kind of sentence to be beheaded. This gentleman performed a solemn act of his office with great propriety, exhorted them to repentance, and gave them comfort in the mysteries of their Redeemer. As soon as the sixteen were beheaded, the magistrate cried out to the executioner, There is another stroke remaining yet; you must behead the minister, he can never die at a better time than with such excellent precepts in his mouth, and such laudable examples before him. He was accordingly beheaded, though even many of the Roman catholics themselves respected his piece of treacherous and unnecessary barbarism.

One George Scherrer, a minister of Salzburg, was apprehended and committed to prison for inhaling his book in the knowledge of the gospel. While he was in the prison he wrote a book; and not long after which he was condemned, still to be beheaded, and afterwards to be burnt to ashes. In his way to the place of execution he said to the spectators, That you not know I die a true christian, I will give you a sign. This was indeed verified in a most singular manner; for after his neck was cut off, his body lying a short space of time with the belly to the ground, it suddenly turned upon the back, when the right foot crossed over the left, as did also the right arm over the left: in this manner it remained till it was committed to the fire.

A learned man in Louisiana, named Pereval, was murdered in prison; and Julius Inparg was beheaded, for having Luther's sermons in his possession.

Giles Tilleman, a cutler of Brussells, was a man of great humanity and piety. Among others he was apprehended as a protestant, and many endeavours were made by the monks to persuade him to recant. He had, once, by accident, a fair opportunity of escaping from prison, and being asked why he did not avail himself of it, he replied, I would not do the keepers so much injury. I must have been deprived of the confidence, had I got away. When he was sentenced to be burnt, he fervently thanked God for granting him an opportunity, by martyrdom, to glorify his name. Perceiving, at the place of execution, a great quantity of faggots, he desired the principal part of them might be given to the poor, saying, a small quantity will suffice to consume me. The executioner offered to flame him before; but he would not consent, telling him, that he defiled the flames; and, indeed, he gave up the ghost with such composure and complacency, that he hardly seemed sensible of their effects.

About the years 1543 and 1544, the persecution was carried on throughout all Flanders in a most violent and cruel manner. Some were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, others to perpetual banishment, and yet more put to death either by hanging, drowning, immuring, burning, the rack, or by sitting alive.

One John de Boscane, a zealous protestant, was apprehended on account of his faith, in the city of Antwerp. On his trial he stoutly professed himself a believer of the reformed religion, which occasioned his immediate condemnation. The magistrate, however, was afraid to put him to death publicly, as he was popular through his great celerity, and almost universally beloved in his motiivitive life, and exemplary public spirit; therefore there was given him an executioner, who put him into a large tub, but Boscane

Breslau
The Prince of Orange, the great supporter of the Protestants, shot at Delft in Holland by Baltazer Gerard, a Papist Ruffian.
and getting his head above the water, the executioner dashed him with a dagger in several places, till at last his dissolution was completed.

Another Protestant, John de Bufwons, was, about the same time, feebly strangled, and privately sentenced at Antwerp. The number of protestants being great in that city, and the prisoner much respected, the magistrates feared an insurrection, and for that reason ordered him to be beheaded in prison.

Three perfidies were attempted in Antwerp, A. D. 1648, named Scoblan, Hues, and Coomanon. During their confinement they behaved with great fortitude and cheerfulness, confessing that the hand of God appeared in what had befallen them, and bowing down before the throne of His providence. In an epistle to some worthy protestants, they had the following words: "Since it is the will of the Almighty that we should suffer for our name, and be persecuted for the sake of our gospel, we patiently submit, and are joyful upon the occasion: though the fleth may rebel against the spirit, and hearken to the counsel of the old serpent, yet the truths of the gospel shall prevent such advice from being taken, and Christ shall bruise the serpent's head. We are not comforted in confinement, for we have faith; we fear not affliction, for we have hope; and we forgive our enemies, for we have charity. Be not afraid of their threatenings on the day of confinement through the promisés of God, glory in our bands, and exult in being thought worthy to suffer for the sake of Christ. We desire not to be released, but to be blessed with fortitude; we ask not liberty, but the patience of our confinement; and with for no change in our condition, but that which places a crown of martyrdom upon our heads."

Scoblan was first brought to his trial; when, per- forming in the profession of his faith, he received sentence of death. On his return to prison, he earnestly required permission to write a letter to the one that had condemned him; saying, "They can do me no good, but may greatly disturb me. I hope my salvation is already sealed in heaven, and that the blood of Christ, in which I firmly put my trust, hath washed me from mine iniquities.

I am now going to throw off this earthy mantle of clay, to be clad in robes of eternal glory, by whose celestial brightness I shall be freed from all errors. I hope I may be the last martyr to papal tyranny, and the blood already spilt found sufficient to quench the thirst of papal cruelty; that the church of Christ may have no more shamed martyrs." On the day of execution he took a pathetic leave of his fellow-prisoners. At the stake he fervently said the Lord's Prayer, and sung the fourteenth Psalm; then commending his soul to God, he was destroyed by the flames.

Soon after, Hues died in prison; upon which occasion Coomanon, in a letter to his friends, thus said to his friends: "I am now deprived of my friends and companions; Scoblan is martyred, and Hues dead, by the visitation of the Lord; yet I am not alone; I have with me the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; he is my comfort, and shall be my reward. Pray unto God to strengthen me to the end, as I expect every hour to be freed from this term of clay."

This man, on his trial, freely confessed himself of the Protestant religion, answered with a hearty fortitude to every charge against him, and proved the scriptural part of his answers from the gospel. The judge told him the other alternatives were, recantation or death; and concluded, by saying, "Will you die for the faith you profess?" To which Coomanon replied, "I am not only willing to die, but to suffer the most excruciating torments for it; which may God grant me to receive from God himself, in the midst of eternal play." Being condemned, he went cheerfully to the place of execution, and died with Christian resignation, and without any fortitude.

Also one Naflein, a Frenchman, after a sacrifice to treachery, being affianced in the fifty-first year of his age, by Jafizar Gerard, a native of Franche Counté, in the province of Bourgundy. This murderer, in hopes of a pardon here and hereafter, for killing an enemy to the king of Spain, and an enemy to the catholic religion, undertook to destroy the prince of Orange. Having procured fire-arms, he watched him as he passed through the great hall of his palace to dinner, and demanded a pass-port. The prince of Orange, observing that the affianl spoke with a low voice and in a language foreign to his, said: "What is it?" saying, he did not understand the language. The prince answered, it was one that demanded a pass-port, which he should have presently.

Nothing farther passed before dinner, but afterwards, on the return of the prince and princes through the same hall, the affianl, standing concealed on the left side, fired at the prince, the balls entering at the left side, and passing through the right, wounding in their passage the floor and vital parts. On receiving theounds, the prince only said, Lord have mercy upon me, and upon this poor people, and then immediately expired.

General were the lamentations throughout the United Provinces, on account of the death of the prince of Orange; and the affianl, who was immediately taken, received sentence to be put to death in the most exemplary manner; yet such was his entreaty, or folly, that when his death was pronounced by red-hot pincers, he coolly said, If I was at liberty, I would commit such an action over again.

The funeral of the prince of Orange was the grandest ever seen in the Low Countries, and perhaps the most grand for his death the most sincere, as he left behind him the character he honestly deferred, namely, that of being Father of his people.

In short, innumerable were murdered in different parts of Flanders; in the city of Valence, in particular, fifty-seven of the principal inhabitants were butchered in one day, for refusing to embrace the Roman super- stition: and great numbers were subjected to languishment in confinement, till they perished through the inhumanity of their prírons.

A Full and Particular Account of the PERSEC- TIONS in LUTHERIA.

In 1646 the persecutions in Lithuania began, and were caried on with great severity by the Cossacks and Tartars. The cruelty of the Cossacks was such, that even the Tartars, at first, grew ahamed of it, and refused some of the intended victims from their hands.

The following were the chief barbarities exercised: skinning alive, cutting off hands, taking out the bowels, cutting off the head, cutting off the eyes, beheading, lopping off feet, having the limbs bones, pouring melted lead into the head, felling to perpetual banishment, hanging, stabbing, &c. &c.

The Cossacks taking advantage of the devotions which had been made in the country, and of its incapability of defence, entered it with a considerable army, and, like a flood, bore down all before them. Everything they met with was destroyed, every object of distraction, every scared cities, demolished castles, ruined fortresses, sacked towns, burnt villages, and murdered people. The ministers of the gospel were peculiarly marked out as the objects of their displeasure, though every worthy Christian was liable to the effects of their barbarity.

Whenever Lithuania recovered itself after one persecution, succeeding enemies again destroyed it. The Swedes, the Prussians, and the Courlanders, carried fire and sword through it, and continual calamities, for some years, attended that unhappy district. It was then attacked by the prince of Transylvania, who had in his army, exclusive of his own Transylvanians, Hungarians, Moldavians, Servians, Walachians, &c. &c. &c. as far as they penetrated, wasted the country, destroyed the churches, rifled the nobility, burnt the houses, murdered the sick, and left the country desolate.

A clergyman, who wrote an account of the misfortunes of Lithuania, in the seventeenth century, saith, "In consideration of these extremities, we cannot but adore the judgment of God poured upon us for our sins, and
and deplore our sad condition. Let us hope for a deliv-
erance from his mercy, and with for restitution in his
benevolence. Though we are brought low, though we
are wafted, troubled, and terrified, yet his compassion
is greater than their calamities, and his goodness superior
to our afflictions. Our neighbours hate us at present, as
much as our more distant enemies did before: they per-
fecute the remnant of us still remaining, deprive us
of our few churches left, banish our preachers, abuse our
schoolmasters, treat us with contempt, and oppress us
in the most odious manner. In all our afflictions
the truth of the gospel shine among us, and gave us
comfort: and we only wished for the grace of Jesus
Christ, (not only to ourselves, but to refresh the
hearts of our enemies) and the sympathy of our fellow
Christian.""
ADRIAN CHALINSKY - PROTESTANT
CLERGYMAN, Roasted Alive by a slow Fire,
in the Great Dutchy of Lithuania.
PERSECUTIONS IN ABYSSINIA, TURKEY, GEORGIA, &c. 937

Such was the rage of this persecution, that, during the last four years, no less than 20,570 Christians were sufferer. The public profanation of Christianity was prohibited under pain of death, and the churches were shut up by an express order. Several were informed against, as privately profaning Christianity, suffered martyrdom with great barbarity.

The persecution continued many years, when the remnant of the innumerable Christians, with which Japan abounded, to the number of 37,000 souls, retired to the town of Battle of Sinibans, in the island of Xinga, where they determined to make a stand, to continue in their faith, and to defend themselves to the very last extremity of all.

Hereupon the Japanese army pursued the christians, and laid siege to the place. The christians defended themselves with great bravery, and held it for the space of three months, but were at last compelled to surrender, when men, women, and children, were indiscriminately murdered; and Christianity, in its martyrs, entirely extirpated from Japan.

It was on the 12th of April, 1638, that this event took place, since which period no christians but the Dutch are allowed to land in the empire, and even they are obliged to conduct themselves with the greatest precaution, and to carry on their commerce with the utmost circumspection and care.

SUMMARY of the PERSECUTIONS and OPPRESSIONS of the CHRISTIANS in ABYSSINIA, ETIOPIA.

About the conclusion of the fifteenth century, and soon after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, some Portuguese missionaries made a voyage to Abyssinia, and were indefatigable in propagating the Roman Catholic doctrine among the Abyssinians, who professed Christianity before the arrival of the infidels.

Now the priests, employed in this mission, gained such influence at court, that the emperor conferred absolution on the established rites of the Ethiopian church, and admitted those of Rome. He soon after conferred a patriarchate from Rome, and to acknowledge the pope's supremacy.

Several of the most powerful lords, and a majority of the people who professed the primitive Christianity, as it was established in Abyssinia, opposed these innovations, and took up arms against the emperor. Thus, by the arrest of the court of Rome, and its eminaries, a most furious civil war was begun, and the whole empire thrown into commotion. This war was carried on through several reigns, it's continuance being above two hundred years, and the court constantly lying in war with the Roman catholics, the primitive christians of Abyssinia were severely persecuted, and multitudes perished by the most inhuman methods.

SUMMARY of the PERSECUTIONS and OPPRESSIONS against the CHRISTIANS in TURKEY.

The great impostor, Mahomet, in the infancy of his new religion, tolerated Christianity through a political motive, as he was sensible, that even in those early times it had several powerful enemies among the princes, who were his contemporaries. As a proof that this was his sole view, as soon as he found he was established in his dominions, he altered his forbearance to a system of the most rigid and barbarous persecution; which diabolical plan he has particularly recommended to his misguided followers, in the art of his Alcoran, intituled, The Chapter of the Sword; and the proofs of the blind and violent foibles which have adopted from his infernal tenets, the many bloody battles of the Turks with the whole of the professors of Christ's gospel, and their cruel massacres of them at various periods, sufficiently evince.

In the year 1452, Conflantinople, by Mahomet the Second, with an army of 300,000 men, when, after a bloody siege of about six weeks, on the 29th of May, 1453, it fell into the hands of the infidels, and became an imperial chrished, in some centuries; and the Turks have, to this day, retained possession of it, as well as of the adjoining fur-burb of Pera.

The Turks, on entering Conflantinople, exercised on the wretched christians the most unrelenting barbarity, destroying them by every method the most hellish cruelty could invent, or the most unfeeling heart practice: some they roasted alive on spits; others they flayed alive, and in that horrid manner left to expire with hunger: many were skinned, and others torn to pieces by hordes. For full three days and nights the Turks were framing to exceed each other in the exercise of their shocking carnage, and savage barbarity; murdering, without distinction of age or sex, all they met, and brutally violating the chastity of women, of every age and distinction.

About the year 1529, Solyman the Fifth reverted Buda from the christians, and showed the most horrible persecution of the inhabitants; some had their eyes torn out, others their hands, ears, and noses cut off, and the children their privities, the virgins were deflowered, the matrons had their breasts cut off, and such that were pregnant had their wombs cut open, and their unborn babes thrown into the flames. Not content with this, he repeated these horrid examples all the way on his march to Vienna, which he insensibly befell, during which, this diabolical barbarian, having made a body of christians prisoners, he sent three of them into the city to beg for mercy, but the rest he ordered to be torn limb from limb by wild horses in flight of their christian brethren, who could only lament by their cries and tears the dreadful fate of these poor sufferers.

The tender children were frequently in flight of the Turks were branded torn to pieces by beasts, some dragged at horses heels, some famished with hunger, and others buried up to their necks in earth, and in that manner left to perish. In short, were we to relate the innumerable massacres and deplorable tragedies acted by the infidels, the particulars would at least make a volume of themselves, and from their horrid familiarity be not only shocking, but disfiguring to any reader of sensibility.

The several PERSECUTIONS and OPPRESSIONS in GEORGIA, and MINGRELIA.

The inhabitants of Georgia are christians, and being very handome people, the Turks and Persians perfecute them by the most cruel mode of taxation ever invented, viz. in lieu of money, they compel them to deliver up their children for the following motives, viz.

The females to increase the number of concubines in the seraglios; to serve as maids of honour to sultanas, the ladies of bathaws, &c. and to be sold to merchants of different nations. The males, who when whole, are proportioned to the beauty of the purchased fair one.

The males are used as mutes and curmuds in the seraglios, as clerks in the offices of state, and as soldiers in the army.

To the west of Georgia is Mingrelia, a country likewise inhabited by christians, who are perfecuted and oppressed in the same manner as the Georgians by the Turks and Persians, their children being extorted from them, or they murdered for refusing to consent to the fate.

The several PERSECUTIONS and OPPRESSIONS to the STATES of BARBARY.

The christians are treated in Algiers with particular severity; as the Algerines are some of the most perfidious, as well as the most cruel of all the inhabitants of...
of Barbary. By paying a most exorbitant fine, some christians are allowed the title of Free Christians; and these are permitted to dress in the fashion of their respective countries, but the christian slaves are obliged to wear a coarse grey suit, and a leashman's cap.

The following are the various punishments among the Algerines:

1. If they join any of the natives in open rebellion, they are strangled with a bow-string, or hanged on an iron hook.
2. If they speak against Mahomet, they must either turn Mahometans, or be impaled alive.
3. If they turn christians again, after having changed to the Mahometan persuasion, they are roasted alive, or thrown into the fire, having their ears, hands, and legs lashed upon hooks, where they hang in a miserable manner several days, and expire in the most exquisite tortures.
4. If they kill a Turk, they are burnt.
5. If ever they attempt to escape from slavery, and are re-taken, they suffer death in the following manner, which is equally singular and brutal: the criminal is hung naked on a high gallows, by two hooks, one fastened quite through the palm of one hand, and the other through the sole of the opposite foot, where he is left till death relieves him from his cruel sufferings.

The several other punishments, for trifling crimes committed by the christians, are left to the discretion of the respective judges, who being usually of malicious and vindictive dispositions, decree tortures the most inhuman.

At Tunis, if a christian slave is caught in attempting to escape, his limbs are all broken; and if he murders his master, he is fastened to the tail of a horse, and dragged about the streets till he expires.

Fez and Morocco conjointly form an empire, and are together the most considerable of the Barbary states. In this empire christian slaves are treated with the greatest cruelty: the rich have vast cargoes laced upon them; the poor are hard worked, and half starved, and sometimes murdered by the emperor, or their masters, for mere diversion.

Curious VIEW of the PERSECUTIONS in SPANISH AMERICA.

The fangous tenets of the Roman catholick persuasion, and the cruel disposition of the vortaries of that church, cannot be more amply displayed, or truly depicted, than by giving an authentic and simple narrative of the horrid barbarities exercised by the Spaniards on the innocent and unoffending natives of America. Indeed, the barbarities were such, that they scarce seemed credible from their enormity; and the particulars are so many, that they would flatter belief by their numbers, if the facts were not indisputably ascertained, and the circumstances admitted by their own writers, some of whom have even gloried in their inhumanity; and, as Roman catholics, deemed those atrocious actions meritorious, which would make a proficient butcher in rectitude. In 1492, the Well-Indies, and the vast continent of America, were discovered by that celebrated navigator Christopher Columbus. This distinguished commander landed first in the large island of St. Domingo, or Hispaniola, which was at that time exceedingly populous; but this population was of very little consequence, the

inoffensive inhabitants being mulcted by multitudes, as soon as the Spaniards gained a permanent footing in the island. Besides the christian bloody bigotry, and cruel avarice rendered that, in the course of years, a dismal desart, which, at the arrival of the Spaniards, seemed to appear as an earthly paradise; so that at present there scarce remains a remnant of the ancient natives.

The natives of Guatemala, a country of America, were used with great barbarity. They were formerly active and valiant, but from ill-usage and oppression grew thraldom, and so dispirited, that they not only trembled at the sight of fire-arms, but even at the very look of a Spaniard. Some were so plunged into despair, that after returning home from labouring hard for their cruel task-masters; and receiving only contemptuous language and stripes for their pains, they hung themselves in their cabins, with a full resolution to prefer death to such slavery; and, in the bitterness of their anguish, have relapsed all suffrenence, thus expired.

The vindictive and methodical Spaniards by repeated barbarities, and the most execrable cruelties, not only depopulated Hispaniola, Porto-Rico, Cuba, Jamaica, and the Bahama islands, but in the space of 40 years, destroyed above 12,000,000 of souls upon the continent of America.

Not only innumerable were the cruel methods by which they massacred and butchered the poor natives, but likewise of the most diabolical nature.

Thus the Spaniards stripped a large and very populous town of all its inhabitants, whom they drove to the mines, leaving all the children behind them, without the least idea of providing for their subsistence, while the inhuman proceeding fix thousand helpless infants perished for want.

As soon as the people of any town had the reputation of being rich, an order was immediately sent, that every person in it should immediately turn Roman catholics; if this was not directly complied with, the town was instantly plundered, and the inhabitants murdered; and if it was complied with, a pretence was soon after made to strip the inhabitants of their treasuries.

One of the Spanlish governors having seized upon a very worthy and amiable Indian prince, in order to extort from him where his treasures were concealed, cauased his feet to be burnt till the marrow dropped from his bones, and he expired through the extremity of the torment he underwent.

During the interval, i.e. between the years 1545 and 1547, the governor of Terra Firme put to death, and destroyed, 800,000 of the inhabitants of that country.

Also between the years 1523 and 1533, five hundred thousand natives of Nicaragua were transported to Fens, where they all perished by incessant labour in the mines.

During the space of twelve years, from the first landing of Cortez on the continent of America, to the entire reduction of the populous empire of Mexico, the amazing number of 4,000,000 of Mexicans perished through the unparalleled barbarity of the Spaniards. To come to particulars, the city of Cholula consisted of 30,000 houses, by which its great population may be imagined. The Spaniards seized on all the inhabitants, who refusing to turn Roman catholics, as they did not know the meaning of the religion they were ordered to embrace, the Spaniards put them all to death, cutting to pieces the lower sort of people, and burning those of distinction.

C H A P. V.

Containing a Copious ACCOUNT of the Several PERSECUTIONS and OPPRESSIONS in GREAT-BRITAIN and IRELAND.

GILDAS, the most ancient British writer extant, who lived about the time that the Saxons left this island, has drawn a most shocking instance of the barbarity of those people. This author informs us, that the Saxons, on their arrival, being heathens like the Picts and Scots, destroyed the churches and murdered the clergy wherever they came; but they could not forgo the fertility of their country, and murder the natives like the rest of the British people.
This above is a representation of the poisoning of King John, by a monk of Swinested Abbey in Lincolnshire, A.D. 1216.
The execution of the English Protestants hanged, drawn, and quartered in the reign of Henry IV, who were burnt on Gibbet Hill in the Fields near London, where St. Giles's Church, now stands.
The Bones & Ashes of the Rev. Mr. John Wickliff, Minister of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, Burnt one thrown into the River. 14 Years after his Death.

Divers kinds of Tortures exercised on the Primitive Martyrs, during the 1st Roman Persecution particularly in Alexandria, A.D.

The Martyrdom of Mr. John Scherter, who was also cruelly persecuted by the Popists.
An ACCOUNT of the PERSECUTIONS in GREAT-BRITAIN.

the Saxon yoke, went and refixed beyond the Severn.
Neither have we the names of those christian sufferers transferred to us, except by some of the clergy.
The massacre of the monks of Bangor, as D. 366, was the most dreadful instance of barbarity under the Saxon government. These monks were in all respects different from those men who bear the same name at present.
The Danes, a roving crew of barbarians, landed in different parts of Britain, both in England and Scotland, in the 8th century. They were at first repulsed, but in A. D. 857, a party of them landed somewhere near Southampton, and not only robbed their people, but murdered the clergy, and burnt seven in the church.
These barbarians penetrated into the center of England, and took up their quarters at Nottingham in 868; but the English, under their king Ethelfrid, drove them from those parts, and obliged them to retire to Yorkshire.
About 870, another body of these barbarians landed in Norfolk, and engaged in battle with the English at Hertford. Victory declared in favor of the pagans, who took Edmund, king of the East Angles, prisoner, and after treating him with a thousand indignities, trans- formed him into the devil, and then beheaded him.
They burnt many of the churches, and sold the reft that belonging to the Culdees, at St. Andrew's in Fifehre, in Scotland. The piety of these men made them objects of abhorrence to the Danes, who, wherefore, flogged the christian priests for def- truction of, whom no less than 200 were massacred in Scotland.
Thus it was in that part of Ireland now called Lein- feir; there the Danes murdered and burnt the priests alive in their own churches; they carried destruclion along with them wherever they went, sparing neither age nor sex, but the clergy were the most obnoxious to them, because they ridiculed their idolatry, and perfidied their people to have nothing to do with them.
About the reign of Edward III. the church of England was extremely corrupted with errors and superstition, and the light of the gospel of Christ was greatly eclipsed and darkened with human inventions, burthen- some ceremonies, and gross idolatry.
All the followers of Wickliffe, then called Lollards, were more extremely numerous, and the clergy were vexed to the highest degree. Whatever power of influence they might have to molest them in an undignified manner, they had no authority by law to put them to death. However, the clergy embraced the favourable opportunity, and prevailed upon the king to suffer a bill to be brought into the Parliament, by which all Lollards who re- mained obstinate, should be delivered over to the civil power, and burnt as heretics. This act was the first in this island for the burning of people for their religious sentiments; it paffed in the year 1401, and was soon put into execution.
William Santre or Sawtreye, was the first person who suffered in consequence of this cruel act; he was a priest, and was burnt to death in Smithfield.
A short time after this, lord Cobham, in consequence of his attachment to the doctrines of Wickliffe, was ac- cused of heresy, and being condemned to be hanged and burnt, was accordingly executed in Lincoln's-In- fields, A. D. 1419.
Thomas Badley, a taylor, and a layman, was the next man who suffered under this bloody statute; and a letter having been tendered to him, which he refused, he was declared an obstinate heretic, and tied to the stake in Smithfield; where he was burnt alive, rejoicing in the Lord his God.
William Thorpe was the next person we read of who was tried upon this abominable statute; he was a man of some knowledge, who adhered to all the doctrines taught by Wickliffe. He was brought many times before archbishop Arundel, and at last committed a close pri- vate, where he died, but in what manner cannot now be ascertained.
At this time 36 persons, denominated Lollards, suf- fered death in St. Giles's, for no other reason than professing their attachment to the doctrines of Wick- liffe. They were hung on gibbets, and faggots being placed under them, as soon as they were suspended, fire was let to them, so that they were burnt while hanging. Only one of their names has been transmitted to us, which is that of Richard, an archer, whom they distinguis- hed from the rest by stripping him naked, and execut- ing him in that indecent manner.
About the same time one Richard Turner was burned alive in Smithfield, and suffered with all that con- stancy, fortitude, and reformation, which have so much dishonored the primitive church of Christ.
Abraham, a monk of Colchester, Milburn White, a priest, and John Wade, a priest, were all three apprehended on a charge of heresy, in 1428.
A short time after Abraham suffered at Col- chester, and with him Whaddon; both of whom died in a constant adherence to the truth of the gospel. Milburn White and John Wade suffered also about the same time in London.
About the year 1430, Richard Ivedon, a wool-com- ber, and a citizen of London, was brought before the archbishop, and being declared an obstinate heretic, was burnt alive on Tower-hill, for no other reason than he embraced and professed the doctrines of Wick- liffe.
About the year 1431, Thomas Bagley, a priest, who had a living near Marden, in Essex, was brought before the bishop of London, and being declared an obstinate heretic, was condemned and burnt alive in Smith- field.
About the year 1439, Richard Wick, a priest, was burnt alive on Tower-hill, for preaching the doctrines of Wickliffe.
About 1440, some of the greatest persons in the kingdom were condemned to perpetual imprisonment for heresy, as being Lollards; among whom was the du- chess of Gloucester, who had long been a follower of Wickliffe. It is not otherwise, however, with Roger Only, a priest, who being condemned as an obstinate heretic, was burnt alive in Smithfield.
One Thomas Granter was apprehended in London, August, 1433; he was accused of professing the doc- trines of Wickliffe, for which he was condemned as an obstinate heretic. This pious man was brought to the sheriff's house, on the morning of the day appointed for his execution, defied a little refreshment, and having eaten some, he said to the people present, "I eat now a very good meal, for I have a strange conflict to engage with before I go; and having eaten, he re- turned thanks to God for the bounty of his providence, requesting that he might be infantly led to the place of execution, to bear testimony to the truth of those principles which he had professed. Accord- ingly he was chained to a flake on Tower-hill, where he was burnt alive, professing the truth with his last breath.
Joan Boughton, a lady of considerable rank, was burnt in Smithfield for professing the doctrines of Wickliffe, April 28th, 1494. This lady was no less than 82 years of age, and found the scaffold.
The king being at Canterbury, in 1498, a priest was brought before him, accused of heresy, who was im- mediately ordered to be burnt alive.
About the year 1499, one Babram, a pious man, was brought before the bishop of Norwich, having been ac- cused by some of the priests, with holding the doctrines of Wickliffe. He confessed he did believe every thing that was objected against him. For this, he was con- demned as an obstinate heretic, and a warrant was grant- ed for his execution; accordingly he was brought to the stake at Norwich, where he suffered with great con- stancy.
One William Tillyer, a pious man, was burnt alive at Amerham, in a close called Stoney-prat, in 1506, and at the same time, his daughter, Joan Clarke, a mar- ried woman, was obliged to light the faggots that were to burn her father.
Also this year one father Roberts, a priest, was con- victed.
victed of being a Lollard before the bishop of Lincoln, and burnt alive at Buckingham.

One Thomas Norris was burned alive for the testimony of the truth of the gospel, at Norwich, in 1507. This man was a poor, inoffensive, harmless person, but his parish priest converting him one day, conjectured he was a Lollard. In consequence of this suspicion he gave information to the bishop, and Norris was apprehended.

One Lawrence Gualo, who had been kept in prison two years, was burnt alive at Salisbury in 1508, for denying the real presence in the sacrament. It appeared, that the priest in Salisbury had entertained some Lollards in his house; or which he was informed against the bishop; but he abode by his first testimony, and was condemned to suffer as an heretic.

Also a pious woman was burnt at Chippen Sudbourne, by order of the chancellor, Doctor Whitham. After she had been confounded in the flames, and the people were retreating home, a bull broke loose from a butcher, and flogging out the chancellor from all the rest of the company, he gored him through the body, and on his horns carried his entrails. This was seen by all the people, and it is remarkable, that the animal did not meddle with any other person whatsoever. Sutchill and John Bannister, who had formerly recanted, returned again to the profession of the faith, and were burnt alive in Smithfield, Oct. 18, 1511.

About the year 1517, one John Brown, (who had recanted before in the reign of Henry VII, and burnt a faggot round St. Paul's,) was condemned by Dr. Wonham, archbishop of Canterbury, and burnt alive at Alford. Before he was chained to the flake, the archbishop Wonham, and Yeiter, bishop of Rochester, cautioned his feet to be burnt in a fire till all the flesh came off, even to the bones. This was done in order to make him against the laity, but he perfumed in his attachment to the truth till the last.

Also about this time one Richard Humn, a merchant taylor of the city of London, was apprehended, having refused to pay the priest his fees for the funeral of a child; and being conveyed to the Lollards Tower, in the palace of Lambeth, was there privately murdered by some servants of the archbishop.

On September 24, 1518, John Stillicen, who had before recanted, was apprehended, brought before Richard Fitz-James, bishop of London, and on the 25th of October was condemned as an heretic. He was chained to the flake in Smithfield amidst a vast crowd of declarators, and feared his testimony to the truth with his blood. He declared that he was a Lollard, and that he had always believed the opinions of Wickliffe; and although he had been weak enough to recant his opinions, yet he was now willing to convince the world that he was ready to die for the truth.

Thomas Mann was burnt in Smithfield, in 1519, as was one Robert Celin, a plain honest man, for speaking against image worship and pilgrimages.

Also about this time, was executed in Smithfield, in London, James Brewter, a native of Colchester. His sentiments were the same as the rest of the Lollards, or those who followed the doctrine, which was the simplicity of his life, and the regularity of his manners, he was obliged to submit to papal revenge.

The same year, one Chriftopher, a shoemaker, was burnt alive at Newbury, in Berkshire, for denying those popish articles which we have already mentioned. His manner had got some formes in English, which were sufficient to render him obnoxious to the Romish clergy.

Thomas Bernard was burnt alive at Norwich in 1521, for denying the real presence.

In the beginning of the year 1522, Mr. Wightham, a glover; Mr. Langdale, a tailor; Thomas Bond, Robert Harchets, and William Archer, shoemaker, with Mrs. Smith, a widow, were apprehended on Ash Wednesday, and committed to prison. After examination, the bishop of Litchfield declared them to be heretics, and they were all condemned and burnt alive at Coventry.

Robert Silks, who had been condemned in the Bishop's court as an heretic, made his escape out of prison, but was taken two years afterwards, and brought back to Coventry, where he was burnt alive. The thief, who always had a great regard at Chesterton and near Bosley; and when they had set fire to the flake, one of the speculators dashed out his brains with a billet. The priests told the people, that whoever brought faggots to burn heretics would have an indulgence to confess sins for forty days.

About the latter end of this year, Worham, archbishop of Canterbury, apprehended one Hitten, a priest, at Maidstone; and after he had been long tortured in prison, and several times examined by the archbishop, and Hitter, bishop of Rochester, he was condemned as an heretic, and burnt alive before the door of his own parish church.

One Thomas Blinie, prebend of civil law, at Cambridge, was brought before the bishop of London, and several other bishops, in the Chapter-house, Welfhmidt, and being several times threatened with the flake and flames, he was weak enough to recant; but he repented afterwards.

On this account he was brought before the bishop second time, and condemned to death. Before he went to the flake he confessed his adherence to those opinions, which Luther held; and, when at it, he limeted, and said, "I have had many forms in this world, but now my vellon will foon be on fire in heaven. He fldued me as a heretic in the flames, crying out, 'I fiuf, I believe, and these were theFa words he was heared to utter.

Some few weeks after Blinie had suffered, Richard Byfield was cast into prison, and endured some whippings, for his adherence to the doctrines of Luther; this Mr. Byfield had been some time a monk, at Barnes, in Surrey, but was converted, by reading Tindal's version of the New Testament. The sufferings this man underwent for the truth were so great, that it would require a volume to contain them. Sometimes he was shut up in a dungeon, where he was almost suffocated by the offensive and horrid smell of fang and flagranted water. In other times he was tied up by the arms, when he was taken and unconnected with his sufferings at the pole, several times, till scarce any flesh was left on his back; and all this was done to make him recant. He was then taken to the Lollards' Tower in Lambeth palace, where he was chained by the neck to the wall, and once every day beaten in the most cruel manner by the archbishop, till the last he was condemned, degraded, and burnt in Smithfield.

John Tekewbury was the next person that suffered. This was a plain simple man, who had been guilty of no other offence, against what was called the holy yonly church, than that of reading Tindal's translation of the New Testament. At first he was wight enough to sign, but afterwards repented, and acknowledged the truth. For this he was brought before the bishop of London who condemned him as an obstinate heretic. He suffered greatly during the time of his imprisonment, that when they brought him out to execute him with the flake in Smithfield, he was burned, declaring his utter abhoration of popery, and professing a firm belief that he cauf was just in the right of God.

About this time Valentine Treeve, and his wife, were apprehended in Yorkshire, and having been examined by the archbishop, were deemed obstinate heretics, and burnt.

James Baynham was the next person that suffered in this reign, a reputable citizen in London, who had married the widow of a gentleman in the Temple. The bishop of Litchfield declared the flake he embraced the fugitives, and also.
View of the Inside of LOLLARD's TOWER with the manner of torturing the PROTESTANTS by Order of BISHOP RONNER during the Reign of Queen Mary.
Oh, ye papists, behold! ye look for miracles; here now may ye see a miracle; for in this fire I feel no more pain than if I were in bed; for it is as sweet to me as a bed of roses." Thus he resigned his soul into the hands of the gentleman. A short time after the death of this martyr, one Trelnel, an insignificant countryman, was burned alive at Bradfield, in Wiltshire, because he would not acknowledge the real presence in the sacrament, nor own the papal form of prayers of men. John Trith, a noted martyr, died for the truth, in the year 1553. When he was brought to the stake in Smithfield, he embraced the faggots, and exhorted a young man, named Andrew Hewit, who suffered with him, to reflect his case to a God who had redeemed it. Both therefore endured much torment, for the wind blew the flames away from them, so that they were above two hours in agony before they expired.

About the latter end of this year, one Mr. Thomas Barnett, a school-master, was apprehended at Exeter, and being brought before the bishop, refused to recant his opinions, for which he was delivered over to the secular power, and burned alive near that city.

One Collins, a madman, suffered death with his dog in Smithfield, in 1538. The circumstances were as follow: Collins was to be in church when they were lighted the brazier; and Collins, in derision of the face of the mass, lifted up his dog above his head. For this crime Collins, who ought to have been sent to a madhouse, or whipped at the cart's tail, was brought before the bishop of London; and although he was really mad, he was brought to the flames, and publicly scourged in church and street, that the poor madman, and his dog, were both carried to the stake in Smithfield, where they were burned to ashes, amidst a vast crowd of spectators.

This year also some other persons suffered, of whom we shall take notice in the order they lie before us.

There was one Cowbridge suffered at Oxford; and although he was reputed to be a madman, yet he thieved great signs of piety when he was smitten to the stake, and after the flames were kindled around him.

About the same time one Pudarve was put to death, for lying privately to a priest, after he had drank the wine, "He blessed the hungry people with the empty chalice."

Also about the same time was condemned William Leiton, a monk of great age, in the county of Suffolk, who was burned at Norwich for speaking against an idol that was carried in procession; and for afflicting, that the sacrament should be administered in both kinds.

A short time before the burning of these men, Nicholas Peke was executed at Norwich; and when the fire was lighted, he was so scorched that he was as black as pitch. Dr. Reading flaying before him with Dr. Heanes, and Dr. Spragewell, having a long white wand in his hand, struck him upon the right shoulder, and said, Peke, recant, and return to the church. To this he answered, "I despise thee and all thee," and with great violence he spit blood, occasioned by the anguish of his sufferings. Dr. Reading granted forty days indulgence for the sufferer, in order that he might recant; but he persisted in his adherence to the truth, without paying any regard to the adverse of his enemies; and he was burned alive, rejoicing that Christ had counted him worthy to suffer for his name’s sake.

On July 28, 1549, or 1547, (for the chronology differs) Thomas Cranmer, earl of Essex, was burned to a scaffold on Tower-hill, where he was executed with some striking instances of cruelty. He made a short speech to the people, and then meekly resigned himself to the fire.

Certainly this nobleman is ranked among the martyrs with great propriety; for although the accusations preferred against him did not relate to any thing in religion, yet had it not been for his zeal to demolish popery, he might have to the last retained the king’s favour. To this may be added, that the papists plotted his destruction, for he did more towards promoting the reformation, than any man in that age, except the good Dr. Cranmer.

A short time after the execution of Cromwell, Dr. Cuthbert Barnes, Thomas Garnet, and William Jerome, were brought before the ecclesiastical court of the bishop of London, and accused of hereby.

When before the bishop of London, Dr. Barnes was asked whether the pains favored us? To this he answered, that he would leave that to God; but (said he) I will pray for you.

These men were brought from the Tower to Smithfield, on the 13th of July, 1541, where they were all chained to one stake; and there suffered death with a constancy that nothing less than a firm faith in Jesus Christ could have supported.

There was one Thomas Sommers, an honest merchant, with three others, was thrown into prison, for reading some of Luther’s books; and they were condemned to carry those books to a fire in Cheapside; they were to throw them into the flames; but Sommers threw his over, for which he was sent back to the Tower, where he was flayed to death.

Horrid perfections were at this time carried on at Lincoln, under Dr. Longland, the bishop of that dioce.

At Buckingham, Dr. Bainard, and James Moreton, the one a preacher, and the other a reader of the Lord’s prayer in English, and the other for reading St. James’s epistles in English, were both condemned, and burned alive.

Altho’ Parsons, a priest, together with two others, were sent to Winford, to be examined concerning hereby; and several articles were tendered to them to subscribe, which they refused. This was carried on by the bishop of Salisbury, who was the most violent persecutor of any in that age, except Bumper. When they were brought to the stake, Parsons asked for some drink, which being brought him, he drank to his few full-fewers, saying, “Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hearts to God; for after this sharp break fast I trust we shall have a good dinner in the kingdom of Christ, our Lord and Redeemer. At these words Eastwood, one of the sufferers, lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, defying the Lord above to receive his spirit. Parsons pulled the straw near to him, and then laid to the spectators, This is God’s armour, and now I am a Christian soldier prepared for battle: I look for no mercy but through the merits of Christ; he is my only Saviour, in him do I trust for salvation; and soon after the fire was lighted which burned their bodies, but could not hurt their precious and immortal souls. Their constancy triumphed over cruelty, and their sufferings will be held in everlasting remembrance.

One Sir Thomas Wiltts, was, by order of bishop Gardiner, hanged in Southwark, in 1546, without a council process; and all that was alleged against him was, that of reading Tindal’s New Testament.

Also this year one Kirby was burned at Ipswich, for the same tenets and truth, for denying the real presence in the sacrament. When this martyr was brought to the stake, he said to one Mr. Wingfield, who attended him, “Ah! Mr. Wingfield, be at my death, and you shall see, there standeth a christian sufferer in the fire.”

PARTICULARS of a Horrid PLOT, in the Reign of KING CHARLES II, conspired by the PAPISTS, for Destroying the CITY of LONDON by FIRE.

PROVOKED by revenge, and prompted by the force of infernal principles, the papists still dedicated their thoughts to every machination their intellect could project, to obtain the will’d for purposes, namely, the destruction of the protestants in this land.

At length having failed in several efforts, they believed themselves of a scheme for destroying the capital of the kingdom, which they flattered themselves 10
might be productive of facilitating their further intentions of extirpating the protestants, and, once more, establishing popery in the English dominions.

Notwithstanding this scheme, in some measure, took place, yet it was not productive of the consequences they hoped and wished for. A great part of the city was, indeed, destitute, the melancholy particulars of which will be found from the London Gazette, published a few days after:

"Whitehall, Sept. 8, 1666."

"On the second instat, at one o'clock in the morning, there happened to burst out a fire and deplorable fire, at a baker's, in the King's Bench Walk. About that hour of the night, and in the quarter of the town so close built with wooden pitched houses, spread itself so far before day, and with such distraction to the inhabitants and neighbours, that care was not taken for the timely preventing the further diffusion of it, by pulling down the houses, as ought to have been; so that this lamentable fire, in a short time, became too big to be mastered by any engines, or working near it. It fell out most unhappily too, that a violent easterly wind fomented it, and kept it burning all that day, and the night following, spreading itself up to Gracechurch-Court, and down to Cannon-street the River-side, as far as the Three Cranes in the Vintry.

"The people, in all parts about it, were distracted by the vastness of it, and their particular care to carry away their goods. Many attempts were made to prevent the spreading of it; but in vain not the slightest effect in so great intervals, but all in vain, the fire feasting upon the timber and rubbish, and so continuing itself even through those spaces, and raging in a bright flame all Monday and Tuesday, notwithstanding his majesty's own, and his royal highness's indefatigable and personal pains to apply all possible remedies to prevent it, calling upon the people with their guards, and a great number of nobility and gentry unwearied afflicting therein, for which they were requited with a thousand blessings from the poor distressed people.

"By the favour of God, the fire flackened a little on Tuesday night, and the flames meeting with brick buildings at the Temple, by little and little it was observed to lose its force on that side, so that on Wednesday morning we began to hope, and his royal highness never despairing, or flackening his personal care, wrought so well that day, afflicting in some parts by the lords of the council before and behind it, that a drop of water was saved; the Temple bridge, Pocorner, Aldersgate, Cripplegate, near the lower end of Coleman-street, in the end of Basinghall-street, by the Pater, at the upper end of Bishopsgate-street, and Leadenhall-street, at the standard in Cornhill, at the church in Fenchurch-street, near Clerks' gateway, in the middle of the Market, and at the Tower-deck.

"On Thursday, by the bellowing of God, it was wholly beat down and extinguished. But so as that evening it unhappily burst out again afresh at the Temple, by the falling of some sparks (as is supposed) upon a pile of wood by the Royal Exchange, our Holiness there that whole night in person, by the great labours and diligence used, and especially by applying powder, to blow up the houses about it, before day most happily quenched it.

"His majesty then fat hourly in council, and ever five or six continued making rounds about the city, in all parts of it where the danger and mischief was the greatest, till this morning that he hath sent his grace the Duke of Albemarle, whom he hath called for to assist him on this great occasion, to put his happy and successful hand to the finishing this memorable deliverance.

"During the progress of this dreadful conflagration, orders were given for pulling down various houses in the Tower of London, in order to preserve the grand magazine of gunpowder in that fortress; to the preservation of which, the violent easterly wind contributed more than the precaution."

Many thousands of citizens, who, by this calamity, were deprived of their habitations, retired to their fields, destitute of all necessaries, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather, till a sufficient number of huts could be erected for their relief. In order to mitigate the distresses of the people, his majesty ordered a great quantity of money to be advanced among them; and issued a proclamation, commanding the magistrates of the city to encourage the bringing of all kinds of provisions.

By the certificate of Jonas Moore and Ralph Graft, the surveyors appointed to examine the ruins, it appeared, that this disastrous fire, in the 973 acres of ground within the walls, and burnt 3,240 houses, besides chapels; and that eleven parli church within the walls were left standing.

This account may also be added the magnificent buildings of St. Paul's cathedral, Guildhall, the Royal Exchange, Cornhill, Old Change, Black-bell; many hospitals and libraries, fifty-two halls of the city companies, and a great number of other edifices, together with three of the city gates, and the prisons of Newgate, the Fleet, the Fournery and Wood-fleet Compters; the loss of which, by the butt calculations, amounts to hundreds of thousands of livings. And notwithstanding all this destruction, yet only fixed persons lost their lives.

Various were the conjectures of the people on the cause of this singular calamity; at first some imagined it to be causal, but from a train of circumstances, it appeared to have been wrought without the malice and horrid contrivances of the papists. Some affected persons were taken into custody; but no positive proof being produced against them, they were discharged.

Though this diabolical scheme took place, in a great measure, the wrath of the threatened contrivers, yet, instead of being prejudicial, it was productive of the most happy consequences to the metropolis. It certainly, for a time, occasioned the most distinguishing distresses to the inhabitants, but it afforded an opportunity that never happened before, and, in all human probability, never may again, of refining the city with more uniformity, convenience, and wholesomeness, than could be expected in a town of progressive growth. The streets were before narrow, crooked, and inconvenient; the houses chiefly of wood, dark, close, and ill-ventilated; with several flutters projecting beyond each other, as they rose, over the narrow streets. The fire was overthrown in many parts, and the public benefits, both in the fire and the water, obstructed; and the people breathed a flagrant unwholesome element, replete with foul effluvia, sufficient of itself to generate patrid disorders, and disposed to harbour any pestilential taint it might receive. All these inconveniences were removed, by the streets being made more commodious and the buildings principally formed of brick; so that if, either by accident or otherwise, a fire should happen in future, it's progress would be soon stopped, and the dreadful conflagrations which generally arise from such circumstances rendered trifling.

Besides the conveniences already mentioned, the fire destroyed the vast warehouses of the white cloth, the wool, the linens, and the mourning wares, the most valuable of all merchandise, the most valuable of which is, the extirpation of that contagious and destructive distemper the plague, which, but the year before, had brought thousands to their graves. This horrid disease had made great devastation among the inhabitants, not only of the metropolis, but different parts of the kingdom, at various periods; but, thank God, it's baneful influence has never taken place here since the before-mentioned catastrophe, and there is great reason to suppose that the fire materially contributed to the production of so happy a circumstance.

Inconvenient, however, the remembrance of a singular occurrence, a monument was erected in that part of the city near which the fire began. It is cemented the noblest modern column in the world; and may, in so respects, vie with the most celebrated of antiquity, which are consecrated to the names of Jan and Antonius.
A full ACCOUNT of the PERSECUTION in SCOTLAND during the Reign of King Henry VIII.

PATTERICK Hamilton was the first person we meet with who suffered in Scotland on the occasion; he was a gentleman of independent fortune, and descended from a very ancient and honourable family.

When he had acquired a liberal education, being desirous of further improving himself in useful knowledge, he left Scotland, and went to the University of Wittenberg, in Germany, in order to finish his studies.

During his residence there, he became intimately acquainted with the eminent lights of the gospel, Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon; from whole writings and doctrines he strongly attached himself to the protestant religion.

When the Archbishop of St. Andrew’s (who was a rigid papist) heard of Mr. Hamilton’s proceedings, he caused him to be seized, and being brought before him, after a short examination relative to his religious principles, he committed him a prisoner to the castle, at the same time ordering him to be confined in the most loathsome part of the prison.

Mr. Hamilton the next morning was brought before the bishop, and several others, from among whom the principal articles exhibited against him were, his public disapproving of pilgrimages, purgatory, prayer to saints, and the like, &c.

Mr. Hamilton acknowledged these articles to be true, in consequence of which he was immediately confined to be burnt; and that his condemnation might have the greater authority, they caused it to be subscribed by all those of any note who were present, and to make the number as considerable as possible, even admitted the subscription of boys who were fons of the nobility.

This bigoted and persecuting prelate was so anxious for the destruction of Mr. Hamilton, that he ordered his sentence to be put in execution on the afternoon of the very day it was pronounced. He was accordingly led to the place appointed for the horrid tragedy, and was attended by a prodigious number of spectators.

The greatest part of the multitude would not believe it was intended he should be put to death, but that it was only done to frighten him, and thereby bring him over to embrace the principles of the Romish religion. But they soon found they had mistaken.

As soon as he arrived at the stake he kneeled down, and, for some time, prayed with great fervency. After he was fastened to the stake, and the faggots placed round him. A quantity of gunpowder having been placed, and fastened under him, it was lit on fire, which torched his left hand and one side of his face, but did no material injury, neither did it communicate with the faggots. In consequence of this, more powder and combustible matter was brought, which being set on fire took effect, and the faggots being kindled, he called out, with an audible voice, “Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! How long shall darkness overwhelm this realm? And how long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of these men?”

The fire burning low put him to great torment; but he bore it with Christian magnanimity. What gave him the greatest pain was, the clamour of some wicked men set on by the friars, who frequently cried, “Tum, tum, here he comes!” Call upon lady lay; say, Satan rejoice, &c.

To whom he replied, “Depart from me, and trouble me not, ye meeklings of Satan.” One Campbell, a friar, who was the ringleader, still continuing to interrupt him by opprobrious language; he said to him, “Bonnie Christian is not for you, as you are a dunghill.” After which, being prevented from farther speech by the violence of the inquill, and the rapidity of the flames, he resigned his soul into the hands of him who gave it.

This steadfast believer in Christ suffered martyrdom in the year 1538.

There was one Henry Forret, a young infantine Beneficent, who being charged with speaking respectfully of the above Patrick Hamilton, was thrown into prison; and, in confessing himself to a friar, owned that he thought Hamilton a good man; and that the articles, for which he was sentenced to die, might be defended. This being revealed by the friar, it was received as evidence; and the poor Beneficent was sentenced to be burnt.

A confinement being held, with regard to the manner of his execution, John Lindsay, one of the archbishop’s gentlemen, offered his advice, to burn friar Forret in some cellar; for, said he, the smoke of Patrick Hamilton hath infected all people on whom it blew.

This information was given to the Pope, and the poor victim was rather suffocated than burnt.

David Stratton and Norman Gourlay were the next who fell victims for professing the truth of the gospel.

As soon as they arrived at the fatal spot, they both knelt down, and prayed for some time, with great fervency. They then arose, when Stratton, addressing himself to the spectators, exhorted them to lay aside their superstitious and idolatrous notions, and employ their time in seeking the true light of the gospel. He would have said more, but was prevented by the officers who attended.

Their sentence was then put into execution, and they cheerfully put on the garment of fire. Then it was that the spectators were so much moved, they gave them, hoping, through the merits of the great Redeemer, for a glorious resurrection to life immortal.—They suffered in the year 1539.

The martyrdoms of the two before-mentioned persons were so plain and evident proofs that of Martin Luther, that for a considerable time, had been dean of the Romish church; Killar and Beveridge, two blacksmiths; Duncan Simpson, a priest; and Robert Forrester, a gentleman. They were all burnt together, on the Cattle-hill at Edinburgh, the last day of February, 1538.

The year following the martyrdoms of the before-mentioned persons, viz. 1539, two others were apprehended on a full accusation of heresy; namely, Jerem Rutfel, and Alexander Kennedy, a youth about eighteen years of age. Their execution being by some time confined in prison, were brought before the archbishop for confimation. In the course of which, Rutfel, being a very sensible man, reasoned learnedly against his accusers; while they in return made use of very opprobrious language.

When the examination was over, and both of them deemed heretics, the archbishop pronounced the dreadful sentence of death, and they were immediately delivered over to the secular power in order for execution.

They were led the next day to the place appointed for them to suffer; in their way to which, Rutfel, seeing his fellow-sufferer have the appearance of timidity in his countenance, thus addressed him: “Brother, fear not; greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world. The pain that we are to suffer is short, and shall be light; but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Let us, therefore, strive to enter into our Master and Saviour’s joy, by the same faith way which he hath taken before us. Death cannot hurt us, for it is already destroyed by him, for whose sake we are now going to suffer.”

Being arrived at the fatal spoy, they both knelt down and prayed for some time; after which, being fastened to the stake, and the faggots lighted, they cheerfully resigned their souls into the hands of him who gave them, in full hopes of an everlasting reward in the heavenly mansions.

In the year 1543, the archbishop of St. Andrew’s made a visitation into various parts of his diocese, where several persons were informed against at Perth for heresy. Among those the following were condemned to die, viz. William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Finlayson, James Hunter, James Ravelston, and Helen Stark.

The facts are these, that the accusations laid against these respective persons, viz.

The four first were accused of having hung up the image of St. Francis, nailing rams horns on his head, and fastening a cow’s tail to his rump; but the principal
matter on which they were condemned was, having re-
gated themselves with a goeafe on a fast day.
Alfo James Ravelefon was accufed of having orna-
mented his houfe with the three crowned diadem of Pe-
ter, carved in wood, which the archbishop conceived to 
be done in mockery to his cardinal's cap.
Alfo Helen Stark was acufed of having orna-
cements for a bed being made in the form of the 
Virgin Mary, more efpecially during the time she was in-child-
bed.
They were all found guilty on thefe respective accu-
fations, and immediately received fentence of death; the 
four men for eating the goeafe to be hanged; James Rave-
lefon to be burnt; and the woman, with her flaking 
infants, to be put into a fack, and drowned.
The four men, with the woman and child, fuffered at 
the fame time; but James Ravelefon was not executed 
till fome days after.

Many others, besides the above-mentioned persons, 
were cruelly perfecuted, some being banifhed, and 
others confined in loathome dungeons. Among whom 
were Mr. John Knox, the celebrated Scottifh reformer; 
and John Rogers, a pious and learned man, who 
was murdered in prifon, and his body thrown over the walls 
into the freet; after which a report was spread, that he 
had met with his death by attempting to make his 
ecape.

A full ACCOUNT of the LIFE, SUFFERINGS, and 
DEATH, of MR. GEORGE WISHART, who was 
frangulated, and afterwards burned, in SCOTLAND, for 
profiling the TRUTH of the GOSPEL.

THIS gentleman was born in Scotland, and after re-
cieving a grammatical education at a private school, 
he left that place, and finifhed his studies at the university 
of Cambridge. For the fake of improving himself as much as po-
3sible in the knowledge of literature, he fell into va-
rious parts abroad, where he diftinguifhed himfelf for his 
great learning and abilities, both in philosophy and 
divinity.

Having been fome time abroad he returned to Eng-
land, and took up his residence at Cambridge, where he 
was admitted a member of Bennet college. Having 
acquired the holy orders, and 
taken up his degree, he entered the iffe, and 
expanded the gospel in fo clear and intelligible a man-
ner, as highly to delight his numerous auditors.

Now being defirous of propagating the true gospel in 
his own country, he left Cambridge in 1544, and on his 
arrival in Scotland he firft preached at Montrofe, and 
afterwards at Dunfermline. At this place he made a 
public examination of the epifte to the Romans, which 
his enemy vent with fuch grace and freedom, as 
greatly alarmed the papists.

One Robert Milne, in confequence of this, (at the in-
tifgation of cardinal Beaton, the archbishop of St. 
Andrew's) a principal man of Dundee, went to the church 
where Wishart preached, and in the middle of his dif-
courfe publicly told him not to trouble the town any 
more, for he was determined not to fuffer it.

Such a fudden rebuff greatly furprized Wishart, who, 
after a fort time, looking forrowfully on the fake 
and the audience, faid, "God is my witnefs, that I 
never intended you trouble but your comfort; yes, your 
trouble is more grievous to me than it is to yourselves; 
but I am affured, to refufe God's words, and to chafe 
from you himfelf, shall not preferve you from 
trouble, but fhall bring you into it. For God fhall fenf 
you minifters that fhall neither burn nor banifhment. 
I have offered you the word of falvation. With 
the hazard of my life I have remained among you: now 
you yourselves refufe me; and I must leave my inno-
cence to be declared by my God. If it be going pro-
perous with you, I can not lend our faith on the fpeeck 
but if unfounded trouble come upon you, acknowledge 
the caufe, and turn to God, who is gracious and merci-
ful. But if you turn not at the firft warning, he will
visit you with fire and fword." At the clofe of this 
speech he left the pulpit, and retired.

He went after this into the weft of Scotland, where he 
preached God's word, which was gladly received by 
many.

Some fhort time after this Mr. Wishart received in-
telligence, that the plague was broke out in Dunfermline. It 
began four days after he was prohibited from preaching 
there, and raged to extremely, that it was almost beyond 
credit how many died in the fpace of 24 hours. The 
affiduity being related to him, he, notwithstanding the impa-
riuity of his friends to detain him, determined to go there, 
figuring, "They are now in troubles, and need comfort. 
Perhaps this hand of God will make them now to mag-
ify and reverence the word of God, which before they 
lightly ferved and read." 

Now he was with joy received by the godly. He 
chofe the eaf-tgate for the place of his preaching, fo 
that the healthy were within, and the fick without the 
faire. He took his text from thofe words, He fent his 
word, and healed them, &c. In this fervant he equally 
did the advantage and comfort of God's people, by the 
judgments that enuie upon the contempt or rejection of 
it, the freedom of God's grace to all his people, and 
the happiness of thofe of his church, whom he takes to 
himfelf out of this miserable world. The hearts of his 
hearers were faid by the divine force of this 
courfours and fervant, and within the Realm of death, but to judge them the 
more happy who fhould then be called, not knowing 
whether they might have fuch a comforter again with 
them.

The plague soon after abated; though, in the mid 
of it, Wishart contifantly vifted thole that lay in the pren-
ciftry extremity, and comforted them by his labora-
tions.

Having taken his leave of the people of Dundee, he 
faid, "That God had almofl put an end to that plague, 
and that he was now called to another place."

From thence he went to Montrofe, where he 
sometimes preached, but spent moft of his time in private 
meditation and prayer.

Some fay, that before he left Dundee, and while he 
was engaged in the labours of love to the bodies, as 
well as to the fouls, of thole poor afflicted people, cardinal 
Beaton engaged a defperate popifh priet, called John 
Weighton, to kill him; the attempt to execute which 
was as follows: one day, after Wishart had finifhed his 
fermon, and the people departed, the priet flood wa-
ing at the bottom of the fairs, with a naked dagger 
in his hand under his gown. But Mr. Wishart having 
a sharp, piercing eye, and feeing him deftroyed as he came 
from the hall, and directed to him, "My friend, what 
would you do?" and immediately clapping his hand upon 
the dagger, took it from him. The priet being terrified, 
fell on his knees, confefled his intention, and craved 
pardon. A noise being hertupon raised, and the people 
hearing the noise, they went to the ears of thole who were fick, they cried, "Del-
iver the traitor to us, we will take him by force; and 
they buried him in the gate. But Wishart, taking the 
priest in his arms, said, "Whatfiver happens, I will 
not leave him; for he hath done me no mischief, but much good 
by teaching more heedfulness for the time to come."

By this conduct he appeased the people, and saved the 
life of the defperate priet.

Shortly after his return to Montrofe, the cardinal 
again confpired his death, caufing a letter to be fet to him 
as if it had been from his familiar friend, the lord of 
imper, in which he was defcribed with all possible fpeed to 
come to him, because he was taken with a fudden fick-
nefs. In the moment the cardinal had provided five 
mans armed, to lie in wait within a mile and a half 
of Montrofe, in order to murder him as he paffed the 
way.

The letter coming to Wishart's hand by a boy, who 
alfo brought him word of the journey, Wishart, ac-
ting in good faith in fome honest men, his friends, fet forward, 
but fomething particular ftriking his mind by the way, 
when he returned back, which they wondering at, affealed 
the caufe; to whom he faid, "I will not go; I am for-
bidden of God; I am affured there is treafon. Le-

Some
some of you go to yonder place, and tell me what you find." Doing this, they made the discovery; and haltly returning, they told Mr. Wiltair: whereupon he said: 'I hope I shall end my life by that blood-thirsty man's hands, but it will not be in this manner.'

Some short time after this he left Montrose, and proceeded to Edinburgh, in order to propagate the gospel in that city. By the way he lodged with a faithful brother, named James Wattson, of Inner-Goury. In the middle of the night he got up, and went into the yard, which two men hearing, they privately followed him. While in the yard, he fell on his knees, and prayed for some time with the greatest fervency: after which he rose, and retired to bed. Those who attended him, appearing as though they were ignorant of all that came and asked him where he had been? But he would not answer them. The next day they importuned him to tell them, saying, "Be plain with us, for we heard your mourning, and saw your gullies.

Upon this be, with a dejected countenance, said, "I had rather you had been in your beds." But they still pressing upon him to know something, he said, "I will tell you: I am assured that my warfare is near an end, and therefore pray to God with me, that I shrink not when the battle with the heathen is near." Soon after, some short time after, cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, being informed that Mr. Wiltair was at the house of Mr. Cockburn, of Ormiston, in East Lothian, he applied to the regent to cause him to be apprehended, with which, after great peroration, and much again and again, he would consent.

The cardinal, in consequence of this, immediately proceeded to the trial of Wiltair, against whom no less than 18 articles were exhibited. Mr. Wiltair answered the respective articles with great composure of mind, and in a learned and clear manner, as greatly surprized all those who were present.

The examination being finished, the archbishop endeavoured to prevail on Mr. Wiltair to recant; but he was too firmly fixed in his religious principles, and too much enlightened with the truth of the gospel, to be in the least moved.

On the morning of his execution there came to him two friars from the cardinal; one of whom put on him a black linen coat, and the other brought several bags of gunpowder, which they tied about different parts of his body.

When he arrived at the flake, the executioner put a rope round his neck, and a chain about his middle; upon which he fell on his knees, and thus exclaimed: "O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands." Having thus said, he prayed for his accusers, saying, "I beseech thee, Father of heaven, forgive them that have, from ignorance, or an evil mind, forged lies of me; I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them, that have ignorantly condemned me." Then he was fastened to the flake, and the faggots being lighted, immediately set fire to the powder that was tied about him, and which blew into a flame and smoke.

The governor of the castle, who did so near that he was with the flame, exorted our martyr, with a few words, to be of good cheer, and to ask pardon of God for his offences. To which he replied, "This flame occasions trouble to my body, indeed, but it hath not in a wise broken my spirit. But he who now so proudly looks down on an empty and worthless place (pointing to the cardinal) shall ere long be as a髂fully thrown down, as now he proudly lolls at his cake." Which prediction was soon after fulfilled. The executioner, with a caution to hold the rope which was tied about his neck with great precision, so that he was soon frangled; and the fire getting flame, with such rapidity, that in less than an hour his body was totally consumed.

One Adam Wallace was the next person who fell a martyr to popish bigotry; he was of Winton, in Eastlochian, and having obtained a true knowledge of the gospel of Christ, spent the greater part of his time in endeavouring to propagate it among his fellow-creatures.

This gentleman's conduct being noticed by some bigoted papists, an information was laid against him for hereby, on which he was apprehended, and committed to prison.

When examined, sentence of death was passed upon him as an heretic, and he was immediately delivered over to the secular power, in order for execution. In the evening of the same day, Wallace was visited by several Romish priests, who endeavoured to prevail on him to recant; but he still so steadfast in the faith he professed, and used such forcible arguments in vindication of the true gospel, that they left him with some wrath, saying, "He was too abandoned to receive any imprecation."

He was conducted the next morning to the Castlehill at Edinburgh, when, being chained to the flake, and the faggots lighted, he cheerfully resigned up his soul into the hands of him who gave it, in full assurance of receiving a crown of glory in the heavenly mansions.

One Walter Mill was the last who suffered martyrdom in Scotland, for the cause of Christ; he was burnt at Edinburgh in the year 1558.

This perill, or rather many years, had travelled into Germany, and on his return was inhaled a priest of the church of Lunan in Angus; but, on an information of hereby, in the time of cardinal Beaton, he was forced to abandon his charge, and abdicated. But he was soon apprehended, and it was impossible to escape.

When interrogated by Sir Andrew Oliphant, whether he would recant his opinions, he answered in the negative, saying, He would sooner forfeit ten thousand lives, than relinquish a particle of those heavenly principles which he had received from the sufferages of his blest Redeemer.

Sentence of condemnation was immediately passed on him, in consequence of this, and he was conducted to prilin in order for execution the following day.

This resolute believer in Christ was 82 years of age, and exceeding infirm; from whence it was surmised, that he could scarcely be heard. However, when he was led to the place of execution, he expressed his religious sentiments with such courage, and at the same time composure of mind, as astonished even his enemies. As soon as he was fastened to the flake, and the faggots lighted, he prefixed the following ejaculation: "The cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime, (though I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner) but only for the defence of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ; and I praise God who hath called me, by his mercy, to face the truth with my life, which, as I received it from him, so I willingly offer up in sacrifice to his glory. Therefore, as you would escape eternal death, be no longer seduced by the lies of the fear of antichrist: but depend solely on Jesus Christ, and his mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation." And then added, "That he trusted he should be the last who should suffer death in Scotland, upon a religious account."

In this manner this pious chriftian cheerfully gave up his life, in defence of the truth of Christ's gospel, not doubting but he should be made a partaker of his heavenly kingdom."

A Full ACCOUNT of the PERSECUTIONS against the PROTESTANTS in IRELAND, distingujh'd by the Name of the IRISH MASSACRE.

Owing the various attempts made by the Irish against the English usually go under the denomination of rebellion, yet they more properly deserve the epithet persecutions, as all their deflective efforts were particularly levelled at the protestants, whom they were determined, if possible, totally to extirpate from the kingdom. They had, indeed, hitherto miscarried; but they at length hit upon a project that succeeded.
The NEW and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

ceded to their wives, and produced a catastrophe that will remain in characters of blood to the latest posterity.

That the Romish clergy of Ireland were the principal founders of these barbarities in that kingdom, already mentioned, is particularly evident from their wanton and diabolical behaviour under Queen Elizabeth and King James I. They continually urged to the people the lawfulness of killing all protestants, who supported the right of the crown of England to Ireland; and affirming that, as they were papists, with a sense of duty fighting against the protestants, would go immediately to heaven.

The Irish ecclesiastics, under Charles I. were greatly incensed by titular Roman archbishops, bishops, deans, vicars-general, abbots, priests, and friars; for which reason, in 1639, the public exercise of the popish rites and ceremony were forbidden.

Notwithstanding all this, soon after the Romish clergy erected a new papist university in the city of Dublin. They also proceeded to build monasteries and nunneries in various parts of the kingdom; in which places there were very Romish clergy, and the chiefs of the Irish, held frequent meetings; and, from thence, set out to Paris, to and fro, to France, Spain, Flanders, Lorraine, and Rome; where the dejectable plot of 1641 was hatching by the family of the O'Neals, and their followers.

Some short time before the horrid conspiracy broke out, which are now going to relate, the papists of Ireland were resolved to leave the irreligious practices of that kingdom, demanding the free exercise of their religion, and a repeal of all laws to the contrary; to which both houses of parliament in England solemnly assented, that they would never grant any toleration to the popish religion in that kingdom.

This was the prime object of the contrivers in execution the diabolical plot concerted for the destruction of the protestants; and it failed not of the snares withered for by it's malicious and rancorous projectors.

The chief design of this horrid conspiracy was, that a general insurrection should take place at the same time throughout the kingdom; and that all the protestants, without exception, should be murdered.

The day fixed for this horrid massacre was, the 23d of October, 1641, the feast of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the jesuits; and the chief conspirators, in the principal parts of the kingdom, made the necessary preparations for that bloody event.

That this detestable scheme might the more infallibly succeed, the most distinguished artificers were artfully practised by the papists; and their behaviour, in their villis to the protestants, at this time, was with more seeming kindness than they had before, when they were more completely to elicit the inhuman and treacherous designs then meditating against them.

The execution of this savage conspiracy was delayed till the approach of winter, that the fending troops from England might be attended with greater difficulty.

Cardinal Richelieu, the French minister, had promised the conspirators a considerable supply of men and money; and many Irish officers had given the strongest assurances, that they would heartily concur with their catholic brethren, as soon as the insurrection appeared.

Next the day preceding that appointed for carrying this horrid design into execution was arrived, when, happily for the metropolis of the kingdom, the conspiracy was discovered by one Owen O'Connell, an Irishman, for whom most signal service the English parliament bestowed him 500l. and a pension of 50l. during his life.

So very featurally was this plot discovered, even but a few hours before the city and castle of Dublin were to have been surprized, that the lords-justices had but just time to put themselves and the city, in a proper posture of defence. Lord McGuire, who was the principal leader here, with his accomplices, were feigned the fame evening in the city: and in their lodgings were found swords, hatchets, pole-axes, hammers, and such other instruments of death as had been prepared for the destruction and extirpation of the protestants in that part of the kingdom.

The metropolis was thus happily preserved; but the bloody part of the intended tragedy was past prevention. The conspirators were in arms all over the kingdom early in the morning; the fagotry set on, and every protestant who fell in their way was immediately murdered. No age, no sex, no condition was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perhaps struck the fame stroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, the weak, were all in the fray, and were blurred in one common ruin. In vain did flight flye from the first afflits: destruction was everywhere let loose, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recours to had to relations, to companions, to friends, to connections. In fact, it was all dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand, from which protection had been promised and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the atonished English, living in profound peace, and, as they thought, full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long indulged a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices. Nay, even death was the flight that had been inflicted by these monsters in human form; all the tortures which wanton cruelty could invent, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not lastly revenge except without effect, and, even then, without sufficient satisfaction. A depraved nature, even perverted religion, though enraged by the utmost licence, cannot reach to a greater pitch of ferocity than appeared in these merciless barbarians. Even the weaker sex themselves, naturally ten- der to their own sufferings, and compassionate those of others, were equally implicated in these barbarous and inhuman practices of every cruelty. The very children, taught by example, and encouraged by the extortion of their parents, dealt their feeble blows on the dead carcasses of defenceless children of the English.

Neither was the avarice of the Irish sufficient to produce the vast refrain on their cruelty. Such was their frenzy, that the cattle they had feasted, and by rapine had made their own, were, because they bore the name of English, wantonly slaughtered, or, when covered with wounds, turned loose into the woods, there to perish by flesh and lingering death at the hand of the hardened heartless enemy.

All the incommodeous habitations of the planters were laid in ashes, or levelled with the ground. And where the wretched owners had flung themselves up in the houses, and were preparing for defence, they perished in the flames, together with their wives and children.

So great was the number of the slain, so many wretched companions in the practice of every cruelty. The very children, taught by example, and encouraged by the extortion of their parents, dealt their feeble blows on the dead carcasses of defenceless children of the English.

The bungled and miscalculated papists had no sooner begun to imbibe their hands in blood, than they repeated the horrid tragedy day after day; and the protestants in all parts of the kingdom fell victims to their fury by deaths of the most unaccountable nature.

The vain and ignorant Irish were more strongly inflamed to execute the internal buffets by the jesuits, priests, and friars, who, when the day for the execution of the plot was agreed on, recommended, in their sermons, and in their exhortations to the greatest part of the nation, that it would greatly tend to the prosperity of the kingdom, and to the advancement of the catholic cause. They every where declaim against the common people, that the protestants were heretics, and ought not to be suffered to live among them, and that it was no sin to kill an Englishman than to kill a dog; and that the relieving or protecting them was a crime of the most unpardonable nature.

When the papists beleagured the town and castle of Longford, and the inhabitants of the latter, who were protestants, were rendered on condition of being allowed to fly a quarter, the fellegates, the instant the towns-people appeared, attacked them in the most unmerciful manner, their priest, as a signal for the rest to fall on, first ripped open the belly of the English protestant minister after whom their followers all cut the same
A Representation of the principal Scenes in the bloody Irish Massacre, committed Oct. 23, 1641, whereof upwards of 40000 Protestants were inhumanly Sacrificed by the Papists in the Reign of Charles the First.
some of whom they hung, others were flayed or flogged, and great numbers were fixed on the head with axes provided for the purpose.

In like manner the garrison at Sligo was treated by O’Connor Sylagh; who, upon the protestants quitting their holds, promised them quarter, and to convey them safe over the river. They afterwards, to the amount of about 500, were introduced in a most loathsome goal, allowing them only grains for their food. Afterwards, when some papists were merry over their cups, who were come to congratulate their wicked brethren for their victory over these unhappy creatures, those protestants who survived them, and who were neither killed, nor precipitated over the bridge into a swift water, where they were soon destroyed.

It is added, that this wicked company of White-friars went some time after, in felonious procession, with holy water in their hands, to smite the doors, in the presence of cleansing and purifying it from the filth and pollution of the blood and dead bodies of the heretics, as they called the unfortunate protestants who were inhumanly slaughtered at this very time.

At Kilmore, Dr. Bedell, bishop of that see, had ordered a great number of dif

ferred protestants, who had fled from their habitations to escape the diabolical cruelties committed by the papists. But they did not long enjoy the consolation of living together; the good place was forcibly dragged from his spire as a habitation, which was immediately reconverted. Dr. Swayne, the papist titular bishop of Kilmore, who said mass in the church the Sunday following, and then feasted on all the goods and effects belonging to the persecuting bishop.

Immediately after this the papists forced Dr. Bedell, two tons, and the roll of his family, with some of the chief of the protestants whom he had protected, into a ruinous castle, called Lochwater, situated in a lake near the sea. Here he remained with his companions during weeks, all of them daily expecting to be put to death. The greatest part of them were stripped naked, by which means, as the frost was very cold, beginning in the month of December and the building in which they were confined open at the top, they suffered the most severe hardships.

In this situation they continued till the 7th of January, when they were all released. The bishop was courteously received into the house of Dennis O’Sherridan, one of his clergy, whom he had made a convert to the church of England; but he did not long survive this kindness.

During his residence here, he spent the whole of his time in assiduous exercises, the better to fit and prepare himself and his fervorous companions, for their great change, as nothing but certain death was perpetually before their eyes.

At this time he was in the 71st year of his age, and being afflicted with a violent ague caught in his late cold and deplorable habituation on the lake, it forced him into a fever of the most dangerous nature. Finding his disaffection at hand, he received it with joy, like one of the primitive martyrs just hastening to his crown of glory. After having addressed his little flock, and express’d their comfort, and counsel’d them as they saw their own last day approaching; after having solemnly blessed his people, his family and his children, he finished the course of his ministry and life together, on the 7th of February, 1632.

Now his friends and relations applied to the intruding bishop, for leave to bury him, which was with difficulty obtained: he, at first, telling them, that the church and was holy ground, and should be no longer defiled with bodies: however, leave was at last granted, and though the church funeral service was not used at the solemnity, (for fear of the papists) yet some of the better sort, who had the highest veneration for him when living, attended his remains to the grave. At his funeral, they discharged a volley of shot, crying out, Resignate pias ulterior Anglicum: that is, "May the soul of the English rest in peace." Adding, that as he was one of the best, so he should be the last English bishop found among them.

Very early in the morning, he was carried to the church, which had been built expressly for the purpose; and there was a great funeral service performed, and his body was laid in a chest; and this chest was deposited in the library.

He had gathered a vast heap of critical expostulations of Scripture, all which, with a great trunk full of his manuscripts, fell into the hands of the soldiery. Happily his great Hebrew MS. was preserved, and is now in the library of Emmanuel-College, Oxford.

In the barony of Terawpaliy, the papists, at the instigation of that traitor, compelled above 40 English protestants, some of whom were women and children, to the hard fate either of falling by the sword, or of drowning in the sea. Those shooting the latter, were according forcibly, by the naked weapons of their inexorable persecutors, to the deep, where, with their children in their arms, they first washed up to their chins, and afterwards sunk down and perished together.

In the caille of Lisgool upwards of 150 men, women, and children, were all burnt together; and at the castle of Buncnoo, not less than 100 were all put to the sword.

Men were also murdered at the caille of Tullah, which was delivered up with great condition of having fair quarter; but no sooner had that base villain got possession of the place, than he ordered his followers to murder the people, which was immediately done with greatest cruelty.

Several others were put to death in the most horrid manner, and such as could have been invented only by demons instead of men.

There were some of them laid with the center of their backs on the axle-tree of a carriage, with their legs reeling on the ground on one side, and their arms and head on the other. In this position one of the figures strangled the wretched object on the thighs, legs, &c. while another set on furious dogs, who tore to pieces the arms and upper parts of the body; and in this dreadful manner were they deprived of their existence.

Seven I was fattened to hovels tails, and the heads being set on full gallop by their riders, the wretched victims were dragged along till they expired.

Many were hung on lofty gibbets, and a fire being kindled under them, they finished their lives, partly by hanging, partly by consumption.

Nor did the more tender set escape the last particle of cruelty that could be projected by their merciless and furious persecutors. Many women, of all ages, were put to death in the most cruel manner. Some in particular were wrung from their backs to fling poth, and being stripped to the waist, the soldiers cut off their right breasts with thongs, which of course put them to the most excruciating torments; and in this position they were left, till, from the loss of blood, they expired.

So great was the savage ferocity of these barbarians, that even unborn infants were dragged from the womb to become victims to their rage. Many unhappy mothers were hung naked on the branches of trees, and their bodies being cut open, the innocent offlings were taken from them, and thrown to dogs and swine. And to increase the horrid scene, the tyrant, in the presence of the husband, was a spectator before he fulfilled himself.

They hanged above 100 Scotch protestants at the town of Liffenfeeth, flewing them no more mercy than they did to the English.

"Quain, taking the caille of that town, desired to speak with the governor, when being admitted, he immediately burnt the records of the county, which were kept there. He then demanded 1000 of the governor, which having received, he immediately compelled him to bear trails, and ordered him to hang up before his face; besides maiming at least 100 of the inhabitants.

Upwards of 1000 men, women, and children, were driven,
driven, in different companies, to Portendown bridge, which was broken in the middle, and there compelled to throw themselves into the water; and such as attempted to reach the shore were known. On the banks of the river, at least four thousand persons were drowned in different places. The inhuman papists, after first stripping them, drove them like beaui on the spot fixed on for their destruction; and if any, through fatigue, or natural infirmities, were slack in their pace, they poked them with their rods and pikes; and to give a farther terror to the multitude, they murdered some by the way. Many of these poor wretches, when thrown into the water, endeavoured to save themselves by swimming to the shore; but their meretricious perfidies prevented their endeavours taking effect, for being strong in the water, a few of them, being one hundred and forty English, after being driven for many miles stark naked, and in the most severe weather, were all murdered on the same spot, some being hanged, others burnt, some slain, and many of them buried alive; and so cruel were their tormentors, that they would not suffer them to pray before they robbed them of their miserable existence.

They took other companies under pretence of safe-conduct, who, from that consideration, proceeded cheerfully on their journey; but when the treacherous papists had got them to a convenient spot, they butchered them all in the most horrid manner. About one hundred and fifteen men, women, and children, were conducted, by order of Sir Phelim O'Neal, to Portendown bridge, where they were all forced into the river, and drowned. One woman, named Campbell, finding no probability of escape, suddenly clapped one of the chief of the papists in her arms, and held him fast, that they were both drowned together.

They maffacred forty-eight families in Killoman, among whom twenty-two were burnt together in one house. The reft were either hanged, shot, or drowned. The inhabitants in Killoman, having killed or wounded two hundred and fifty persons, killed all their victims to their rage. Some of them fat in the stocks till they confessed where their money was; after which they put them to death. The whole county was one common scene of butchery, and many thousands perished, in a short time, by sword, famine, fire, water, and other the most cruel deaths, the rage and rage could invent.

These bloody villains shewed so much favour to some as to dispatch them immediately; but they would by no means suffer them to pray. Others they imprisomed in filthy dungeons, putting heavy bolts on their legs, and keeping them there till they were starved to death.

They put all the protestants at Cofiel into a loathsome dungeon, where they kept them together, for several weeks, in the greatest misery. At length they were releaste, when some of them were barbarously mangled, and left on the highways to perish at leisure; others were hanged, and some were burnt in the ground up-right, with their heads above the earth, the papists, to increase their misery, treating them with derision during their sufferings.

They murdered nine hundred and fifty-four protestants in the county of Antrim in one morning; and afterwards about twelve hundred more in that county.

They forced twenty-four protestants into a house, at a town called Lifegniary, and then setting fire to it, burnt them together, counterfeiting their outcry in derision to others.

Among other acts of cruelty, they took two children belonging to an English woman, and drowned out their brains before her face; after which they threw the mother into a river, and she was drowned. They served many other children in the like manner, to the great affliction of their parents, and the disgrace of human nature.

At the protestants in Killenny, without exception, were put to death; and some of them in so cruel a manner, as, perhaps, was never before thought of.

An English woman they beat with fuch savage bar-

barity, that she had scarce a whole bone left; after which they threw her into a ditch; but not satisfied with this, they took her child, a girl about six years old, and threw it into the same ditch: they then threw it to the dogs, who, greedily devoured it.

Having committed theft, and many other horrid cruelties, they took the heads of seven protestants, and among them that of a pius minister, all which they fixed up at the market cross. They put a sign into his ministerial mouth, then laid his cheeks to his ears, laying a leaf of a bible before it, let him bite it, with his mouth was wide enough. They did several other things by way of derision, and expressed the greatest satisfaction at having thus murdered, and exposed unhappy protestants.

Impossible is it to conceive the pleasure those murdering bears took in exercising their cruelty; and to imagine the misery of those who felt in their hands, when they butchered them they would say, "Your soul to the devil."

One of these miserable men was burnt in a house with his hands imbrued in blood, and boast that it was an Englishman, and that one of the priests picked the white skin of the protestants, even to the hilt.

As soon as any one of them had killed a protestant, others would come and receive a gratification in cutting and mangling the body; after which they left exposed to be devoured by dogs; and after, they had slain a number of them they would kill, that the dogs were beheld to them for sending so many fools to hell.

It is no wonder that they should thus treat the innocent christians, when they hesitated not to commit blasphemies against God, and his most holy word.

They burnt two protestant nuns in one place, and then谣言ed and introorted of all sorts with one company in the water, where they were all drowned together.

In the church of Powercourt they burnt the pulpit, pews, chafes, and bibles belonging to it. They took other bibles, and after wetting them with dirty water, dashed them in the face of the protestants, saying, "We know you love a good lesson; here is an excellent one for you; come to morrow, and you shall have as good a sermon as this."

Many of the protestants they drugged by the hair of their heads into the church, where they stripped and whipped them in the most cruel manner, telling them, at the same time, "That if they came to morrow, they should hear like sermons.

They put to death several ministers in Munster, in the most shocking manner. One, in particular, they stripped stark naked, and driving him before them, pricked him with swords and darts till he fell down, and expired.

In those places they plucked out the eyes, and cut off the hand of the protestants, and in that manner turned them into the fields, there to wander out their miserable existence.

Many young men they also obliged to force their aged parents to a river, where they were drowned; wives to afflict in hanging, husbands to hang their wives, and mothers to cut off the hands of their children.

They compelled a young man in one place to kill his father, and then immediately hanged him. In another they forced a woman to kill her husband, then obliged the son to kill her, and afterwards flot him through the head.

A place called Glasow, a populous parish, with some others, prevailed on forty protestants to be reconciled to the church of Rome. They had no force done this, than they told them they were a true Irish faith, and that they would prevent their falling from it, and turning heretics, by sending them to the heads, which they did by immediately cutting their throats.

Upwards of thirty protestants, men, women, and children, in the county of Tipperary, fell into the hands
The Martyrdoms of
Four Dutch Protestants
who were strangled and burnt at
the Hague in Holland.
Also other Scenes, showing the Cruel manner in which the PROTESTANTS were dragged through Bogs in IRELAND, and hung on Tenterhooks. Looked to while they perished through Pain and Want of Food, &c.
An ACCOUNT of the PERSECUTIONS in IRELAND.

hands of the papists, who, after stripping them naked, murdered them with stones, pole-axes, swords, and other instruments.

In the county of Mayo about sixty protestants, fifty of whom were ministers, were, upon covenant, to be falsely conducted to Galway, by one Edmund Burke and his soldiers; but that inhuman monster by the way drew his sword, as an intimation of his design to the rest, who immediately followed his example, and murdered the whole. Some of them they hanged, others were burnt with the body under pikes, and several were drowned.

Great numbers of protestants in Queen's county were put to the most shocking deaths. Fifty or sixty were placed together in one house, which being set on fire, they all perished. The victims were stripped naked, and being fastened to horses by ropes placed round their middles, were dragged through broken till they expired in the greatest torture.

Several were hung by the feet to tenters-hooks driven into poles; and left till they perished in that wretched torture.

Some were fastened to the trunk of a tree, with a branch at top. Over this branch hung one arm, which principally supported the weight of the body; and one of the legs was turned up, and fastened to the trunk, while the other hung frant. In this dreadful and unfavourable posture they remain, as long as life would permit, pleading spectacles to their blood-thirsty persecutors.

Seventeen men were buried alive at Clonowly; and an Englishman, his wife, five children, and a servant maid, were all hung together, and their bodies afterwards thrown into a ditch.

Many were hung by the arms to branches of trees, with a weight to their feet; and others by the middle, in which posture they left them till they expired.

Others were hung on windmills, and before they were half dead, the barbarians cut them in pieces with their swords. Some, both men, women, and children, they cut and hacked in various parts of their bodies, and left them wallowing in their blood to perish where they fell.

One poor woman they hung on a gibbet, with her child, an infant about a twelvemonth old, the latter of whom was hung by the neck with the hair of it's mother's head, and in that manner filled it's short but miserable existence.

Not less than three hundred protestants were drowned in one day in the county of Tyrone; and many others were hanged, burned, and otherwise put to death.

Dr. Maxwell, rector of Tyrone, lived at this time near Armagh, and suffered greatly from these merciless invasions. This peril, in his examination, taken upon oath before the king's commissioners, declared, that the Irish papists owned to him, that they, at several times, had destroyed, in one place, 12,000 protestants, whom they inhumanly slaughtered at Glynnwood, in their flight from the county of Armagh.

The river Bann being not fordable, and the bridge broken down, the Irish forced their way to the leaders, and burnt to the ground, and to exterminate, if possible, the very race of those unhappy protestants, who lived in or near Armagh, the Irish first burnt all their houses, and then gathered together many hundreds of those innocent people, young and old, on presence of allowing them a guard and safe conduct to Collerain; then they treacherously fell on them by the way, and inhumanly plundered them all.

Similar barbarities were practised on the wretched protestants in almost all parts of the kingdom; and, when an effeminate was afterwards made of the number who were sacrificed to gratify the diabolical soul of the papists, it amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand.

But it now remains that we proceed to the particulars that followed.

Now these desperate wretches, flushed and grown insolent with success, (though by methods attended with the most execrable barbarities as perhaps not to be equalled) soon got possession of the seat of Newry, where the king's goods and ammunition were lodged; and, with as little difficulty, made themselves masters of Dundalk. They afterwards took the town of Ardee, where they murdered all the protestants, and there proceeded to Drogheda.

The garrison of Drogheda was in no condition to fall into the hands of the invaders, which, as often as the Irish renewed their attacks, were repeatedly and successfully repulsed, by a very unequal number of the king's forces, and a few faithful protestant citizens under Sir Henry Tichborne, the governor, assisted by the lord viscount Moore. The siege of Drogheda began on the 20th of November, 1644, and held till the 4th of March, 1645, when Sir Phelim O'Neal, and the Irish mercenaries under him, were forced to retreat.

During this time ten thousand troops were sent from Scotland to the relief of the remaining protestants in Ireland, which being properly divided in the most capital parts of the kingdom, happily eclipsed the power of the Irish savages; and the protestants, for a time, lived happy and unmolested.

However in the reign of King James II. they were again interrupted, for in a parliament held at Dublin in the year 1689, great numbers of the protestant nobility, clergy, and gentry of Ireland, were attained of high treason.

The government of the kingdom was, at that time, invested in the earl of Tyrawley, a bigotted papist, and an inveterate enemy to the protestants. By his orders they were again persecuted in various parts of the kingdom. The revenues of the city of Dublin were seized, and most of the churches converted into prisons. And had it not been for the revolution and uncommon bravery of the garrison of the city of Londonderry, and the town of Inniskillen, there had been no place remained for refuge to the distressed protestants in the whole kingdom; but all must have been given up to King James, and to the furious popish party that possessed him.

On the 18th of April, 1689, the remarkable siege of Londonderry was opened by twenty thousand papists, the flower of the Irish army. The city was not properly circumstanced to sustain a siege, the defenders consisting of a body of raw undisciplined provincials, who had fled thither for shelter, and half a regiment of Lord Mountjoy's army. This force consisted of the principal part of the inhabitants, making in all only ten thousand three hundred and fifty one fighting men.

At first the besieged hoped, that their fruits of corn, and other necessaries, would be sufficient; but by the continuance of the siege, their wants increased, and these became at last so great, that for a considerable time before the siege was raised, a pint of carle barley, a small quantity of greens, a few handfuls of barley, with a very moderate proportion of horse flesh, were reckoned a week's provision for a soldier. And they were, at length, reduced to such extremities, that they chowdered cattle.

While their miseries increased with the siege, many, through mere hunger and want, pined and languished away, or fell dead in the streets. And it is remarkable, that when their long expected succours arrived from England, they were upon the point of being reduced to the alternative, either to preserve their existence by eating each other, or attempting to force their way through the Irish, which must have infallibly produced their destruction.

Molt happily these succours were brought by the ships Mountjoy, of Derry, and the Phoenix, of Colerain, at which time they had only nine lean horses left, with a pint of meal daily each, and the fatigue of war, their seven thousand three hundred and sixty one fighting men were reduced to four thousand three hundred, one-fourth part of whom were rendered unfit for service.
As the calamities of the besieged were very great, so likewise were the terrors and sufferings of their protectant friends and relations; all of whom (even women and children) were forcibly driven from the country thirty miles round, and inhumanly reduced to the sad necessity of continuing some days and nights, without food or covering, before the walls of the town; and were thus exposed to the continual fire both of the Irish army from without, and the shot of their friends from within.

The succours from England happily arriving, put an end to their affliction; and the siege was raised on the 21st of July, having been continued upwards of three months before.

The very day before the siege of Londonderry was raised, the Inniskilliners engaged a body of six thousand Irish Roman Catholics, at Newton Butler, or Crown-Cap of whom near five thousand were slain. This, with the defeat at Londonderry, dispirited the papists, and they gave up all further attempts to persecute the protestants.

In the following year, viz. 1690, the Irish took up arms in favour of the deposed prince, king James II., but they were totally defeated by his successor king William the Third. That monarch, before he left the country, reduced them to a state of subjection, in which they have ever since continued; and it is to be hoped they will so remain as long as time shall continue.

In the year 1731, by a report made in Ireland, it appeared, that a great number of ecclesiastics had, in defiance of the laws, flinked into that kingdom; that several convents had been opened by jeftuits, monks, and friars; that many new and pompous mas-houses had been erected in some of the most conspicuous parts of their great cities, where there had not been any before; and that such quantities of vagrant, immoral Roman priests had appeared, that the very papists themselves considered them as an unnecessary load.

Notwithstanding all this, the protestant interest is at present about on a much stronger basis than it did a century ago. The Irish, who formerly led an unfettered and roving life, in the woods, bogs, and mountains, and lived on the depredation of their neighbours; they who in the morning foraged the prey, and at night divided the spoils, have, for many years past, been reduced to a more civilized state. They take the forms of English society, and the advantages of civil government. They trade in our cities, and are employed in our manufactures. They are received also into English families; and are treated by the protestants with great humanity.

The heads of their clans, and the chiefs of the great Irish families, who cruelly oppressed and tyrannized over their vassals, are now dwindled, in a great measure, to nothing; and most of the ancient papish nobility and gentry of Ireland have renounced the Roman religion and superstition.

It is also to be hoped, that indefatigable benefits will arise from the establishment of protestant schools in various parts of the kingdom, in which the children of the Roman Catholics are instructed in religion and reading, whereby the mift of ignorance is dispelled from their eyes, which was the great source of the cruel transactions that have taken place, at different periods, in that country.

For the sake of preserving the protestant interest in Ireland upon a solid basis, it behoves all in whom that power is invested, to discharge it with the sincerest fidelity and attention; for should it once again lose ground, there is no doubt but the papists would take those advantages they have hitherto been denied, and, thence might yet fall victims to their malicious bigotry.

MEMOIRS OF MR. JOHN FOX, THE ORIGINAL AUTHOR OF THIS COMPLETE BOOK OF MARTYRS.

His ingenious author was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, A.D. 1517: the very year, when Luther, in Germany, began his reformation. His father died when he was very young; and, his mother marrying again, he came under the tutelage of a father-in-law; with whom he dwelt, till the age of sixteen, at which time he entered of Brafen-Nole college, Oxford; and was chamber-fellow with the celebrated Dr. Alexander Nowell, afterwards dean of St. Paul's. Mr. Fox pursued his academical studies, with much industry, and improvement, and applause. In 1538, he took the degree of bachelor in arts; and that of master, in 1543. The same year, he was elected fellow of Magdalen college.

Upon his first removal to the university, and for some time after, he was stronglyattached to the heresies and superstitions of popery. To his zeal for these, he added a life strictly regular and moral. His indefatigable and profound researches into ecclesiastical history, and the writings of the primitive fathers; and, above all, his thorough acquaintance with the holy scripture, in its original languages, became the means of convincing him, to what an immense distance the Romish church has departed from the faith, practice, and spirit, of Christianity.

With the intent to make himself yet a more competent judge of the controversy then in debate between the protestants and papists, he learned with indefatigable industry the ancient and modern history of the church. And with such zeal and industry did Mr. Fox apply himself to these inquiries, that, before he was 30 years of age, he had read over all the Greek and all the Latin fathers; all the scholastic writers; together with the acts of all the councils; and, moreover, made himself master of the Hebrew language. But from this first and severest application, by night as well as by day; from forsaking his old papish friends, and courting the most defrocked retirement; from the dubious and befaltering manner, in which, when he could not avoid being in company, he spoke of religious subjects; and, above all, from his sparing attendance on the public worship of the church, which he had, before, been remarkable for its strict and constantly frequenting; and, from the fruit of his of which he openly professed the gospel, and was publicly accused of heresy. His college passed judgment on him, as an heretic convicted; and, he saw himself expelled from the university in a short time after.

This gentleman's troubles sat heavier on him, as they left him without the countenance and good offices of his friends, who were afraid to afford him comfort and protect him from a capital offence. His father-in-law, particularly, seised this opportunity to withhold from Mr. Fox the estate which his own father had left him; thinking, that he, who stood in danger of the law himself, would do it with difficulty, because of his means.

The same and oppressed, Mr. Fox was reduced to great straits; when God raised him up an unexpected patron in Sir Thomas Lucy, of Warwickshire; who received him into his house, and made him his clerk to his children. Here he married a citizen's daughter, of Coventry; and consequently, his son's family, till his pupils were grown up: after which, he, with some difficulty, procured entertainment with his wife's father, at Coventry; from whence, a few years before the death of Henry VIII. he removed to London.

Being...
The Portraits of the Principal PRIMITIVE REFORMERS of Various Countries to whom (under GOD) we are indebted for the Glorious Light of the PROTESTANT RELIGION, with emblematical Allusions to the main attempts of the Pope, the Paps, & the Devil to blow out or extinguish the pure light of the everlasting Gospel.
LIFE OF MR. JOHN FOX, the Celebrated MARTYROLOGIST.

FINIS.
The PERSECUTION and BONDAGE of the HEBREWS by the Egyptians, &c.

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Daniel Preserved in the Lions' Den.
Daniel, Chap. VI. Ver. 22.
PERSECUTIONS AND CRUELITIES exercised on the MACCABEES, by the GREEKS.

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CONTAINING 

The LIVES, DEATHS, and SUFFERINGS, of the MARTYRS, in the REIGN of 

QUEEN MARY I. 

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