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BY

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REV. M. HOBART SEYMOUR, M.A.

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BOOK XII. 2047
The persecutions against the faithful and true servants of Christ, from January 1557, in the fifth year of Queen Mary. 2047
The Bones of Bucer and Phagius Burnt. *2048*
Master Acworth's Oration on the Godly Teaching of Bucer *2056*
Peter Martyr's Wife Dug up and Burnt at Oxford. *2059*
The Persecutions in Canterbury and Colchester *2060*
The History and Martyrdom of Richard Woodman *2079*
Other Martyrdoms in Colchester, Somerset, and Norfolk *2097*
The Persecutions in the Diocese of Chichester. *2117*
The Martyrs of Islington *2130*
The Last Martyrs to Suffer under Queen Mary *2147*
The Examination of Elizabeth Young *2159*
The Preservation of Lady Elizabeth from Queen Mary *2167*
The Death of Queen Mary. *2175*
The Accession of Queen Elizabeth. *2178*
Massacre of the Protestants in France *2193*
THE CONCLUSION OF THE WORK *2197*
APPENDIX I. 2199
Massacre of Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Day 2199
The Bull of Pope Sixtus the Fifth. *2225*
APPENDIX II. 2229
Preparations for invading England, by the Spaniards and other Roman Catholics 2229
APPENDIX III. 2240
Discovering the Gunpowder Treason, with the examination of some of the prisoners. 2240
APPENDIX IV. 2276
The history of the Irish Rebellion in the year 1641 2276
APPENDIX V. 2344
The execution of justice in Elizabeth's reign, was not for religion, but for treason. 2344
GENERAL INDEX. 2361

ACTS AND MONUMENTS

BOOK XII.

COMPRISING

The persecutions against the faithful and true servants of Christ, from January 1557, in the fifth year of Queen Mary.

Cardinal Poole's Visitation in Cambridge, with the condemning, taking up, and burning of the Bones and Books of Bucer and Paulus Phagius, [1] *9th January 1557.*

CARDINAL POOLE,[2] three years after his return to England, having somewhat withdrawn his mind from other affairs of the realm, and having established the Romish religion in all points, began to have an eye toward the university of Cambridge which, among other places, specially seemed to have need of reformation (according to his views). To perform the change, the following men were chosen: Cuthbert Scot, who was consecrated bishop of Chester not long before; Nicholas Ormanet, an Italian, arch-priest of the people of Bodolon in the diocese of Vernon, who was professed in both laws (civil and ecclesiastical), and bore the name of the pope's datary;[3] Thomas Watson, bishop elect of Lincoln; John Christopherson, bishop elect of Chichester; and Henry Cole, provost of the college of Eton. There was good reason why the matter was especially committed to these persons. Ormanet was a man of great estimation with Julius III, who was at that time bishop of Rome, and he was appointed to come to England with Cardinal Poole. That was because, without his knowledge (as one in whom the pope put his chief trust and confidence) the bishop would have nothing done that was of any importance.

These persons, thus appointed (while the visitors were preparing themselves for their journey), sent their letters before them, with the cardinal's citation, to Dr. Andrew Pern, Vice-chancellor of Cambridge. They commanded him to warn all the graduates of the university, in their name, to be in readiness against the 11th of January 1557, between eight and ten o'clock, at the church of St. Mary the Virgin. They required him especially to be there himself, and also to set forward all the rest, to whose charge it belonged to search out all statutes, books, privileges, and monuments pertaining to the university, or to any of the colleges, or finally, to any of themselves. They were to present themselves before these three at the day appointed, and every man was to appear there personally. They were not to fail in this, but to be there, to lay before them, at the same time, such things as might seem necessary to this charge of reforming the university.

This citation of the cardinal, being brought to Cambridge by Master Bullock, was first exhibited in the convocation house of regents, and there openly read by the orator of the university, on the 11th of December 1556. After this, on the 24th of December, the vice-

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[1] Paulus Fagius (Paul Buechelin; 1504–1549), Hebraist. Born at Rheinzabern, in the Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany. He was professor of theology at Strasbourg and later of Hebrew at Cambridge. He resided at Lambeth Palace with Cranmer and Martin Bucer. They began collaborating on a new Latin Bible translation, focusing on the Old Testament for Fagius, and the New Testament for Bucer. However, Fagius died in 1549, cutting short the work.

[2] That is, Reginald Pole, (1500-1558) - English cardinal and last Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury (1556-1558). He was a member of the Plantagenet royal line. He was a great-nephew of Edward IV and Richard III, great-grandson of Richard Neville, 16th Earl of Warwick. Pole's cousin, Henry VIII, funded his education at Oxford University and at Padua, Italy. Pole was appointed papal legate to England in Feb 1536/1537, and created a cardinal by Pope Paul III in Dec 1536. He was sent to organize assistance for the Pilgrimage of Grace, a rebellion against Henry's religious reforms. The effort failed, and the king declared Pole guilty of high treason. After the accession of Queen Mary I in 1553, Pope Julius III appointed Pole papal legate to England, hence "his return to England."

[3] *Datary*: an officer in the Roman Catholic Church who dispensed benefices.

chancellor, with the heads of the houses, meeting together in the schools, it was there concluded that the visitors' costs should be borne by the university and colleges, and also, that no master of any college should allow any of the fellows, scholars, or ministers, to leave the town, but to return before the visitation.

On Friday, the 8th of January, the queen's commissioners sat together in the hall, and read the commission. Then all the high-constables were called to bring in their precepts, and be sworn. Also two persons of every parish of ten or twelve hundred persons, were sworn to inquire about heresy, Lollardy, conspiracy, seditious words, tales, and rumors against the king and queen — also for heretical and seditious books; for negligence and misdemeanors in the church; for observation of ceremonies; for ornaments, and the stock of the church.

The Bones of Bucer and Phagius Burnt.

We said that the cardinal thought the university was in need of reformation. The reason why he thought so, was either because it had cast off the yoke of the bishop of Rome, and adhered to the wholesome doctrine of the gospel; or else, that both for the late schism, not yet worn out of memory, and for the doctrine of Martin Bucer — who not long before openly interpreted the holy Scriptures in the university — they saw many who were so corrupted and spotted with this infection, that (even as when fire is spread in a town) unless a speedy remedy is applied, it is not possible to quench it for many days after.

This took place in the year 1556. With the intent, therefore, to make a salve for this sore, the inquisitors of whom we spoke before, came to Cambridge on the 9th of January 1557. And while they were still on their journey, and far from the town, several of the masters and presidents of the colleges met them, and brought them courteously, first into the town, and afterwards to their lodgings.

This day nothing else was done, because it was toward evening before they arrived, and the sun was going down. The next day was spent in recreation after their journey. Nevertheless, so that it would not escape altogether without doing something, they interdicted two churches, namely, St. Mary's where Bucer lay buried (d. 1551), and St. Michael's, where Paul Phagius lay (d. 1549). These two men were dead a good while before.

[933] A.D. 1557.

Paul Phagius had scarcely shown the proof of his wisdom and learning, when he departed to God in 1549. Bucer lived but a short time after. During this period, sometimes by writing, but chiefly by reading and preaching openly, this old man was studious in the word of God. He never spared himself, nor regarded his health. He brought all men into such admiration of him, that his friends could not sufficiently praise him, nor could his enemies in any point find fault with his singular life and sincere doctrine.

Only a few years passed from the burial of Bucer and Phagius, to the coming of these visitors. From the time that the blessed king Edward VI deceased, to that day, the priests never ceased to celebrate their masses and other ceremonies in those churches. They did that without any scruple of conscience, as far as men could perceive. But after these commissioners came, things that were accounted sacred and holy before, began to be denounced as profane and unholy. For they commanded that all those assemblies that would hereafter be made for executing the holy ceremonies, should be removed to the king's chapel, which is a far more stately place than all the others.

Now the 11th of January had come, in which the vice-chancellor of the university, with the masters and presidents of colleges, and all the graduates of every house, were commanded

to appear before the commissioners in their habits. It was commanded that the scholars should also come in their surplices, but that was not done. They assembled in great numbers in Trinity College, having the university cross borne before them. In the gatehouse, a forum was set up and covered with cushions, and carpet placed on the ground for the visitors. There the vice-chancellor, wearing his robes, sprinkled holy water on them, and purposed to incense them, but they refused it there. Notwithstanding, afterward in the queen's college and elsewhere they did not refuse it.

There, master John Stokes, common orator of the university, made an oration in the name of all the rest.

When he was done speaking, the bishop of Chester responded to it, saying,

> "They took in right good part, that the university had made so open a declaration of her good will, for which he gave most hearty thanks. Concerning the good wills of the commissioners, there was no cause to mistrust. For their coming there was not to deal at all roughly with those who came to amendment. But both the cardinal himself, and the others also, were fully minded to show favor, devising how to bring all things to peace and tranquility, desiring nothing more earnestly than that those who had erred and gone astray, should return into the right path again. The right reverend father, the lord cardinal, whom he desired to have seen present, wished the self-same thing also, desiring nothing so much as to sustain and hold up that which now was ready to fall, or rather to raise up what had already fallen to the ground — the university. For he gladly takes upon himself the name and duty of her guardian, whom it greatly grieved that the infections of the times past had spread abroad such grievous diseases, that even the university itself was touched with its contagious air. For he would more gladly have come here to visit and greet it, than to correct it, if the weighty affairs of the realm would have permitted it. But now, seeing that he could not so do, he had appointed this commission, in which he had assigned them to be his deputies. The chief object that they wished to attain was that those who had erred should confess their faults, and return into the right way again. For they were in a good stage of healing, who acknowledged themselves to have offended."

These things being finished, they were brought in procession to the king's college, by all the graduates of the university. There a mass of the Holy Spirit was sung with great solemnity. In this place it was marked that Nicholas Ormanet, commonly surnamed Datary (who, though inferior in estate to Chester being a bishop, yet he was superior to them all in authority), while the mass was celebrating, now standing, then sitting, and sometimes kneeling, observed certain ceremonies which afterwards were required to be observed by all others.

From there they all attended upon the legates to St. Mary's church, which we stated before had been interdicted. In that place, owing to the interdict, although no mass might be sung, yet there was a sermon by Master Peacock, in Latin. It was against heresies and heretics, such as Bilney, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, etc. This being ended, they proceeded to the visitation where, first. Dr. Harvey in the cardinal's name, presented the commission to the bishop of Chester. This being accepted and openly read, the vice-chancellor, with an oration, then presented the certificate under his seal of office, with the cardinal's citation annexed. It contained every man's name in the university and colleges, with the officers and all the masters of houses. Among them was Robert Brassey, master of king's college, a worthy old man, both for his wisdom and his hoary hairs. Hearing his own name recited next after the vice-chancellor's, he said he was present there, as all the others were, because the reformation of his house was wholly reserved to the discretion of the bishop of Lincoln. This was not only by the king's letters patent, but also by grant of confirmation from the bishop of Rome himself, under a penalty if he were to allow any strangers to intermeddle. He

openly protested in discharge of his duty, that unless their commission gave them authority and jurisdiction over the college, either by express words or manifest sense, he utterly exempted himself from being present. They all took his exception with great displeasure, alleging that they were fully authorized for the order of the matter by the cardinal, out of whose jurisdiction no place nor persons was exempted. Therefore, he had done evil to call into question their authority, so well known to all men.

Much pomp and ceremony followed this. At last the time came for the visitation to go to mass. This being finished, with great solemnity they first went to the high altar of the church. And having there saluted their god, and searching whether all were well about him or not, they walked through all the inner chapels of the church. The church goods, the crosses, the chalices, the mass-books, the vestments, and whatever ornaments were besides, were commanded to be brought out to them. When they had sufficiently viewed all things, and had called forth by name every fellow and scholar of the house, they went to the master's lodging where, first swearing them upon a book to answer to all such interrogatories as might be propounded to them (as far as they knew), they first examined the master himself, and afterwards all the rest, every man in his turn. But there were some who refused to take this oath, because they had given their faith to the college before, and also because they thought it against all right and reason to swear against themselves. For it was contrary to all law, that a man should be compelled to betray himself, and not be allowed to keep his conscience free, when there was no manifest proof to be laid to his charge. But much more unjust is that a man should be constrained by force to accuse himself. Nevertheless these persons also, after such altercation, at length (conditionally that their faith given before to the college would not be impeached thereby) were content to be sworn.

The inquisition lasted three days. This was now the third day of their coming, and it was thought that the case of Bucer and Phagius was delayed longer than needed. For they expected to have much altercation and business about the matter. Now, because the present state of the case required great deliberation and advice, the vice-chancellor and the masters of the colleges assembled at the common schools, where every man gave his verdict what he thought appropriate to be done in this matter of Bucer. After much debating, they all agreed together in this determination, that Martin Bucer, while he lived, had not only sown pernicious and erroneous doctrine among them, but had also been a sectary and famous heretic, erring from the catholic church and giving others occasion to likewise fall from that church. A supplication should therefore be made to the lord commissioners in the name of the whole university, that his dead carcass might immediately be dug up, so that inquisition might be made as to his doctrine. This being brought in examination, if his doctrine were not found to be good and wholesome, the law might proceed against him, for it was against the rule of the holy canons, that his body should be buried in Christian burial.

[934]

Yes, and besides that, it was to the open derogation of God's honor, and the violation of his holy laws, with the great peril of many men's souls, and the offense of the faithful, especially in so difficult and contagious a time as that was. Therefore it was not to be allowed that those who utterly dissented from all other men in their living, laws, and customs, should have any part with them in the honor of burial. And therefore the glory of God first and before all things ought to be defended, the infamy which had arisen on them through this be put away with all speed, and no place left at all for those persons to rest in, who even in the same places where they lay, were injurious and noisome to the very elements. Rather, the

place ought to be purged, and all things so ordered as might be to the satisfaction of the consciences of the weak. In executing this, a notable example ought to be given to all men, that no man hereafter should be so bold as to attempt the like.

By common assent they gave the same verdict upon Phagius also. To this writing they annexed another, by which they lawfully authorized Andrew Perne, the vice-chancellor, to be the common factor for the university. He was a man fit for the purpose, both for the office that he bore, and also because, by the testimony of Christopherson, he was deemed to be the most popishly inclined of all others. This supplication, confirmed by the consent of all the degrees of the university and signed with their common seal. The next day, which was the 13th of January, the vice-chancellor put it up to the commissioners.

Note here, good reader, what a feat of conveyance this was, to suborn the university under a pretense of desiring this thing from them by way of petition. For who could say that if they had not done so, the other would never have gone about it by themselves? But this gloss was soon found out. For the commissioners had given the vice-chancellor instructions in writing beforehand. But now, perhaps they thought by this means to remove the ill will of this act from themselves. Thus the vice-chancellor came to the commissioners according to appointment. He had scarcely declared the cause of his coming, when he not only received his suit, but at the same time also received the sentence of condemnation for taking up Bucer and Phagius, fairly copied out by Ormanet Datary himself. This was to be confirmed by the consent of the degrees of the university; whereupon a solemn convocation was appointed to be held at nine o'clock. The graduates being assembled together, the demand was propounded concerning the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, and grace was asked for this: "Does it please you that Martin Bucer may be exhumed and taken up again, for the heresies now recounted, and many others written, preached, and taught by him, in which he died without repentance, and was buried in Christian burial?" etc. After this grace was granted, the sentence of condemnation was then drawn up by the datary, and openly read. Immediately another grace asked for, and that it might be signed with the common seal. This request was very lightly and easily obtained. And it was no marvel, for after the death of King Edward, since the time that the government of the realm came to the hand of Queen Mary, all those persons who had rejected the Romish religion were driven away, in whom alone rested nearly whatever knowledge and learning was in the whole university. Such a set was put in their place, that all places now swarmed with unlearned chaplains. To them nothing gave greater pleasure than to have all men speak slander and reproach of Bucer.

The next day, namely, the 14th of January, the visitors came to the king's college, first going into the church and offering their prayers there, sitting the entire mass time. The company stood in their copes and sang a solemn respond [4] in honor of the visitors. After the respond, the provost, arrayed in the best cope, made his protestation to them, to whom the bishop of Chester also answered in Latin, declaring that he could not perceive to what purpose his protestation was; notwithstanding they would accept it and bear with him.

Then they went to mass. When ended, the visitors approached to the altar, took down the sacrament, and searched the pix; but first the two bishops censed the sacrament and afterwards examined the chalices, etc.

The next day process [5] went out to cite Bucer and Phagius. This citation was posted in convenient places, to wit, upon St. Mary's church door, the door of the common schools, and

[4] *Respond*: a versicle or short anthem chanted at intervals during the reading of a lection (a portion of Scripture).

[5] *Process*: a religious summons or formal order that commands someone to appear before an authority.

the cross in the market. In this it was specified that whoever would maintain Bucer and Phagius, or stand in defense of their doctrine, should on the 18th day of the month, stand before the commissioners in St. Mary's church, which was appointed the place of judgment, and there every man would be sufficiently heard what he could say. ln the meanwhile Ormanet and Doctor Watson abode at home in their lodging, to take the depositions against the dead men.

As Ormanet was sitting at Trinity College, John Dale of the queen's college came to him, whom he had previously commanded to bring with him the pix in which the bishop of Rome's god of bread is usually enclosed. For Ormanet told them he had a precious jewel (a linen cloth that the pope had consecrated with his own hands) which he promised to bestow upon them as a gift. But Dale, misunderstanding Ormanet, instead of the pix, brought a chalice and the host, which he had wrapped up and put in his bosom. When he arrived, Ormanet demanded if he had brought him the thing he sent him for. To whom he answered he had brought it. "Then give it me," he said. Dale pulled out the chalice and the cake, or host. When Ormanet saw that, he stepped somewhat back, as if it had been in shock, calling him a blockhead, and little better than a madman, demanding what he meant by those things. He said that he did not desire him to bring any of that gear, and that he was unworthy to enjoy so high a benefit [as the gift he brought with him]. Yet notwithstanding, as he had earlier promised to give it to them, he would perform his promise. Upon which, with great reverence and ceremony, he pulled out the linen cloth and laid it in the chalice, and the bread with it, commanding them — both for the holiness of the thing, and also for the one who gave it — to keep it among them, with such due reverence as belonged to so holy a relic.

About the same time, the commissioners had given a commandment to the masters of the colleges, that every man should put in writing what books he had, with the authors' names. And with the intent that every man should execute the commandment without deceit, they had them take an oath. Some executed this commandment exactly and diligently; others, as they deemed it wrong, executed it very reluctantly.

When the day for giving judgment came (namely, the 18th), and neither Bucer nor Phagius would appear at their call in the court, and none put himself forward to defend them, the courteous commissioners would not proceed to judgment, which nevertheless they might have done for the rebelliousness of these two dead men in absenting themselves, But these men being bent altogether toward equity and mercy, would rather show some favor than do the utmost they might by the law. Whereupon the second process was published. The meaning of it did not vary much from the first, but it put off the judgment day to the 26th of the month. Upon that day the vice-chancellor was sent for, with whom they agreed concerning the order of publishing the sentence. And so that no solemnity in the matter would be lacking, they commanded him to warn the mayor of the town to be there at the day-appointed with all his burgesses, which the vice-chancellor did with all readiness.

On the 20th of January, all degrees of the mother university were assembled. And to fill up this pageant, the mayor and townsmen also came. All met together in St. Mary's church to behold what would be determined about these dead men. After long attendance, at length the commissioners came out and went up to a scaffold that was somewhat higher than the rest, prepared for the purpose. When they had taken their places, Doctor Perne, the vice-chancellor, put on a grave countenance and handed them the process that was recently published, to cite them, saying these words:

[935] A.D. 1557

"I bring again to you, right reverend father and commissioners of the most reverend my lord cardinal Poole, this citation executed according to the purport and effect of the same, etc."

When he had finished, the bishop of Chester, after he viewed the people a little, began as follows:

"You see how sorely the university presses upon us, how earnestly it makes its intercession to us, not only to denounce Buccr and Phagius — who these certain years past have spread most pernicious doctrine among you, to have you be heretics as they are indeed — but also that we will command their dead carcasses, which to this day have obtained honorable burial among you, to be dug up. And then, as it is excellently ordained by the canon law, to be cast into fire, or whatever is more grievous than fire, if anything can be. For the degrees of the university do not deal slightly or slackly with us in this case, but they so press upon us, and follow the suit so earnestly, that they scarcely give us any respite. And I assure you, though this case of itself is such that even the unworthiness of those persons (even if there were no further cause) ought to induce us to do it, moved rather much with these very wholesome petitions, it is fitting and convenient that we should grant it. For however we of ourselves are inclined to mercy in our hearts — which we protest, there is nothing under the sun to us more dear and acceptable — yet notwithstanding, the very law rises up to revenge. So that the common salvation of you all, which the law provides for, must be preferred before the private charity of our minds. Nor should any such negligence overtake on our parts, being scarcely yet escaped out of the shipwreck of our former calamity, that we should now allow this inexpiable mischief to disquiet the consciences of the weak any longer.

"Moreover, it is only reasonable that we should do something at such an earnest entreaty and suit of the university. I need not speak much of ourselves. For if we had desired to undertake this matter, it would have been lawful according to the first citation, to have proceeded to judgment. But because we were willing to have their defenders heard, and the matter be denounced and tried by law, we sent out the second process.

"If we had desired revenge, we might have shown cruelty to those who are alive, of which (alas, more the pity) there are too many who embrace this doctrine. If we thirsted for blood, it was not to be sought in withered carcasses and dry bones. Therefore, you may well perceive it was no part of our wills that we now came here; but it was partly induced at the entreaty of the university, partly moved with the unworthiness of the case itself; but especially for the care and regard we have for your health and salvation, which we covet by all means to preserve.

"For you yourselves are the cause of this business. You gave occasion for this confession, among whom this day ought to be a notable example, to remain as a memorial to those who will come after. In it you may learn not only to shake off the filth which you have taken from these persons, but also to beware that hereafter you fall no more so shamefully as you have done. But I trust God will defend you, and give you minds to keep yourselves from it.

"As concerning the parties themselves, whose case now hangs in law, they carry about the name of the gospel. Whereas, indeed, they wrought nothing else than thievery and deceit. And they were so much the more wicked, in that they sought to cover such shameful acts with the cloak of so fair and holy a name. Therefore, it is not to be doubted, that God will punish this contempt, wicked of itself, and pernicious to you; but to its authors it is shameful and abominable.

"But if God, as he is slow to wrath and vengeance, will wink at it for a time, yet notwithstanding, if we, upon whom the charge of the Lord's flock leans, should permit such execrable crimes to escape unpunished, we would not live in quiet one hour."

When he had thus spoken, he recited the sentence out of a scroll, and condemned Bucer and Phagius for heresy.

After the sentence was read, the bishop commanded their bodies to be dug out of their graves. And being degraded from holy orders, he had them delivered into the bands of the secular power. For it was not lawful for such innocent persons as they were, abhorring all blood-shed and detesting all desire of murder, to put any man to death!

They then sent letters to London, in which they notified the cardinal how far they had proceeded in the matter, and also desired his grace, that he would have the writ for the burning of heretics sent to Smith, the mayor of the town. For unless he had the queen's warrant to keep him harmless, he would not have anything to do with the matter.

While this pursuivant [6] went on his journey, they commanded to have brought to them the books which they had earlier ordered to be searched out. For they determined to throw them into the fire, with the bones of Bucer and Phagius.

About the same time, Doctor Watson, taking occasion from the day, because it was high-feast in which the memorial of the purification of the blessed Virgin Mary was usually celebrated, made a sermon to the people. In this he spoke with much reproach of Bucer and Phagius, and of their doctrine. He said that these men, and all the heretics of our time, among other things which they had perniciously put into men's heads, taught them to put away all ceremonies. Whereas, notwithstanding, the apostle himself commanded all things to be done in due order. And at the purification of the blessed Virgin Mary and Joseph, which was done by them as it was upon that day, it was manifestly apparent that Mary and Joseph, with our Savior, then a little babe, observed these rites and ceremonies for catholic men to teach. For (he said) they came to the temple at the same time with wax candles in their hands, in the manner of a procession in good order, with much reverence and devotion. And yet we were not ashamed to laugh and mock at these things with the heretics and schismatics.

As he was telling his tale of Christ, Mary, and Joseph, one of those who heard him, a pleasant and merry fellow, turning himself to someone who stood next to him, said, "And if it is true, what this man preaches, which of them I pray you, bore the cross before them? For that should not be missing in such solemn ceremonies." Not only did this man jest at the preacher's folly, but others also laughed at his preaching these vain and foolish superstitions.

When the pursuivant returned, who was sent to London with the commissioners' letter, he brought with him a warrant for burning Bucer and Phagius. Upon the receipt of it, they appointed the 6th of February to accomplish the matter. When the day came, the commissioners sent for the vice-chancellor, and taking with him Marshall, the common notary, he went first to St. Michael's church, where Phagius was buried. There he called forth Andrew Smith, Henry Sawyer, and Henry Adams, men of the same parish, and bound them with an oath to dig up Phagius's bones, and to bring them to the place of execution. Marshall took their oaths, receiving the same of Roger Smith and William Hasell, the town sergeants, and of John Caper, warden of the same church, for doing the same with Bucer. Smith, the mayor of the town, who would be their executioner (for it was not lawful for them to intermeddle in cases of blood) commanded certain of his townsmen to wait upon him in armor, by whom the dead bodies were guarded. And being bound with ropes, and laid upon

[6] *Pursuivant*: a state messenger or attendant.

men's shoulders (for they were enclosed in chests, Bucer in the chest that he was buried in, and Phagius in a new one) they were borne into the midst of the market, with a great train of people following them.

This place was prepared beforehand. A great post was set fast in the ground to bind the carcasses to, and a great heap of wood was laid ready to burn them with. So when they came there, the chests were set on end, with the dead bodies in them, and fastened on both sides with stakes, and bound to the post with a long iron chain, as if they had been alive. Fire was immediately put to them.

[936]

As soon as it began to flame around them, a great number of books that were condemned with them were cast into it.

A great multitude of country folk gathered into the town that day (for it was market day). Seeing men carried to execution, and learning by inquiry that they were dead before, partly detested and abhorred the extreme cruelty of the commissioners towards the rotten carcasses, and partly laughed at their folly in making such preparations. 'For what need was there for any weapons, or armed men?' they asked, as if they were afraid that the dead bodies, which did not feel them, would do them some harm. 'Or what purpose does that chain serve with which they are tied, since they might be burnt loose, for it was not to be feared that they would run away.' Thus, every body who stood by found fault with the rruelty of the deed, either sharply or else lightly, according to their different dispositions.

This was the last act of this interlude. And yet there remained a few things to be done, among which was the reconciling of two churches of Our Lady, and of St. Michael, which had been interdicted before.

This was done the next day by the bishop of Chester, with as much solemnity as the law required. But that breaden god, whom Bucer's carcass had chased from there, had not yet returned there again; nor was it lawful for the bishop to come there any more, unless he were brought there with great solemnity. During the whole time of his absence, this god was entertained by the commissioners at Trinity College, and there he continued as a sojourner. For all the graduates of the university came there on the 8th of February with gentleness and courtesy to bring him home again. The bishop of Chester took and carried him, clad in a long rochet, and a large tippet of sarcenet about his neck, in which he wrapped up his little idol of bread.

When this idol or consecrated host was to return home, he did not take the straightest and nearest way, as other folks usually go, but he compassed most of the town, and roamed through so many of the streets, that it was an hour and more before he could find the way into this church again. I believe the ancient Romans observed a custom not much unlike this in their procession, when they made supplications at the shrines of all their gods. The order of this procession was as follows: the masters' regents went before, singing with a loud voice, *Salve feste dies* (hello happy holiday), etc. Next followed the bishop of Chester. On each side of him went Ormanet and his fellow commissioners, with the masters of the colleges, every man bearing a long taper light in his hand. After them, a little space off, followed other degrees of the university. Lastly came the mayor and his townsmen. Before them all went the beadles, crying out to those they met, that they should bow themselves humbly before the host. If any refused to do so, they threatened to send them to prison immediately. Their god being led with this pomp, and pacified with the sacrifice of Bucer and Phagius, at length settled himself again in his accustomed place! Then the bishop of

Chester prayed that this day might be fortunate to himself, and to all who were present so that from that day forward (now that God's wrath was appeased, and all other things were set in good order), all men should make themselves conformable to peace and quietness — namely, in matters pertaining to religion. After this, they set aside a few days to punish those whom they thought deserved it. Some they suspended from giving voices either to their own preferment, or to the preferment of any other. Some they forbade to have the charge of pupils lest they infect the tender youth with corrupt doctrine and heresy; others they chastised wrongfully without any cause; and many they punished contrary to all right and reason.

Last of all, they published certain statutes by which they would have the university ordered hereafter. In these they enacted many things concerning the election of the officers of the university, of keeping and administering the goods of the university, and of many other things. But especially they handled all religious matters very circumspectly, in which they were so scrupulous that they filled all things either with open blasphemy, or with ridiculous superstition. For they prescribed how many masses every man should attend day by day, and how many paternosters and aves every man should say when he entered the church; and at his entrance, in what manner he should bow himself to the altar; and how to bow to the master of the house; what he should do there, and how long he should wait; how many, and what prayers he should say; what and how he should sing; what meditations others should use while the priest is in his *memento*, mumbling secretly to himself; what time of the mass a man should stand and when he should sit down; when he should curtsey, when exclusively, when inclusively; and they decreed many other superstitious ceremonies, so that it was a sport to behold their superstitions, and would be tedious to recite them now.

Within two years after all this mummery and wickedness, God beholding us with mercy, called Queen Mary out of this life, the 17th of November 1558. Afterward, her sister Elizabeth succeeded to the kingdom, and again revived the true religion. Whereupon, as the church of Christ began to flourish little by little, so the memory of Bucer and Phagius was restored again by this godly Queen Elizabeth (even though their bones were burnt by cardinal Poole).

Master Acworth's Oration on the Godly Teaching of Bucer

On this occasion, Master Ackworth, the orator of the university,[7] delivered a great oration, in which he speaks largely of the holy life and godly teaching of Martin Bucer, and the sorrow that was felt at his death, after which he continued thus:

> "As long as the ardent love of his religion flourished (with which we were inflamed), it worked in our hearts an incredible desire for his presence among us. But after the time that the godly man ceased to be any longer in our sight and in our eyes, that ardent and burning love of religion little by little waxed cold in our minds. And according to the times that came after (which were both miserable, and to our utter undoing), it began to be darkened — not little by little, but it altogether vanished away, and turned into nothing. For we fell again into the popish doctrine; the old rites and customs of the Romish church were restored again, not to the beautifying of the Christian religion, but to the utter defacing, violating, and defiling of it. Death was set before the eyes of those who persevered in the Christian doctrine that they had learned before. Those were banished from the realm who would not conform themselves to the

[7] The *Orator* is "the voice of the Senate." Among his duties is to present on their behalf to the President, and to the entire university body assembled, distinguished personages for the bestowal of degrees *honoris causa*.

time, and do as other men did. Those who remained were forced either to dissemble, or to hide themselves and creep into corners, or else by drinking of the charmed cup of Circe, as it were, to be turned and altered not only from the nature of man into the nature of brute beasts, but far worse and much more monstrous — from the likeness of God and his angels, into the likeness of devils. And all England was infected with this malady. Conforming ourselves to those most filthy times, we have most shamefully yielded, like faint-hearted cowards who did not have the fortitude to sustain the adversities of poverty, banishment, and death. In our living and conversation, we kept neither the constancy taught us by philosophy, nor yet the patience taught us by the holy Scriptures, and we have done all things at the commandment of others.

"As in every place there was now executed some singular kind of cruelty, so that there was no sort of punishment that could be devised, but it was put in use in one place or other. This was proper or peculiar to Cambridge: to exercise the cruelty upon the dead, which in other places was extended only to the living. Oxford burnt the right reverend fathers, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the noble witnesses of the light of the gospel. Moreover, Rogers and Bradford perished at London, those two lanterns of light. It is hard to say whether in them there were more force of eloquence and utterance in preaching, or more holiness of life and conversation. Many others without number, both there and in other places, were consumed to ashes for bearing record to the truth. For what city is there that has not flamed, I say, not with the burning of houses and buildings but with the burning of holy bodies?

[937] A.D. 1557.

"But Cambridge, after there were no more left alive upon whom they might vomit out their bitter poison, played the mad Bedlam against the dead. The dead men who, when alive, no man was able to find fault with, whose doctrine no man was able to reprove, were indicted by false slanderous accusers, contrary to the laws of God and man. They were sued in the law and condemned; their sepulchers violated and broken up, and their carcasses pulled out and burnt with fire — a thing surely incredible if we had not seen it with our eyes, and a thing that has not lightly been heard of. But the heinousness of this wicked act was spread abroad as a common talk in every man's mouth, not only in England, but throughout Christendom. Bucer, by the excellency of his wisdom and doctrine, was well known to all men, by our countrymen in a manner besought, by many others entreated and sent for, to the intent that he might instruct our Cambridge men in the sincere doctrine of the Christian religion. Being spent with age, and his strength utterly decayed, he forsook his own country. He did not refuse the tediousness of that long journey; he was not afraid to venture himself upon the sea, but had more regard for the enlarging of the church of Christ, than of all other things. So in conclusion, he came, every man received and welcomed him. Afterward he lived in such a way that it might appear he did not come here for his own sake, but for ours. For he did not seek to drive away the sickness that he had taken by troublesome travel of his long journey: and although his strength was weakened and appalled, yet he did not regarded the recovery of his health, but put himself to immoderate labor and intolerable pain, only to teach and instruct us.

"And towards this so noble and worthy a person, while he lived, were shown all the tokens of humanity and gentleness, reverence and courtesy that could be; but when he was dead, the most horrible cruelty that can be imagined. For what can be so commendable, as to grant to the living, a house and abiding place, and to the dead, burial? Or who is he that will find it in his heart to entertain, and to cherish that person in his house with all the kinds of gentleness that he can devise, upon whom he could not grant to bestow burial when he is dead? Again, what an inconstancy is it, with great solemnity, and with much advancement and commendation of his virtues, to bury a man honorably, and soon after to break up his tomb, and pull him out spitefully, and to wrongfully slander him, being dead, who during his life

time always deserved praise? All these things have happened to Bucer who, while he lived, had free access into the most gorgeous buildings and stately palaces of the greatest princes; and when he was dead, he could not be allowed to enjoy so much as his poor grave. Being nobly laid in the ground, to his eternal fame, he was afterwards, to his utter defacing, spitefully taken up and burned. These things, though they did no harm to the dead (for the dead carcasses feel no pain, nor does the fame of godly persons depend upon the report of vulgar people, and the light rumors of men, but upon the rightful censure and just judgment of God). Yet it shows the extreme cruelty and insatiable desire for revenge in those who offer such utter wrong to the dead. These persons, therefore, whom they have pulled out of their graves and burned, I believe (if they had been alive) they would have cast out of house and home, they would have driven out of all men's company, and in the end, with most cruel torments, they would have torn them in pieces, being nevertheless strangers and aliens, and also being brought here by us, out of such a country where they not only did not need to fear any punishment, but contrariwise, they were always held in much reputation among the noble and honorable, as well as among the vulgar and common people.

"But yet how much more gentle than these men was Bishop Gardiner, otherwise an earnest defender of the popish doctrine? Against his own countrymen he let pass no cruelty whereby he might extinguish with fire and sword the light of the gospel. And yet he spared foreigners, because their right is so holy that there was never a nation so barbarous that it would violate the same. For when he had in his power the renowned cleric, Peter Martyr, then teaching at Oxford, he would not keep him to punish him, but (as I have heard reported) when he wished to go away, he gave him what he needed to bear his charges. So that the thing which he thought he might of right do to his countrymen, he judged unlawful to do to strangers. And though the law of God could not withhold him from the wicked murdering of his own countrymen, yet the law of man bridled him from killing strangers, which has ever appeased the most barbarous, and mitigated all cruelty. Therefore this cruelty has far surmounted the cruelty of all others. To satisfy the insatiable greediness of it, it drew to execution not only strangers brought here at our entreaty and sending for, but even the withered and rotten carcasses dug out of their graves. This was to the intent that the immeasurable thirst which could not be quenched with shedding the blood of those who were alive, might at the least be satisfied in burning dead men's bones. These, my brethren, *these* I say, are the just causes which have so sorely provoked the wrath of God against us, because we have been prone and ready to do extreme injury to the dead; but we have been slow and backward in putting that away. For truly I believe, if I may have liberty to freely say what I think (bear with me, if I chance to say anything unadvisedly in the heat and hasty discourse of my oration) that even *this* place, in which we have so often assembled, being defiled with that new kind of wickedness such as man never heard of before, is a hindrance to us when we call for the help of God, by means of which our prayers are not accepted — prayers which we make to appease the Godhead, and to win Him to be favorable to us again.

"The blood of Abel shed by Cain, calls and cries from the earth that sucked it up. Likewise, the undeserved burning of these bodies, calls upon Almighty God to punish us, and it cries that not only the authors of so great a wickedness, but also the ministers of it are impure, the places defiled in which these things were perpetrated, the air infected which we take into our bodies, with the effect that by sundry diseases and sicknesses we may receive punishment for such execrable wickedness."

When Acworth, after much more godly exhortation had made an end of his oration, Master James Pilkington the queen's reader of the divinity lecture, going up into the pulpit, also gave a sermon in which he enlarged upon the long-continued cruelties and persecutions by the popes of Rome. He said,

"In the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, they used too much cruelty, and too much violence. For however it went with the doctrine of Bucer, certainly they could find nothing of which to accuse Phagius, in that he wrote nothing that came abroad except for a few things that he had translated out of the Hebrew and Chaldee tongues into Latin. After his coming into the realm, he never read, he never disputed, he never preached, he never taught. For he died soon after, so that in that time he could give no occasion for his adversaries to take hold of by which to accuse him, whom they never heard speak. In that they hated Bucer so deadly for the allowable marriage of the clergy, it was their own malice conceived against him, and a very slander raised by themselves. For he had for his defense in that matter (over and besides other helps) the testimony of pope Pius II, who in a certain place says that upon weighty considerations, priests' wives were taken from them, but for more weighty causes were to be restored again. And also the statute of the emperor, called the 'Interim,' by which it is enacted that those of the clergy who were married, should not be divorced from their wives."

Peter Martyr's Wife Dug up and Burnt at Oxford.

An Account of the conduct of the Papists towards Peter Martyr's Wife at Oxford, taken up from her grave, and buried in a dunghill.

And so that the one university might not mock the other, similar cruelty was displayed upon the dead body of Peter Martyr's wife, at Oxford. She was an honest, grave, and sober matron while she lived, and always a great helper of poor people.

[938]

In the year 1552, she departed this life, to the great sorrow of all those needy persons whose necessities she had often liberally relieved. Now, when Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, Nicholas Ormanet, datary; Robert Morwen, president of Corpus Christi College; and Cole and Wright, doctors of the civil law, came there as the cardinal's visitors, among other things they had in commission to take up this good woman again out of her grave, and to consume her carcass with fire; having no doubt that she was of the same religion which her husband had professed when he read the king's lecture there. And to make a show that they would do nothing disorderly, they called all those before them who had any acquaintance with her or her husband. They administered an oath to them, that they should not conceal whatever was demanded. In short, their answer was that they did not know what religion she was, as they did not understand her language, she being a German.

After these visitors had concluded the business they came for, they went to the cardinal again, notifying him that upon due inquiry, they could learn nothing upon which by the law they might burn her. Notwithstanding, the cardinal did not leave the matter so. He wrote his letters a good while after to Marshall, then dean of Frideswide's, that he should dig her up, and lay her outside of Christian burial, because she was interred near to St. Frideswide's relics, held in great reverence in that college. Doctor Marshall, calling his men together in the evening, with spades and mattocks, [8] had her taken up and buried in a dunghill.

However, when it pleased God under good Queen Elizabeth, to give quietness to his church which had been so long persecuted, then Doctor Parker, archbishop of Canterbury; Edmund Grindall, bishop of London; and Richard Goodrick, with others — her majesty's high commissioners in matters of religion, who were not ignorant of how far the adversaries of the truth had transgressed the bounds of all humanity in violating the sepulcher or grave of that good and virtuous woman — commanded certain members of that college in which this

[8] *Mattock*: A kind of pick that is used for digging; has a flat blade set at right angles to the handle.

spiteful deed was done, to take her out of that place where she lay. And solemnly, in the face of the whole town, they buried her again in a more decent monument. The body being dead, no great estimation was to be had of how or where the bones were laid; yet some reverence was to be used toward her for womanhood's sake. Besides this, to say the truth, it was a great shame that her husband, who at king Edward's request had travelled so far from the place in which he dwelt quietly, and had taken such great pains, being an old man, reading and setting forth the truth all that he could, with learning to teach and instruct, and so well deserved of that university — should be so rewarded as to have his wife laid in a dunghill. Though treated with such ingratitude, she was a godly woman, a stranger, good to many, especially to the poor, and hurtful to none either in word or deed, without just deserving, and contrary to their own law.

To all good natures, the act seemed odious; and by those who were endued with humanity, it was utterly to be abhorred. Therefore, Master Calfield, then sub-dean of the college, diligently provided that she was restored from the dunghill to her proper place again. Yes, and he mixed her bones with Frideswide's, so that in case any cardinal would be so mad as to later remove this woman's bones again, it would be hard for them to discern her bones from the other's.

The Persecutions in Canterbury and Colchester

And thus much touching the acts of this cardinal in both universities. It will not be impertinent here to adjoin the articles set out by him to be inquired upon within his diocese of Canterbury. By these it may better appear what yokes of fruitless traditions were laid upon the poor flock of Christ, to entangle and oppress them with loss of life and liberty. We omit those that concerned the *clergy* as too long. The following, which refer to the *laity*, will suffice to show the nature of this visitation. The following were to be inquired into:

- Whether any manner of person, of whatever estate, degree, or condition he may be, holds, maintains, or affirms any heresies, errors, or erroneous opinions contrary to the laws ecclesiastical, and the unity of the catholic church.
- Whether any person holds, affirms, or says that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, there is not contained the real and substantial presence of Christ; or by any manner of means disdains and despises the said blessed sacrament, or refuses to reverence or worship it.
- Whether they disdain or despise by any manner of means any other of the sacraments, rites, or ceremonies of the church, or refuse or deny auricular confession.
- Whether any absent themselves, or refrain without urgent and lawful impediment, from coming to the church to reverently hear the divine service upon Sundays and holydays.
- Whether being in the church, they do not apply themselves to hear the divine service, and to be contemplative in holy prayer, and not to walk, jangle, or talk in the time of divine service.
- Whether the churches are sufficiently garnished and adorned with all necessary ornaments and books, and whether they have a cross in their church, of a decent stature, with Mary, and John, and an image of the patron of the same church.
- Whether in the time of Easter last, any were not confessed, or did not receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, or behaved themselves irreverently in receiving it.
- Whether any keep any secret conventicles, preachings, lectures, or readings in matters of religion, contrary to the laws.
- Whether any do not duly keep the fasting and ember days now.
- Whether the altars in the churches are consecrated or not.

- Whether the sacrament is carried devoutly to those who fall sick, with light, and with a little sacring bell.[9]
- Whether there is a lamp or a candle burning before the sacrament. And if there is not, that it be provided for expeditiously.
- Whether any keep, or have in their custody, any erroneous or unlawful books.
- Whether any have or despise, or disdain the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's holiness, or the See of Rome.

Ten Martyrs burned in the Diocese of Canterbury.

Mention was made a little earlier of the persecution in Kent. We declared that fifteen persons were condemned and imprisoned in the castle of Canterbury, for God's word. Of these fifteen, we showed five were famished to death in the castle and buried in the highway, about the beginning of November. The other ten, in the month of January 1557, were committed to the fire, and there consumed to ashes by Thornton, called bishop or suffragan of Dover, and by Nicholas Harpsfield, the arch-deacon of the province.

The names of these ten godly and Christian martyrs are these: — John Philpot, of Tenterden; William Waterer, of Beddingden; Stephen Kempe, of Norgate; William Hay, of Hithe; Thomas Hudson, of Salenge; Matt. Bradbridge, of Tenterden; Thomas Stevens, of Beddingden; Nich. Final, of Tenderden; William Lowick, of Cranbroke; and Wm. Prowting, of Thornham.

Of these ten, six were burned at Canterbury about the 15th of January. Two others at Wye, about the same month; and two more were burned at Ashford, on the 16th of January.

They all agreed together in their answers to the articles objected to them, if not in the same words, yet in effect. First in granting the church of Christ, and denying the church of Rome; denying the seven sacraments; refusing the mass; hearing the Latin service; praying to saints; justification by works, etc.

The month following, which was February, another commission came out from the king and queen, to kindle up the fire of persecution, as though it were not hot enough already. I thought it not proper to omit the contents of that commission.

[939] A.D. 1557.

This was not for lack of material (of which I have too much), but that the reader may understand how kings and princes of this world — just as in the first persecutions of the primitive church under Valerian, Decius, Maximin, Diocletian, Licinius, etc., so now also in these latter perilous days — have set out all their main force and power, with laws, policy, and authority to the uttermost they could devise against Christ and his blessed gospel. And yet, notwithstanding all these laws, constitutions, injunctions, and terrible proclamations that were provided against Christ and his gospel, Christ still continues, his gospel flourishes, and truth prevails. Kings and emperors are overthrown in their own purposes; their devises dissolved; their councils confounded — as examples make manifest, of this age and of all times and ages. But now let us hear the intent of this commission, as follows:

[9] *Sacring bell*: a small bell rung during the elevation of the host or chalice at Mass.

A Commission given by King Philip and Queen Mary, to persecute the poor Members of Christ.

"Philip and Mary, by the grace of God king and queen of England, etc. To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor, Thomas, bishop of Ely, etc., etc.

"Because diverse devilish and slanderous persons have not only invented and set forth many false rumors, tales, and seditious slanders against us, but also have sown many heresies and heretical opinions, and set forth many seditious books within this our realm of England, meaning thereby to stir up division, strife, contention, and sedition, not only among our loving subjects, but also between us and our said subjects, with various other outrageous misdemeanors, enormities, contempts, and offenses daily committed and done, to the disquieting of us and our people, we — minding the due punishment of such offenders, and the repressing of such like offenses, enormities, and misbehaviors from now forward, having special trust and confidence in your fidelity, wisdom, and discretion — have authorized, appointed, and assigned you to be our commissioners, and by these presents we give full power and authority to you, and three of you, to inquire by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as well as by witnesses and all other means and politic ways you can devise, of all and singular heretical opinions, lollardies,[10] heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and all false rumors, tales, seditious and slanderous words or sayings, raised, published, invented, or set forth against us, or either of us, or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, by books, lies, tales, or otherwise, in any county, key, bowing, [11] or other place or places within this realm of England, or elsewhere in any place or places beyond the seas; and of the bringers-in, utterers, buyers, sellers, readers, keepers, or conveyors of any such letter, book, rumor, and tale, and of all and every one of their coadjutors, counsellors, comforters, procurers, abettors, and maintainers, giving to you and three of you, full power and authority by virtue of this, to search out and take into your hands and possessions, all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, and writings, wherever they or any of them are found, in printers' houses and shops as well as elsewhere, willing you, and each of you, to search for the same in all places according to your discretions.

"And also to inquire, hear, and determine all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviors, and negligences committed in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place within this realm, and also for and concerning taking away or withholding any lands, tenements, goods, ornaments, stocks of money, or other things belonging to any of the same churches and chapels, and all accounts and reckonings concerning the same.

"And also to inquire and search out all those persons who obstinately refuse to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or to come to their parish churches, or other convenient places appointed for divine service, and all those who refuse to go on procession, to take holy bread, or holy water, or otherwise misuse themselves in any church or other hallowed place, wherever any of the same offenses have been, or hereafter will be committed within this said realm.

"Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is that when, and as often as, any person or persons hereafter being called or brought before you, obstinately persist or stand in any matter of heresy or heretical opinion, that you or three of you then immediately take order, to see that the same person or persons so standing or persisting, are delivered and committed to his ordinary, there to be used according to the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws.

[10] *Lollardies*: the doctrines or practices of the Lollards, who followed the teachings of John Wycliffe.

[11] *Key*: a small, low-elevation, sandy island or exposed sandbar; *bowing*: the area under a bowed (arched) bridge —the phrasing is equivalent to "every nook and cranny."

"And we also give to you, or three of you, full power and authority, to inquire and search out all vagabonds, and masterless men, barettors,[12] quarrelers, and suspected persons, abiding within our city of London, and ten miles compass of the same, and all assaults and affrays [13] done and committed within the same city and compass.

"And further, to search out all wastes, decays, and ruins of churches, chancels, chapels, parsonages, and vicarages in the diocese of the same, being within this realm, giving you and every one of you full power and authority by virtue of this, to hear and determine the same, and all other offenses and matters specified and recited above, according to your wisdom, consciences, and discretion — willing and commanding you, or any three of you, from time to time, to use and devise all such politic ways and means for the trial and searching out of the premises, as by you, or three of you. will be thought most expedient and necessary: and upon inquiry and due proof being had, known, perceived, and tried out, by the confession of the parties, or by sufficient witnesses before you, or three of you, concerning the premises or any part of them, or by any other requisite ways or means, to give and award such punishment to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise, and to take such order for redress and reformation of the premises, as to your wisdoms, or three of you, will be thought appropriate and convenient.

"Further willing and commanding you, and every three of you, in case you find any obstinate or disobedient person or persons, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or assignment, or else in not accomplishing, or not obeying your decrees, orders, and commandments in any thing or things, regarding the premises or any part of them, to commit the same person or persons so offending to ward (jail), there to remain, till by you or three of you, he is discharged or delivered, etc.

And so forth, with other similar matter as follows:

The Apprehension of twenty-two Prisoners at Colchester.

After this tyrannical proclamation or commission thus given out at London, which was on the 8th of February, in the third and fourth years of the king and queen's reign, these new inquisitors, especially some of them, began to take it upon themselves not a little; so that all quarters were full of persecution, and prisons were almost full of prisoners in the diocese of Canterbury.

In the meantime, around Colchester, the wind of persecution began to rise fiercely. So that twenty three men and women were apprehended together at one time; one escaped. The other twenty-two were driven up like a flock of Christian lambs to London, two or three of them at most were leaders, ready to have their skins plucked off for the gospel's sake. Notwithstanding, the bishops, fearing to put so many to death at once, sought means to deliver them. And so they did, drawing out a very easy submission for them, or rather allowing them to draw it out themselves. Notwithstanding, several of them afterward were taken again, and suffered, as you will hear shortly. Those who met them by the way coming up, saw them in the fields, separated in such a way that they might easily have escaped. When they entered into the towns, their keepers called them back into array, going two by two, having a band or line going between them, which they held in their hands, every one of them having another cord about his arm, as though they were tied.

[940]

[12] *Barettor*: someone prone to berate, contend, dispute or argue; a wrangler.

[13] *Affray* or *fray:* a noisy fight or quarrel.

And so these fourteen men and eight women were carried up to London, the people along the way praying to God for them, to give them strength. At their entering into London, they were bound, and so they came into the city.

The twenty-two prisoners thus sent from Colchester to London, were brought at length to bishop Bonner. As to the order and manner of their coming and bringing, Bonner himself writes to Cardinal Pole as follows:

"May it please your good grace, with my most humble obedience, reverence, and duty, to understand that going to London last Thursday, and thinking to be troubled only with Master Germaine's matter, and such other common matters as are usual, which was enough to weary a right strong body, the following day I had to comfort my heart with letters from Colchester, that either that day, or the following day, I would have twenty-two heretics sent there, indicted before the commissioners. And so indeed I had. I was compelled to bear their charges, as I did of the other, both of which cost me over twenty nobles,[14] a sum of money that I thought full evil bestowed. And these heretics, notwithstanding they had honest catholic keepers to conduct and bring them up to me, went quietly and obediently all the way from Colchester to Stratford-le-Bow. Yet coming to Stratford they began to take great liberty, and to do as pleased themselves, for they began to have their own guard, which generally increased till they came to Aldgate, where they were lodged on Friday night.

"Although I gave order that the said heretics should be with me very early on Saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come and be examined by me, yet it was between ten and eleven o'clock before they would come, and they would take no way but through Cheapside; so that they were brought to my house with about a thousand persons. This I took to be very strange, and spoke to Sir John Gresham to tell the mayor and the sheriffs that this thing was not well allowed in the city. These naughty heretics, coming all the way through Cheapside, both exhorted the people to take their part, and they had much comfort from the crowd. Having entered into my house, and talked with, they showed themselves desperate and very obstinate. Yet I used all the honest means I could to win them, having some learned men talk with them. However, I found nothing in them but pride and willfulness. I thought to have them all go to Fulham, and there to give sentence against them. Nevertheless, perceiving that your grace was offended by my last doing, I thought it my duty, before I proceeded further, to notify your grace, and know your good pleasure, which I beseech your grace I may do by this trusty bearer. And thus I most humbly take my leave of your good grace, beseeching Almighty God always to preserve the same. At Fulham, December 26th, 1556.

"Your grace's most bounden bedesman [15] and servant,

"EDMUND BONNER."

It is to be understood by this letter of Bishop Bonner's to the cardinal, what good will was in this bishop to have the blood of these men, and to have passed sentence of condemnation against them, if the cardinal had not somewhat, as it seemed, stayed his cruelty. Concerning the cardinal, although it cannot be denied by his acts and writings, that he was a professed enemy, and not other than a papist — yet, again, he was none of the bloody and cruel sort of papists. This may appear, not only by staying the rage of this bishop, but also by his letters written to Cranmer; and also by the complaints of some papists accusing him to the pope, as the tolerator of the heretics, and by the pope's letters sent to him, calling him up to Rome, and setting Friar Peto in his place, had not Queen Mary by special entreaty, kept him out of the pope's power. And besides, it is also thought of him that towards his latter end, a little

[14] *Noble*: a coin worth 10 shillings in 1550, ten days' wages for a skilled tradesman.

[15] *Bedesman*: a male who is paid to pray for the soul of another.

before his coming from Rome to England, he began to somewhat favor the doctrine of Luther, and was no less suspected at Rome; and furthermore, there at Rome he converted a certain learned Spaniard from popery to Luther's side. Notwithstanding, the pomp and glory of the world afterwards carried him away to play the papist as he thus did. But to return to our account of this godly company again. As to their confession, which they sent up in writing, it would be too tedious to recite the whole. Briefly touching the article of the Lord's Supper, for which they were chiefly troubled, they wrote thus:

The Supper of the Lord.

"Whereas Christ at his last supper, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, 'Take, eat, this is my body.' And 'likewise took the cup,' etc. We understand it to be figurative speech, as most of his language was in parables and dark sentences, so that those who are carnally minded would see with their eyes, and not perceive; and hear with their ears, and not understand. He signified by this, that as he broke the bread among them, being but one loaf, and they were all partakers of it, so we through his body, in that it was broken and offered upon the cross for us, are all partakers of it. His blood cleanses us from all our sins, and has pacified God's wrath towards us, and made the atonement between God and us, if we walk in the light from then on, even as he is the true light.

"And in saying further, 'Do this in remembrance of me,' it is a memorial and token of the suffering and death of Jesus Christ. And he commands it for this reason: so that the congregation of Christ should come together to show his death, and to thank and laud him for all his benefits, and magnify his holy name, and so break the bread, and drink the wine, in remembrance that Christ has given his body, and shed his blood for us.

"Thus you may well perceive, though Christ called the bread his *body*, and the wine his *blood*, yet it does not follow that the substance of his body should be in the bread and wine; as many places in Scripture are spoken by Christ and the apostles, in a similar phrase of speech, as in John 15, 'I am the true vine.' Also in John 10, 'I am the door.' And as it is written in the 9th to the Hebrews, and in Exodus 24, how Moses took the blood of the calves, and sprinkled both the book and all the people, saying, 'This is the blood of the covenant or testament.' And also in the 5th chapter of Ezekiel, how the Lord said to him concerning the third part of his hair, saying, 'This is Jerusalem, etc.'

"Thus we see the Scriptures, how they are spoken in figures, and ought to be spiritually examined, and not as they would have us say, that the bodily presence of Christ is in the bread. This is a blasphemous understanding of the godly word, and is contrary to all holy Scriptures. Also we see that great idolatry has sprung out of the carnal understanding of the words of Christ, 'This is my body;' and still springs up daily, to the great dishonor of God; so that men worship a piece of bread for God, yes, and hold that to be their maker."

After this confession of their faith and doctrine being written and exhibited, they also devised a letter in the form of a short supplication, or rather an admonition to the judges and commissioners, requiring that justice and judgment, according to the rule of God's word, might be ministered to them.

Though the request of these men was so just, and their doctrine so sound, yet all this could not prevail with the bishop and other judges. That sentence would have proceeded against them immediately, had not the goodness of the Lord better provided for his servants, than the bishop had intended. For as they were now under the edge of the axe, ready to be condemned by sentence, it was thought otherwise by the cardinal, and some other wiser heads. Fearing lest by the death of so many together, some disturbance might arise among

the people, it was decreed among themselves, that they would rather make some submission or confession, and so be sent back home.

[941] A.D. 1557

Five Godly Martyrs burned in Smithfield.

To proceed further in this history of persecuted martyrs, next in order follow five others burned at London, in Smithfield, April 12th, 1557; namely, Thomas Loseby; Henry Ramsey; Thomas Thirtel; Margaret Hide; and Agnes Stanley.

Being apprehended for not coming to their parish churches, they were sent to Bonner, bishop of London, and by his command on the 27th of January, were examined before Doctor Darbishire, then chancellor to the bishop, upon the usual articles.

Their answers were that they confessed there was one true and catholic church in which they steadfastly believed, and thought that the church of Rome was no part or member of it. In the church, they believe there are but two sacraments; that is to say, baptism, and the supper of the Lord. Moreover, they acknowledged themselves to be baptized into the faith of that true church. And here all men should mark the subtlety of these popish divines, who intermixing certain points of faith and of the true church, with the idolatrous and superstitious mummery of their Romish synagogue, often cause the poor and simple people, for lack of knowledge, to fall into their crafty nets. For after they made them grant that there is a true church with the sacraments (though not in such number as they would have them), and also, that they were baptized into the faith of the church, that is, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, they craftily descend from the faith of the Trinity, to their idolatrous mass, and to other superstitious ceremonies. They would make them grant that now, in denying these, they have severed themselves from the faith of the true church into which they were baptized; which is most false. For though the true light of God's gospel and holy word was shockingly darkened, and in a manner utterly extinguished, yet the true faith of the Trinity, by the merciful providence of God, was still preserved, and we were baptized into the faith of it, and not into the belief and profession of their idolatry and vain ceremonies.

These things not being thoroughly weighed by these poor, yet faithful and true members of Christ, caused some of them to ignorantly grant that when they came to the years of discretion, and understood the light of the gospel, they separated themselves from the faith of the church — meaning none other than only to separate themselves from the popish and erroneous trash which now defiled the church of Christ, and not from their faith received in baptism. In their answer to the other articles, they constantly affirmed this in express words, declaring the mass and sacrament of the altar to be most wicked blasphemy against Christ Jesus, and contrary to the truth of his gospel. And therefore they refused to assent and to be reconciled to it again.

These answers being taken by the chancellor, they were dismissed for that time. But the bishop, taking the matter into his own hands, on the 6th of March, propounded other new articles to them. To these they all answered severally, with faithfulness to the truth.

After this, on the 1st of April, they were again brought before the bishop in his palace at London, where little appears to have been done, except to know whether they would stand to their answers, and whether they would recant or not. But when they refused to recant, the bishop had them brought into the open consistory on the 8rd of April. There, seeing their

constancy and steadfastness, he demanded particularly of every one what they had to say, and why he should not pronounce the sentence of condemnation.

Thomas Loseby answered first, "God give me grace and strength to stand against you, and your sentence, and also against your law, which is a devouring law, for it devours the flock of Christ. And I perceive there is no way with me but death, unless I would consent to your law, and believe in that idol the mass."

Next answered **Thomas Thirtel**, saying, "My lord, I say this: if you make me a heretic, then you make Christ and all twelve apostles heretics: for I am in the true faith and right belief, and I will stand in it, for I know full well I shall have eternal life."

Henry Ramsey said, "My lord, would you have me go from the truth? I say to you, that my opinions are the very truth, which I will stand to, and not go from them. And I say to you further, that there are two churches upon the earth, and we (meaning himself and other true martyrs and professors of Christ) are of the true church, and you are not."

Margaret Hide answered saying, "My lord, you have no cause to give sentence against me: for I am in the true faith and opinion, and will never forsake it; and I wish that I were stronger in it than I am."

Last of all **Agnes Stanley** answered, and said, "I would rather have every hair of my head burned, if it were ever worth so much, than to forsake my faith and opinion, which is the true faith."

The time now being spent, they were commanded to appear again in the afternoon in the same place. This commandment being obeyed, the bishop first called for THOMAS LOSEBY.

In his accustomed manner, the bishop commanded that his articles and answers to be read. In reading from them, when the sacrament of the altar was mentioned, the bishop with his colleagues put off their caps; at which Loseby said, "My lord, seeing you put *off* your cap, I will put *on* my cap," which he accordingly did. Afterwards, the bishop continued in his accustomed persuasions. Loseby said to him, "My lord, I trust I have the spirit of truth, which you detest and abhor, for the wisdom of God is foolishness to you."

Then the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against him; and delivering him to the sheriff, he called for MARGARET HIDE.

She said," I will not depart from my sayings till I am burned. And my lord, I would see you instruct me in some part of God's word, and not give me instructions about the holy bread and holy water, for it is no part of the Scripture."

But to make short work, he used his final reason, which was the sentence of condemnation. Therefore putting her aside, he called for AGNES STANLEY.

Upon the bishop's like persuasions, she gave this answer. "My lord, where you say I am a heretic, I am none; nor will I believe you, nor will any man who is wise believe as you do. And as for these that you say are burnt for heresy, I believe they are true martyrs before God. Therefore I will not go from my opinion and faith, as long as I live." She then received the like sentence that the other had.

And the bishop then turning to THOMAS THIRTELL, likewise received from him this final answer: "My lord, I will not hold with your idolatrous ways. For I say, the mass is idolatry, and I will adhere to my faith and belief so long as the breath is in my body." Upon which words he was also condemned as a heretic.

Last of all, HENRY RAMSEY was demanded if he would stand to his answers, or else recant them, come home again, and be a member of their church. He answered, "I will not go from my religion and belief as long as I live. And my lord, your doctrine is wrong, for it is not agreeable to God's word."

After these words, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against him and the rest, and charged the sheriffs of London with them. Being so commanded, on the 12th of April, they brought them into Smithfield where, in one fire, they all most joyfully and constantly ended their temporal lives, receiving the life eternal.

Three burned in Saint George's-fields, in Southwark.

After these, in the month of May three others followed who suffered in St. George's-field, in Southwark; namely, William Morant, Stephen Gratwick, and one King.

Among other histories of the persecuted and condemned saints of God, I find the condemnation of none, more strange nor unlawful than of this Stephen Gratwick. For,

1. He was condemned by the bishop of Winchester, and the bishop of Rochester, who were not his ordinaries.

2. When he appealed from these incompetent judges to his right ordinary, his appeal was not admitted.

3. When they had no other way to color their proceedings, they suborned one of the priests to come in as a counterfeit and a false ordinary, and sit upon him.

[942]

4. Being openly convinced and overturned in his own arguments, the bishop of Winchester, Doctor White, would neither yield to the force of truth, nor allow any of the audience even once to say, 'God strengthen him.'

5. As they brought in a false ordinary to sit upon him; so they pretended false articles against him, which were no part of his examinations, but of their own devising, to have his blood.

6. And lastly, having no other ground nor just matters against him, but only for saying these words; 'That which I said, I have said,' they read the sentence of death upon him.

And this was the dealing of these men, who would be reputed as catholic fathers of the spiritualty, successors of the apostles, disciples of Christ, pillars of the holy church, and leaders of the people. Of whose doings and proceedings, whether they were conformable to the example of Christ and his apostles, I leave others to discuss, referring the decision to those who know the institution of Christ's religion and doctrine.

The account of this matter is written
by Stephen Gratwick himself, as follows.

"On the 25th of May 1557, I came before the bishop of Winchester, into St. George's church in Southwark. Then he called me before him, and said:

"'How does the matter stand with you now? Are you content to revoke your heresies which you have maintained and defended here within my diocese? And also, last Sunday you stood up in the face of the whole church maintaining your heresies, so that you have offended within my diocese. Now, being your ordinary, you must answer to me directly, whether you will revoke them or not?'

“Gratwick. — ‘My lord, these articles which you have objected against me are not mine, but of your own making. Therefore these are objections which you lay against me as snares to get my blood. Therefore I desire you to allow my lawful appeal to my own ordinary; for I have nothing to do with you. And where you charge that I have offended within your diocese, it is not so. I have not attempted either to preach or teach within your diocese. For I was apprehended by my own bishop, and sent as a prisoner into your diocese, by the consent of the council and my own ordinary. Therefore you have no cause to prevent my lawful appeal.’

“And with that, in came the bishop of Rochester, who was received by the bishop of Winchester with much gladness. Next followed the archdeacon of Canterbury.

“Winchester. — ‘Sir, I am very glad of your coming. For here I have one before me, who has appealed to you, being his ordinary.’

“Archdeacon Canterbury. — ‘I know this man very well. He has been before me several times.’

“Gratwick. — ‘My lord, I am not of his diocese, not by five miles. I dwell in the diocese of the bishop of Chichester; and therefore I am not of his diocese.’

“Then the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Rochester, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, consulted together, and laughed. They said, ‘my ordinary would be here by and by.’ They then sent for a counterfeit instead of my ordinary; and then I saw them laugh. So I spoke to them and said:

“Gratwick. — ‘Why do you laugh? Are you confederated together for my blood, and triumph in this? You have more cause to look weightily upon the matter. For here I stand before you upon life and death. But you declare yourselves to be what you are, for you are clothed in lambs’ apparel. But I would to God that you had coats according to your assembly here, which is scarlet gowns, for here I perceive you are bent to have my blood.’

“And then the counterfeit bishop came rushing in, who was the hired servant to deliver me into the hands of the high priest. The bishop hearing him come, inquired who was there. And he said, ‘My lord of Chichester.’ Then the bishop with haste rose up and said:

“Winchester. — ‘You are most heartily welcome,’ and he requested him to sit down. Then the bishop of Winchester said to me, ‘Behold, here is your ordinary. What do you have now to say to him?”

“Counterfeit. — ‘Here you stand before my lords and me on trial of your faith, and if you bring the truth, we will give way to you.’

“Then I demanded of him whether he meant [truth] by authority, or by the judgment of the Spirit of God in his members? And he answered me, by authority as well as by the Spirit.

“Then I said. ‘Now will I turn your own argument upon you. For Christ came before the high priests, scribes, and pliarisees, bringing the truth with him, being the very truth himself, which truth cannot lie. Yet both he and his truth were condemned, and had no place with them — and also the apostles, and all the martyrs who died since Christ. Therefore I turn your own argument upon you, answer it if you can.’

“Then he with a great heat of choler, said to the bishop of Winchester, ‘Object some articles against him, for he is obstinate, and would gladly get out of our hands. Therefore hold him to some particular.’

"Then the counterfeit ordinary spoke again, and said, 'My lord, ask him what he says to the sacrament of the altar.' Then the bishop asked me, as he requested of him.

"Gratwick. — 'My lord, I believe that in the sacrament of the supper of the Lord, truly administered to the worthy receiver in both kinds according to the institution of Christ, he eats mystically by faith the body and drinks the blood of Christ.' Then I asked him if it were not the truth. And he said, 'Yes.' Then I said, 'Bear witness of the truth.'

"Then the bishop of Winchester, whose head being subtlest, said, 'My lord, do you not see how he creeps away with his heresies, and covers them secretively? Note how here he separates the sacrament of the altar from the supper of the Lord, meaning it is not the true sacrament. And also how he condemns our administration in one kind, and allows that the unworthy receiver does not eat and drink the body and blood of Christ. But he will answer directly. What do you say about the administration of the priests every day for themselves, and they administer in both kinds?'

"1 answered, 'You have two administrations, for I am sure at Easter you minister in but one kind, and therefore it is not according to the institution of Christ, but according to your own imaginations.'

"Winchester. — 'Why, then, what do you say to these words, 'Take, eat, this is my body.' These are the words of Christ. Will you deny them?'

"Gratwick. — 'My lord, they are the words of Scripture, I affirm and do not deny them.'

"Rochester. — 'Why, then, you do confess in the sacrament of the altar, that there is a real presence, the self-same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and is ascended up into heaven?'

"Gratwick. — 'My lord, what do you mean now? Do you not also mean a visible body? For of necessity, if it is a real presence and a material body, then it must be a visible body also.'

"Winchester. — 'No, I say, it is a real presence, and a material body, and an *invisible* body too.'

"Gratwick. — 'My lord, then it must be a fantastical body. For if it were a material and invisible body, as you affirm, then it *must* be a fantastical body. For it is apparent that Christ's human body was visible and seen.'

"Then the bishop broke out and said, 'When did you see him? I pray you, tell me.'

"To that I answered and said, 'That is a weak argument. Because our corporeal eyes cannot comprehend Christ, does it follow that he is invisible, just because we cannot see him?'

"And with that the bishop began to grow weary of his argument, and shifted his talk to Judas in eating the sacrament. He said, 'He ate him wholly, as the apostles did.' And then I asked him if he meant Christ's flesh and blood, of which he speaks in the 6th of John, and says, 'Whoever eats my flesh, and drinks my blood, has eternal life in me.' To that he answered, 'Yes.'

[943] A.D. 1557.

"'Then,' I said, 'of necessity Judas must be saved, because he ate the flesh, and drank the blood of Christ, as you have affirmed. And also all the ungodly who die without repentance are saved, because they have eaten your sacrament, which you say is the flesh and blood of Christ. Therefore of necessity they will receive the benefit of it, that is, eternal life. This is a great absurdity to grant. And then of necessity it must follow that all who do not eat, and do

not drink of your sacrament, will finally perish and be damned. For Christ says, 'Unless you eat my flesh, and drink my blood, you can have no life in you.' And you have said of your sacrament, that it is the same flesh and blood that Christ speaks of. And here I prove that all children who die under the age to receive the sacrament, by your own argument, must be damned. This is a horrible blasphemy to speak. Now here I turn your own argument upon you. Answer it if you can.'

"Winchester. — 'My lord, do you not see what deceitful arguments he brings in here against us, mingled with sophistry, and keeps himself in an advantage, so that we can get no hold upon him? But I say to you, you perverse heretic, I see now, you are a perverse fellow. I had a better opinion of you. But now I see we lose our time about you, and yet I answer you that St. Paul opens the 6th of John plainly, if you will see. For he says, 'They eat Christ's body, and drink his blood unworthily,' and that was the cause of their damnation.'

"Gratwick. — 'My lord, take heed that you do not add to the text, for whoever adds to the text is accursed of God, and I am sure that here you have brought more than St. Paul has spoken. For he does not say, because they have eaten his body, and drank his blood unworthily; but St. Paul says, 'Whoever eats this *bread*, and drinks this *cup* of the Lord unworthily, will be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.' Note, my lord, he does not say as you have affirmed, but quite the contrary.'

"And with that they were all in a great rage. The bishop of Winchester said I belied the text. And then I called for the text. He said, 'I asked you even now if you understood Latin, and you said, whether I can or not, the people will bear witness in English.' And so I called again for the testament, whether it was Latin or English, for the trial of the text. When the bishop of Winchester saw that I did not care which of the translations I had, he stood up, thinking to beguile some simple man who had a book there, and bade one who had an English testament to bring it in, so that he might get some hold on him who would bring a testament. But God disappointed him, and so he began to rail upon me, and said my subtle arguments would not serve. For if I would not answer directly, I would nevertheless be excommunicated. 'For,' he said, 'I see a mad toy in your head; you glory much in your talk, and think now that the people have come about you, that you will encourage them with your constant heretical opinion. For on the last day when you were before me, on Sunday, in St. Mary Overy's church, you reproved my sermon there, and had at least a thousand by you, to bid God strengthen you. But now let me see him here who dares open his mouth to bid God to strengthen you. He shall die the death that you will die.'

"To that I answered, 'My lord, I know your cruelty extends more largely than your pity. I have good experience to say so, for you keep men in prison a year or two, taking their books from them, permitting them not so much as a testament to look upon for their soul's comfort, which all men ought to have. And so you treat them more like brute beasts than Christian men.'

"Winchester. — 'No, Sir, we will use you as we would use a child; for if the child would hurt himself with the knife, we will keep the knife from him. So because you will damn your souls with the word, you will therefore not have it.'

"Gratwick. — 'My lord, you bring a foolish argument to maintain and cover your fault. Are you not ashamed to make the *word* the cause of our damnation? I never knew any man but you, who did not affirm our *sins* to be the cause of our damnation, and not the *word*, as you say. Therefore if your argument is good, then this is good also: because some men abuse drink, the benefit of drink should be taken from all men,' or any other good gift.'

"Winchester. — 'My lords, we lose much time here, for this fellow is perverse, speaking nothing but sophistry and perverse questions, so that we can get no advantage upon him.'

"Then my counterfeit ordinary spoke, as someone half asleep all this while. Yet now with haste he said, 'Read these articles against him once more, and if he will not answer them, take him upon his first words; 'That which I said, I have said."

"Winchester. — 'Why, this fellow is perverted. We will get no more at his hands than we have already. Therefore let us pronounce sentence against him, for we but lose our time.'

"Gratwick. — 'No good, my lord. Seeing that you will necessarily have my blood, let me say a little more for myself. On Sunday last, when I was before you, you preached this which was a truth, and agreeable to the doctrine of the apostle St. James. You said, 'If any man thinks himself a religious man, and does not bridle his tongue, that man's religion is vain.' And so, my lord, you standing there in the pulpit, seduced your tongue to slander us poor prisoners in iron bonds, burdening us with the sect of Arians, and with the sect of Herodians, and with the sect of Anabaptists, and with the sect of Sacramcntaries, and with the sect of Pelagians. And when we stood up to clear ourselves, you said you would cut out our tongues and have us pulled out of the church by force. But there you gave yourself a shrewd blow. For in the meantime your tongue slandered your neighbor. For, my lord, I will give my life against all these heresies which you burdened us with there, even as I will give my life against that in which I now stand before you.'

"Winchester. — 'If you will not yield, I will pronounce sentence against you,' and so he proceeded onward apace, cursing and banning in Latin — so that I told him, 'If the people might hear it in English, they would think you an uncharitable bishop.' And then I said, 'Stay, my lord, and note what you do. For you have neither temporal law nor spiritual here against me in any cause.' Then a gentleman stepped forward and said to my lord, 'Take heed what you do: for he says here that you have no title or cause why you should condemn him.' Then the bishop looked about him again, and asked me if I would recant. I asked him, 'What should I recant?' At last his chaplains cried out, 'Stop, stop, my lord: for now he will recant.' And then the bishop asked me again. And I answered and said, 'My lord, my faith is grounded more steadfastly than to change in a moment. No process of time can alter me, unless my faith were like the waves of the sea.' And so the bishop made an end of it, and delivered me into the hands of the sheriff, to be carried prisoner to the Marshalsea again. When I was condemned, I desired God with a loud voice, that He would not lay my blood to their charge, if it were His good will. And so then they refused my prayer, and sent me away. I began to talk as I went, and they cried, 'Cut out his tongue, or stop his mouth!' So I was brought to the Marshalsea, and put in iron bands. Therefore I pray to God that those to whom this present writing comes, may take an example by my death. So be it.

"By me, Stephen Gratwick, condemned
for God's everlasting truth."

Thus this Christian martyr, being wrongfully condemned by the bishop of Winchester, was burned with W. Moraunt and one King, in St. George's-fields, about the latter end of May.

Seven Martyrs burned at Maidstone.

After the proclamation was sent and set forth by the king and queen in the month of February, the storm of persecution began in all places, yet in no place more than in the diocese of Canterbury. On the 18th of June, seven Christian and true faithful martyrs of Christ were burned at Maidstone, namely: — Joan Bradbridge, of Staplehurst; Walter

Appleby, of Maidstone; Petronil, his wife; Edmund Allen, of Frittenden; Katherine, his wife; John Manning's wife, of Maidstone; and Elizabeth, a blind maiden.

[944]

The general articles and order of their condemnation did not differ much from the usual manner, and also their answers. Not much of these has come to hand, except that of Edmund Allen.

The Examination of Edmund Allen.

This Allen was a miller, of the parish of Frittenden in Kent, and in a year when many poor people were likely to starve, he fed them, and sold his corn cheaper by half than others did. He did not only that, but also fed them with the food of life, reading the Scriptures to them, and interpreting them. This being known to the popish priests, he was soon complained about to the justices, and brought before Sir John Baker, knight. He committed both him and his wife to ward, but not long after they were let out, I know not how. And so they went over to Calais where, after they had continued a certain time, he began to be troubled in his conscience. Shortly afterwards he returned home, where there was a cruel priest named John Tailor.

Tailor was informed that Edmund Allen and his wife had returned, and were not at mass-time in the church. At the time he was in the midst of his mass, on a Sunday, a little before the elevation. Almost at the lifting up of his Romish god, he turned to the people in a great rage, and commanded them with all speed to go to Allen's house, and apprehend them, and he would come to them with as much haste as possible. He well performed this promise. For he had no sooner made an end of the service, and the vestments were off his back, than he was shortly at the house. There, laying hands on Allen, he had him brought again to Sir John Baker, with a grievous complaint of his exhorting and reading the Scriptures to the people. And so Allen and his wife were sent to Maidstone prison. They were no sooner in prison, than Sir John Baker sent certain of his men to their house [to seize their goods]. Thus good Edmund Allen and his wife, being maliciously accused, wrongfully imprisoned, and cruelly spoiled and robbed of their goods, were brought before Sir John Baker, the justice, to be examined. He taunted and reviled Edmund without any mercy or pity, and asked him if those were the fruits of his gospel, to have conventicles, to gather people, to make conspiracies, to sow sedition and rebellion. And thus he began to reason with him:

Baker. — "Who gave you authority to preach and interpret? Are you a priest? Are you admitted to that? Let me see your license."

Martin Collins, Sir John Baker's schoolmaster, said, "Surely he is an errant heretic, and worthy to be burned."

Allen. — "It may please your honor to give me leave to answer in the cause of my faith. I am persuaded that God has given me this authority, as he has given it to all other Christians. Why are we called Christians, if we do not follow Christ, if we do not read his law, if we do not interpret it to others who do not have so much understanding? Is Christ not our father? Will the son not follow the father's steps? Is Christ not our master? And will the scholar be prohibited to learn and preach his precepts? Is Christ not our redeemer? And will we not praise his name, and serve Him who has redeemed us from sin and damnation? Did not Christ, being but twelve years of age, dispute with the doctors, and interpret the prophet Isaiah? And yet, notwithstanding, he was neither of the tribe of Levi, who were priests, but

of the royal tribe of Judah. Neither had he taken any outward priesthood. Therefore, if we are Christians, we must do the same."

Collins. — "Observe, your honor, what a knave this is, who compares himself with Christ."

Baker. — "Let him alone, he will pump out shortly an infinite heap of heresies. Have you any more to say for yourself? Why did you teach the people, not being a priest?"

Allen. — "Because we are all kings to rule our affections, priests to preach out the virtues and word of God, as Peter writes, and lively stones to give light to others. For just as out of flintstones comes forth that which is able to set the whole world on fire; so out of Christians should spring the flame of the gospel, which should inflame the whole world. If we must give a reckoning of our faith to every man, and now to you who demand it, then we must study the Scriptures, and practice them. What does it avail a man to have meat if he eats none; and apparel if he wears none; or to have an occupation and teaches none; or to be a lawyer and utters none? Shall every artisan be allowed, yes, and *commanded* to practice his skill and science, and the Christian forbidden to exercise his? Does not every lawyer practice his law? Is not every Christian a follower of Christ? Will ignorance, which is condemned in all sciences, be practiced by Christians? Does not Saint Paul forbid any man's spirit to be quenched? Does he prohibit any man who has any of those gifts which he mentions in 1Cor 14, to practice the same? He forbids only women, but not men. The Jews never forbade anyone. Read the Acts of the Apostles. The restraint was made by pope Gregory IX, as I heard someone, a learned man, preach in King Edward's days."

Collins. — "This villain is mad. By my priesthood, I believe he will say that a priest has no more authority than another man. Does a priest not bind and loose?"

Allen. — "No; my sin binds me, and my repentance looses. God alone forgives sin, and no priest. For every Christian, when he sins, binds himself; and when he repents, he looses himself. If any other is loosed from his sin by my exhortation, I am said to loose him; and if he perseveres in sin, notwithstanding my exhortation, I am said to bind him, even though it is God who binds and looses, and gives the increase. Therefore Christ says; 'Truly I say to you, whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them.' Mat 18.18, 20. Neither does the pope have any keys except the keys of error. For the key that opens the lock to God's mysteries and to salvation, is the key of faith and repentance."

Then they reviled him, and laid him in the stocks all the night. Some who were better-minded, being offended by such extremity, desired Allen to keep his conscience to himself, and to follow Baruch's counsel in the sixth chapter. "Therefore, when you see the multitude of the people worshipping them behind and before, say in your hearts, O Lord, it is you alone that ought to be worshipped." [16]

With this he was persuaded to go to hear mass the next day. And suddenly, before the consecration, he went out in the church-yard and considered with himself, that such a little cake between the priest's fingers could not be Christ, nor a material body, neither did it have soul, life, sinews, bones, flesh, legs, head, arms, nor breast. He lamented that he was seduced by the passage in Baruch, which his conscience told him was no Scripture, or else it

[16] The book of Baruch is part of the Jewish Apocrypha, included in the Septuagint version.

had another meaning. After this, he was brought again before Sir John Baker, who asked him why he refused to worship the blessed sacrament of the altar.

Allen. — "It is an idol."

Collins. — "It is God's body."

Allen. — "It is not."

Collins. — "By the mass it is."

Allen. — "It is bread."

Collins. — "How do you prove that?"

Allen. — "When Christ sat at his supper, he gave them bread to eat."

Collins. — "Bread! knave?"

Allen. — "Yes, bread, which you call Christ's body. Did he still sit at the table, or was he both in their mouths, and at the table? If he was in their mouths, *and* at the table, then he had two bodies, or else he had a fantastical body; which is an absurdity."

Baker. — "Christ's body was glorified, and might be in more places than one."

[945] A.D. 1557,

Allen._ "Then he had more bodies than one, by your own placing of him."

Collins. — "You ignorant ass! The schoolmen say that a glorified body may be everywhere."

Allen. — "If his body was not glorified till it rose again, then it was not glorified at his last supper; and therefore it was not at the table, and also in their mouths, by your own reason."

Collins. — "This rebel will believe nothing but Scripture. How do you know that it is the Scripture, except by the church?"

Baker. — "Away with him."

Then he was carried to prison, and afterwards burned. And thus much touching the history of Edmund Allen and his wife. They with five other martyrs — namely, five women and two men — were burned together at Maidstone, on the 18th of June 1557.

Seven Martyrs burned at Canterbury, three Men, and four Women.

Among such infinite seas of troubles in these most dangerous days, who can withhold himself from bitter tears, to see the rage of these pretended catholics who, never being satisfied with blood to maintain their carnal kingdom, presume so highly to violate the direct law of God's commandments, in slaying the simple lambs of the glorious church of Jesus Christ? And that was for their true testimony of a good conscience, 1Pet 3.21 in confessing the immaculate gospel of their salvation. What heart will not lament the murdering mischief of these men who, for lack of work, so vent their cruelty on poor women, whose weakness the more strength it lacks by natural imperfection, the more it ought to be helped, or at least pitied, and not oppressed by men who are stronger, and especially by priests who should be charitable.

But blessed be the Lord Omnipotent, who has supernaturally endowed from above such weak creatures with such manly fortitude, to so constantly withstand the uttermost extremity of these pitiless persecutors. This may appear here by the martyrdom of seven persons, four women and three men, burned together at Canterbury, the 30th of June.

These were John Fishcock; Nicholas White; Nicholas Pardue; Barbara Final, widow; Bradbridge's widow; Wilson's wife; and Benden's wife.

It would be too tedious to exactly and particularly prosecute the several histories of every one of these godly martyrs. But neither can I pass over untouched the cruel and unchristian handling of Alice Benden during her imprisonment, and partly also some actors in the matter, being her own natural brethren.

The tragic handling of Alice Benden.

First Alice Benden was brought before Master Roberts, of Crambroke, in Kent, on the 14th of October 1556. He demanded why she would not go to the church. She answered that she could not do so with a good and clear conscience, because there was much idolatry committed against the glory of God. For saying this, receiving many mocks and taunts, she was sent to prison, where she lay fourteen days.

Then the bishop called her before him, and asked her if she would go home, and go to the church? She answered; "If I would have done so, I need not have come here." "Then will you go home, and be shriven (confessed) by your parish priest?" She said, "No," she would not.

"Well," he said, "go your way home, and go to the church when you will." To this she answered nothing. But a priest who stood by, said 'She says that she will, my lord.' Therefore he let her go, and she came directly home.

On the following Saturday, her husband desired her to go to church; which she refused to do. Therefore, on the Sunday, fourteen days later, going to the church, he came into the company of several inhabitants of the parish. Through his forward talk and behavior among them, her husband had her sent to Sir John Gilford, who ordered her to prison again.

[945]

Yes, and more to utter his own shame, they said her husband took money from the constable to carry her to prison — the price of his wife's blood, meaning indeed to carry her to prison himself. But having much more care for his honest and good reputation, than he had regard for his own infamy, and no less ashamed of his very rude and unnatural doings, she chose rather to commit herself willingly into the hands of her enemies, than have the world be witness against her husband of so wicked an act. Therefore she went to the constable, desiring him to go with her. He answered that he could not so do, but granted her his boy to go with her, with whom she went to prison; namely, to the castle of Canterbury, according to the commandment. Afterwards she was placed in still stricter confinement.

This prison was within a court, where the prebends' chambers were located. It was a vault beneath the ground. Before the window it was enclosed with a fence about four and a half feet in height, three feet distant from the window. So that looking from beneath, she might only see those who stood at the fence. After this, her brother often sought for her, with no less danger of life than diligence. But for the unknown situation of the place, it being but rarely used for a prison, and the matter being as closely kept, as it was secretly done, he could never come to understand her being there. Then, through God's merciful will and unsearchable providence, he came there very late in the morning, while her keeper had gone to the church to ring the bell (for he was a bell-ringer). He chanced to hear her voice as she poured out to God her sorrowful complaints, saying the Psalms of David. He could not otherwise relieve her, except by putting money in a loaf of bread, and sticking it on a pole. And so he reached it out to her; for he could sustain her neither with food nor drink. And

this was five weeks after her coming here. All this time no creature was known to come to her, more than her keeper.

While in that prison she lay only upon a little short straw, between a pair of stocks and a stone wall. She was allowed three farthings a day, that is, halfpenny bread, and a farthing drink; nor could she get any more for her money. Therefore she desired to have her whole allowance in bread, and used water for her drink. Thus she lay for nine weeks. During all this time she never changed her apparel; by which she became at the last, a most piteous creature to behold.

At her first coming into this place, she grievously bewailed with great sorrow and lamentation, and reasoned with herself why her Lord God, with his heavy justice, allowed her to be separated from her loving fellows, into such extreme misery.

She continued in these dolorous mournings till one night, as she was in her sorrowful supplications, repeating this verse of the Psalm; "Why are you cast down, O my soul?" And again, "The right hand of the most high can change all," she received comfort in the midst of her miseries. After that, she continued very joyful until her delivery.

About the 25th of March 1557, [17] she was called before the bishop. He demanded of her, whether she would now go home, and go to the church or not, promising her great favor if she would be reformed and do as they did.

She answered, "I am thoroughly persuaded, by the great severity that you have already shown me, that you are not of God; nor can your doings be godly. And I see that you seek my utter destruction," showing how lame she then was, having taken cold, and for lack of food while she lay in that painful prison. Thereby she was not able to move herself without great pain.

Then the bishop delivered her from that filthy hole, and sent her to Westgate. After she had changed her clothes, and was kept clean for a while, her skin wholly peeled off. There she continued till the latter end of April. At that time they committed her to the prison called the castle, where she continued till her martyrdom, which was on the 19th of June.

[946]

With this Alice Benden, the other blessed martyrs named above were also burned, being seven in number. Being brought to the place where they were to suffer for the Lord's cause at Canterbury, they undressed themselves joyfully for the fire. Being ready, they all, like the communion of saints, kneeled down and made their humble prayers to the Lord with such zeal and affection, that even the enemies of the cross of Christ could not but praise them. When they had made invocation together, they rose and went to the stake. There, in the midst of the flames, they yielded their souls and lives gloriously into the hand of the Lord.

Bradbridge's wife had two children named Patience and Charity. When she was condemned by the bishop to be burned, she said to him that even if he must burn her, yet she trusted he would take and keep Patience and Charity, meaning her two children. "No," said the bishop, "by the faith of my body, I will meddle with neither of them."

The Troubles of Matthew Plaise.

To these holy martyrs of Kent specified above, of which seven suffered at Maidstone, and seven at Canterbury, I thought it not out of place to add the examination of Matthew Plaise.

[17] Apparently she had been there since mid-Novenber.

He was a weaver, of the same county of Kent, and a faithful Christian. Being apprehended and imprisoned likewise for the testimony of a good conscience, in the castle of Canterbury, he was brought to examination before the bishop of Dover, and Harpsfield, the archdeacon, as may be read and seen in his own writing. The following are extracts from it:

"Archdeacon. — 'What do you say to the catholic church, which has so long continued, except for the nine or ten years that this heresy has sprung up here in this realm?'

"I said, no man can accuse me of anything spoken against the catholic church of Christ.

"'Then,' the bishop said, 'do you not believe the creed?'

"Plaise. — 'Yes, truly, I believe my creed, and all that is written in the testament of Christ, with the rest of the Scriptures.'

"' Then,' he says, 'you confess that there is a catholic church. I am glad of that. But tell me, are the king and queen of that church, or not?'

"' Well,' I said, 'now I perceive you go about to be both my accuser and also my judge, contrary to all right. I confess that Christ has a church on earth, which is built upon the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head of it. And as regards the king and queen, I answer that I have nothing to do with any man's faith but my own. Nor did I come here to judge; for I do not judge myself, but the Lord must judge me.'

"'Then,' he said: 'is there no part of that church here in England?'

"Plaise. — 'Well, I perceive you would gladly have something to lay to my charge. I will tell you where. Christ says, 'Where two or three are gathered together in his name, there is he in the midst of them.'

"Then the commissary asked me if I did not remember St. Paul, who rebuked the Corinthians for their evil behavior, and because they made no distinction of the Lord's body, and to prove his matter, he brought in how Jesus called himself bread, in the 6th of John. So Paul said, 'As often as you eat of this bread unworthily, you eat and drink your own damnation, because you make no distinction of the Lord's body.' For thus Christ said, 'The bread that I will give you is my flesh.' Now it is not bread, but it is his flesh. And thus he alleged every Scripture falsely, to support the matter.

"Then I said, I believed the words of St. Paul very well, even as he had spoken them. For thus he says, 'Whoever eats and drinks unworthily, eats and drinks damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body.'

"Commissary. — 'What is the cause that he eats his own damnation? '

"I said, 'St. Paul declares it plainly with these words, 'If you had judged yourselves, you should not have been judged by the Lord.'

"Then the archdeacon said, 'he marvelled why I would not say that he called the bread his body, seeing that Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, with many others, called it his body.'

"I said, 'you have condemned them as heretics, and you would have me agree with them, because you would kill me.'

"Then he said, 'In that they said it was his body, they said the truth.'

"I asked why they were killed, seeing that they said the truth?'

"Then the bishop said, 'that he had all their answers, and that they did not believe as they said.' For they said, 'Christ called it his body, but it was not his natural body. But you will answer me by and by, whether it is his body or not, or else I will anger you.'

"Then I said, 'I had answered him by the word already, and believed it also. Therefore, if he condemned me for that, my life was not dear to me, and I was sure he would not escape punishment. For God will be revenged upon such murderers.'

"Then the archdeacon began with Moses' rod, how God commanded him to lay it down, and it was turned into a serpent. Seeing that this was done by Moses, being but a man, how much more Christ, being both God and man, took one thing, and gave another to his disciples."

"I said 'his comparison was nothing alike, for Moses's rod when it was laid down, he saw that it was turned into a very serpent indeed. But in this sacrament, no man can see that either quality or quantity is changed.'

"Then the bishop said that my opinion and faith, was like the Capernaites. [18]

"I said, 'Theirs was more like their opinion than mine.' "

What became of this Matthew Plaise afterward, whether he died in prison, or was executed, or delivered; I have no certain knowledge.'

The History and Martyrdom of Richard Woodman

Ten Martyrs burnt in one fire at Lewes.

In the town of Lewes, ten faithful servants of God were put in one fire, the 22nd of June. Six of them were men, and four were women.

Of this number, Richard Woodman was the first. Here follows his declaration, in his own words, of his apprehension first, by his enemies; then of his deliverance out of Bishop Bonner's hands; then of his second taking by the procurement of his father, brother, kinsfolks, and friends; also of his examinations and answers before the bishops; and lastly of his condemnation.

Richard Woodman, was about thirty-one years of age. By occupation he was an iron maker. He dwelled in the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Sussex, and diocese of Chichester. The occasion of his first apprehension was this:

There was one Fairbanke, who at one time had been a married priest, and served the cure of Warbleton. where he had often persuaded the people not to credit any other doctrine but that which he then preached, taught, and set forth in king Edward's days. But afterwards, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, Fairbanke preached quite contrary to what he had taught before.

Whereupon, Richard Woodman, hearing him in the church of Warbleton, preach so contrary to himself, admonished him about his inconsistency — how he had taught them one thing, and now another; and he desired him to teach them the *truth*. For these words he was apprehended, and brought before Master John Ashburnham and other justices of the peace in Sussex. He was committed by them to the King's-bench, where he continued from June, for almost a year and a half. And from there he was transferred by Doctor Story into Bonner's coal-house, where he remained for a month before he came to examination.

[18] *Capernaites*: those who questioned the literal meaning of Jesus's words in the Gospel of John, chapter 6.

At length, the same day when Master Philpot was burned (which was on the 18th of December), Woodman with four other prisoners was delivered and set at liberty by Bonner himself. Notwithstanding, shortly after he was sought again. At last he was discovered and taken by means of his father, brother, and others. And so he was sent up again to London to Bishop Bonner, where he remained in the coal-house eight weeks.

[947] A.D. 1557.

He was then examined six times, and twenty-six times before then. So that in all there were thirty-two examinations, from his first apprehension to his condemnation. Regarding the whole discourse, as the matter is somewhat strange, you will hear him testify both of the manner of his troubles, and also his examinations, as recorded by himself.

A true Certificate written by Richard Woodman, etc.

"Gentle reader, here you will perceive how the Scriptures are partly fulfilled on me, being one of the least of God's poor lambs. First, you will understand, that since I was delivered out of the bishop of London's hands, which was in the year 1555, and the same day that Master Philpot was burned, which was the 18th of December, I lay in his coal-house one day short of eight weeks. And before that, I was almost a year and a half in the King's bench after my first apprehension, for reproving a preacher in the pulpit. That was in the parish of Warbleton, where I dwelt. Therefore I was at two sessions [19] before I was sent to prison; and I was carried to two more sessions while I was in prison, twice before the bishop of Chichester, and five times before the commissioners. Then I was sent to Bonner's coal-house, and called before him many times, as it appears by my examinations which I have written down. The bishop of Chichester now has these examinations, for they were found in my house when I was taken, in which is contained all the talk which I had before them. Also, in London there are those who had copies of the same from me, when I was in the coal-house.

"And it pleased God to deliver me, with four others, out of the bishop's hands. He required nothing else of us but that we should be honest men, and members of the true catholic church that was built upon the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head of the true church. We all affirmed that we were members of the true church, and purposed by God's help in this to die. Hereupon we were delivered; but he desired us many times to speak good of him.

"After I was delivered, the papists said that I had consented to them, for which they made themselves glad. This was the least part of my thought, as they well-perceived, and knew the contrary a while later. For I went from parish to parish, and talked with thirteen or fourteen of them, who were the main ones in the country. I vexed them so, that with the commissioners they complained of me to the lord chamberlain.

"Then within three days after, my lord sent to take me. I was at the plough, right in the way as they were coming to my house. I came to them and spoke to them, asking them how they did. And they said, 'they arrested me in the king and queen's name, and that I must go with them to their master the lord chamberlain.' These words made my flesh tremble. But I answered them, that I would go with them. Yet I desired, 'that they would go to my house with me, so that I might break my fast, and put on other clothes,' and they said I might. Then I remembered myself, saying in my heart; 'Why am I thus afraid? They can lay no evil to my charge. If they kill me for well-doing, I may think myself happy. I remembered how before, I was content to gladly die in that quarrel, and so I had continued ever since; and would I now fear to die? God forbid that I should, for then all my labor would be in vain.'

[19] In 16th-century ecclesiastical courts, *session* refers to a formal meeting or judicial sitting of a court to hear cases.

"So by and by I was persuaded, I praise God, considering it was but the frailty of my flesh, which was loath to forego my wife and children, and goods. For I saw nothing but present death before my eyes. And as soon as I was persuaded in my mind to die, I had regard for nothing in this world, but was as cheerful and glad, and joyful, I praise God, as I ever was. This battle did not last a quarter of an hour; but it was sharper than death itself for the time.

"So when I had my breakfast, I desired them to show their warrant, thinking thereby I might have seen why I was arrested, so that I might the better answer for myself when I came before their master. One of them answered that they did not have their warrant there. These words astonished me, and it was put in my mind that I need not go with them unless they had their warrant. Then I said to them, 'That is a marvel, that you would come to take a man without a warrant.'

"Then one of them said, 'We do not have the warrant here, but it is at my house; the worst is, you can but make us fetch it.' Then I said, 'Fetch it if you will; but if you come into my house before you have it, it is at your hazard.' So I shut my door, and went my way out at the other door. They got help to watch my house, while one of them brought the constable and many more, thinking to have taken me in my house, and carried me away with a license. But I was gone before, as God would have it. Notwithstanding, they sought every corner of my house, but could not prevail. I suspected they would search it again that night, so I kept abroad. And indeed, seven of his men and the constable came and searched my house.

"Then I supposed that they would search the whole country for me, and guard the sea-coast, lest I go over. And then I thought they would not suppose I would dare be near home. So I told my wife that I would make my lodging in a wood, not more than a bow-shot from my house, as I did indeed, even under a tree. And there I had my bible, my pen, and my ink, and other necessaries, and I continued there six or seven weeks, my wife bringing me food daily, as I had need. Indeed, I thought myself blessed by God, that I was counted worthy to lie in the woods for the name of Christ. Then word came into the country that I was seen and spoken to in Flanders, whereupon they left lying in wait for me. For they had searched the whole country for me, and the sea-coast from Portsmouth to Dover, even as God put in my mind they would.

"So when all was hushed, I went abroad among our friends and brethren. At length, I went beyond the sea, both into Flanders and France. But I thought every day it would be seven years before I was at home again. So I returned home as soon as it was possible. I was there only three weeks. But as soon as I had come home, and once it was known among the priests, they could not abide it, but procured warrants against me, sometimes having my house searched twice in a week.

"My father and brethren, with whom I had some difference about property, informed the sheriff of my arrival. and they sent men to apprehend me.

"They had taken a man of mine, and two of my children who were abroad in the land, and kept them with them till their hour was appointed to come in. Then a little girl, one of my children, saw them come together, and came running in, and cried, 'Mother, mother, yonder come twenty men.' Sitting in my bed, I heard the words, and suspected straightway that I was betrayed. I stirred out of my bed and whipped on my hose, thinking to have gone out of the doors before they had come. My wife, being amazed at the child's words, looked out the door, and they were hard by. Then she clapped to the door, and barred it fast, even as I came out of my chamber into the hall, and so barred the other door. The house was beset all round straightway, and they bade us open the doors, or else they would break them in pieces. Then I had no alternative, but either I must show myself openly, or make some other remedy.

"Now there was a secret place in my house that was never found, though it was searched at least, I dare say, twenty times, and sometimes almost by twenty men, both by night and by

day. Into that place I went. And as soon as I was in, my wife opened the door, by which they came and asked for me; she said I was not at home. Then they asked her why she shut the door, if I was not at home. She said because she had been made afraid several times with those who came to search us; and therefore, she shut the door. 'For it is reported (she said) that whoever can take my husband, will hang him or burn him straightway. And therefore I doubt they will serve me or my children so; for I think they may do so to us as well as to him.'

[948]

"'Well,' they said, 'we know he is in the house, and we must search it, for we are the sheriff's men; let us have a candle. It is told to us that there are many secret places in your house.' So she lit a caudle, and they sought up and down, in every corner that they could find, and had given up. Many of them had gone out of my house into the church-yard, and there they were talking with my father and with some that he had brought with him.

"Now when they could not find me, one of them went to him who gave them word that I was at home, and said, 'We cannot find him.' Then he asked them whether they had sought over a window that was in the hall, for that same place I had told him of myself. For many times when I came home, I would send for him to keep me company. Yet, as it chanced, I had not told him the way into it. Then they began to search anew, and so in the end I was taken."

And thus much touching the cause and effects of the troubles of Richard Woodman. Now let us see his examinations, as written by himself.

"First, you will understand that I was sent from the sheriffs to London, on the 12th of April 1557, and on the 14th, I was brought before the bishop of Chichester, and Dr. Story, and Dr. Cooke. So the sheriff's men delivered my warrant and me to the bishop. Then the bishop asked me what my name was. 'My name (I said) is Richard Woodman.'

"So after a very lengthy examination he at last professed great kindness for me.

"Chichester. — 'I protest before God, I would have you do as well as my own soul and body. Be content to be reformed. God has done his part on you. Do not cast yourself away. Remember your wife and children, and the poor who lack your occupation. Follow your vocation. Remember you are not called to be a teacher nor a preacher. St. Paul says, 'Let every man walk in the way he is called, and abide in it.' Remember you are called to another vocation, for God's sake, walk in it. It is not your office to do as you have done. You might do as much good as any man might do in all the country, by your example. And if you would follow the laws of the catholic church, it would be an occasion to bring a great many into the true church, who are out of it, as you are.'

"Woodman. — 'I would not have you say that I am out of the church of God, for I am not; but I allow the church of God according to his word. Yes, if I were abroad, and could win anyone into the true church, who are out, by any means that I could, I would be very glad. For God knows I love all people as myself. And where you say I have been a preacher, it is not so. I never took any such thing upon myself, as it is well known. But as for teaching, I cannot deny that. For it becomes every man to teach and instruct his household in the fear of God, and all others as far as he can, who desire it of him. And where you have blamed me for reading the Scriptures, and leaving my vocation, I did not leave my vocation in reading the Scriptures. For I trust I followed my vocation the better for it. And the greatest reason that I was compelled to read the Scriptures, was because the preachers and teachers were so changeable.'

"Chichester. — 'No, did you not preach at a fair?'

"Woodman. — 'No surely, but it was so reported. I was at a fair indeed. While I was in prison, I had leave from the council to go home and pay my debts, and then I went to a fair to sell cattle. There I met some poor men that I had set to work, and from love they asked me how I did, and how I got away from imprisonment. I showed them how God had dealt with me, and how he would deal with all those who put their trust in Him; and this they called preaching. And since that, it has been reported that I have baptized children and married folks, which I never did, for I was never a minister. And if I had so done, I would have done contrary to the order of the apostles, as God forbid I should.'

"Chichester. — 'I have heard say the contrary.'

"Woodman. — 'I have shown you the truth, and no man living will be able to prove the contrary.'

"Chichester. — 'You said you did not disallow the true catholic church.'

"Woodman. — 'No, that I do not.'

"Chichester. — 'Why then do you not go to the church? I am informed that you do not come there.'

"Woodman. — 'I trust I am in the true church every day. But to tell you the truth. I do not come to the church where most resort. For if I did, I would offend and be offended. For the last time I was there, I offended many, and was offended myself. Therefore, for conscience' sake I would not come there. Therefore look to it, for I am now in your hands, and you ought to be a house of defense against my enemies. For if you allow them to kill me, my blood will be required at your hands. If you can find any just cause in me worthy of death, by God's word, you may condemn me yourself, and not offend God. Therefore look to it. Do not deliver me into their hands.'

"Chichester. — 'I tell you truth, I can do little in the matter; but I will send for you and talk with you.'

"Then he desired the sheriffs men to stay for dinner with him. But this man, he said, may dine with me also. So we stayed for dinner with him, and had no further talk pertaining to me for two hours or more. But he conversed with me, how I understood many Scriptures, and about bishops' and priests' marriages, and whether St. Paul had a wife or not. I answered, 'It is a thing that I have little to do with, as concerning marriage; but I am very well content to talk with you in the matter, as far as my poor learning will serve.' So when he had talked with me about several Scriptures, he liked my remarks well. He asked me what I said of St. Paul, whether he was married or not? I answered, 'I can prove by the Scriptures that he was never married.'

Chichester. — 'How do you prove that?'

"Woodman. — 'I will prove it well enough, by God's help. Yet I will prove that St. Paul might have had a wife, as well as the other apostles had.'

"Chichester. — 'What, did the apostles have wives?'

"Woodman. — 'Yes, all, save Paul and Barnabas, as I understand it. For these are Paul's words,

> 'Am I not an apostle? Am I not free? Have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord? Are you not my work in the Lord? If I am not an apostle to others, yet doubtless I am to you; for you are the seal of my apostleship in the Lord. My answer to those who examine me is this: do we not have the right to eat and to drink? Do we not have the right to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as

> other apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? Or is it only I and Barnabas, who do not have the right to forbear working?' 1Cor 9.1-6.

So this text proves that Paul and Barnabas were unmarried. But Paul declares that the rest had wives, and that they likewise had a right to have them, but they found no need for it. He also declares, in the seventh chapter of the same epistle, that whoever has no power over his own flesh, may marry; 'For it is better to marry than to burn.' 'Therefore, to avoid fornication,' he says, 'let every man have his wife.' He says, 'Let every man have his wife, and every woman her husband.' By this place of Scripture, I understand that bishops and priests may have wives, because they are men. But I think truly, whoever can abstain, 'having power over his own will, does best; but if he marries he does not sin.'

"So then he debated the Scriptures with me, that a bishop or a priest should not have a wife. But I proved by several Scriptures both in the old law and in the new, that women were at first made for the help of men, which was spoken generally to all men. 'Therefore,' I said, 'every man may live with a woman, and not sin, in honest matrimony, bishops and deacons, as well as other men, which you call priests, if they are true ministers of Jesus Christ, and of that order that bishops and deacons were, in Paul's time. For Paul declares to Timothy 'that a bishop should be the husband of one wife,' and how they should be honestly apparelled, and how they should bring up their children, and likewise the deacons. This, I said, proves more plainly that both bishops and deacons had wives in the apostles' time, which he could not deny. But then he alleged that no bishop or priest might take a wife after he had taken upon himself that office; but if he had a wife *before* he took the office, he might keep his wife, and bring up his children according to St. Paul's meaning to Timothy.

[949] A.D. 1557.

"Woodman. — 'I think Paul's meaning in that place was that a man who has had two wives might not be made a bishop or a deacon. But that place does not prove that a bishop or a deacon may not marry after they are made bishops and deacons. For I am sure that Paul was in the state of a bishop when he said he had the right to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as the other apostles had. Here Paul declares that it was in his power to have a wife *after* he had the office of a bishop, which was not his right if he had been forbidden by God. Thus have I shown you my mind in this behalf, both of Paul, and also for the marriages of bishops and priests, as I understand the Scriptures. However, it is a thing which I have little to do with. But as you required me to give you my mind in that matter, so I have done.

"Chichester. — 'I am glad that you have said as you have done. Many affirm boldly that Paul had a wife, and yet cannot prove whether he did or not, by the Scriptures; but you have said very well. I am glad that you are contented to be ruled by God's word. And if you will be contented likewise in other matters, no doubt you will do well. Therefore, gentle Woodman, so be ruled. God has given you a good understanding. I protest before God, I would have you do as well as my own soul and my body, and so would all the worshipful men in the country, as they have reported to me.'

"Woodman, — 'Why, my lord, I take God to record, whom I trust to serve, that I would be as glad to live in rest and peace as any man in all the world, if I might. And I am contented to be reformed of anything that I hold, if it can be proved that it is not agreeable to God's word. And the truth is, I have talked with a dozen priests at least, since I was delivered out of prison, and they have not been able to certify me in anything that I have asked them. And therefore they have complained to the sheriff and justices, making tales and lies about me,

to turn me to displeasure. I promise you, there are as many unlearned priests in your diocese, as in any one diocese in England I think — the more it is to be lamented.

"Chichester. — 'I promise you, I much lament it myself. For I hear say no less, and it is true what you say. I would that I could remedy it, but I cannot. But I will do the best that I can when I come into the country, and I will be glad to talk with you some other time, when I am somewhat better at ease. You see I am very tender now; as I have been this half year and more. Come to dinner; our dinner is ready. I did not have you stay for any great cheer that you will have, nor would I have you think that I go about to win you with my food. But you are welcome with all my heart. Come sit down.'

"I thanked him and went to dinner. And there I and a merchant-man dined with him, plus one of the sheriff's men, and no more. And we had good cheer, God be praised. We had no talk of the Scriptures during the dinner; but when dinner was done, the bishop said:

"Chichester. — 'Now call Doctor Story's man. For the commissioners have committed you to prison. But I will send for you before long, and I pray God I may do you good. I would be very glad of it.'

"Woodman. — 'If it please you to send for me, I will be very glad to talk with you, for I like your talk well. And then if it please your lordship to examine me upon any particular matter, I will show you my mind in it, by God's grace, without dissimulation. But I pray you let me have nothing to do with Doctor Story, for he is a man without reason.'

"Chichester. — 'Well, before you go, what do you say to the seven sacraments? Let me hear what you say to them, that I may be more willing to send for you again.'

"Woodman. — 'I do not know seven sacraments.'

"Chichester. — 'Then what will I talk with you about? How many do you know?'

"Woodman. — 'I know but two; one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the supper of the Lord. But if you can justly prove by God's word that there are more than two, I stand to be convinced.'

"Chichester. — 'If I do not prove seven by God's word, then do not believe me.' And so he bade me farewell.

"Then the sheriff's two men and one of Doctor Story's men carried me to Doctor Cook, who commanded them to carry me to the sheriff's prison. He said, 'He will be called before us again shortly and all his fellows, and we will dispatch them from troubling the country any more.'

"And so I was brought to the Marshalsea, where I am now cheerful, God be praised, looking for the judgment of my flesh. For they intend to dispatch me shortly, if God gives them leave. But God has their hearts in his hands, and they can do nothing to me except as God gives them leave. Therefore I commit my cause to God alone, and I am sure not one hair of my head will perish without my heavenly Father's will, though I bear ever so much trouble. 'For if we live, we live at the Lord's will; and if we die, we die to the Lord's will. So whether we live or die, we are the Lord's.' Blessed be his name there for.

"Therefore, dear brethren and sisters, to whom this writing of mine comes, be of good cheer, and 'do not fear what man can do to you. For they can but kill the body; but fear Him who has power to kill both body and soul.' And yet once again I bid you to be of good cheer. For the sheriff, with several other gentlemen and priests, while I was at the sheriff s house, said to me that all the heretics in the country hung on me, as the people in times past hung upon

St. Augustine or St. Ambrose, or such like. 'Therefore,' they said, 'look well to it. You have a great thing to answer for.' To which I answered, 'I pray that God may lay nothing more to my charge, than He will do for heresy,' as I am sure he will not. For he has set my sins as far from me, as it is from the east to the west. So that I am sure they will never come near to me anymore. It is their imagination and thought, that if they might win me to them, they would win a great many likewise. And thinking to kill me if they cannot win me, as I trust in God and am sure they never will, by God's grace, if it were possible for them to kill me ten times. For I am so linked to Christ in a chain by faith, that it is impossible for men to separate us, neither for life nor death, for which I praise my Lord God. And no doubt their full intent and purpose is to kill me, thinking thereby to make others afraid. This death of my body would be best of all for me, if God were so pleased. But if I may live for the comfort of others, his name be praised. I know what he can do; but what he *will* do, I do not know. But if death is offered me, so that I cannot refuse it without displeasing God, then I trust in God I will not offend my brethren in receiving death, but it will rather be an occasion for the strengthening of their faith, by choosing and receiving it, and doing that with joy. For as Christ has given his life for us, so we ought to give our lives for the defense of the gospel, and the comfort of our brethren. And whereas the bishop says he will prove there are seven sacraments, have no doubt, he will never be able to do it, no more than he has proved other arguments with me already."

The second Examination of Richard Woodman before the Bishop of Chichester, two of his Chaplains; and Doctor Story, on the 27th of April.

"After this, I was sent for on the 27th of April, to the bishop of Chichester. When we were in the bishop's hall, we had not stayed long, when the bishop sent for me. When I came before him, I did my duty to him as much as I could.

"Chichester. — 'You are welcome; how do you do?'

"Woodman. — 'Well, I praise God, thanking your lordship for the gentle talk that you had with me at my last departing from you.'

"Chichester. — 'What do you say respecting the seven sacraments? For there we left off, and there we will begin again. You said then there were but two. What do you say now to it? Will you deny all but two?'

[950]

"Woodman. — 'I say now as I said then. You said there are seven sacraments; and I said, I knew but two. But if you could prove seven by God's word, the when I came, I would grant them. And you said, if you could not prove them by God's word, I should not believe them. Now I have come to see how well you can prove them.' (With this he was moved to anger, and all his chaplains.)

"Chichester. — 'By God and my truth I believe he thinks I cannot prove them. What do you say to the sacrament of matrimony?'

"Woodman. — 'Why, my lord, St. Paul says to Timothy that a bishop should be faultless, and you use much swearing, which is a great fault in a bishop, of all others, who should be an example to the flock.' Then he and his prelates were in a great rage with me, because I reproved him for his swearing.

"Chichester. — 'What! I perceive this man is worse than he was the last day. What, he takes it upon himself to teach me to speak, as though I could not tell what I had to do.'

"Priest. — 'So I think, my lord, he is as stout a fellow, indeed, as we have seen.'

"Woodman. — 'Yes, I am stout, because I do what I am commanded. I dare not for my life hold my peace. For otherwise I would bear your sin, which I will not do, nor any of you all, I tell you plainly.'

"Chichester. — 'Where do you find that you are commanded to reprove me?'

"Woodman. — 'If you see your brother sin, reprove him: if he repents, you have won your brother.'

"Chichester. — 'I will never talk with him more. Go call Doctor Story. Let him do with him what he will. He has been with his fellows in the Marshalsea, and now he is worse than he was before. I had some hope in him the other day, but now I see none.'

"Woodman. — 'No, I praise God, my faith does not hang upon men, but upon God.'

"Priest. — 'No, my lord, I think he is not the worse for *them*; but I fear they are the worse for *him*.'

"Woodman. — 'Well, my lord, look well to it: will you deliver me to other men to shed my blood, and so think to wash your hands of me, as Pilate did by Christ.' Nay, you cannot be so discharged.'

"Chichester. — 'I have nothing to do with you. But out of my gentleness I have sent for you, because you said you would declare your mind in any particular manner I would demand of you.'

"Woodman. — 'Why, I do not refuse to do so, if you demand it of me.'

"Chichester. — 'I am not consecrated yet. Therefore, my lord cardinal may examine you, and condemn you, or my lord of London. For you are now in his diocese.'

"Woodman. — 'Yes, my lord, the matter is even so? Then I perceive where you go about. You accuse me to others, and they go about to kill me.'

"Chichester. — 'I do not go about to kill you, but would be glad to hear your mind on the sacraments. And if you do not understand them aright, I would be glad with all my heart to show you how I understand them.'

"Woodman. — 'If you would talk with me to do me good, I would be content to hear you, and show you my mind; otherwise I would be loath.'

"Chichester. — 'No, I will promise you, if I can do you no good, I will do you no harm. What do you say to the sacrament of matrimony? Is it a sacrament or not? What do you think?'

"Woodman. — 'I think it is a holy institution ordained by God in paradise, and it is to continue so to the world's end.'

"Chichester. — 'Behold, now you will see how you are deceived in that, as you are in all the rest. Come here. You can read Latin, I am sure.'

"Woodman. — 'Yes, I can read Latin, but I understand very little.'

"Chichester — 'Come to me; you will see that St. Paul calls it a holy sacrament. For these are the words, 'For this cause a man will leave his father and mother, and will be joined to his wife, and the two will be one flesh. This is a great sacrament.'

"Woodman. — 'I remember such a saying, but St. Paul does not call it a sacrament. Rather he says, 'It is a great mystery.'

"Chichester. — 'Where does he say so? '

"Woodman. — 'I am not sure in what text it is, but I am sure these are St. Paul's words, and that he does not call it a sacrament in all his writings.'

"Chichester. — 'What! the last day you were full of Scriptures, — here it is written! and there it is written! We can recite the Scriptures as well as you. Therefore, if we are sure it is written, it is no great matter for the place. Come here; I will show you the place.'

"Woodman. — 'I looked, and it was written *sacramentum* in the Latin, and a *great mystery* in the English translation.' [20]

"Chichester. — 'I grant it to be a mystery. What is a *mystery*?'

"Woodman. — 'A mystery is unseen. For Paul says that he speaks concerning Christ and the church. So the great mystery that he speaks of, I take to be the faith of those who are married, which is hidden in Christ, which we do not see, but Christ does. The deed which is done in the church, the outward marriage, we see, but the inward marriage of the heart we do not see. Therefore Paul calls it a mystery. And therefore, if it is a sacrament, it is invisible to us; it is not seen as other sacraments are.'

"Chichester. — 'No, I tell you it is a *visible* sacrament, seen as the others are; for is not the marriage *seen*? Are not the man and woman *seen*?'

"Woodman. — 'My lord, I pray you, what is a *sacrament*?'

"Chichester. — 'It is a sign of a holy thing.'

"'Woodman. — 'I think you have certified me very well. There need not be a sign of a holy thing, where the holy thing itself is present.' (Then his chaplains would have interrupted me.) I said, 'There need not be a sign of a thing where the thing itself is present. Matrimony is itself a holy thing, and it is ended outwardly, and needs no more signs but themselves. Therefore it cannot be a sacrament as others are.'

"Chichester. — 'Follow your vocation; you have a little learning. 'We have an altar of which you may not eat.' (1Cor 10.18) What does St. Paul mean by this?'

"Woodman. — 'There is no man so foolish as to eat stones, I suppose.'

"Chichester. — 'What a mocker and scorner you are, to say no man would be so foolish as to eat stones? It is a plain mockery.'

"Woodman. — 'Why, my lord, you said I had no learning, nor understanding. Therefore it becomes you to make things plainer to me, and not ask me such dark questions, and yet blame me too. I think it is too much.'

"Chichester. — 'I dare say you know what it means well enough. The greatest fool in my house will understand my meaning better than you do.'

"Some of his men stood not far off, talking together beside a window. He called one of them by his name.

[20] Roman Catholics claimed the English translation was in error, based on Jerome's Latin Vulgate bible. But in the original Greek, it is *musterion*, or mystery. Thus the Latin Vulgate is the problem, not the English translation.

"Chichester. — 'Come here. I say to you, you will not eat of this table. What do I mean by this?'

"The man. — 'My lord, you would not have me eat of this table,' laying his hand upon it. With this answer he made all in the house laugh, and I could not refrain, but burst out with laughter and said:

"Woodman. — 'He has expounded the matter almost as well as I.'

"Chichester. — 'He means well enough, if you would understand him. Answer me again, to make it more plain. I say to you, you shall not eat of this table. What do I mean by this?'

"The Man. — 'That you would not have me eat this table.'

"These words made them all laugh. With that the bishop was almost angry, because the answer proved no better. He said —

"Chichester. — 'He means that I would not have him eat any of the food that is set upon this table. What do you say? Do you not mean so?'

"The Man. — 'Yes, my lord, that was my meaning indeed.'

[951] A.D. 1557.

"Woodman. — 'Yes, my lord, now that you have told him what you mean, he can say so too. And so could I have done, as little wit as I have, if you had said, St. Paul meant that no man might eat of that which was offered upon the altar, except the priests.'

"Chichester. — 'Well, let this matter pass, and let us return to the principal again. What do you say to the sacrament of the altar?'

"Woodman. — 'You mean the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ?'

"Chichester. — 'I mean the sacrament of the altar, and so I say.'

"Woodman. — 'You mean Christ to be the altar, do you not?'

"Chichester. — 'I mean the sacrament of the altar in the church. What, is it so strange to you?'

"Woodman. — 'It is strange to me indeed, if you mean the altar of stone.'

"Chichester. — 'It is that altar that I mean.'

"Woodman. — 'I do not understand the altar so.'

"Chichester, — 'No, I think so indeed: and that is the reason that you are deceived. I pray you, how do you understand the altar then?'

"Woodman. — 'If you will give me leave till I am done, I will show you how I understand the altar, and where it is.'

"Chichester. — 'Yes, you will have leave to say your mind as much as you will.'

"Woodman. — 'It is written, 'That if any two of you agree on earth as concerning anything that you ask, it will be done for you by my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them.' — Mat 18.19-20. This agrees with the 5th of Matthew where Christ says, 'If you bring your gift to the altar, and there remember that your brother has anything against you; leave your gift there before the altar, and go your way. First be reconciled to your brother, and then come and offer your gift.' (The priests would have interrupted me, but the bishop bid them to let me alone.) 'I pray you, let me make an end, and then find fault with me if you can. Now to the matter. In

these two places of Scripture, I prove that *Christ* is the true altar, upon which every true man and woman ought to come and offer their gifts. First, wherever the people are gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in their midst; and where he is, there is the altar, so that we may be bold to come and offer our gift, if we are in love and charity. If we are not, we must leave our offering there, and first go and be reconciled to our brother, and agree with him quickly, and so forth, and then come and offer the gift. Say in your heart, without dissimulation, that you ask God and all the world forgiveness from the bottom of your heart, intending never to offend them any more. Then all such believers may be bold to come and offer their gift, their *prayer*, on the altar, where the people of God are gathered together. Thus have I shown you my mind, both about the altar, and about the offering, as I understand it.'

"Chichester. — 'Do you understand the offering and the altar so? I never heard any man understand it so. No, not Luther the great heretic, who was condemned by a general council, and his picture burned.'

"Woodman. — 'If he were a heretic, he did not understand it so indeed. But I am sure all Christians ought to understand it so.'

"Chichester. — 'Who will be judge between us in this matter?'

"Woodman. — 'The 12th of John declares who will be judge in the last day.'

"Chichester. — 'You mean the word will judge the word. How can that be?'

"Woodman. — 'St. Peter says, the Scripture has no private interpretation. But one Scripture must be understood by another.'

"Chichester. — 'You will understand it one way, and I will understand it another way. And who will be judge between us then?'

"Woodman. — 'The true church of God is able to solve all doubts; to whom I refer it.'

"Chichester. — 'I am glad you say so, if you will say so indeed.'

"Woodman. — 'My lord, I never meant otherwise.'

"Chichester. — 'The church of God allows the sacrament of the altar.'

"Woodman. — 'What do you offer now upon the altar?'

"Chichester. — 'We offer up in the blessed sacrament of the altar, the body of Christ to pacify the wrath of God the Father.'

"Woodman. — 'St. Paul says to the Hebrews, in the 10th chapter, 'We are sanctified by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ upon the cross once for all; and every priest is daily ministering, and oftentimes offers one manner of offering, which can never take away sins.' And that is the offering that you use to offer. As far as I can see, you are priests in the order of Aaron, who offered up sacrifices for their own sins, and the sins of the people.'

"Then they made a great laughter, and said; 'This is a heretic, indeed. It is time he was burned.' These words moved my spirit, and I said to them, 'Judge not, lest you be judged. For as you judge me, you shall be judged yourselves. For what you call heresy, I serve God truly with, as you all will know well when you are in hell, and have blood to drink, and will be compelled to say for pain, 'This was the man that we jested about, and whose talk we thought foolishness, and his end to be without honor. But now we may see how he is counted among the saints of God, and we are punished.' These words you will say, being in hell, if you do not repent with speed, if you consent to the shedding of my blood. Therefore look to it; I give you counsel."

"Story. — 'I can say nothing to him, but he is a heretic. I have heard him talk this hour and a half, and can hear no reasonableness in him.'

"Woodman. — 'Judge not, lest you be judged. For as you judge, you will be judged yourself.'

"Story. — 'What, are you a preaching? You will preach at a stake shortly with your fellows. My lord, trouble yourself no more with him.'

"With those words, someone brought word that the abbot of Westminster had come to dine with the bishop, and many other gentlemen and ladies. Then there was rushing away with speed to meet him. Dr. Story then said to my keeper:

"'Carry him back to the Marshalsea, and let him be kept close, and let nobody come to speak with him.'

"And so they departed. Then one of the priests began to flatter me, and said, 'For God's sake remember yourself. God has given you a good wit. You have read the Scriptures well, and have borne them well in memory. It would be a great pity you went amiss.'

"Woodman. — 'What a flatterer you are, to say my wit is good, and that I have read the Scriptures well. But even now you said I was a heretic, and despised me. If I am a heretic, I can have no good wit as you have confessed. But I think your own conscience accuses you. God give you grace to repent, if it is his will.'

"After this, on the 12th of May, I was brought before Dr. Langdale, when we had a long conference, of which the following was a part:

"Langdale. — 'What do you think of those who have died long ago, your grandfather, with their fathers before you? You judge them to be damned?

"Woodman. — 'I judge no man. But the 12th of John declares who it is that judges, and who will judge at the last day. The father shall not bear the son's offenses, nor the son the father's offenses; but that soul who sins will die, as the prophet says. And again, we may not follow a multitude to do evil, says the prophet. And Christ says in the 12th of Luke, that his flock is a little flock.'

"Langdale. — 'What! you are full of Scriptures I think, and you call for your accusers as though you were afraid to utter your mind to me. But I would have you not be afraid to talk with me; for I mean no more hurt to you than I do to myself, I take God to record.'

[952]

"Woodman. — 'I cannot tell, it is hard trusting to fair words. When a man cannot trust his father nor brother, nor others who have been his familiar friends, but finds they deceive him, a man may lawfully follow the example of Christ towards those whom he never saw before, saying, Be as wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. Beware of men, for they go about to betray you And that makes me suspect you much, because you blame me for answering with the Scriptures.'

Then they entered into a long examination respecting baptism, and afterwards about the sacrament of the altar, as it was called.

"Langdale. — 'Well, what do you say to the sacrament of the altar?'

"Woodman. — 'I say, I know no such sacrament, unless Christ is the altar that you mean.'

"Langdale. —' Did Judas not eat the body of Christ? What do you say? Did he not?'

"Woodman. — 'Well, what do you say yourself? Did Judas eat the body of Christ, or not?'

"Langdale. — 'Yes, I say Judas did eat the body of Christ.'

"Woodman. — 'Then it must follow that Judas has everlasting life. For Christ says in the 6th of John, 'Whoever eats my flesh, and drinks blood, has eternal life, and I will raise him up at the lust day.' If Judas did eat Christ's body, I am sure you cannot deny that he both ate his flesh, and drank his blood; and then Judas is saved by Christ's own words. Therefore, now you are compelled to say that it was not Christ's body, or else that Judas is saved. Let us see how you can avoid this argument.'

"Langdale. — 'Judas is damned, and yet he ate the body of Christ: but he ate it unworthily; and therefore he is damned.'

"Woodman. — 'Where do find you that Judas ate the body of Christ unworthily?'

"Langdale. — 'They are St. Paul's words. 1Corinthians chap. 11.'

"Woodman. — 'I desire you, for God's sake, mark my words. If St. Paul spoke any such words there, or in any other place; if there are any such words written in the whole Bible, that a man ever ate the body of Christ unworthily, then say that I am the falsest man who ever you heard speak. These are the words of St. Paul: 'Whoever eats this *bread*, and drinks this *cup* unworthily, eats and drinks his own damnation, because he does not discern the Lord's body. That is, because he presumes to eat the sacrament of the Lord's body without faith, making no distinction between the sacrament and other bread and drink. And that is St. Paul's meaning, and not that any man does or can eat the body of Christ unworthily. For whoever eats the body of Christ has everlasting life, as it is said in the 6th of John.'

"Langdale. — 'I will never talk with him more; for he is the most unreasonable man that I ever talked with in all my life.'

After this Woodman was dismissed, and again examined three times. He details the last examination thus:

"Be it known to all men, by this present writing, that I, Richard Woodman, sometime of the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Sussex, was condemned for God's everlasting truth, July 16th, 1557, by the bishop of Winchester, in the church of St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark. Sitting there with him at the same time were the bishop of Chichester, the archdeacon of Canterbury, Doctor Langdale, Master Roper, with a fat priest, I cannot tell his name. All these consented to the shedding of my blood on this occasion, as hereafter follows.

"I affirmed that Judas received the sacrament with a sop, and the devil at the same time. And because I would not be sworn upon a book, to answer directly to such articles as he would declare to me. And because I would not believe that neither bread nor wine remained after the words of consecration, and said that the body of Christ could not be received by any but the faithful, I was condemned.

"Winchester. — 'You were before us on Monday last past; and there you affirmed certain heresies. What do you say now? Do you still hold them, or will you revoke them?'

"Woodman. — 'I held no heresies then, nor do I now, as the Lord knows.'

"Winchester. — 'No. Did you not affirm that Judas received bread? This is a heresy.'

"Woodman. — 'Is it heresy to say Judas received no more than bread? I said, he received more than bare bread, for he received the sacrament that was prepared to show forth the Lord's death, and because he presumed to eat without faith, he received the devil with it, as

the words of Christ declare. After he ate the sop, the devil entered into him, as you cannot deny.'

"Winchester. — 'Hold him a book. I will have you answer directly, whether Judas ate the body of Christ or not?'

"Woodman. — 'I will answer no more, for I am not of your diocese.'

"Chichester. — 'I pray you let us hear your faith.'

"Woodman. — 'I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jeius Christ, my Savior, very God, and very man. I believe in God the Holy Spirit, the comforter of all God's elect people, and that he is equal with the Father and the Son. I believe in the true catholic church, and all the sacraments that belong to it. Thus have I rendered account of my hope that I have of my salvation.'

"Winchester. — 'And what do you believe about the blessed sacrament of the altar?'

"Woodman. — 'I pray you be contented, for I will not answer to any more questions; for I perceive you go about to shed my blood.'

"Winchester. — 'No, hold him a book. If he refuses to swear, he is an anabaptist, and will be excommunicated.'

"Woodman. — 'I will not swear for you; excommunicate me if you will.'

"Winchester. — 'I will have to deal with you, and I say you are a strong heretic.'

"Woodman. — 'Indeed, all truth is heresy with you; but I am content to show you my mind, how I believe in the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, without flattering. I will not meddle with any other man's belief on it.'

"Harpsfield. — 'Why, I am sure all men's faith ought to be alike.'

"Woodman. — 'Yes, I grant you so, that all true Christians' faith ought to be alike. But I will answer for myself.'

"Harpsfield. — 'Well, let us hear what you say to it.'

"Woodman. — 'I believe that when I come to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, if it is truly ministered according to Christ's institution, coming in faith (as I trust in God I will whenever I come to receive it), and believing that Christ was born for me, and that he suffered death for the remission of my sins, and that I will be saved by his death and blood-shedding, and I receive the sacrament of bread and wine in that remembrance, that then I receive, mystically by faith, a whole Christ, God and man. This is my belief on the sacrament.'

"Priest. — 'What a fool you are, 'mystically by faith?' You cannot tell what mystical is.'

"Woodman. — 'If I am a fool, so take me. But God has chosen such fools of this world to confound such wise men as you are.'

"Priest. — 'I pray you, what is mystically?'

"Woodman. — 'I take mystically to be the faith that is in us, that the world does not see, but only God.'

"Winchester. — 'He cannot tell what he is saying. Answer to the sacrament of the altar, whether it is not the body of Christ before it is received, and whether it is not the body of Christ to all who receive it? Tell me, or else I will excommunicate you.'

"Woodman. — 'I have said as much as I will say, excommunicate me if you will. I am not of your diocese. The bishop of Chichester is my ordinary. Let him do it, if you needs to have my blood, so that it may be required at his hands.'

[953] A.D.1557.

"Chichester. — 'I am not consecrated yet, I told you when you were with me.'

"Then the bishop of Winchester and the archdeacon of Canterbury spoke, saying: 'We go not about to condemn you, but to save your soul, if you will be ruled and do as we would have you do.'

"Woodman. — 'To save my soul? No, you cannot save my soul. My soul is saved already. I praise God for it. No man can save my soul, but Jesus Christ; and he it is that has saved my soul, before the foundation of the world was laid.'

"Priest. — 'What a heresy that is, my lord; here is a heresy. He says his soul was saved before the foundations of the world were laid. You cannot tell what you say. Was your soul saved before it existed?'

"Woodman. — 'Yes. I praise God, I can tell what I say, and I say the truth. Look in the first of the Ephesians, and there you will find it, where Paul says, 'Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ, according as he has chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love.' Eph 2.3-4. These are the words of St. Paul, and I believe they are most true. And therefore, it is my faith that saves, in and by Jesus Christ, and not you, or any man.'

"Priest. — 'What? Faith without works? St. James says, 'Faith without works is dead,' and we have free will to do good works.'

"Woodman. — 'I would not have any of you think I disallow good works. For a good faith cannot be without good works. Yet 'not of ourselves, but it is the gift of God.' (Eph 2.8) As St. Paul says to the Philippians, 'For it is God who works in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.' Phi 2.13

"Winchester. — 'Make an end of this; answer me. Here is your ordinary, the archdeacon of Canterbury; he was made your ordinary by my lord cardinal, and he has authority to examine you about your faith upon a book, to answer to such articles as he will lay to you. And I pray you do not refuse it; for the danger is great if you do.'

"Woodman. — 'I do not know much. If you will give me time to learn the truth of it, if it is as you say, I will tell you my mind in anything that he will demand of me.'

"Priest. — 'All that my lord and we tell you, is truth.'

"Woodman. — 'I will believe none of you all, for you are turncoats and changelings, neither hot nor cold, as St. John says.'

"Winchester. — 'What, are we turncoats and changelings? What do you mean by that?'

"Woodman. — 'I mean, that in King Edward's time you taught the doctrine that was sent forth then, every one of you, and now you teach the contrary. And therefore I call you turncoats and changelings, as I may truly.'

"Winchester. — 'He is the naughtiest heretic I ever knew. I will read the sentence against him.'

"Woodman. — 'Will you? Why will you? You have no just cause to excommunicate me. And therefore, if you condemn me you will be condemned in hell, if you do not repent: and I praise God, I am not afraid to die for God's sake, if I had a hundred lives.'

"Winchester — 'Well, what do you say? Will you confess that Judas received the body of Christ unworthily? Tell me plainly.'

"Woodman. — 'My lord, if you, or any of you all can prove before this whole audience in all the bible, that any man ever ate the body of Christ unworthily; then I will argue with you in all things that you will demand of me. Of this matter I desire all this people to be witness.'

"Priest. — 'Will you? That we will agree well enough. St. Paul says so.'

"Woodman. — 'I pray you where does he say so? Recite the words.'

"Priest. — 'In the 11th chapter of the first to the Corinthians, he says: 'Whoever eats of this bread, and drinks of this cup unworthily, eats and drinks his own damnation, because he makes no distinction of the Lord's body."

"Woodman. — 'Do these words prove that Judas ate the body of Christ unworthily? I pray you let me see them. These are the words you said. Good people hearken well to them. 'Whoever eats of this bread, and drinks of this cup, unworthily. He does not say, whoever eats of this body unworthily, or drinks of this blood unworthily. But he says; whoever eats of this bread, and drinks of this *cup* unworthily (which is the sacrament) eats and drinks damnation to himself, because he makes no distinction between the sacrament which represents the Lord's body, and other bread and drink. Here, good people, you may all see that they are not able to prove their sayings are true.'

"Winchester. — 'You are a rank heretic indeed. Are you an expounder? Now I will read sentence against you.'

"Woodman. — 'Judge not, lest you be judged. For as you have judged me, you shall be judged yourself.' Then he read the sentence. 'Why,' I said, 'will you read the sentence against me, and cannot tell why?'

"Winchester. — 'You are a heretic, and therefore you will be excommunicated.'

"Woodman. — 'I am no heretic, I take heaven and earth to witness, I reject all heretics; and if you condemn me, you will be damned, if you do not repent. But God give you grace to repent all, if it is his will.'

"And so he read the sentence in Latin, but what he said, God knows, and not I. God be the judge between them and me. When he was done, I would have spoken my mind to them, but they cried out, 'Away, away with him.' So I was carried to the Marshalsea again."

Extracts from a Godly Letter of Richard Woodman.

"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from his Son, our Savior alone, Jesus Christ, by the operation and working of the Holy Spirit, be multiplied plenteously upon you, dear sister Roberts, that you may more joyfully bear to the end the cross of Christ that you are

under, to your only comfort and consolation; and to all our brethren and sisters who are round about you, both now and ever. Amen.

"In my most humble way I commend me to you, and to all our brethren and sisters in those parts, who love our Lord unfeignedly, notifying you that I and all my brethren with me are cheerful and joyful, for which we praise God, looking daily to be liberated from these our mortal bodies, according to the good pleasure of our heavenly Father; praising God also for your constancy, and gentle benevolence that you have shown to God's elect people in this troublesome time of persecution, which may be a sure pledge and token of God's goodwill and favor towards you, and to all others who hear of it. For blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Therefore the fruits always declare what the tree is. For a good man or woman, out of the good treasure of their heart, brings forth good things.

"Oh, may all people well perceive now that this is the time that our master Christ speaks of, that the father would be against the son, and the son against the father, and one brother against another! that brother will deliver brother to death. Yes, and that the wicked will say all manner of wicked sayings against us for his name's sake? I have well found this by experience. I praise God therefore, that he has given me strength to bear it. For I think there can be no evil devised that has not been imagined against me, and that is by my familiar friends, as David says. But I praise my Lord God, they are not able to prove any of their sayings true.

"But my trust is, that all the people of God will be ruled by the counsel of St. John, saying, My sheep will hear my voice, they will not hear strangers, meaning thereby that you should not believe strangers, counting them as strangers who go about subverting the gospel. For I have no distrust, by God's help, but only that all the world will see and know that my blood will not be dear in my own sight, whenever it pleases God to give my adversaries leave to shed it. I earnestly believe that God, who has begun this good work in me, will perform it to the end, as he has given me grace and will always, to bear this easy yoke and light burden. This I have always found, I praise my Lord God.

[954]

"For when I have been in prison, wearing at one time bolts, sometimes shackles, other times lying on the bare ground, sometimes sitting in the stocks, sometimes bound with cords, that my whole body has been swollen, much like to be overcome for the pain that has been in my flesh, sometimes obliged to lie outside in the woods and fields, wandering to and fro with few, I say, who dared keep my company for fear of the rulers; sometimes brought before the justices, sheriffs, lords, doctors, and bishops; sometimes called dog, devil, heretic, traitor, thief, deceiver, with diverse other like terms. Yes, and even those who ate of my bread, and who most should have been my friends by nature, have betrayed me. Yet for all this I praise my Lord God, who has separated me from my mother's womb, all this that has happened to me has been easy, light, and most joyful of any treasure that ever I possessed. For I praise God they are not able to prove one jot or tittle of their sayings to be true. But in that way which they call heresy, I serve my Lord God, and at all times, before whomever I have been brought, God has given me a mouth and wisdom, which all my adversaries have not been able to resist. I praise God for it.

"Therefore, dear sister, be of good comfort, with all your brethren and sisters, and take no thought what you will say, for it will be given to you the same hour, according to the promises, as I have always found, and as you and all others of God's elect will well find, when the time is full come. And whereas I and many others have hoped that this persecution would have been at an end before this time, now I perceive that God will have a further trial to root out all dissemblers, so that no man would rejoice in himself, but he who rejoices will rejoice in God.

> "Therefore, if prophecy should fail, and tongues should cease, yet love must endure. For fear has painfulness, but a perfect love casts out all fear. I have no distrust of this love, but God has poured it upon you so abundantly, that nothing in the world will be able to separate you from God. Neither high nor low, rich nor poor, life nor death, shall be able to separate you from Christ. But by him I trust you will enter into the new Jerusalem, there to live forever, beholding the glory of God with the same eyes that you now have, and all other faithful people who continue to the end. Give all honor and glory to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, three persons and one God, to be honored now and ever, Amen."

After these examinations, Richard Woodman was judged by sentence of condemnation, and so deprived of his life. With him were also burned nine others, five men and four women, at Lewes, on the 22nd of June 1557.

Other Martyrdoms in Colchester, Somerset, and Norfolk

The Martyrdom of Richard Lush.

In the registers of Gilbert, bishop of Bath and Wells, I find a certificate made to king Philip and queen Mary, concerning one Richard Lush, there condemned and given to the secular power to be burned for heresy. His affirmations in the certificate are as follow:

"I. For denying the verity of the body and blood of Christ, in the sacrament of the altar.

"2. For denying auricular confession is to be made to the priest.

"3. For affirming there are only three sacraments; namely, baptism, the Lord's supper, and matrimony.

"4. For refusing to call the Lord's supper by the name of 'sacrament of the altar.'

"5. For denying purgatory, and saying that prayer and alms do not profit the dead body.

"6. That images are not to be allowed in the church; and that all who kneel to images are idolaters.

"7. That those who were burned of late, for religion, died God's servants and good martyrs.

"8. For condemning the single life of priests, and other votaries.

"9. For denying the universal and catholic church; meaning the church of Rome."

For these assertions he was condemned, and committed to the sheriffs; and also a certificate was directed by the bishop to the king and queen. By this we understand that Richard Lush, thus condemned by Bishop Brown, was there burned and executed; unless, perhaps he died in the meantime, or was taken away in the prison.

Simon Miller, Martyr at Norwich.

In the month of July ensued the martyrdom of Simon Miller. This Simon was of the town of Lynn, a godly and zealous man in the knowledge of the Lord and of his truth, detesting and abhorring the contrary religion then set forth. He came from Lynn to Norwich where, standing in the hearing of the people, coming out from their popish service in the church, he began to ask them where he might go to have the communion. At these words (many marvelling greatly to hear and see his boldness), one who was an evil-disposed papist said that if he would go to a communion, he would bring him where he should be forwarded in his purpose. Upon this, he was brought to the chancellor of Norwich who, after a few words, committed him to prison.

In the meanwhile as he was in examination, he had his confession in his shoe, written on paper. A piece appearing above his shoe, it was seen and taken out. The chancellor, asking if he would stand to the confession of the faith contained in it, he constantly affirmed it. Upon this, he was committed till the time arrived for examination. He then continued constant in his purpose, and the defense of God's truth. So he was condemned and committed to the fire, about the 13th of July.

Elizabeth Cooper, Martyr.

With this Simon Miller, one Elizabeth Cooper was also burned, a pewterer's wife, dwelling in St. Andrew's parish in Norwich, where she had recanted before. Being greatly troubled inwardly, at last she came to St. Andrew's church, the people being at their popish service. Standing up there, she revoked her recantation made in that place before, and was heartily sorry that she ever did it. She desired that the people not be deceived, or take her previous doings for an example, etc. These or similar words she spoke in the church, and went home.

Then one Bacon cried out, saying, "Master sheriff, will you allow this?" And repeating the same, he urged him to go from the church to her house. At his knocking, she came down, and was taken and sent to prison.

This good woman being condemned, was at the stake to be burned with Simon Miller. When the fire came to her, she shrunk a little at it, with a voice crying, "Ah!" When Simon Miller heard her, he put his hand behind him toward her, and bid her to be strong and of good courage: "For, good sister," he said, "we will have a joyful and a sweet supper." Being, it seemed, strengthened at this, she stood as still and as quiet as one most glad to finish that good work which she had begun.

So, at last, she ended her life with her companion joyfully, committing her soul into the hands of Almighty God.

The Martyrdom of Five Men and five Women, at Colchester.

Mention was made a little earlier of twenty-two who were sent up as prisoners together from Colchester to London. Through a gentle submission, they were afterwards released and delivered.

In the number of these twenty-two, was William Munt, of Muchbentley, in Essex, husbandman, along with Alice, his wife, and Rose Allen, his daughter. Coming home again to their house, they refrained from the service of the popish church, and frequented the company of good men and women who gave themselves diligently to reading, invoking, and calling upon the name of God through Christ. By this, they so fretted the priest of the town, named Thomas Tye, and others like him, that putting their heads together, they resolved to persecute these godly people.

[955] A.D. 1557

Therefore, Thomas Tye sought out where the persecuted met. For in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, Tye did not come to the church for over twelve months, but frequented the company of godly men and women. The sequel showed him to be a false brother.

So partly knowing the places, he further inquired of others about them. Being sufficiently instructed for his purpose, he secretly wrote the following letter to Bonner, bishop of London.

A Letter to Bonner, Bishop of London, from Thomas Tye, Priest.

"Right honorable lord, according to my bounden duty, done in a most humble way, these will be to signify to your lordship the state of our parts, concerning religion. And first, since the twenty-two heretics dismissed from you came down, the detestable sort of schismatics were never so bold since the king and queen's majesty's reign, as they now are at this present time. In Muchbentley, where your lordship is patron of the church, since William Munt, and Alice, his wife, with Ruse Allen, her daughter, came home, they not only absent themselves from the church and service of God, but they daily allure many others away from it, who before outwardly showed signs and tokens of obedience.

"They assemble together on the Sabbath day, during the time of divine service, sometimes in one house, and sometimes in another; and there they keep their secret conventicles and schools of heresy. The jurates say the lords' commission is out, and they are discharged from their oath. The quest-men in your archdeacon's visitation allege that because they were once presented and are now sent home, they have no more to do with them, nor any other. Your officers say (namely, Master Boswel) that the council did not send them home without a great consideration. I pray God, some of our officers are not favorers of heretics. The rebels are stout in the town of Colchester.

"The ministers of the church are coughed at in the open streets, and called knaves. The blessed sacrament of the altar is blasphemed and railed upon in every house and tavern. Prayer and fasting is not regarded. Seditious talks and news are rife, both in town and country, in as ample and large a manner as though no honorable lords and commissioners had been sent to reform it. The occasion rises partly because of John Love, of Colchester-heath (a perverse place). This John Love was twice indicted for heresy, and thereupon fled with his wife and household. His goods were seized within the town of Colchester, for the king and queen's majesty's use. Nevertheless, the said John has come home again, and nothing is said or done to him. Upon which the heretics are wonderfully encouraged, to no little discomfort of good and catholic people, who daily pray to God for the profit, unity, and restoration of his church again. This thing will come sooner to pass, through the travel and pains of such honorable lords and reverend fathers as your lordship is, to whom I wish long life and continuance, with increase of much honor. From Colchester, the 18th of December.

"Your humble bedesman,
"THOMAS TYE, Priest."

When, Judas-like, this wicked priest had thus wrought his malice against the people of God, the storms began to rise against them, and William Munt and his company were forced to hide themselves. But soon after, the enemy surrounded the house, and went into the chamber where Munt and his wife lay. Mrs. Munt hearing that, and being very sick, desired that her daughter might first fetch her some drink, for she was very ill. So her daughter, Rose Allen, took a stone vessel in one hand, and a candle in the other, and went to draw drink for her mother. As she came back through the house, Tyrrel met her. He desired her to give her father and mother good counsel, and notify them to be better catholic people.

Rose. — " Sir, they have a better instructor than I, For the Holy Spirit teaches them, I hope, who I trust will not allow them to err."

Tyrrel. — "Why, are you still in that mind, you naughty hussy? It is time to look at such heretics indeed."

Rose. — "Sir, with what you call heresy, I worship my Lord God; I tell you the truth."

Tyrrel. — "Then I perceive you will burn, gossip, with the rest, for company's sake."

Rose. — "No, sir, not for company's sake, but for my Christ's sake, if I am so compelled. And I hope that in his mercy, if he calls me to it, he will enable me to bear it."

Tyrrel (turning to his company). — "Sirs, this gossip will burn: do you not think so?" "Goodness, sir," said one, "prove her, and you will see what she will do by and by."

Then Tyrrel, taking the candle from her, held her wrist, and the burning candle under her hand, burning cross-wise over the back of her hand, till the very sinews cracked asunder.

During this time, he often said to her, "Why will you not cry? You young hussy, will you not cry?" To which she always answered that "she had no cause, she thanked God, but rather to rejoice. He had more cause to weep, than she, if he considered the matter well." In the end, when the sinews broke, he then thrust her from him violently, using very insulting language. But she quietly allowed his rage for the time. At last she said, "Sir, have you done what you will do?" And he said, "Yes, and if you think it is not well, then mend it."

Rose. — "Mend it? No indeed, the Lord mend *you* and give you repentance, if it is his will. And now if you think it good, begin at the feet, and burn the head also. For the one who set you to work will pay you your wages one day, I warrant you." And so she went and carried her mother drink, as she was commanded. After searching the house for more company, they also found there one John Thurston, and Margaret his wife, whom they carried with the rest to Colchester castle immediately.

Rose Allen, when she was a prisoner, told a friend of hers this cruel act of Tyrrel; and showing him the manner of it, she said, "while my own hand was burning, having a stone vessel in my other hand, I might have struck him on the face with it, if I would. But I thank God, with all my heart, I did not do it."

And that Tyrrel is not alone in this kind of cruelty. Another example of a blind harpist's hand, burned by Bishop Bonner, is testified to by Valentine Dingley, who declared how Bonner, having this blind harpist before him, said that, "Such blind abjects, who follow a sort of heretical preachers, when they come to feeling the fire, will be the first who will flee from it."

The blind man said to him, that, "if every joint of him were burned, yet he trusted in the Lord not to flee." Then Bonner, secretly signifying to certain of his men what they should do about him, they brought him a burning coal. This coal being put into the poor man's hand, they closed it fast again, and so was his hand piteously burned. Among the doers of this act was the said Valentine Dingley, who reports it.

But to return to William Munt, in the same prison at Colchester with him and his family, was also joined another faithful brother named John Johnson, alias Aliker, of Thorp, in the county of Essex, thirty-four years of age.

The other six prisoners lay in Mote-hall, in Colchester. Their names were William Bongeor, glazier; Thomas Benold, tallow-chandler; W. Purcas, fuller, a young man; Agnes Silverside, alias Smith, widow; Helen Ewring, who was one of the twenty-two prisoners mentioned earlier; the sixth of this company was Elizabeth Folks, a young maiden, twenty years of age. These six were imprisoned in the town prison of Colchester, called Mote-hall, as the other four were, in the castle.

There were several examinations of these good men before many justices, priests, and officers.

[956]

WILLIAM BONGEOR said that the sacrament of the altar was bread, is bread, and so remains bread. To this he stood, and also against all the rest of their papistic doctrine. And so he had sentence read against him.

THOMAS BENOLD affirmed the same in effect; so he also had sentence read against him.

W. PURCAS of Docking said that when he received the sacrament, he received bread for a holy use, that teaches the remembrance that Christ died for him. To this he stood, and against other popish matters of theirs; and so he also had sentence read against him.

AGNES SILVERSIDE said that she loved no consecration. This good old woman, being sixty years of age, answered everything with such sound judgment and boldness, that it rejoiced the hearts of many, and especially to see the patience of such a reverend old age, against the taunts and checks of her enemies. To this she also stood, and had sentence read against her in like manner.

HELEN EWRING answered the same in effect as the others did, clearly denying all the laws set forth by the pope, with her whole heart. Against her also, sentence was read.

ELIZABETH FOLKS, the young maiden, being examined whether she believed the presence of Christ's body is in the sacrament substantially and really, or not, answered that she believed that it was a substantial lie, and a real lie. The priests' and others were very angry at these words, and asked her again whether after the consecration, the body of Christ did not remain in the sacrament. And she answered that before consecration and after, it is but bread. Then they examined her about confession to the priest, of going to church to hear mass, of the authority of the bishop of Rome, etc. To all of these she answered that she would neither use nor frequent any of them, by the grace of God, but utterly detest and abhor them from the bottom of her heart, and all such trumpery.

Then they read the sentence of condemnation against her. At that time Doctor Chadsey so wept, that the tears trickled down his cheeks. The sentence being read, she kneeled down on both her knees, lifting up her hands and eyes to heaven, with fervent prayer in an audible voice, praising God that she was ever born, to see that most blessed and happy day that the Lord would count her worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ. And Lord, she said (if it be your will) forgive those who have done this against me, for they know not what they do. Then rising up, she exhorted all those on the bench to repentance. And in the end she told them all, laying her hand upon the bar, if they did not repent their wicked doings, that undoubtedly the very bar would be a witness against them at the day of judgment, that they had shed innocent blood that day.

WILLIAM MUNT, of the age of sixty-one, said that the sacrament of the altar was an abominable idol, and that if he were to observe any part of their popish proceedings, he would displease God, and bring His curse upon himself. And therefore for fear of His vengeance, he dared not do it. This good father was examined about many things. But God be thanked, he stood to the truth, and in the end he had sentence of condemnation read against him.

JOHN JOHNSON made answer in such a way, that the papists counted him none of theirs, and therefore condemned him with their bloody sentence, as they had done the rest. John Johnson affirmed that in receiving the sacrament, according to Christ's institution, he receives the body of Christ spiritually, etc.

ALICE MUNT, being examined, said and confirmed the same in effect as her husband did, and was therefore also condemned by their sentence in like manner.

ROSE ALLEN, the daughter, at the age of twenty, being examined about auricular confession, going to the church to hear mass, of the seven popish sacraments, etc. answered stoutly that they stank in the face of God, and she dared not have anything to do with them for her life. Neither was she, she said, any member of theirs; for they were the members of antichrist, and so would have (if they did not repent) the reward of antichrist. Being asked further, what she could say of the See of the bishop of Rome, whether she would obey his authority or not, she answered boldly that she was none of his. "As for his See," she said, "it is for crows, kites, owls, and ravens to fly in; for by the grace of God I will not live in that See, nor will I have anything to do with it." Then they read the sentence of condemnation against her, and so they sent her back to prison, to the rest, where she sang with great joy, to the wonder of many.

Thus these poor condemned lambs, being delivered into the hands of the secular power, were committed again, every one to the prison from which they came, where they remained with much joy and great comfort in continual reading, and invoking the name of God, ever looking and expecting the happy day of their dissolution. During this time the cruel papists did not leave their mischievous attempts against them. For Bonner, shortly after, got a writ for the burning of the good creatures.

The writ being received, the bailiffs appointed the day of the execution to be the 2nd of August. It was agreed among them, that those in Mote-hall should be burned in the forenoon, and those at the castle, in the afternoon.

The 2nd of August 1557, between six and seven o'clock in the morning, the six forenamed were brought from Mote-hall to a plat of ground nearby the town-wall of Colchester. All things being prepared for their martyrdom, they kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to God — but not as they would, for the cruel tyrants would not allow them. When they had made their prayers, they rose, and made themselves ready for the fire. Elizabeth Folks, when she had plucked off her petticoat, would have given it to her mother, who came and kissed her at the stake, and exhorted her to be strong in the Lord; but the wicked men would not allow her to give it. Therefore, taking the petticoat, she threw it away from her, saying, "Farewell all the world, farewell faith, farewell hope (and so taking the stake in her hand"), and welcome charity." Being at the stake, and one of the officers nailing the chain about her, in striking the staple, he missed the place, and struck her with a great stroke of the hammer on her shoulder-bone. At this she suddenly turned her head, lifting up her eyes to the Lord, and prayed smilingly, and gave herself to exhorting the people again.

When all six were likewise nailed at their stakes, and the fire set about them, they clapped their hands for joy in the fire, so that the standers by (who were thousands by estimation) cried generally; "The Lord strengthen them, the Lord comfort them, the Lord pour his mercies upon them," with such like words as was wonderful to hear.

Thus they yielded up their souls and bodies into the Lord's hands, for the true testimony of his truth. The Lord grant we may imitate the same in the like service, for His mercy's sake. Amen.

In like manner, in the afternoon, there were brought forth into the castle-yard, to a place appointed for it, William Munt, John Johnson, Alice Munt, and Rose Allen. These godly and constant persons, after they had made their prayers, and were joyfully tied to the stakes, called upon the name of God. Earnestly exhorting the people to flee from idolatry, they suffered their martyrdom with such triumph and joy, that the people rejoiced no less to see it, than at the others who were burnt the same day in the morning.

The Death of George Eagles, Martyr.

Among other martyrs of singular virtue and constancy, one George Eagles deserves admiration. This man, just as he had preached the power of the Lord before, in those most bright and clear days of king Edward VI, so afterward in the tempestuous time and fall of the church, he expressed and uttered his manly spirit. For wandering abroad into far countries, wherever he could find any of his brethren, he most earnestly encouraged and comforted them — now tarrying in this town, and sometimes abiding in that, for some months together, as occasion served; sometimes lodging in the country, and sometimes living in fields and woods, for fear of discovery.

[957] A.D. 1557.

Oftentimes he lay abroad at night without cover, spending most of his time in devout and earnest prayer.

Now, when he had profited Christ's church in this way, by going about and preaching the gospel for a year or two, and especially in Colchester and the quarters thereabout, his secret enemies lurked and laid in wait for him. So that spies were sent out who hid in commandment, that wherever they found him, they were to bring him either alive or dead.

But when their attempt could not prevail, and all was in vain, his adversaries went about another way to complete their enterprise of taking him. For in the queen's name a grievous edict was proclaimed throughout four shires — Essex, Suffolk, Kent, and Norfolk — promising twenty pounds to the party that took him. So at length it came to pass that, being seen at Colchester, he was pursued and taken.

The next day he was carried to London, and was then brought down to Chelmsford to the sessions. There he was indicted and accused of treason, because he had assembled companies together, contrary to what the laws and statutes of the realm provided in that case. For an edict was ordained a little earlier, that if more than six men flocked together secretly, they would be arrested for treason. So his indictment was for treason, adding, "for you prayed that God would turn queen Mary's heart, or else take her away."

He denied that he prayed that God would take her away, but he confessed that in his prayer, he prayed God would turn her heart. Well notwithstanding, he was condemned as a traitor, although the real cause was religion.

The Martyrdom of Richard Crashfield.

About this time, a godly man and constant martyr of Christ, called Richard Crashfield, suffered at Norwich. His examinations before the chancellor, named Dunning, he penned with his own hand.

'What do you say, sirrah,' [21] said the chancellor, 'to the ceremonies of the church?'

"Then I said, 'What ceremonies?'

He said, 'Do you not believe that all the ceremonies of the church are good and godly?'

My answer was, 'I believe so many as are grounded in the testament of Jesus Christ.'

'Tush, he said, 'Do you believe in the sacrament of the altar?'

"I said, 'I did not know what it was.'

[21] *Sirrah*: a contemptuous term of address to an inferior man or boy; often used in anger.

"Then he said, 'Do you believe that Christ took bread, gave thanks, broke it, and said, Take, eat, this is my body?'

"'Yes, truly,' I said, 'and even as Christ spoke, so he performed the work.'

"He said, 'Do you not believe this: that after the words are spoken by the priest, the substance of Christ's body, flesh and blood, is there? What do you say? Do you not believe this? Speak man.'

"'I do believe,' I said, 'that Christ's body was broken for me upon the cross, and his blood shed for my redemption, of which the bread and the wine are a perpetual memory, the pledge of his mercy, the ring and seal of his promise, and a perpetual memory for the faithful to the end of the world.' So then I was remanded into prison until the next day.

"The day following, I was brought forth again. Then the chancellor said to me, 'Richard, What do you say? Are you otherwise minded than you were yesterday?' I answered, 'Yes.'

"Then he said, 'What do you say, can you not find it in your heart, when you come to the church, to kneel down before the crucifix, and make your prayer?'

"I answered, and said, 'No,' reciting the commandment of God forbidding it.

"He said, 'Have you not read or heard, that God commanded an image to be made?'

"I asked, 'What image?'

"He said, 'The bronze serpent.'

"I said, 'Yes, I have heard it read, how God commanded it to be made, and likewise to be broken down.'

"Then Doctor Bridges said, 'Why did God command the seraphim and cherubim to be made?'

"I said, 'I cannot tell; I would gladly learn."

"Then the chancellor said, 'But what do you say to this? Can you find it in your heart to fall down before the picture of Christ, which is the crucifix?'

"I said, 'No, I fear the curse of God. For it is written that God curses the hands that make them, yes and the hands that make the tools with which they are carved.'

"Then the chancellor asked, 'What do you say to confession to the priest? When were you last confessed?'

"I said, 'I confess myself daily to the eternal God, whom I most grievously offend.'

"Then the chancellor asked. 'Do you not take confession to the priest, to be a good thing?'

"I answered, 'No, but rather wicked.'

"'The singing, and playing on the organ; is it not good and godly?'

"I said, 'I can perceive no godliness in it.'

"Then he asked, 'Why, is it not written in the Psalms, that we should praise God with hymns and spiritual songs?'

"I said, 'Yes, spiritual songs must be had. But yours are of the flesh, and of the spirit of error. For to you it is pleasant and glorious, but to the Lord it is bitter and odious.'

"Then the chancellor said, 'Why, is it not written, My house is a house of Prayer?' Isa 56.7.

"I said, 'Yes. It is also written that 'you have made it a den of thieves.' Luk 19.46."

"With that, the chancellor looked at him and asked, 'Have we?'

"I answered and said, 'Christ said so.' Then I was remanded to prison.

"The following Thursday Doctor Bridges was sent to me to examine me about my faith. He asked me many questions concerning transubstantiation. At last he said:

"'What did Christ give you? Was it bread, or was it not?'

"I said, 'Christ took bread, and gave thanks, and gave it, and they took bread and ate. And St. Paul makes it more manifest, where he says, 'As often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you show the Lord's death till he comes.' 1Cor 11.26. St. Paul does not say here as you say. For he says, 'As often as you eat this *bread*.' He does not say *body*.'

"What do you say to the bread that Christ gave? Let me have your mind on that.'

"I answered, 'I have said my mind on it.'

"Then the chancellor said, 'No, we will have your mind more plainly.'

"I said, 'My faith is fully grounded and established, that Christ Jesus, the Easter Lamb, has offered his blessed body for a sacrifice to God the Father, as the price of my redemption. For by that one sacrifice all the faithful are sanctified. He is our only advocate and mediator, and he has made perfect our redemption. This he has done alone, without any of your daily oblations.'

"Then Doctor Bridges started up, and said, 'Truth, your words are true indeed. You take well the *literal* sense. But you must understand this, that just as you said, Christ offered his body upon the cross, which was a bloody sacrifice, and a visible sacrifice, so likewise we daily offer the self same body that was offered upon the cross, not bloody and visible, but invisible, to God the Father.'

"'Do you offer Christ's body?' I asked. 'Why then, Christ's sacrifice was not perfect. But Christ is true, when all men are liars.'

"He answered and said, 'The church has power to do it.'

"I answered, 'Why, Christ says, 'I lay down my life that I may take it up again. No man takes it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again.'— John 10.17-18, Therefore Christ the Son of God offered his body *once for all*. If you presume to offer his body daily, then your power is above Christ's power.'"

[958]

This godly young man, not long after his condemnation, was brought to the stake, where he entered his blessed martyrdom with much patience and constancy.

Fryer, and a Sister of George Eagle's.

About the same time and month, someone named Fryer, with a woman who was the sister of George Eagles, suffered the same martyrdom at Rochester, by the unrighteous papists. May the Lord, of his mercy, abate and cut short their tyranny, turning that wicked generation, if it is his will, to a better mind.

The Death of Mistress Lewis.

Mistress Joyce Lewis, born a gentlewoman, was delicately brought up in the pleasures of the world, having delight in gay apparel, and similar foolishness. She was married to Thomas Lewis of Mancetter, in Warwickshire. At the beginning of queen Mary's time, she went to the church, and heard mass as others did. But when she heard of the burning of that most godly and learned martyr, Laurence Sanders, who suffered in Coventry, she began to take more heed to the matter. She inquired earnestly of those whom she knew feared God, the cause of Sanders' death. When she perceived it was because he refused to receive the mass, she began to be troubled in conscience, and grew very unquiet. And because her house was nearby Master John Glover's house, who was mentioned before,[22] a man of blessed memory, and a singular example of unfeigned godliness, she often resorted to him, and desired him to tell her the faults that were in the mass, and other things that at that time were urged as necessary to salvation.

Perceiving both her unquiet mind, and also the desire she had to know the truth, he most diligently instructed her in the ways of the Lord. By this godly counsel, it happened that she began to grow weary of the world, and thoroughly sorrowful for her sins. She was inflamed with the love of God, desirous to serve him according to his word, purposing also to flee from those things which displeased the Lord her God. And because she had learned the mass is evil and abominable, she began to hate it. And when at a time she was compelled by the furiousness of her husband to come to the church, at the same time when the holy water was cast, she turned her back towards it, and showed herself to be displeased. Whereupon she was accused before the bishop for despising their sacraments.

Immediately, a citation was sent for her to her husband's house, to appear before the bishop. The summoner who brought the citation delivered it to her husband, who looking at it and perceiving what it was, was moved with anger, willing the summoner to take the citation back with him, or else he would make him eat it. The summoner refused to take it back, for he thought no man dared have been so bold to trouble him. But in the end Lewis compelled the summoner to indeed eat the citation, by setting a dagger to his heart. And when he had eaten it, he had him drink to it, and so he sent him away. But immediately after, Lewis with his wife were commanded to appear before the bishop, where Lewis submitted himself. Desiring the bishop to be good to him, he excused himself in the best manner he could. Whereupon the bishop was content to receive his submission, with the condition that his wife submit herself also. But she stoutly told the bishop that by refusing the holy water she had neither offended God, nor any part of his laws. At these words the bishop was grievously offended. Yet because she was a gentlewoman, he would not take her at the worst, as he said. He gave her one month's respite, binding her husband to one hundred pounds to bring her back to him at the month's end; and so they were both let go.

When they came to their own house, Mistress Lewis gave herself to most diligent prayer. And invoking the name of God, she continually resorted to Master John Glover, who most diligently instructed her with God's word.

When the month had almost expired, her husband carried her to the bishop, where she was examined, and found more resolved than she was before death was threatened. To begin

[22] In the account of Robert and John Glover, on page 814, they are erroneously stated to have been of the town of *Manchester*, whereas they were of *Mancester* or *Mancetter*, a village in Warwickshire, about twelve miles from Coventry, and the detailed account of their sufferings, to which the reader was referred, is written, not by a Rev. *Mr. Hitchin, Incumbent of* Mancliester, but by the *Rev. Benjamin Richings, Vicar of Mancetter*, who has collected a number of particulars of these martyrs, not recorded by Foxe. — Ed.

with, she was sent to such a loathsome prison, that a maid who was appointed to keep her company swooned in the prison.

Thus being kept in prison, and often examined, at length she was brought in judgment, and pronounced a heretic worthy to be burned. When the bishop reasoned with her as to why she could not come to the mass, to receive the sacraments and sacramentals of the Holy Spirit, she answered, “Because I do not find these things in God’s word, which you so urge and magnify as things most needful for men’s salvation. If these things were commanded in the same word of God, I would with all my heart receive, esteem, and believe them.” The bishop answered, “If you will believe no more than is in the Scripture, concerning matters of religion, you are in a damnable case.” She was wonderfully amazed at these words, and moved by the Spirit of God, she told the bishop that his words were ungodly and wicked.

After her condemnation, she continued a whole twelve months in prison, because she was committed to the sheriff who was recently chosen. He could not be compelled to put her to death during his tenure, as he affirmed. All the time she was in prison, her behavior was such, both in words and deeds, that all those who had any spark of godliness or honesty, greatly lamented her case.

Now when the time drew near which God had appointed for her deliverance, the writ for burning her being brought down from London, she desired certain of her friends to come to her, with whom she consulted how she might behave herself, so that her death might be more glorious to the name of God, comfortable to his people, and also most discomfortable to the enemies of God. “As for death,” she said, “I do not greatly heed it. When I behold the amiable countenance of Christ, my dear Savior, the face of death does not greatly trouble me.” During this time she also reasoned most comfortably out of God’s word, about God’s election and reprobation.

In the evening, before the day of her suffering, two of the priests of Lichfield came to the under-sheriff’s house where she lay, and sent word to her by the sheriff that they had come to hear her confession; for they would be sorry that she would die without that. She sent them word that she had made her confession to Christ her Savior, at whose hands she was sure to have forgiveness of her sins. Concerning the cause for which she would die, she had no cause to confess that, but rather to give to God the most humble praise, that he made her worthy to suffer death for his word. And concerning the absolution they were able to give to her, being authorized by the pope, she rejected it even from the bottom of her heart. When the priests heard this, they said to the sheriff, “Well, tomorrow her resolution will be proved and tried. For although she has now some friends who whisper in her ears, tomorrow we will see who dares to be so hardy as to come near her.” And so they went their ways in anger, that their confession and absolution was treated as nothing.

All that night she was wonderfully cheerful and happy, with a certain gravity, spending the time in prayer, reading, and talking with those who had purposely come to her, to comfort her with the word of God.

[959] A.D. 1557.

About three o’clock in the morning, Satan, who never sleeps, especially when death is at hand, began to stir himself busily, shooting at her that fiery dart which he is prone to do against all who defy him. He questioned her, how she could tell that she was chosen to eternal life, and that Christ died for her? I grant that he died, said Satan, but how can you tell that he died for *you*? When she was troubled with this suggestion, those who were about her counseled her to follow the example of St. Paul, where he says, “Who loved me, and gave

himself for me." — Gal 2.20. Also, that her vocation and calling to the knowledge of God's word, was a manifest token of God's love towards her, especially that the Holy Spirit of God was working in her heart the love and desire towards God to please Him, and to be justified by him through Christ, etc. By these and like persuasions, and especially by the comfortable promises of Christ, brought out of the Scripture, Satan was put to flight, and she was comforted in Christ.

About eight o'clock, the Sheriff came to her into her chamber, saying these words, "Mistress Lewis, I have come to bring you tidings of the queen's pleasure, which is that you will live no longer than one hour in this world. Therefore prepare yourself. At these words, being so grossly uttered, and so suddenly by such an officer as him, she was somewhat abashed. Therefore one of her friends and acquaintance standing by, said these words, "Mistress Lewis, you have great cause to praise God, who grants to take you out of this world so speedily, and to make you worthy to be a witness of His truth, and to bear record to Christ, that He is the only Savior."

After which she said, "Master Sheriff, your message is welcome to me, and I thank my God that he will make me worthy to venture my life in his cause." And thus Master Sheriff departed. Within one hour he came back with swords and staves; and when he came up into the chamber, one of her friends desired him to give him leave to go with her to the stake, and to comfort her. The sheriff granted it at that time, but afterwards he was sorely troubled for it when she was dead.

Now, when she was brought through the town, a great multitude of people were present. Being led by two of her friends, she was brought to the place of execution. Because the place was far off, and the throng of the people was great, and she was not accustomed to the fresh air (being so long in prison), one of her friends sent a messenger to the sheriff's house for some drink. After she had prayed three separate times, in which prayer she desired God most instantly to abolish the idolatrous mass, and to deliver this realm from papistry (at the end of which prayers, most of the people cried Amen — yes, even the sheriff who stood by her, ready to cast her into the fire for not allowing the mass, said Amen at her prayer, with the rest of the people). When she had thus prayed, she took the cup into her hands, saying, "I drink to all those who unfeignedly love the gospel of Jesus Christ, and wish for the abolishment of papistry." When she had drunk, those who were her friends also drank. After that, a great number, especially the women, drank with her. Afterwards they were put to open penance in the church by the cruel papists, for drinking with her.

When she was tied to the stake with the chain, she showed such cheerfulness that it passed man's reason, being so devoid of any fear, and so patient, that most of those who had honest hearts lamented, and even with tears bewailed the tyranny of the papists. When the fire was set upon her, she neither struggled nor stirred, but only lifted up her hands towards heaven, being dead very speedily. For the under-sheriff, at the request of her friends, had provided such inflammable stuff, that she was suddenly dispatched out of this miserable world.

This among other things may not be forgotten: that the papists had appointed some to rail upon her openly, and to revile her, both as she went to the place of execution, and also when she came to the stake. Among others, there was an old priest who had a pair of writing tablets to note the names of the women who drank from her cup, and also to describe her friends by their apparel, for he could not learn their names. Afterwards, he inquired for their names. And so immediately afterward, process was sent out for them, both to Coventry and other places. But God, whose providence does not sleep, defended them from the hands of

these cruel tyrants. To which God, with the Son and the Holy Spirit, be honor and glory for ever, Amen.

The Martyrdom of Ralph Allerton, James Auston, Margery Austoo, and Richard Roth, burned at Islington.

I find that about the 17th of September, these four constant professors of Christ were burned at Islington, near London. Among them, it appears that Ralph Allerton confessed that coming into his parish of Bentley, and seeing the people sitting there either gazing about, or else talking together, he exhorted them that they should fall to prayer, and meditate on God's most holy word, and not sit idly. They willingly consented. Then, after prayer had ended, he read to them a chapter of the New Testament, and so he departed.

He continued in this exercise until Candlemas. And then being informed that he might not do so by the law, for he was not a priest or minister, he left off, and kept himself close in his house. Afterwards, certain men sworn for the inquiry into such matters, came to his house, and arrested him for reading in the parish of Welley.

After his examination, he was sent up to the council. And Bonner, by threatenings and other subtle means, so abused the simple heart of this man, that at Paul's cross, Bonner made him openly recant his former profession. This brought such bondage and terror of soul and conscience, and so cast him down, that if the Lord, whose mercies are immeasurable, had not supported and lifted him up again, he would have perished forever. But the Lord gave him not only hearty and unfeigned repentance, but also a most constant boldness to profess again, even to the death, his most holy name and glorious gospel. Therefore he was again apprehended, and sent to Bonner, before whom he was examined on the 8th of April, and at other times.

The following articles were objected against him and confessed by him.

"1. That he was of the parish of Muchbentley, and so of the diocese of London.

"2. That the 10th of January last, when Master John Morant was preaching at St. Paul's, the said Ralph Allerton there openly submitted himself to the church of Rome, with its rites and ceremonies.

"3. That he consented and subscribed to the same submission, as well as to one other bill, in which he granted that if he were at any time to turn again to his former opinions, it should then be lawful for the bishop to immediately denounce and adjudge him as a heretic.

"4. That he had subscribed to a bill, in which he affirmed that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration are spoken by the priest, there still remains material bread and material wine; and that he believes that the bread is the bread of thanksgiving and the memorial of Christ's death; and that when he receives it, he receives the body of Christ spiritually in his soul, but material bread in substance.

"5. That he had openly affirmed, and also advisedly spoken that which is contained in the former fourth article above.

"6. That he had spoken against the bishop of Rome, with the church and See of the same, and also against the seven sacraments and other ceremonies and ordinances of the same church, used then within this realm.

"7. That he had allowed and commended the opinion and faith of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and others recently burned within this realm, and believed that their opinions were good and godly.

[960]

"8. That he had affirmed, at various times, that the religion used within this realm at the time of his apprehension was neither good, nor agreeable to God's word, and that he could not conform himself to it.

"9. That he had affirmed, that the book of common prayer set forth in the reign of King Edward VI, was in all parts good and godly; and that the said Allerton and his fellow prisoners, daily used among themselves in prison some part of the book.

"10. That he had affirmed, that if he were out of prison, he would not come to mass, matins, nor evensong, nor bear taper, candle, or palm, nor go in procession, nor would he receive holy water, holy bread, ashes, or pax, or any other ceremony of the church then used within this realm.

"11. That he had affirmed, that if he were at liberty he would not confess his sins to any priest, nor receive absolution from him; nor yet would he receive the sacrament of the altar, as it was then used.

"12. That he had affirmed, that praying to saints and prayers for the dead were neither good nor profitable, and that a man is not bound to fast and pray, except at his own will and pleasure; that neither is it lawful to reserve the sacrament,[23] or to worship it.

"13. That the said Allerton has, according to his affirmations, abstained and refused to come to his parish church ever since the 10th of January last, or to use, receive, or allow any ceremonies, sacraments, or other rites then used in the church."

To all these articles Allerton answered affirmatively, denying precisely none of them; except to this clause contained in the twelfth article, "that a man is not bound to fast and pray except at his own will and pleasure." He said that he had affirmed no such thing, but he confessed that he had not fasted nor prayed so often as he was bound to do. And to this answer he also subscribed in this way: "Unless it is proved otherwise by the holy Scripture, I affirm these articles to be true. By me Ralph Allerton."

Other articles were afterwards objected. When he would not recant, Bishop Bonner pronounced the sentence of condemnation, and delivered him to the temporal officers. They reserved him in their custody until the 17th of September, at which time both he and the other three mentioned before, were all burned.

James Austoo, and Margery his Wife.

These two, once they were delivered into the pitiless hands of Bonner, their examinations were not long deferred. For on the 16th of July 1557 they were brought before him. He demanded of James Austoo, among other questions, where he had been confessed in Lent, and whether he had received the sacrament of the altar at Easter?

He answered, "Indeed he had been confessed by the curate of Allhallows, but that he had not received the sacrament of the altar; for he rejected it from the bottom of his heart."

"Why," said the bishop, "do you not believe that in the sacrament of the altar there is the true body and blood of Christ?"

[23] Reserving the sacrament: the practice of preserving a portion of the consecrated Eucharistic bread (and occasionally wine) after the celebration of the Mass, for later use — primarily for administering Holy Communion to the sick, dying, or those unable to attend Mass.

"No," said Austoo, "not in the *sacrament* of the altar; but in the *supper* of the Lord, to the faithful receiver is the very body and blood of Christ, by faith."

Bonner, not well pleased with this talk, then asked the wife how she liked the religion that was then in England?

She answered, "She believed it was not according to God's word, but false and corrupted."

Then he again asked her if she would go to the church and hear mass?

She said that, "She rejected the mass with all her heart, and that she would not come into any church in which there were idols."

After this the bishop objected certain articles to them, which being read, and their constancy in the faith perceived, Bonner pronounced the sentence of condemnation against them, and delivering them to the sheriff, he rid his hands of them.

Richard Roth.

Richard Roth, being apprehended and brought to the bishop of London, was examined on the 4th of July. The bishop earnestly labored to induce him to believe that there were seven sacraments in Christ's church, and that in the sacrament of the altar, after consecration, there remained the very substance of Christ's body and blood, and none other. Roth gave only this answer, "If the Scripture so taught him, and he might be so persuaded by the same, he would so believe; otherwise not." But at another examination he declared plainly that, "in the sacrament of the altar, as it was then used, there was not the very body and blood of Christ, but that it was a dead God; and that the mass was detestable, and contrary to God's holy word and will, from which faith and opinion he would not go or decline."

The bishop objected against him that, "He was a comforter of heretics; and had written a letter to that effect to some who were burned at Colchester." His letter follows here:

A Letter written by Richard Roth.

"O, dear brethren and sisters, how much you have to rejoice in God, that He has given you such faith to overcome this blood-thirsty tyrant thus far! And no doubt He who has begun that good work in yon, will fulfill it to the end. O, dear hearts in Christ, what a crown of glory you will receive with Christ in the kingdom of God! O, that it had been the good will of God that I had been ready to go with you. For I lie in my lord's prison in the day; and in the night I lie in the coal-house, away from Ralph Allerton, or any other — and we look every day for when we will be condemned. For he said that I would be burned within ten days before Easter. But I lie still at the pool's brink, and every man goes in before me. But we await patiently the Lord's leisure, with many bonds, in fetters and stocks, by which we have received great joy in God. And now fare you well, dear brethren and sisters in this world; but I trust to see you in the heavens, face to face.

"Oh brother Munt, with your wife and my dear sister Rose, how blessed are you in the Lord, that God has found you worthy to suffer for his sake! with all the rest of my dear brethren and sisters, known and unknown. O, be joyful even unto death. Do not fear it, says Christ; for I have overcome death, he says. Oh dear hearts! Seeing that Jesus Christ will be our help, oh tarry the Lord's leisure. Be strong; let your hearts be of good comfort, and wait still for the Lord. He is at hand. Yes, the angel of the Lord pitches his tent round about those who fear him, and delivers them whichever way he sees best. For our lives are in the Lord's hands; and they can do nothing to us before God allows them. Therefore, give all thanks to God.

"Oh dear hearts! You shall be clothed with long white garments on mount Sion, with the multitude of saints, and with Jesus Christ our Savior, who will never forsake us. Oh blessed virgins! You have played the wise virgin's part, in that you have taken oil in your lamps, that you may go in with the bridegroom when he Comes, into the everlasting joy with him. But as for the foolish, they will be shut out, because they did not make themselves ready to suffer with Christ, nor went about to take up His cross. Oh dear hearts! How precious will your death be in the sight of the Lord! For dear is the death of his saints. O fare you well, and pray. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen, Amen. Pray, pray, pray.

"By me, RICHARD ROTH,
"written with my own blood."

This letter he confessed that he had written with his blood, having no ink, and that he meant to have sent it to those who were condemned at Colchester for the gospel of Jesus Christ, and were afterwards burned there.

[961] A.D. 1557.

He was (as mentioned before) condemned and delivered to the sheriff. And on the 17th of September, they all most joyfully ended their lives in one fire, at Islington, for the testimony of Christ.

Agnes Bongeor and Margaret Thurston, two godly Christian Women, burned at Colchester, for the sincere Profession of Christ's Gospel.

A little earlier (p. 954), mention was made of ten who suffered martyrdom at Colchester. At that time there were two women, Margaret Thurston, and Agnes Bongeor, who should have suffered with them. They were likewise condemned at the same time and place that the other ten were, but Margaret Thurston was deferred for that time.

Agnes Bongeor was also kept back at that time, because her name was wrongly written in the writ. But when she saw herself so separated from her prison fellows, what piteous moans that good woman made, and how bitterly she wept; what strange thoughts came into her mind; how naked and desolate she esteemed herself, and into what depth of despair and care her poor soul was brought, it was piteous and wonderful to see. This all came because she did not go with them to give her life in the defense of her Christ; for of all things in the world, life was least looked for at her hands.

However, a short time later a writ came from London for burning them, which was executed the 17th of September.

When these good women were brought to the place in Colchester, where they would suffer, they fell down on their knees, and made their humble prayers to the Lord. This being done, they rose and went to the stake joyfully, and were immediately chained. After the fire had compassed them about, with great joy and glorious triumph they gave up their souls, spirits, and lives into the hands of the Lord, under whose government and protection, for Christ's sake, we beseech him to grant us his holy defense and help forevermore. Amen.

John Kurde, Martyr.

John Kurde, a shoemaker of the parish of Syrsam in Northamptonshire, was imprisoned in Northampton castle for denying the popish transubstantiation. For this they pronounced sentence of death against him, in the church of All Saints, in Northampton, in August A.D. 1557. And in September following, he was burned. A popish priest standing by, whose name was John Rote, vicar of St. Giles' in Northampton, declared to him that if he would recant,

he was authorized to give him his pardon. His answer was, that "he had his pardon by Jesus Christ."

John Noyes, Martyr.

In the month of September the blessed martyr John Noyes suffered.

Thomas Lovel, chief constable of Hoxton, in Suffolk, and the under-constables of Laxefield, and two others, were commanded that day to be before the justices and high sheriff. And there they were commanded by the justices to inquire in their town, if there were any who would neglect to come to their service and mass; and further, to examine the reason why they would not come, and thereupon to bring a certificate to the justices, within fourteen days next ensuing. They therefore took counsel how to arrest John Noyes.

So they took him and carried him to the justices the next day. The justices and the sheriff threw him into the dungeon, and there he lay some time. Then he was carried to Norwich, before the bishop, where these positions were ministered to him:

"1. Whether he believed that the ceremonies used in the church were good and godly, to stir up men's minds to devotion.

"2. Whether he believed the pope is supreme head of the church here on earth.

"3. Whether he believed the body of our Lord Jesus Christ is in the sacrament of the altar, in the forms of bread and wine, after the words of consecration."

To these he answered that he thought the natural body of Christ was only in heaven, and not in the sacrament, etc. For his answers sentence was at last read by the bishop against him.

In the meantime, his brother-in-law, one Nicholas Fisk, of Dinnington, going to comfort him as he remained prisoner in Norwich, in a Christian exhortation, asked him if he feared death when the bishop gave judgment against him. Noyes answered, "He thanked God he no longer feared death at that time, than he or any other did who was at liberty." Then Nicholas requested him to show the cause of his condemnation. Upon which John Noyes wrote with his own hand as follows:

> "I said that I could not believe that in the sacrament of the altar there is the natural body of Christ — that same body which was born of the Virgin Mary; but that the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is received by Christian people in remembrance of Christ's death, as a *spiritual* food, if it is ministered according to Christ's institution. The bishop said that, 'The sacrament was God, and must be worshipped as God.' So the chancellor said also. Then I answered, my lord, I cannot so believe."

He was sent to Laxefield to be burned, and on the next morning he was brought to the stake. The fire in most places of the street was put out, except that smoke was spotted by Thomas Lovel, proceeding from the top of a chimney. The sheriff went to that house, broke open the door, got some fire, and brought it to the place of execution. When John Noyes came to the place where he was to be burned, he kneeled down and said the 50th Psalm, with other prayers. Then they bound him to the stake; and being bound, John Noyes said, "Do not fear those who kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." Mat 10.28.

When he saw his sister weeping and moaning for him, he bade her that she should not weep for him, but weep for her sins.

Then one Nicholas Cadman, a valiant champion in the pope's affairs, brought a faggot and set it against him. John Noyes took up the faggot, kissed it, and said, " Blessed be the time that ever I was born, to come to this."

Then he delivered his psalter to the under-sheriff, desiring him to be good to his wife and children, and to deliver that book to her. The sheriff promised he would, notwithstanding he never performed his promise. Then John Noyes said to the people, "They say they can make God from a piece of bread. Do not believe them." Then he said, "Good people, bear witness that I believe I will saved by the merits and passion of Jesus Christ, and not by my own deeds." And so the fire was kindled, and burned about him. Then he said, "Lord have mercy upon me. Christ have mercy upon me. Son of David have mercy upon me."

A Letter John Noyes sent to comfort his Wife as he lay in Prison.

"You desired that I would send you some tokens, that you might remember me. As I read in the New Testament, I thought it good to write to you certain places of the Scripture for a remembrance. St. Peter says, 'Beloved, do not think it strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened to you: But rejoice to the extent that you are partakers of Christ's sufferings; that when his glory will be revealed, you may also be glad with exceeding joy. If you are reproached for the name of Christ, happy are you; for the Spirit of glory and of God rests upon you. On their part He is evilly spoken of, but on your part He is glorified." — 1Pet 4.12-14. "For it is better, if it is the will of God, that you suffer for doing good than for doing evil.' — 1Pet 3.17.

[962]

"'But let none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil-doer, or as a busybody in other men's matters. Yet if any man suffers as a Christian, let him not be ashamed; but let him glorify God on this behalf. For the time has come that judgment must begin at the house of God. And if it first begins with us, what will the end be of those who do not obey the gospel of God? And if the righteous one is scarcely saved, where will the ungodly and the sinner appear? Therefore let those who suffer according to the will of God, commit the keeping of their souls to Him in doing good, as to a faithful Creator.'— 1Pet 4.15-19.

"'St. Paul says, 'Yes, and all who would live godly in Christ Jesus will suffer persecution.' — 2Tim 3.12. "St. John says, 'Do no love the world, nor the things that are in the world. If any man loves the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passes away, and the lust of it: but he that does the will of God abides forever.' — 1John 2.15-17.

"St. Paul says, 'If then you are risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sits at the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth.' — Col 3.1-2.

"Our Savior Christ says, 'But whoever offends one of these little ones who believe in me, it would be better for him that a millstone were hung about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depths of the sea.' — Mat 18.6.

"The prophet David says, 'The righteous cry out, and the Lord hears, and delivers them out of all their troubles.' — Psa 34.17.

"'O fear the Lord, you His saints: for there is no want for those who fear him.' — Psa 34.9.

"'Evil will slay the wicked: and those who hate the righteous will be desolate.' — Psa 34.21.

"'Oh that my people had hearkened to me, and Israel had walked in my ways; I would soon have subdued their enemies, and turned my hand against their adversaries.' — Psa 81.13-14.

"Our Savior Christ says, 'The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be like his master, and the servant like his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more will they call those of his household.'— Mat 10.24-25.

"St. Paul says, 'Do not be unequally yoked together with unbelievers: lor what fellowship has righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion has light with darkness? And what concord has Christ with Belial? or what part does he have who believes with an infidel? And what agreement does the temple of God have with idols? For you are the temple of the living God. As God has said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Therefore come out from among them, and be separate, says the Lord, and do not touch the unclean thing. And I will receive you, and will be a father to you, and you shall be my sons and daughters, says the Lord Almighty.'— 2Cor 6.14-18.

"' But as it is written, eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man, the things which God has prepared for those who love Him.' 1Cor 2.9.

"' For you know that you were not redeemed with corruptible things, such as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers; but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot.' — 1Pet 1.18-19.

"' Nor is there salvation in any other: for there is no other name under heaven given among men, by which we must be saved.' — Act 4.12.

"Christ says, 'Therefore take no thought, saying, what shall we eat? what shall we drink? or, with what shall we be clothed? (For after all these things the Gentiles seek.) For your heavenly Father knows that you need all these things. But seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added to you.' — Mat 6.31-33.

"So fare you well, wife and children; and leave worldly care, and see that you are diligent to pray."

The Martyrdom and Suffering of Cecily Ormes, burnt at Norwich for the Testimony and Witness of Christ's Gospel.

About the 23d of September, Cecily Ormes, wife of Edmund Ormes, worsted weaver, in St. Laurence parish, suffered at Norwich. She was 32 years of age or more. She was taken at the death of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper, already described (p. 954), for she said she would pledge them in the same cup that they drank. For so saying, Corbet took her and sent her to the chancellor. When she came before him, he asked her what she said to the sacrament of Christ's body. She said she believed it was the sacrament of the body of Christ. Yes, said the chancellor, but what is it that the priest holds over his head? She answered him and said, it is bread. At this, the chancellor sent her to the bishop's prison, with many threatening and hot words.

The 23d of July she was called before the chancellor again, who sat in judgment with Master Bridges and others. The chancellor offered her, if she would go to the church and keep her tongue, that she would be set at liberty, and believe as she would. But she told him she would not consent; for if she did, she said God would surely plague her. Then the chancellor told her he had shown more favor to her than ever he did to anyone, and that he was loath to condemn her, considering that she was an ignorant, unlearned, and foolish woman. But not weighing his words, she told him if he did, he would not be so desirous of her sinful flesh, as by God's grace, she would be content to give it in so good a quarrel. Then he rose, and read

the bloody sentence of condemnation against her. And so he delivered her to the secular power of the sheriffs of the city.

This Cecily Ormes was a very simple woman, yet zealous in the Lord's cause. Twelve months before she was taken, recanted, but was never after quiet in conscience, until she was utterly driven from all their popery. Between the time that she recanted and the time she was taken, she had gotten a letter to give to the chancellor, to let him know that she repented of her recantation from the bottom of her heart, and would never do the same again while she lived. But before she could exhibit her bill, she was taken and sent to prison. She was burnt the 23d of September. When she came to the stake, she kneeled down, and made her prayers to God. That being done, she rose up and said "Good people, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, three persons and one God. This I do not, nor will I recant. But I utterly recant, from the bottom of my heart, the doings of the pope of Rome, and all his popish priests. I utterly refuse and will never have anything to do with them again by God's grace. And good people, I would not have you think of me, that I believe in order to be saved, because I offer myself here to death for the Lord's cause. But I believe to be saved through the death and passion of Christ; and my death is and shall be a witness of my faith to all of you present here. Good people, as many of you who believe as I believe, pray for me." Then she came to the stake, and laid her hand on it, and said, "Welcome the cross of Christ."

This being done, looking on her hand, and seeing it black with the stake, she wiped it on her clothes, for she was burnt at the same stake that Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper were burned at. Then, after she had touched it with her hand, she came and kissed it, and said, "Welcome the sweet cross of Christ," and so she gave herself to be bound to it. After the tormentors had kindled the fire, she said, "My soul magnifies the Lord, and my spirit rejoices in God my Savior." In so saying, she set her hands together right against her breast, casting her eyes and head upward. And so she stood, heaving up her hands little by little, till the very sinews of her arms yielded, and then they fell.

[963] A.D. 1557.

But she gave her life to the Lord, as quietly as if she had been in a slumber, or as one feeling no pain. So wonderfully did the Lord work with her. His name be praised for evermore. Amen.

The Trouble and Disturbance among good Men and Women at Lichfield.

After the death and martyrdom of Mistress Joyce Lewis, specified a little above (p. 958), several good men and women in Lichfield, eleven in number, were vexed and in trouble before the bishop and his chancellor, for kissing Mistress Lewis, and drinking to her at the time of her death. They were adjudged heretics because they prayed and drank with Mistress Lewis. But especially Agnes Penifather sustained the most trouble, for she accompanied Mistress Lewis to her death. Agnes was examined further by the bishop, as to what words she had spoken to two priests of the church of Lichfield, concerning Mistress Lewis after her burning. Agness said that being asked by the two priests at her father's house in Lichfield, why she wept for such a heretic, whose soul they said was in hell, she gave this answer: that she thought the blessed martyr was in a better case than the two priests were.

With these words, being charged and commanded to submit herself to such penance as they would enjoin her, she refused. And therefore she was commanded to close prison, the

sheriffs being charged with her under pain of one hundred pounds, that none might have any access to her. At length, at the persuasion of her friends, she was compelled to do as the others had done before.

The Persecutions in the Diocese of Chichester.

And now from Lichfield we come to Chichester. No little trouble and persecution raged there, as in other countries. For what place was there in all the realm, where the pope's ministers did not murder someone or other? Just as this plague of the pope's tyranny was general to all parts of England, so in the diocese of Chichester many were condemned and martyred for the true testimony of righteousness, within the compass of queen Mary's reign. In the number of those martyrs were these:

John Foreman, John Warner, Christian Grover, Thomas Athoth, a priest, Thomas Avington, Dennis Burgis, Thomas Ravensdale, John Milles, Nicholas Holden, John Hart, Margery Morice, Anne Try, John Oseward, Thomas Harland, James Morice, Thomas Dougate, John Ashedon. All these were brought to the stake and burned in the usual way.

The Examination of Thomas Spurdance, one of Queen Mary's Servants, before the Chancellor of Norwich.

"The bishop's chancellor asked me 'if I had been with the priest, and confessed my sins to him?'

"And I said, 'No, I had confessed my sins to God; and God says, 'In whatever hour a sinner repents and is sorry for his sins, and asks Him forgiveness, He will no longer account his sin to him,' and that is sufficient for me."

"Then said the chancellor, 'You deny the sacrament of penance.'

"I said, 'I do not deny penance, but I deny that I should show my sins to the priest.'

"Then the chancellor said, 'That is denying the sacrament of penance.'

"'Have you received the blessed sacrament of the altar at Easter?' he asked.

"And I said, 'No.'

"'And why have you not?' he asked.

"I said, 'I dare not meddle with you in it, as you use it.'

"' Why? Do we not use it truly?' he asked.

"I said, 'No: for the holy supper of the Lord serves for the Christian congregation, and you are none of Christ's members. Therefore I dare not meddle with you, lest I be like you.'

"'Why? Are we none of Christ's members?' asked the chancellor.

"I said, 'Because you teach laws contrary to God's laws.'

"'What laws are those?' he asked.

"I said, 'These three articles to which you swear the people, are false and untrue; and you do evil to swear the people to them.'

"Then he said, 'Good people, take no heed to his words: for he is a heretic, and he teaches you disobedience.' And so he would no longer speak of that matter.

"Then he said, 'What do you believe about the blessed sacrament of the altar? Do you believe that after it is consecrated, it is the very same body that was born of the Virgin Mary?'

"I said, 'No, not the same body in substance; for the same body has a substance in flesh, blood and bones, and was a bloody sacrifice; this is a dry sacrifice.'

"And I asked, 'Is the mass a sacrifice?'

"To which a doctor who sat by him answered, 'It is a sacrifice both for the quick and the dead.'

"Then I said, 'No, it is no sacrifice. For St. Paul says, that Christ made one sacrifice once for all: and I believe in no other sacrifice, except that one sacrifice that our Lord Jesus Christ made once for all.'

"Then the doctor said, 'That sacrifice that Christ made, was a wet sacrifice, and the mass is a dry sacrifice.'

"Then I said, 'That same dry sacrifice is a sacrifice of your own making. It is your sacrifice; it is none of mine.'

"Then the chancellor said, 'He is a heretic, he denies the sacrament of the altar.'

"Then I said, 'Would you know what I believe about the holy supper of our Lord?'

"He said, 'Yes.'

"Then I said, 'I believe that if I come rightly and worthily as God has commanded me, to the holy supper of the Lord, I receive him by faith, by believing in him. But the bread is not God, and the bread that is yonder in the pix is not God. God does not dwell in temples made with hands, nor will He be worshipped with the works of men's hands. Therefore you truly do evil to have the people kneel down and worship the bread. For God never bid you hold it above your heads, nor did the apostles have such a use.'

"Then the chancellor said, 'He denies the presence in the sacrament. Write this article also. He is a very heretic.'

"Then I said, 'The servant is not greater than his master. For your predecessors killed my master Christ, the prophets and apostles, and holy virtuous men. And now you also kill the servants of Christ, so that all the righteous blood that has been shed, even from righteous Abel until this day, will be required at your hands.'

"'Well,' said the chancellor, 'take him away.'"

At another examination of Spurdance, before the bishop at his house, the following passed.

"The bishop said, 'Sirrah, do you not believe in the catholic faith of holy church?'

"And I said, 'I believe Christ's catholic church.'

"'Yes,' he said, 'in Christ's church, of which the pope is the head? Do you not believe that the pope is supreme head of the catholic church?'

"And I said, 'No. I do not believe that he should be above the apostles, if he takes them to be his predecessors. For when a thought came among the apostles, who should be the greatest when their master was gone, Christ answered them for their thoughts. "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and those who exercise authority over them are called benefactors. But you will not be so. Rather, he who is greatest among you, let him be like the younger; and he that is chief, like one who serves." — Luk 22.25-26. How is it then, that the pope would climb so high above his fellows? And also, we were sworn in my master King Henry's time, that to the uttermost of our power, we should never consent to the pope again.

And therefore, just as he has nothing to do here in England, so neither in his own country — no more than a bishop has in his diocese.'

[964]

"'Yes,' said the bishop, 'what of that?' We were then in error and sin; now we are in the right way again, and therefore you must come back home with us, acknowledge your fault, become a Christian man, and be sworn to the pope as our supreme head. Will you be sworn to the pope? What do you say?'

"Then I said, 'No, I warrant you, by the grace of God, not as long as I live. For you cannot prove by the Scripture that the pope is head of the church.'

"'No?' he said; 'Yes, I think he is. For like the bellwether which wears the bell is head of the flock of sheep, even so the pope is the head of the church of Christ. The bees in the hive, when they have gone out, have a queen bee to bring them back home to the hive. Even so the pope, when we have gone astray and wandered from the fold (from the hive, etc.), he is ordained as our head by succession of Peter, to bring us back home to the true church. As you now, my good fellow, have wandered long out of the way like a scattered sheep, hear that bellwether, therefore, and come back home with us to your mother the church.'

"I answered him, 'My lord, all this is but natural reason, and not Scripture:. But since you cannot prove the pope to be authorized by Scripture, you do not answer me as I thought you would.'

"'Ha,' said he, 'I see well that you are stout, and will not be answered. Therefore you will be compelled by law, whether you will or not.'

"'My lord,' I said, 'so your forefathers treated Christ and his apostles. They had a law, and by their law they put him to death. So likewise, you have a law which is tyranny, and by that law you would force me to believe as you do. But the Lord I trust will assist me against all your beggarly ceremonies, and make your foolishness known to all the world one day.'

"Then he asked, 'When were you last at church, and went in procession, and did the ceremonies of the church?'

"'And I said, 'Never; not since I was born.'

"'No!' he said. 'How old are you?'

"And I said. 'I think about forty.'

"'Why,' he said, 'How did you use yourself at church twenty years ago?'

"I said, 'As you do now.'

"'And even now,' he said, 'you said you did not use the ceremonies since you were born.'

"'I did no more,' I said, 'since I was born anew. As Christ said to Nicodemus, Unless you are born again, you cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.'

"Then a doctor who sat by said, 'He is a true anabaptist: for that is their opinion plain.'

"'No, sir, you say falsely,' I said, 'I am no anabaptist. For they deny children to be baptized, and I do not.'

"'Well,' said the bishop, 'why do you not go to the church, and do the ceremonies?'

"And I said, 'Because they are contrary to God's word and laws, as you yourself have taught. But now you say it is good again. I think if there were a return tomorrow, you would again say that is false which you hold now. Therefore, I may well say there is no truth in you.'

"Then the bishop said, 'You are a stubborn fellow, and a heretic, and a traitor.'

"'No,' I said, 'I am no traitor, for I have done, I think, better service to the imperial crown of England than you.'

"'If you had done such good service,' he said, 'you would be obedient to the laws of the realm.'

"'And so I am,' I said, 'There is no man alive (I thank God) who can justly accuse me of ever being disobedient to any civil laws. But you must consider, my lord, that I have a soul and a body, and my soul is none of the queen's; only my body and my goods are the queen's. And I must give my soul to God, and all that belongs to it. That is, I must obey the laws and commandments of God; and whoever commands laws contrary to God's laws, I may not do them for the losing of my soul, but must obey God rather than man.'

"And he said, 'Why do you not do these laws then? Are they not agreeable to God's law?"

"And I said, 'No, you cannot prove them to be God's laws.'

"'Yes,' he says, 'that I can.'

"'Then,' I said, 'if you can prove by the word of God that you should have any graven images made, to set in your churches as laymen's books, or to worship God by them, or that you should have such ceremonies in your churches as you have, prove them by the word of God, and I will do them.'

"'Then,' he said, 'it is a good and decent order to furnish the church. Just as when you go to dinner, you have a cloth on the table to furnish the table before the food is set upon it, so these ceremonies are a pleasing decent order in the church, among Christian people.'

"'These,' I said, 'are inventions and imaginations out of your own brain, without any word of God to prove them. For God says. Behold what you think is good in your own eyes; if I command the contrary, it is abominable in my sight.[24] And these ceremonies are against God's laws. For St. Paul says they are weak and beggarly, and rebuked the Galatians for doing them.'

"'Well,' he said, 'if you will not do them, seeing that they are the laws of the realm, you are a heretic and disobedient. And therefore come back home and confess your faults with us, that you have been in error, etc. Will you do so?'

"And I said, 'No, I have not been in error. For the spiritual laws were never more truly set forth than in my master King Edward's time, and I trust to God I will never forsake them while I live.'

"'Well, then take him away,' said the bishop.

This above named Thomas Spurdance was one of Queen Mary's servants. He was taken by two of his fellow servants, who carried him to one Master Gosnal, who sent him to Bury, where he remained in prison. Afterwards, in the month of November, he was burned.

[24] There is no such verse, but what Spurdance is expressing is the Regulative Principle (Deu 12.32).

The Martyrdom of three Witnesses of Christ.

Not long after the martyrdom of the two good women at Colchester, three faithful witnesses of the Lord's Testament were tormented and put to death in Smithfield, at London, the 18th of November: John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, Richard Gibson.

These three were produced before Bonner, bishop of London, the 5th of November 1557, and had the usual articles administered to them by him and his officers.

JOHN HALLINGDALE being demanded by Bonner, whether he firmly believed that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of our Savior Christ, or not. He answered that he neither in the time of the said King Edward VI, nor at present, believed that in the sacrament there is really the very body and blood of Christ. For he said that if he had so believed, he would have received the same (as others had done), which he did not, because he had believed, and then believed, that the very body of Christ is only in heaven, and nowhere else. And further, Hallingdale said that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and generally all who had recently been burned as heretics, were no heretics at all, because they truly preached the gospel. He grounded his faith and conscience upon their preaching, as he said, according to the saying of St. John in Rev 18.24, where he says that, "the blood of the prophets, and of the saints, and of all who were slain upon the earth," was found in the Babylonish church — by which, he said, is understood the church where the pope is the head. Then Bonner read the bloody sentence of condemnation.

[965] A.D. 1557.

WILLIAM SPARROW was produced before the bishop on the same day, and had the usual articles laid to him. He answered with constancy and faithfulness, and finally said that the laws now used (meaning the ecclesiastical laws) are nought and abominable, and that the mass is nought and abominable.[25] The bishop immediately read the sentence of condemnation upon him, and delivered him to the secular power.

RICHARD GIBSON also suffered with these two. He was accused to Bonner because in the prison he was never confessed, nor was he received at the popish altar. So he was called for, and sustained sundry conflicts and examinations as to his faith and religion. First he seemed to make a certain submission. He was not delivered from prison till the day of his burning. The articles first objected and administered to him by the bishop, were these:

"1. That the said Richard Gibson, prisoner in the Compter, in the Poultry, in the diocese of London, has behaved himself otherwise than became a faithful Christian man, and a good subject of this realm of England, in words and deeds, in diverse conditions and points, contrary to the order, religion, and faith of Christ's catholic church, and contrary to the order of this realm, to the pernicious and evil example of the inhabitants of the city of London, and the prisoners in the prison of the said Compter in the Poultry, and greatly to the hurt and damage of his own soul, offending especially in the following articles. By reason of which the said Richard Gibson was and is of the jurisdiction of the said bishop of London, and is subject to the said jurisdiction, to answer to his offenses and transgressions underwritten, according to the order of the law.

"2. That the said Richard Gibson has irreverently spoken against the pope, and See, and church of Rome, and likewise against the whole church of this realm of England, and against the seven sacraments of the catholic and whole church of Christendom, and against the

[25] *Nought*: immoral and worthless.

articles of the Christian faith here observed in this realm of England, and against the commendable and laudable ceremonies of the catholic church.

"3. That the said Richard Gibson has commended, allowed, defended, and liked, both Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and also all other heretics here in this realm of England, according to the ecclesiastical laws condemned as heretics, and also liked all their heretical and erroneous, damnable, and wicked opinions, especially against the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the pope and See of Rome, with the whole religion of it.

"3. That the said Richard Gibson has comforted, aided, assisted, and maintained both by words, and otherwise, heretics and erroneous persons, or at least suspected and infamous for heresy and errors condemned by the catholic church, to continue in their heretical and erroneous opinions aforesaid, favoring and counselling the same to his power.

"5. That the said Gibson has afformed and said that the religion and faith commonly observed, kept, and now used here in this realm of England, is not good and laudable, nor in any way agreeable to God's word and commandment.

"6. That the said Gibson has affirmed that the English service, and the books commonly called the books of Communion, or Common Prayer, here set forth in this realm of England in the time of King Edward VI, were in all parts and points good and godly, and that the same only, and no other, ought to be observed and kept in this realm of England.

"7. That the said Gibson has affirmed, that if he were once let out of prison and at liberty, he will not come to any parish church, or ecclesiastical place, to hear matins, mass, evensong, or any divine service now used in this realm of England, nor come to procession upon the accustomed times and days, nor at any time bear any taper or candle, nor receive ashes at any time, nor bear palm at any time, nor receive pax at mass time, nor receive holy water or holy bread, nor observe the ceremonies or usages of the catholic church, here observed or commonly kept in the realm of England.

"8. That the said Gibson has affirmed that although he has liberty, and the presence of a priest convenient and fitting, he is not bound at any time to confess his sins to the said priest, nor to receive the absolution of his sins at his hands, not to receive from him the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, in such form as is now used within this realm of England.

"9. That the said Gibson has affirmed, that prayer to saints, or prayers for the dead, are not laudable, available or profitable; and that no man is bound at any time or in any place to fast or pray, but only at his own will and pleasure; and that it is not lawful to reserve or keep the said sacrament of the altar, nor in anyway to adore and worship it."

Such were the charges against him. But the greatest matter which he was charged with, was for not coming to confession, and for not receiving the sacrament of the popish making, and upon these charges he was condemned to be burned.

Thus this valiant soldier, fighting for the gospel and sincere doctrine of Christ's truth and religion, against falsehood and error, was committed with his fellows to the secular power.

And so these three godly men, John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Master Gibson, being thus appointed to the slaughter, were the twelfth day after their condemnation, i.e., on the 18th of Nov., burnt in Smithfield, in London. Being brought to the stake, after their prayers made, they were bound with chains, and wood was set to them, and afterward fire. Being compassed about with it, and the fiery flames consuming their flesh, at last they gloriously and joyfully yielded their souls and lives into the holy hands of the Lord, to whose tuition and government I commend you, good reader, Amen.

The Martyrdom of John Hough, Minister, and Margaret Mearing.

In this furious time of persecution, these two constant and faithful martyrs of Christ were also burned: JOHN ROUGH, a minister, and MARGARET MEARING.

This Rough was born in Scotland. Because some of his kinsfolk would have kept him from his right of inheritance which he had to certain lands, at the age of seventeen, in spite and rather to displease his friends, he professed himself into the order of the Black friars at Sterling, in Scotland. There he remained for sixteen years, until such time as the Lord Hamilton,. Earl of Arran and governor of the realm of Scotland, got him out of his order, so that as a secular priest, he might serve him as his chaplain.

Rough remained in the earl's service one whole year. During that time it pleased God to open his eyes, and to give him some knowledge of His truth. And thereupon he was sent by the governor to preach in Ayr, where he continued four years. Then, after the death of the cardinal of Scotland, he was appointed to abide at St. Andrew's. There he had assigned to him a yearly pension of twenty pounds from King Henry VIII. At last, weighing with himself his own danger, and also abhorring the idolatry and superstition of the country, and hearing of the freedom of the gospel within this realm of England, he determined not to tarry in Scotland any longer. Therefore, he came first to Carlisle, and from there to the duke of Somerset, who was then lord protector of England. By his assignment, he had appointed to him out of the king's treasury, twenty pounds of yearly stipend.. He sent as a preacher to settle at Carlisle, Berwick, and Newcastle. There, according to the laws of God and also of this realm, he had taken a countrywoman of his to be his wife. From there he was called by the archbishop of York at that time, to a benefice in the town of Hull. There he continued until the death of that blessed and good king Edward VI.

But in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, he fled with his wife into Friesland, and dwelt there at a place called Norden, laboring for his living, in knitting caps, hose, and such things, till about the end of October before his death. At that time, lacking yarn and other such necessary provision for the maintenance of his occupation, he came over to England again, to provide for the same here.

[966]

The 10th of November he arrived in London, where hearing of the secret society, and holy congregation of God's children assembled there, he joined himself to thema. Afterwards being elected their minister and preacher, he continued most virtuously exercised in that godly fellowship, teaching and confirming them in the truth of the gospel of Christ. But in the end, such was the providence of God, who disposes all things to the best, that on the 12th of December, he with Cuthbert Simson and others, through the crafty and traitorous suggestion of a false hypocrite and dissembling brother, were apprehended by the vice-chamberlain of the queen's house, at the Saracen's head in Islington. There the congregation had then proposed to assemble themselves for their godly and accustomed exercises of prayer, and hearing the word of God. The vice-chamberlain, after he had apprehended them, carried Rough and Simson to the council, who charged them with assembling together to celebrate the communion or supper of the Lord. And therefore, after sundry examinations, they sent Rough to Newgate. But they sent his examinations to the bishop of London.

Bonner, now minded to make quick dispatch, sent for Rough within three days, and in his palace at London, he ministered many articles to him, as follows:

"1.That you, John Rough, directly spoke against the seven sacraments, used commonly and reverently, as things of estimation and great worthiness in the catholic church: and also reproved and condemned the substance of the said sacraments, but especially the sacrament of the altar, affirming that the very body and blood of Christ is not really and truly in it: and that confession to the priest, and the absolution given by him, as the minister of Christ, for sins, is not necessary or available in any way.

"2. You have disliked and reproved the religion and ecclesiastical service as it is now used in this realm, and allowed the religion and service used in the latter years of King Edward VI. And so much as it has lain in you, you have by word, writing, and deed, set forwards, taught, and preached the same openly, and affirmed in sundry places, that the said English service and doctrine contained in it, is agreeable in all points to God's word, and to the truth, utterly condemning the Latin service now used in the queen's reign, and inducing others by your example to do the same.

"3. You have in sundry places within this realm commended and approved the opinion and doctrine of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, concerning the sacrament of the altar, affirming that there remain in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, material bread and material wine, without any transubstantiation.

"4. You have in sundry places of this realm, since the queen's reign, ministered and received the communion as it was used in the late days of King Edward VI, and you know or have credibly heard from diverse persons who still keep books of the said communion, and have used the same in private houses outside of the church, and you entertain opinions against the sacrament of the altar.

"5. That in sundry places of this realm you have spoken against the pope of Rome, and his apostolic See, and have plainly scorned and despised the authority of the same, disliking and not allowing the faith and doctrine of it, but directly speaking against it, and by your example you have induced others, the subjects of this realm, to speak and do the same.

"6. You d know, and have been conversant with all, or a great part of those Englishmen who have fled out of this realm because of religion, and have consented and agreed with them in their opinions, and have succored, maintained, and helped them, and have been a conveyer of their seditious letters and books into this realm."

He was examined upon these, and other similar articles, and was faithful and consistent in his confession of the truth, concluding with these words, in effect, "That their orders were nothing at all, and that he, being a priest, might lawfully marry, and that his children which he had by his wife were lawful. And concerning the service then used, he utterly detested it, saying that if he were to live so long as Methusalem,[26] he would never come to the church to hear the abominable mass and other service, being as it was then."

Upon these words the bishop proceeded to the actual degradation of Rough, exempting him from all the benefits and privileges of their church. After condemning him as a heretic, he committed his body to the secular power who, taking him into their charge and custody, carried him to Newgate.

Moreover, as regards Master Rough, this is further to be noted, that he said he had lived thirty years, and yet had never bowed his knee to Baal; and being before Bonner, he affirmed that he had been at Rome twice, and there had seen plainly with his eyes, which he had heard of many times before, namely, that the pope was the very antichrist. For there he

[26] An interesting spelling of Methuselah (Gen 5.21), the oldest man in Scripture.

saw him carried on men's shoulders, and the false-named sacrament borne before him. Yet more reverence was given to him there, than to that which they accounted to be their god. When Bonner heard this, rising up, and making as though he would have torn his garments. "Have you," he said, "been at Rome, and seen our holy father, the pope, and do you blaspheme him in this way?" And with that, flying upon him, he plucked off a piece of his beard. After making speedy haste to his death, he burnt Rough half an hour before six o'clock in the morning.

Margaret Mearing, Martyr.

In the company of John Rough, one Margaret Mearing was burned. As the register mentions, she was at the appointed day and time brought forth with Rough to examination. The bishop having no private matters to charge her with, he objected against her those common articles mentioned above, on the 18th of December. To these she answered:

> "That there is here on earth a catholic church, and that the true faith of Christ is observed and kept in the same church. That there are only two sacraments in the church, namely, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism. That she was baptized in the faith and belief of the said church, renouncing there, by her godfathers and godmothers, the devil and all his works. That when she came to the age of fourteen, she did not know what her true belief was, because she was not then of discretion to understand the same, nor yet was she taught it. That she had not gone from the catholic faith at any time. But she said that the mass was abominable before the sight of God, and before the sight of all true Christian people, and that it is the plain cup of fornication, and the whore of Babylon. And as concerning the sacrament of the altar, she said that she believed there were no such sacrament in the catholic church. Also she said that she utterly abhorred the authority of the bishop of Rome, with all the religion observed in the same antichrist's church. That she had refused to come to her parish church, because the true religion of Christ was not then used in the same. And she further said that she had not come to the church for the last year and three-quarters, nor did she mean to come any more to the same in these idolatrous days."

These answers then being registered, they were again propounded against her on the 20th of December, and there, being demanded if she would stand to her answers, she said, "I will stand to them unto the death; for the very angels of heaven laugh you to scorn, to see your abomination that you use in the church." After these words, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against her. And then delivering her to the sheriffs, she was carried to Newgate with John Rough. From there they were both led to Smithfield, the 22nd of December, and there most joyfully gave their lives for the profession of Christ's gospel.

[967] A.D. 1558.

The Suffering of Cuthbert Simson, Deacon of the Christian Church in London.

Next after the martyrdom of John Rough, who was minister of the congregation mentioned above, the deacon of that godly company or congregation in London, named Cuthbert Simson, also succeeded in like martyrdom, being committed to the fire, in the year of our Lord 1558, the 28th of March.

This Cuthbert Simson was a man of a faithful and zealous heart to Christ and his true flock, in that he never ceased laboring and studying most earnestly, not only how to preserve them without corruption from the popish religion, but also his care was very vigilant, how to keep them together without peril or danger of persecution.

A true Report how he was used in the Tower of London, being sent there by the Council, the 13th of December, written by himself.

"On the Thursday after I was called before the constable of the Tower, and the recorder of London, Mr. Cholmley, they commanded me to tell whom I desired to come to the English service. I answered, I would declare nothing. Whereupon I was set in a rack of iron, for three hours.

"Then they asked me again if I would tell them. I answered as before. Then I was loosed, and carried back to my lodging. The Sunday after, I was brought to the same place again, before the lieutenant and the recorder of London, and they examined me. I answered as before. Then the lieutenant swore I would tell. They bound my two fore-fingers together, and put a small arrow between them, and drew it through so fast that the blood followed, and the arrow broke.

"Then they racked me twice. Then I was carried back to my lodging. Ten days later the lieutenant asked me if I would not confess that which they had asked me. I said, I had said as much as I would. Then five weeks later he sent me to the high-priest, where I was greatly assaulted. At his hands I received the pope's curse, for bearing witness of the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

"And thus I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, with all those who unfeignedly call upon the name of Jesus, desiring God, of his endless mercy, through the merits of his dear Son, Jesus Christ, to bring us all to his everlasting kingdom. Amen. I praise God for his great mercy shown to us. Sing hosanna to the Highest with me. God forgive me my sins. I ask all the world forgiveness, and I forgive all the world, and thus I leave this world, in hope of a joyful resurrection."

Now, this is further to be noted, that Bonner in his consistory, speaking of Cuthbert Simson, gave this testimony of him to the people, saying, "I say to you, that if he were not a heretic, he is a man of the greatest patience who yet ever came before me. For I tell you, he has been racked three times in one day in the Tower. Also in my house he has felt some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience broken," etc.

With Simson, Hugh Foxe and John Devenish were likewise apprehended, and also suffered. Being brought to their examinations with Simson before Bonner, bishop of London, the 19th of March, they had the usual articles ministered to them by the officer.

They all answered, "That the church is grounded upon the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head corner-stone. That in Christ's catholic church there are but two sacraments, that is, baptism and the supper of the Lord. That they will speak against the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and likewise against the authority of the See of Rome. And they all refused to acknowledge the authority of the See of Rome to be lawful and good."

These three blessed witnesses of Jesus Christ, Simson, Foxe, and Devenish, as they were apprehended together at Islington, so all three suffered together at Smithfield, about the 28th of March, in whose perfect constancy the same Lord, in whose cause and quarrel they suffered, Giver of all grace, and Governor of all things, be exalted for ever, Amen.

The Martyrdom of William Nichol.

We find in all ages from the beginning, that Satan has not ceased at any time to molest the church of Christ with one affliction or other, to the trial of their faith. Yet never so apparently at any time to all the world, as when the Lord has permitted Satan power over the bodies of his saints, to the shedding of their blood, and the perverting of their religion.

For then he does not sleep from murdering the same, unless they will fall down with Ahab and Jezebel to worship him, and so kill and poison their own souls eternally — as we have felt, heard, and seen practiced upon God's people in these miserable days of queen Mary. Among them we find recorded an honest, good, simple, poor man, one William Nichol. He was apprehended by the champions of the pope, for speaking certain words against the cruel kingdom of antichrist. On the 9th of April 1558, he was butcherly burned and tormented at Haverford West, in Wales, where he ended his life in a most happy and blessed state. He gloriously gave his soul into the hands of the Lord, whose goodness be praised for ever, Amen.

This William Nichol was so simple a good soul, that many esteemed him half foolish. What he was we do not know, but of this we are sure, that he died a good man, and in a good cause, whatever they judge about him. And the more that simplicity and feebleness of wit appeared in him, the more beastly and wretched it declares their cruel and tyrannical conduct. The Lord give them repentance, if it is His blessed will, Amen, Amen.

The Martyrdom of William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson.

Immediately after William Nichol, succeeded in that honorable and glorious vocation of martyrdom, three constant godly men at Norwich, in Norfolk. They were cruelly and tyrannically put to death for the true testimony of Jesus Christ, on the 19th of May, 1558, Their names were William Seaman; Thomas Carman; and Thomas Hudson.

WILLIAM SEAMAN was a husbandman, twenty-six years of age, dwelling in Mendlesham, in the county of Suffolk. At various times he was sought by the commandment of Sir John Tyrrel, knight, and at last he was taken and brought before his persecutor. When Seaman came, Tyrrel asked him why he would not go to mass, and receive the sacrament, and worship it? William answered by denying it was a sacrament, but said it was an idol, and therefore he would not receive it. After this, Sir John Tyrrel sent him to Norwich, to Hopton the bishop, and there after conference and examination was had with him, the bishop read his bloody sentence of condemnation against him. He delivered him to the secular power, who kept him to the day of martyrdom. This said William Seaman left behind him, when he died, a wife and three very young children. And with these young children his wife was persecuted out of the town of Mendlesham, because she would not go to hear mass; all her corn and goods were seized and taken away.

THOMAS CARMAN who, it is said, pledged Richard Crashfield at his burning (see p. 957), and was apprehended for it, was a prisoner in Norwich. He was examined with the rest and brought before the bishop about the same time. He answered no less in his master's cause than the others had. And therefore he had the same reward that the others had, which was the bishop's condemnation. He was also delivered to the secular power, who kept him with the others until the day of slaughter.

THOMAS HUDSON was of Hailes in Norfolk, thirty years of age, by occupation a glover. He was a very honest but poor man, having a wife and three children, always laboring truly and diligently in his vocation. He bore so good a will to the gospel, that in the days of king Edward VI, two years before queen Mary's reign, he learned to read English, in which he greatly profited about the time of the alteration of religion.

[968]

For when queen Mary came to reign, and had changed the service in the church, he then avoided all their ceremonies of superstition. He absented himself from his house, and went into Suffolk a long time, and remained there travelling from one place to another, as occasion offered. At last he returned to Norfolk, to his house at Hailes, to comfort his wife and children, who were troubled because of his absence.

Now, when he came home, and perceived his continuance there would be dangerous, he and his wife devised to make him a place among his faggots (wood-pile) to hide himself in. There, for half a year, he remained all day instead of in his chamber, reading and praying continually. And his wife, like an honest woman, being careful for him, used herself faithfully and diligently towards him.

In the meantime the vicar of the town came by, named Berry, who was one of the bishop's commissaries. He was a very evil man, and inquired of Hudson's wife for her husband. She answered, as if not knowing where he was. Then Berry berated her, and threatened to burn her, for she would not betray her husband as to where he was. After that, when Hudson understood it, he grew more zealous every day, and continually read and sang psalms, to the wonder of many — the people openly resorting to him, to hear his exhortations and vehement prayers.

At last he openly walked abroad in the town for certain days, and the constables understanding this, went to catch him.

Now, when Hudson saw them coming, he said; "Now my hour is come. Welcome friends, welcome. You are those who will lead me to life in Christ. I thank God. And the Lord enable me to this for His mercy's sake." For his desire was, and he ever prayed, that if it were the Lord's will, he might suffer for the gospel of Christ. Then they took him, and led him to Berry the commissary, who was vicar of the town. Berry first asked him where he kept his church for the previous four years. To which Hudson answered, "Wherever he was, there was the church."

Berry. — "Do you not believe, in the sacrament of the altar? What is it?"

Hudson. — "It is worms' meat; my belief is in Christ crucified."

Berry. — "Do you not believe the mass puts away sins?"'

Hudson. — "No, God forbid; it is a patched monster, and a disguised puppet."

At these words Berry stamped, fumed, and showed himself as a madman. He said, "Well, you villain, you. I will write to the bishop, and trust to it that you will be handled according to your deserts." "Oh, Sir," Hudson said, "there is no Lord but God, though there are many lords and many gods." With that Berry pushed him back with his hand. One Richard Cliffar, standing by, said "I pray you. Sir, be good to the poor man." At these words Berry was madder than before. Then he asked Hudson whether he would recant, or not. Hudson said, "The Lord forbid; I would rather die many deaths than to do so."

These three Christians and constant martyrs, William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson, after they were condemned, were carried out of prison on the 19th of May 1558, to the place where they would suffer. This was outside Bishopsgate, at Norwich, called Lollards' Pit. All of them being there, they made their humble petitions to the Lord. That being done, they rose and went to the stake. And all three standing with their chains about them, immediately Thomas Hudson came forth from them under the chain, to the great wonder of many. By this, various people feared and greatly doubted him, for some thought he would recant. Others judged rather that he went to ask for further delay, and desired

conference. And some thought he came forth to ask some for his parents' blessing. So some thought one thing, and some another. But his two companions at the stake cried out to comfort him as they could, exhorting him in the bowels of Christ to be of good cheer, etc.

But Hudson felt more in his heart and conscience than they could conceive in him. For alas, good soul, he was compassed (God knows) with great distress and grief of mind. And therefore, being very careful, he humbly fell down upon his knees, and prayed vehemently and earnestly to the Lord, who at the last, according to his old mercies, sent him comfort. And then he rose he with great joy, like a man newly changed even from death to life. He said, "Now I thank God, I am strong, and do not heed what man can do to me." So going back to the stake with his fellows, in the end they all suffered the death together most joyfully, constantly, and manfully. They were consumed in fire, to the terror of the wicked, the comfort of God's children, and the magnifying of the Lord's name, who therefore be praised forever, Amen.

After this, commissary Berry made great stir about others who were suspected in the town of Hailes, and had two hundred go on their knees to the cross at Pentecost, besides other punishments.

The Martyrdom of three Godly Persons burnt at Colchester.

You have heard (good reader) of the three who were burnt at Norwich, whose blood did not quench the persecuting thirst of the papists. For immediately after, even on the 26th of the same month, the like murder was also seen at Colchester;, of two men and a woman, lying there in prison appointed to the slaughter. They were brought forth the same day, to a place prepared for them to suffer, and accordingly gave their lives for the testimony of the truth. Their names were William Harris, Richard Day, and Christiana George.

These three good souls were brought to the stake, and there joyfully and fervently made their prayers to the Lord.

At last, being settled in their places, and chained to their posts, with the fire flaming fiercely round about them, like constant Christians, they triumphantly praised God, and offered up their bodies as a living sacrifice to his holy Majesty — in whose habitation they now have their everlasting tabernacles. His name be praised for evermore. Amen.

In the month of June, the following proclamation came out, short but sharp, from the king and the queen, against wholesome and godly books. They were wrongfully condemned in the proclamations, under the false title of heresy and sedition.

Proclamation by the King and Queen,

> "Whereas diverse books, filled with heresy, sedition, and treason, have of late, and are daily brought into this realm out of foreign countries and places beyond the seas, and some also covertly printed within this realm, and cast abroad in sundry parts of it, whereby not only God is dishonored, but also encouragement is given to disobey lawful princes and governors. The king and queen's majesties, for redress of this, do by this, their present proclamation, declare and publish to all their subjects, that whoever, after the proclaiming of it, is found to have any of the said wicked and seditious books, or upon finding them, do not immediately burn the same, without showing or reading them to any other. person, shall in that case be reputed and taken as a rebel, and shall without delay be executed for that offense, according to the order of martial law.
>
> "Given at our Manor of St. James's, the 6th of June.
> "JOHN CAWOOD, Printer."

The Martyrs of Islington

The taking of certain Godly Men and Women praying together in the Fields about Islington.

Secretly, in a back close in the field by the town of Islington, a certain company of godly and innocent persons, men and women, were collected and assembled together, forty in number. Sitting there together at prayer, and virtuously occupied in the meditation of God's holy word, a certain man came by who was unknown to them. Looking over to them, he stopped and greeted them, saying that they looked like men who meant no hurt.

[969] A.D, 1558.

Then one of the company asked the man if he could tell whose close that was, and whether they might be so bold as to sit there. Yes, he said, for you seem to me to be persons who intend no harm; and so he departed. Within a quarter of an hour after, the constable of Islington comes, with six or seven others accompanying him in the same business, one with a bow. another with a bill, and others likewise with their weapons. These six or seven persons the constable left a little behind him in a close place, to be ready if there should be a need, while he with one other went before and viewed them. So doing, he came through the company, looking and viewing what they were doing, and what books they had. And so going a little forward, and returning back again, he bade them to deliver their books. Understanding that he was constable, they did not refuse to do so. With that, the rest of his fellows came forward, who bade them stand, and not depart. They replied that they would be obedient and ready to go wherever they would have them, and so they were first carried to a brewhouse only a little way off, while some of the soldiers ran to the nearest justice at hand. But the justice was not at home; whereupon they went to Sir Roger Cholmley. In the meantime, some of the women among the forty, escaped from them, some in the close, and some before they came to the brewhouse. For they were so carried, ten with one man, eight with another, and some with more, some with less, in such a way that it was not hard for them to escape, whoever would. In brief, twenty-seven were carried to Sir Roger Cholmley. The recorder taking their names on paper and calling them one by one, Twenty-two of those who answered, were sent to Newgate.

Word was sent to them by the keeper, that if they would hear a mass, they would all be delivered; of these twenty-two, thirteen were burnt. The first seven were brought out to examination before Bonner, and having their condemnation, they were burnt in Smithfield. The other six followed not long after, and suffered at Brentford. Two died in prison during Whitsun-week. [27]

Seven of those who remained, escaped with their lives, although not without much trouble. And yet, as God would have it, without burning.

Concerning the examination and condemnation of those who were apprehended at Islington, first seven were produced before Bonner on the 14th of June, to answer to such articles and interrogatories as would be ministered to them.

Articles.

"1. That you, being within the city and diocese of London, have not, according to the common custom of the catholic church of this realm of England, come to your own parish church, nor yet to the cathedral church of this city and diocese of London, to devoutly and Christianly hear

[27] Whitsun: the seventh Sunday after Easter.

the matins, the mass, the evensong, sung or said there in the Latin tongue, in the common usage and manner of the church of this realm.

"2. That you have not come to any of the said churches to pray, to go in procession, or to exercise yourselves there in godly and laudable exercises.

"3. That you have not duly conformed yourselves to all the laudable customs, rites, and ceremonies of any of the said churches.

"4. You have not been confessed of your sins at due times and places to your own curate.

"5. You have not received at your said curate's hands (as of the minister of Christ) absolution of your sins.

"6. You have not at due times and places reverently and duly received the sacrament of the altar of your curate.

"7. You have not faithfully and truly believed that in the said sacrament of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of Christ.

"8. You have not by your mouth, nor otherwise by your deed, expressed or declared in any way, that without wavering or doubting, you think and believe that the faith and religion now observed in the church of England, is a true faith and religion in all points.

"9. You have not made any signification that you indeed approve, or allow in any way, the common service in Latin, here observed and kept in the church of this realm of England.

"10. You have not believed, nor do you believe at present, that the service in Latin, commonly used and observed in the church of this realm, is good and lawful, and not against the word of God.

"11. You have in times past, liked, allowed, and approved as good and godly, and so you like, allow, and approve at present, the service in English, the books of common prayer, the books of communion, and the religion set forth and used in the time of king Edward VI, especially as it was set forth and used in the latter days of the said king Edward.

"12. You have in times past been very desirous, and so are at present, that the said English service, the said book of common prayer, the said book of communion, and the said religion and faith so set forth and used in king Edward's time, might now be restored again, set forth and used, and yourself freely at your liberty, without any restraint or hindrance to use it, and also in all points and things to do in this, as you did, especially in the latter days of Edward VI.

"13. You have of late been charitably sent to by me, the bishop of London, and also exhorted by mouth, that — where of late you left your churches, and went in the time of divine service into the fields and profane places, to read English psalms, and certain English books — you would leave off that, and being out of prison, and at your liberty, you would come into your own parish churches, there to hear matins, mass, and evensong, according to the common order of the churches of this realm, and to make due confession of your sins to your own curate, and receive absolution of your sins at his hands (as from the minister of Christ, having sufficient authority in this), hear mass, receive the sacrament of the altar with a true faith, according to the belief of the catholic church, and observe all other rites and customs of the said catholic church used in this realm of England, in going in procession after the cross, as well as otherwise generally.

"14. You being so required, have refused, and still refuse to do so, saying, among other vain and light words, that because you were imprisoned for six weeks, not knowing what you were charged with, your petition should be and was, that you might first answer to your former

cause, and then you would be ready to answer me, the said bishop, to all that should be laid to your charge by me."

After faithfully and courageously answering to all these articles, they were remanded to prison till the day of continuation, on which day the bishop dissevering them from one another, proceeded with them severally, beginning with REINALD EASTLAND, who there declared that he had been uncharitably treated since his imprisonment. Then being required to reconcile himself again to the catholic faith, and go from his opinions; he said, that he knew nothing why he should recant; and therefore would not conform himself in that behalf, &;c., and so the sentence was read against him, and he given to the secular power.

After him, JOHN HOLIDAY was called in. Likewise being notified to renounce his heresies, as they called them, and to return to the unity of their church, he said that he was no heretic, nor did he hold any heresy or opinion contrary to the catholic faith. He likewise persisted in this. The sentence was pronounced against him, condemning him to be burnt.

Next to him, HENRY POND was condemned, with the same sentence, because he would not submit himself to the Romish church, saying to Bonner, that he had done or spoken nothing of which he was or would be sorry, but that he held the truth of God, and no heresy, etc.

[970]

Next after him followed JOHN FLOYD, who likewise denied being of the pope's church. He spoke his mind about the Latin service, that the prayers made to saints is idolatry, and that the service in Latin is profitable to none, but only to those who understand Latin. Moreover, being charged by Bonner of heresy, and saying that whatever he and such others do now-a-days, is all heresy. For this he was condemned with the same sentence, and so was sent away by the secular power.

Then ROBERT SOUTHAM, MATTHEW RICARBY, and last of all ROGER HOLLAND were severally produced.

Roger Holland, with his fellows, standing to their answers, and refusing to acknowledge the doctrine of the Romish church, were all together condemned, the sentence being read against them. And so all seven were sent away to Newgate by secular magistrates, on the 17th of June. Not long after, about the 27th of the month, they were taken to Smithfield, and there ended their lives in the glorious cause of Christ's gospel. Their particular examinations did not come to our hands, except for the examinations of Roger Holland. These follow here, as we received them from certain persons who were present at the time.

Register. — "What do you say? Will you submit yourself to my lord, before you are entered into the book of contempt?"

Holland. — "I never meant anything else than to submit myself to the magistrate, as I learn from St. Paul to the Romans, chap. 13." And so he recited the text.

Chadsey. — "Then I see you are no anabaptist."

Holland. — "I do not yet mean to be a papist; for they and the anabaptists agree on this point, not to submit themselves to any other prince or magistrate, than those who must first be sworn to maintain them and their doings."

Bonner. — "I perceive you will not be ruled by any good counsel for anything that either I, or your friends, or any other can say."

Holland. — "I may say to you, my lord, as St. Paul said to Felix, and to the Jews. It is not unknown to my master with whom I am an apprentice, that I was of your blind religion that is now taught, and obstinately and willfully remained in this until the latter end of Edward's reign. Having that liberty under your auricular confession, I had no qualms about sin, but trusted in the priest's absolution. For money, he also did some penance for me. After I had given this, I cared no further about what offenses I did, no more than he could after he had my money, whether he tasted bread and water for me or not. So that swearing and all other vices, I did not consider as dangerous offenses, so long as I could have them absolved for money. I observed your rules of religion so strictly, that I would have ashes on Ash-Wednesday, even though I had done ever so much wickedness at night. And although I could not in good conscience eat flesh on the Friday, yet in swearing, drinking, or gambling all night long, I had no qualms at all.

"Thus was I brought up, and in this I have continued till now. Of late, God has opened the light of his word, and called me by his grace to repentance of my former idolatry and wicked life. And now I am unlearned as to your antiquity, unity, and universality; I have no sophistry to shift my reason with. But the truth I trust I have, which needs no painted colors to set her forth. The antiquity of our church is not from pope Nicholas, or pope Joan, but our church is from the beginning, even from the time that God said to Adam, that the seed of the woman would break the serpent's head. And so on to faithful Noah; to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to whom it was promised that their seed would multiply as the stars in the sky; and so on to Moses, David, and all the holy fathers who were from the beginning, to the birth of our Savior Christ. All those who believed these promises were of the church, though the numbers were oftentimes but few and small, as in Elias' time (Elijah), when he thought there was none left but him, who had not bowed the knee to Baal — when indeed God had reserved seven thousand who never had bowed their knees to that idol.

"And I trust there are seven hundred thousand more than I know of, who have not bowed their knees to the idol of your mass; the upholding of which is your bloody cruelty, while you daily persecute Elias and the servants of God, forcing them, as Daniel was forced in his chamber, to secretly serve the Lord their God. And even as we are forced by your cruelty into the fields to pray to God, that his holy word may once again be truly preached among us, and that He would mitigate and shorten these idolatrous and bloody days in which all cruelty reigns. Moreover, in our church there have been the apostles and evangelists, the martyrs and confessors of Christ, who have at all times and in all ages been persecuted for the testimony of the word of God. But what antiquity can you show for upholding your church and religion? Indeed, the mass, that idol and chief pillar of your religion, is not yet 400 years old, and some of your masses are younger, such as that mass of the traitor Thomas à Becket, in which you pray that you may be saved by the blood of St. Thomas.

"And as for your Latin service, how are we of the laity the better for it? I think whoever might hear your priests mumble up their service, even if he well understood Latin, yet he would understand only a few words, the priests so chomp and chew them, and post so fast, that neither they understand what they say, nor those who hear them. And in the meantime the people, when they should pray with the priest, are set to their beads to pray our Lady's Psalter. So crafty is Satan to devise these dreams of his, which you defend with faggot and fire, to quench the light of the word of God, which, as David says, should be a lantern to our feet. And again, how shall a young man direct his ways, if not by the word of God? And yet you hide it from us in an unknown tongue. St. Paul would rather have five words spoken in the church with understanding, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue. And yet you would have your Latin service and praying in a strange tongue, of which the people are

utterly ignorant, to be of such antiquity? The Greek church, and a good part of Christendom besides, never received your service in an unknown tongue, but in their own natural language, which all the people understand — nor yet your transubstantiation, your receiving the sacrament in only one kind, your purgatory, your images, etc. As for the unity which is in your church, what else is it but treason, murder, poisoning one another, idolatry, superstition, and wickedness? What unity was in your church when there were three popes at once? Where was your head of unity when you had a woman pope?"

Here he was interrupted, and would not be allowed to proceed. The bishop said, "these words of yours are blasphemy, and only by means of your friends have you been allowed to speak. You are overly disrespectful to teach anyone here. Therefore, keeper, take him away,"

The day that Henry Pond and the rest were brought again to be examined, Doctor Chedsey said, "Holland, I trust you have now better considered the church than you did before."

Holland. — "I consider thus much — that outside of the church there is no salvation, as the ancient doctors say."

Bonner. — "That is well said. But you mean, I trust, the church of Rome?"

Holland. — "I mean that church which has Christ for her head; which also has his words and his sacraments according to his word and institution."

Chedsey. — "Is that a testament you have in your hand?"'

Holland. — "Yes, it is the New Testament. You will find no fault with the translation. It is your own translation; it is according to the great bible.'

Bonner. — 'What are you saying? How do you know it is the testament of Christ, but only by the church? For the church of Rome has and does preserve it, and it has made decrees, ordinances, and true expositions out of it."

Holland — "No, the church of Rome has and does suppress the reading of the testament. And what true exposition, I ask you, did the pope make of it when he set his foot on the emperor's neck, and said, 'You shall tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the dragon you shall trample under feet.'" — Psa 91.13.

[971] A.D. 1558.

Then the bishop said — "Such unlearned wild heads as you and others, would be expositors of the Scripture. Would you then have the ancient and learned — as there are some here, as well as I — should be taught by you?"

Holland. — "Youth delights in vanity. My wildness has been somewhat more provoked by your doctrine, than I ever learned out of this book of God. But my lord, I think some of the old doctors say, — If a poor layman brings his reason and argument out of the word of God, he is to be credited before the learned, even if they are ever so great doctors (theologians). For the gift of knowledge was taken from the learned doctors, and given to poor fishermen. Notwithstanding I am ready to be instructed by the church."

Bonner. — "That is very well said. But you must understand that the church of Rome is the catholic church.'

The last examination of Roger Holland was when he with his fellow prisoners were brought into the consistory, and there excommunicated, except for Roger. Now the bishop, hoping to win him with fair and flattering words, began in this manner:

Bonner. — "I have at various times called you to my house, and have conferred with you, and not being learned in the Latin tongue, it appears to me that you have a good memory, and very sensible talk, but are somewhat overhasty, which is a natural failing in some men. And surely they are not the worst-natured men. For I myself am now and then hasty, but my anger is soon past. So I have a good opinion of you, that you will not throw yourself headlong from the church of your parents and your friends who are here, very good catholics, as it is reported to me. And as I mean you good, so play the wise man's part, and come home like the lost son, and say, I have run into the church of schismatics and heretics, from the catholic church of Rome. And then you will, I warrant you, not only find favor at God's hands, but the church that has authority, will absolve you, and put new garments on you, and kill the fatling to make good cheer with you. That is, in so doing, as food refreshes and cherishes the body, so you will find as much quietness of conscience in coming home to the church, as the hungry son did who had been fed with the hogs, as you have done with these heretics who sever themselves from the church. I give them a homely name, but they are worse (putting his hand to his cap for reverence sake) than hogs. For they know the church, and will not follow it. If I said thus much to a Turk, he would, I think, believe me. But if I did not bear you and your friends good will, I would not have said so much as I have done, but I would have left my ordinary alone with you. Well, what do you say? Do you not believe, that after the priest has spoken the words of consecration, there remains the body of Christ really and corporeally under the forms of bread and wine? I mean the self-same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified upon the cross, and that rose again the third day?"

Holland. — "Your lordship says, the same body which was born of the Virgin Mary, which was crucified upon the cross, which rose again the third day. But you leave out, *which ascended into heaven*. And the Scripture says he will remain there until he comes to judge the quick and the dead. Then he is not contained under the forms of bread and wine."

Bonner. — "I perceive my pains and good will, will not prevail, and if I were to argue with you, you are so willful that you would talk to no purpose the next seven years. Answer whether you will confess the real and corporeal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament?"

Holland. — "My lord, although God by his sufferance has here placed you, to set forth his truth and glory in us, his faithful servants — notwithstanding, your meaning is far from the zeal of Christ: and, notwithstanding all four words, you have the same zeal that Annas and Caiaphas had, trusting to their authority, traditions, and ceremonies, more than to the word of God."

Bonner. — "If I allowed him, he would fall from reasoning to raving, like a frantic heretic."

Holland. — "I beseech you all to bear witness with me what I say, for you will do so before the judgment seat of God. And you, my dear friends (turning to his kinsmen) I pray you show my father what I say, so that he may understand I am a Christian man. I say and believe, and am fully persuaded by the Scriptures, that the sacrament of the supper of our Lord, ministered in the holy communion according to Christ's institution — I being penitent and sorry for my sins, and minding to amend and lead a new life, and so coming worthily to God's table in perfect love and charity — there receive by faith the body and blood of Christ. And though Christ, in his human nature, sits at the right hand of his Father, yet by faith, I say, his death, his passion, his merits are mine, and by faith I dwell in him, and he in me. And as for the mass, transubstantiation, and worshipping the sacrament, they are mere impiety and horrible idolatry."

Bonner. — "I thought so much, how he would prove as blasphemous a heretic as I ever heard. How irreverently he speaks of the blessed mass.'"

And so he read his sentence of condemnation, adjudging Roger to be burned. All this while Roger was very patient and quiet. And when he was to depart, he said, "My lord, I beseech you to allow me to speak two words." The bishop would not hear him, but ordered him away.

Then Holland began to exhort his friends to repentance, and to think well of those who suffered for the testimony of the gospel. With that, the bishop came back, charging the keeper that no man should speak to them without license; and if they did, they should be committed to prison. In the meantime, Roger spoke to the people, exhorting them to stand in the truth; adding that God would shorten these cruel and evil days for his elect's sake.

On the day they suffered, a proclamation was made that none should be so bold to speak a word to them, or receive anything from them, or to touch them, upon pain of imprisonment, without either bail or surety, with other cruel threatening words contained in the proclamation. Notwithstanding, the people cried out, desiring God to strengthen them. And they likewise still prayed for the people, and for the restoring of His word. At length, Roger embracing the stake and the reeds, said these words:

> "Lord, I most humbly thank your majesty, that you have called me from the state of death, to the light of your heavenly word, and now to the fellowship of your saints, that I may sing and say, holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts. And Lord, into your hands I commit my spirit. Lord bless these your people, and save them from idolatry."

And so he ended his life, looking up to heaven, praying and praising God, with the rest of his fellow saints. For whose joyful constancy the Lord be praised.

The Martyrdom of six, who suffered at Brentford.

Not long after the death of the seven godly martyrs that suffered in Smithfield, six other faithful witnesses of the Lord's true testament were martyred at Brentford, seven miles from London, the 14th of July 1558. These six were in that company which was apprehended in a close nearby Islington (as specified above) and sent to prison: namely, Robert Mills; Stephen Cotton; Robert Dynes; Stephen Wight; John Slade; and William Pikes.

These six martyrs had their articles ministered to them by Thomas Darbyshire, Bonner's chancellor. At those times, though they were severally examined, they all had one set of articles ministered to them — the same articles that were ministered to John Holiday, Henry Pond, and their company.

They answered that they had not and would not attend the churches where there was mass, and that, because their rites, customs, and ceremonies are against the word of God, they would not observe or keep any part of them.

[972]

And that they will not come to such churches, nor allow their religion, so long as the cross is crept to and worshipped, and images are in the church. That there are not seven sacraments, but only two sacraments, namely, baptism and the supper of the Lord. That they do not allow the popish service then set forth, because it is against the truth, and in a strange language, which the common people do not understand. And that if they might receive the sacrament as they did in king Edward VI's days, they would return with all their hearts.

When these good men were produced before Bonner's chancellor, and had the articles administered to them, and they had given their answers to them, the chancellor commanded them to appear before him again on the 11th of July, at St. Paul's church. When they came, he required of them whether they would turn from their opinions to the mother holy church. And if not, that then, if there were no cause to the contrary, he might proceed with the sentence of condemnation. They all answered that they would not go from the truth, nor relent while they lived. Then he charged them to appear before him again the next day in the afternoon, between one and two o'clock, to hear the definitive sentence read against them, according to the ecclesiastical laws then in force. At that time, sitting in judgment, he condemned these good poor lambs, and delivered them over to the secular power. They received and carried them to prison immediately, and kept them in safety there till the day of their death.

The day after, a writ was sent to burn them at Brentford. This was accordingly accomplished, the 14th of July. Being brought there, they made their humble prayers to the Lord Jesus, undressed themselves, and went joyfully to the stake, to which they were bound. The fire flaming about them, they yielded their souls, bodies, and lives into the hands of the omnipotent Lord, for whose cause they suffered, and to whose protection I commend the gentle reader, Amen.

The Scourging of Thomas Hinshaw.

In the godly number mentioned above, who were apprehended at Islington while they congregated together for their exercise of prayer and reading, was Thomas Hinshaw. He was a young man, aged nineteen or twenty years, apprentice in St. Paul's churchyard. He was carried with the rest to the constables of Islington. There every one of them was searched, and led immediately to the chief justice, Master Cholmley, dwelling in the Old Bailey, in London. Thomas Hinshaw was sent by him to Newgate, and there he remained prisoner about eight weeks. At last was sent for to Bonner, bishop of London, and examined by him, Harpsfield, and Cole. After this examination he was sent back to Newgate, where he remained the following three weeks. This time having passed, he was sent for again before the bishop, on a Saturday, and talked much with him, to little purpose. Also the day after, which was Sunday, they persuaded with him very much in like manner. Perceiving they could not bend him to their will, in the afternoon the bishop took Hinshaw with him to Fulham, where immediately after his coming, he was set in the stocks. He remained there the whole first night, with bread and water.

The next morning the bishop came and examined him himself. Perceiving no yielding to his mind, he sent Harpsfield to talk with him. After long talk, in the end Harpsfield fell to raging words, calling Thomas Hinshaw a peevish boy, and asked him whether he thought he went about to damn his soul, or not, etc. Thomas answered that he was persuaded that they labored to maintain their dark and devilish kingdom, and not for any love of truth. Then Harpsfield, in a mighty rage, told the bishop. The bishop fumed and fretted. Scarcely being able to speak for his anger, he said, "Do you answer my archdeacon so, you naughty boy? I will handle you well enough, be assured." So he sent for a couple of rods, and had Thomas kneel against a long bench in an arbor in his garden, where Thomas, without any force, offered himself to the beating. He abided the fury of Bonner, so long as the cruel bishop could endure with breath, and till he was obliged to cease for weariness. He had two willow rods, but he wasted one of them, and so he left off.

Now, after this scourging, Thomas Hinshaw notwithstanding, sustained many conflicts and examinations. At last he was brought before the bishop in his chapel at Fulham, where he

had procured witnesses, and gathered articles against Thomas, which the young man denied, and would not affirm, nor consent to any interrogatory.

The articles were: — "Concerning palms, ashes, holy bread, holy water, auricular confession, receiving the sacrament at Easter, hearing divine service then set forth, etc. — whether he had received all these, or whether he would receive them or not. Also, what he thought of the service set forth in king Edward's time, in his latter days, and especially, what he thought of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament."

In all his answers, Thomas kept an upright conscience, and entangled himself with none of their ceremonies.

Not long after his examination, he fell sick of a burning ague (fever). The sickness endured for twelve months or more, so that in the meantime, queen Mary died. He shortly after recovered, and thus escaped death.

The History of Richard Yeoman, Curate at Hadley.

This Richard Yeoman had been Dr. Taylor's curate, a godly devout old man of seventy years, who had dwelt in Hadley many years. He was well-versed in the Scriptures, and gave godly exhortations to the people. Dr. Taylor left his cure with him at his desire. But as soon as Master Newall had gotten the benefice, he drove Yeoman away, and set a popish curate in his place to maintain and continue their Romish religion. Then Yeoman wandered a long time from place to place, moving and exhorting all men to stand faithfully to God's word, to earnestly give themselves to prayer, to bear with patience the cross now laid upon them for their trial, to confess the truth before their adversaries with boldness, and to wait for the crown and reward of eternal felicity with an undoubted hope. But when he perceived his adversaries to lie in wait for him, he went into Kent. And with a little packet of laces, pins, points, and such things, he travelled from village to village, selling them to sustain himself, his poor wife and children.

At last a justice of Kent took poor Yeoman, and set him in the stocks a day and a night. But having no evident matter to charge him with, he let him go again. So he came back to Hadley secretly, and tarried with his poor wife, who kept him secretly in a chamber of the town house (commonly called the Guildhall) for more than a year. All of this time the good old father abode in a chamber locked up all day, and spent his time in devout prayer, reading the Scriptures, and carding wool which his wife spun. His wife also went and begged bread and food for herself and her children; by such poor means they sustained themselves. Thus the saints of God sustained hunger and misery, while the prophets of Baal lived in jollity, and were pampered at Jezebel's table.

At the last, parson Newal perceived that Richard Yeoman was so kept by his poor wife, and taking the bailiff's deputies and servants with him, he came in the night time and seized Yeoman, and set him in the stocks until it was day.

After this, they took Richard Yeoman and John Dale (whom they had previously taken), pinioned and bound like thieves, set them on horseback, and bound their legs under the horses' bellies. And so they carried them to the jail at Bury, where they were bound in irons. Because they continually rebuked popery, they were thrown into the lowest dungeon, where John Dale died through the sickness of the prison, and being badly kept. His body, when he was dead, was thrown out and buried in the fields. He was forty-six years of age, a weaver by occupation, well-learned in the holy Scriptures, faithful and honest in all his conversation,

and steadfast in his confession of the true doctrine of Christ as set forth in king Edward's time.

[973] A.D. 1558.

For these he joyfully suffered prison and chains, and he departed in Christ from this worldly dungeon to eternal glory, and to the blessed paradise of everlasting felicity.

After John Dale was dead, Richard Yeoman was removed to Norwich prison, where he was examined about his faith and religion. He boldly and constantly confessed himself to be of the faith and confession that was sent forth by the late king of blessed memory, holy king Edward VI, and from that he would not vary. Being required to submit himself to the holy father the pope, he said, "I reject him, and all his detestable abominations: I will in no way have anything to do with him, or anything that pertains to him." The chief articles objected to him were his marriage, and the mass sacrifice. When he continued steadfast in his confession of the truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burned, but most cruelly tormented in the fire. So he ended his poor and miserable life, and entered into the blessed bosom of Abraham, enjoying with Lazarus the comfortable quietness that God has prepared for his elect saints.

The History of John Alcock.

There was also in Hadley a young man named John Alcock. This young man, after the martyrdom of Doctor Taylor, and the taking of Richard Yeoman, first used to read the service in English in the church of Hadley. At length, after parson Newall came, when the parson came by with procession, Alcock would not once remove his cap, nor show any sign of reverence, but stood behind the font. Newall, perceiving this when he was almost out of the church door, ran back again and caught him, and called for the constable.

Then Robert Rolfe came, with whom this young man worked. He asked "What has he done, that you are in such a rage with him? "

"He is a heretic and a traitor," said the parson, "and he despises the queen's proceedings. Therefore, I command you, in the queen's name, have him put in the stocks, and see he is forthcoming."

"Well,"' said Rolfe, "he will be forthcoming. Proceed in your business, and be quiet."

"Take him to the stocks," said the parson.

"I am constable," said Rolfe, "and I may bail him, and will jail him. He will not be put in the stocks, but he will be forthcoming." So the parson went out with his holy procession, and so went to mass.

After this, Rolfe brought Alcock to the parson, who at first asked him, "Fellow, what do you say to the sacrament of the altar?"

"I say," he said, "as you use the matter, you make a shameful idol of it, and you are false idolatrous priests, the whole sort of you."

"1 told you he was a stout heretic," said the parson.

Now, after long talk, the parson committed Alcock to prison. The next day he rode up to London, and carried the young man with him. And so the young man came to Hadley no more. But after long imprisonment in Newgate, and after many examinations and troubles — because he would not submit himself to ask forgiveness of the pope, and be reconciled to the Romish religion — he was cast into the lower dungeon, where with bad keeping and

sickness, he died in prison. Thus he died a martyr for Christ's truth, which he heartily loved and constantly confessed. He received the garland of a well-fought battle at the hand of the Lord. His body was cast out, and buried in a dunghill. For the papists were alike in all things. Therefore they would not so much as allow dead bodies to have an honest and convenient sepulture (burial).

Thomas Benbridge, Martyr.

Thomas Benbridge, a gentleman, though he might have lived a pleasant gentleman's life in the wealthy possessions of this world, yet to follow Christ, he would rather enter into the strait gate of persecution, to the heavenly possession of life in the Lord's kingdom, than to enjoy present pleasures here with an unquiet conscience. Therefore, manfully standing against the papists for the defense of the sincere doctrine of Christ's gospel, he did not spare himself to confirm the doctrine of the gospel. For this cause, being apprehended as an adversary of the Romish religion, he was immediately taken to examination before Doctor White, bishop of Winchester.

The usual articles were objected against him, to all of which he answered as became a Christian man. For this he was condemned, and brought to the place of martyrdom by the sheriff. There, standing at the stake, he began to untie his points, and prepare himself; then he gave his gown to the keeper. His jerkin [28] was laid on with gold lace, fair and brave, which he gave to Sir Richard Pecksal, the high sheriff. His cap of velvet he took off from his head, and threw it away. Then lifting his mind to the Lord, he made his prayers.

That done, now being fastened to the stake, Doctor Seaton wanted him to recant, so he would have his pardon. But when he saw that it did not prevail, the doctor desired the people not to pray for him unless he would recant, no more than they would pray for a dog.

Master Benbridge stood at the stake with his hands together, in such manner as the priest holds his hands in his memento. Doctor Seaton came to Thomas again, and exhorted him to recant, to whom he replied, "Away, Babylonian, away!"

Then one who stood by said, "Sir, cut out his tongue."

When they saw he would not yield, they bade the tormentors to set the fire, and yet he was nothing like covered with faggots. First, the fire took away a piece of his beard, but he did not shrink at all. Then it came on the other side and took his legs, and the stockings of his hose being leather, made the fire pierce all the sharper, so that the intolerable heat made him cry out, "I recant:" and suddenly he thrust the fire from him. Having two or three of his friends nearby, who wished his life, they stepped to the fire, and helped to take him from it. For their labor they were sent to prison. The sheriff also, of his own authority, took him from the stake, and sent him back to prison again, for which he was sent to the Fleet. But before he was taken from the stake, Seaton wrote articles to have him subscribe to them, such as to the pope, the sacrament, and such other trash. But Master Benbridge made much ado before he would subscribe them, so that Doctor Seaton desired them to set him afire again. Then with much pain and grief of heart, Benbridge subscribed to them upon a man's back. That being done, he had his gown given back to him, and so he was led to prison. Being in prison, he wrote a letter to Doctor Seaton, and recanted those words he spoke at the stake, to which he had subscribed, for he was grieved that he ever subscribed to them.

[28] *Jerkin*: a sleeveless and collarless jacket. The points were decorative cords or ribbons, often tipped with metal aiglets, that were threaded through eyelets on the jerkin and the hose (breeches) to secure the lower garment in place.

He was that same day, seven nights after, burnt indeed, where the vile tormentors rather broiled him than burned him. The Lord give his enemies repentance.

The Martyrdom of four, burned at Bury St. Edmunds.

In this year, which was the last of Queen Mary's reign, Doctor Hopton being bishop of Norwich, and Doctor Spenser his chancellor, four Christian martyrs were wrongfully put to death: John Cooke, a sawyer; Robert Miles, alias Plummer, a shearman; Alexander Lane, a wheelwright; and James Ashley.

The examination of these persons, before the bishop of Norwich, and Sir Edward Walgrave, was partly upon the following articles:

First, Sir Edward Walgrave called John Cooke to him, and said, "How is it that you do not go to church?"

John Cooke said, "I have been there."

Sir Edward said, "what is the reason that you do not go there now, in these days?"

John Cooke said, "because the sacrament of the altar is an abominable idol, and the vengeance of God will come upon all those who maintain it."

[974]

Sir Edward said, "O you rank traitor. If I had as good a commission to cut out your tongue, as I have to sit here this day, you would be sure to have it cut out." Then he commanded the constable to take him away, saying, he was both a traitor and a rebel.

Then he called Robert Miles, and said, "why is it that you do not go to church?"

Robert Miles answered, "because I will follow no false gods."

Then the bishop commanded him aside, and called Alexander Lane before him, and asked him, "How does it chance that you would not go to the church?"

He said, "his conscience would not permit him to do so."

Then Sir Edward asked, "What do you believe?" Lane said, "even as it is written in God's book." Then Sir Edward commanded him to state his belief, and Lane being somewhat abashed, stated his belief, but he missed unawares, 'born of the Virgin Mary.'

Then Sir Edward said, "What! Was he not born of the Virgin Mary.'"

"Yes (Lane said), I would have said so." "No," said Sir Edward, "you are one of Cooke's scholars," and so he commanded him away, and to come before him the next day.

In like manner they also passed with James Ashley, whom they warned the next day to likewise appear before them. So appearing again, they had their condemnation. And thus these four blessed martyrs and servants of Christ, innocently suffered together at St. Edmund's Bury, about the beginning of August, not long before the sickness of queen Mary.

The Martyrdom of Alexander Gouch and Alice Driver.

Master Noone, a Justice in Suffolk, hunting after good men to apprehend them, understood about one Gouch, of Woodbridge, and Driver's wife, of Grosborough, to be at Grosborough together, a little from his house. Immediately he took his men with him, and went there, and diligently searched for them. The poor man and woman were compelled to step into a

hayloft to hide themselves from their cruelty. At last they came to search the hay for them, and by searching it with pitchforks, at last found them. So they took them and led them to Melton jail, where remaining a time, at the length they were carried to Bury against the assize. And being examined there about matters of faith, they boldly stood to confess Christ crucified, defying the pope with all his papistical trash. Among other things, Driver's wife likened queen Mary in her persecution, to Jezebel; and so in that sense she called her Jezebel. For this, Sir Clement Higham, being chief Judge there, adjudged her ears to be immediately cut off, which was accomplished accordingly. She joyfully yielded herself to the punishment, and thought herself happy that she was counted worthy to suffer anything for the name of Christ.

After the assize at Bury, they were carried to Melton jail again, where they remained a time. This Alexander Gouch was thirty-six years of age, or thereabouts. By occupation he was a weaver of shredding coverlets, dwelling at Woodbridge in Suffolk, and born at Uxford in the same county. Driver's wife was a woman about the age of thirty, and dwelt at Grosborough, where they were taken, in Suffolk. Her husband was in husbandry. These two were carried from Melton jail to Ipswich, where they remained and were examined.

The Examination of Driver's Wife, before Doctor Spenser, the Chancellor of Norwich.

First, coming into the place where she was to be examined, with a smiling countenance. Doctor Spenser asked, "Why, woman, do you laugh us to scorn?"

Driver. — "Whether I do or not, I might well enough, to see what fools you are."

Then the chancellor asked her why she was brought before him, and why she was laid in prison.

Driver. — "Why? I think I do not need to tell you. For you know better than I."

Spenser. — "No, by my pledge, woman, I do not know why."

Driver. — "Then you have done me much wrong,' she said, 'to thus imprison me, and know no cause why. For I know no evil that I have done, I thank God, and I hope there is no man who can accuse me of any notorious fact that I have done."

Spenser. — "Woman, woman, what do you say to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Do you not believe that it is very flesh and blood, after the words of consecration are spoken?"

At those words she held her peace, and gave no answer. Then a great priest who stood by asked her why she did not answer not the chancellor. With that, Driver's wife looked at him austerely, and said, "Why, priest, I did not come to talk with you, but I came to talk with your master. But if you would have me talk with you, command your master to hold his peace." And with that the priest put his nose in his cap, and never spoke another word. Then the chancellor bade her to answer to what he demanded of her.

Driver. — "Sir," she said, "pardon me though I gave no answer. For I cannot tell what you mean. For in all my life, I never heard nor read of any such sacrament in all the Scripture."

Spenser. — "Why, what Scriptures have you read, I pray you?"

Driver. — "I have, I thank God, read God's book."

Spenser. — "Why, what manner of book is that which you call God's book.'"'

Driver. — "It is the Old and New Testament. What do you call it?"

Spenser. — "That is God's book, indeed, I cannot deny."

Driver. — "That same book have I read throughout, yet never could find any such sacrament there. And for that reason I cannot give you an answer to that thing which I do not know. Notwithstanding, for all that, I will grant you a sacrament, called the Lord's supper. And therefore seeing I have granted you a sacrament, I pray you show me what a sacrament is."

"Spenser. — "It is a sign." And one Doctor Gascoine being nearby, confirmed the same, that it was the sign of a holy thing.

Driver. — "You have said the truth. Sir, it is a sign indeed. And therefore seeing it is a sign, it cannot be the thing signified also. Thus far we agree. For I have granted your own saying."

Then Gascoine stood up, and made an oration with many fair words, to little purpose, but offensive and odious to the minds of the godly. In the end of which, he asked her if she did not believe the omnipotence of God, and that He was almighty, and able to perform what he spoke. She answered, "yes," and said, "I do believe that God is almighty, and able to perform what he spoke and promised."

Gascoine. — "Very well. When he said to his disciples, 'Take, eat, this is my body,' he was able to perform what he spoke, and God is not used to lying."

Driver. — "I pray you, did he ever make any such promise to his disciples, that he would make the bread his body?"

Gascoine. — "Those are the words. Can you deny it?"

Driver. — "No, they are the very words indeed. I cannot deny it; but I pray you, was it not bread that he gave to them?"

Gascoine. — "No, it was his body."

Driver. — "Then was it his body that they ate over night?"

Gascoine. — "Yes, it was his body."

Driver. — "What body was it then that was crucified the next day?"

Gascoine. — "It was Christ's body."

Driver. — "How could that be, when the disciples had eaten him over night? Unless he had two bodies, as by your argument he had; one they ate over night, and he was crucified the next day. Such a doctor! such doctrine! Are you not ashamed to teach the people that Christ had two bodies? In Luke 22.19 it is said, 'he took bread, and gave thanks, and broke it, and gave it to them, saying, this is my body which is given for you: do this in *remembrance* of me.'

[975] A.D. 1553.

Saint Paul says, 'Do this in *remembrance* of me: for as often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you do show the Lord's death till he comes;' 1Cor 11.26. And therefore I marvel that you do not blush before all this people."

With that, Gascoine held his peace, and gave no answer. Then the chancellor lifted up his head from his cushion, and commanded the jailer to take her away.

The next day she came before them again, and the chancellor asked her what she said to the blessed sacrament of the altar.

Driver. — "I will say nothing to it: for you will neither believe me nor yourselves. For yesterday I asked you what a sacrament was, and you said it was a sign. And I said that was true, confirming it by the Scriptures, so that I did not depart from your own words. And now

you come and ask me again, of such a sacrament as I told you I never read of in the Scriptures."

Spenser. — "You lie, naughty woman, I did not say that it was a sign."

Driver. — "Why, masters, are you not the men that you were yesterday? Will you eat your own words? Are you not ashamed to lie before this whole multitude present here, who heard you speak the same?"

Then after much more, they were unable to answer. She then said, "Have you no more to say? God be honored. You are not able to resist the Spirit of God in me, a poor woman. I was an honest poor man's daughter, never brought up in the university, as you have been, but I have driven the plough before my father, many a time. Yet, notwithstanding, in the defense of God's truth, and in the cause of my master Christ, by his grace I will set my foot against the foot of any of you all, in the maintenance and defense of the same. And if I had a thousand lives, they would go for payment of it." So the chancellor rose up, and read the sentence of condemnation in Latin, and committed her to the secular power. And so she went to prison again as joyful as the bird of day, praising and glorifying the name of God.

Alexander Gouch, Martyr.

At this time Alexander Gouch was also examined, chiefly about the sacrament and other ceremonies of the popish church. And because his belief was that Christ had ascended into heaven, and remains there, and that the sacrament was the remembrance of his death and passion, and for refusing the mass, and refusing the pope to be supreme head of Christ's church — for these causes was he condemned, and died with Alice Driver, at Ipswich, the 4th of November 1558.

These two godly persons, having come to the place where the stake was set, being in their prayers, and singing psalms both of them together, Sir Henry Dowell, the sheriff, was very much offended with them. He desired the bailiffs of Ipswich to bid them make an end of prayers; they were kneeling on a broom faggot. When one of the bailiffs commanded them to make an end, saying, "On, on, have done with it; make an end, nail them to the stake," they still continued in prayer. Then Sir Henry sent for one of his men, whose name was Richard Cove, that they should make an end to their prayers.

Then Gouch stood up and said to the sheriff, "I pray you, master sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a little time to live here."

Then said the bailiff, "Come on; take them to the fire."

Then Gouch and Alice Driver said, "Why, master sheriff, and master bailiff, will you not allow us to pray?"

"Away (said Sir Henry); to the stake with them."

Then being tied to the stake, and the iron chain being put about Alice Driver's neck, she said "O here is a goodly neckerchief, blessed be God for it."

Then several persons came and took them by the hands as they were bound standing at the stake. The sheriff cried out, "Lay hands on them! Lay hands on them!" With that, a great number ran to the stake. The sheriff seeing that, let them all alone, so that not one was taken.

Three Persons burned at Bury.

Although our history hastens to the happy death of queen Mary, yet she did not die so soon that some were not burned beforehand. And more would have been burned soon after, if God's provision had not prevented her with death. In the number of those who suffered in the same month when queen Mary died, were three who were burned at Bury. Their names were Philip Ilumfrey, John David, Henry David.

Concerning the burning of these three, here it is to be noted that Sir Clement Higham, about a two weeks before the queen died, sued out a writ for the burning of these three godly and blessed martyrs — notwithstanding that the queen was not known to be past any remedy for her sickness.

The Martyrdom of a Godly Woman, at Exeter.

In such an innumerable company of godly martyrs who in sundry quarters of this realm were put to torments of fire in queen Mary's time, it is hard to so exactly recount every particular person who suffered, that some will not escape us, either unknown or omitted. Yet I cannot pass over a certain poor woman, burned under the queen's reign, in the city of Exeter. During her examination she spoke with great boldness and said,

> "Do you not damn souls, (she asked) when you teach the people to worship idols, stocks and stones, the work of men's hands? and to worship a false god of your own making from a piece of bread, and teach that the pope is God's vicar, and has power to forgive sins? and that there is a purgatory, when God's Son has purged all by his passion? and say that you *make* God, and *sacrifice* him, when Christ's body was a sacrifice once for all? Do you not teach the people to number their sins in your ears, and say they are damned, if they do not confess all; when God's word says, 'Who can number his sins?' Do you not promise them trentals and dirges, and masses for souls, and sell your prayers for money, and make them buy pardons, and trust to such foolish inventions of your own imaginations? Do you not work altogether against God? Do you not teach us to pray upon beads, and to pray to saints, and say they can pray for us? Do you not make holy-water and holy-bread to frighten devils? Do you not do a thousand more abominations? And yet you say, you come for my profit and to save my soul. No, not one of you has saved me. Farewell to you, with your salvation."

At length they condemned her, and delivered her over to the secular power. The indictment being given and read, was that she should go to the place from where she came, and from there be led to the place of execution, then and there to be burned with flames till she was consumed. She lifted up her voice and thanked God, saying, "I thank you my Lord God, this day I have found that which I have long sought." But such outcries and such mockings were never seen before upon a poor silly woman; all of which she took most patiently. And yet they pretended this favor after her judgment: that her life would be spared if she would turn and recant.

> "No, that I will not do," she said. "God forbid that I should lose the life eternal for this carnal and short life. I will never turn from my heavenly husband, to my earthly husband; from the fellowship of angels, to mortal children. And if my husband and children are faithful, then I am theirs. God is my father, God is my mother, God is my sister, my brother, my kinsman, God is my most faithful friend."

Then she was delivered to the sheriff. And innumerable people beholding her, she was led by the officers to the place of execution, outside the walls of Exeter, where again these superstitious priests assaulted her. She asked them to have no more talk with her, but still cried out, "God be merciful to me a sinner, God be merciful to me a sinner." And so while

they were tying her to the stake, thus she still cried, and would give no answer to them, but took her cruel death with much patience, consumed as she was with the flames and fire.

[976]

And so ended this mortal life, as constant a woman in the faith of Christ, as ever was upon the earth. She was as simple a woman to see to as any man might behold; of a very little and short stature, somewhat thick, about fifty-four years of age. She had a cheerful countenance, so lively, as though she had been prepared for the day of her marriage to meet the Lamb; most patient in her words and answers; sober in apparel, food and drink, and would never be idle. She was a great comfort to as many as would talk with her; good to the poor; and in her trouble, when money was offered to her, she said she would take none, for she said, "I am going to a city where money bears no mastery. While I am here, God has promised to feed me." Thus her mortal life was ended. For her constancy, God be everlastingly praised, Amen.

Martyrdom of three at Bristol.

In writing of the blessed saints who suffered in the bloody days of queen Mary, I almost passed over the names and story of three godly martyrs who, with their blood, likewise gave testimony to the gospel of Christ, being condemned and burnt in the town of Bristol. Their names were Richard Sharpe, Thomas Benion, and Thomas Hale.

First, RICHARD SHARPE, weaver of Bristol, was brought before Master Dalby, chancellor of the town or city of Bristol, the 9th of March A.D. 1556. After examination concerning the sacrament of the altar, he was persuaded to recant. On the 29th of the month he was enjoined to make his recantation before the parishioners in his parish church. When he had done this, he felt in his conscience such a tormenting hell, that he was not able to quietly work in his occupation. Some time after, on a Sunday, he came into his parish church, called Temple. After high mass, he came to the choir door, and said with a loud voice; "Neighbors, bear me record that yonder idol (pointing to the altar) is the greatest and most abominable that ever was; and I am sorry that I ever denied my Lord God." Then the constables were commanded to apprehend him. None stepped forward, but allowed Richard to go out of the church. Afterwards, he was apprehended at night and carried to Newgate. Shortly after, he was brought before the lord chancellor, for denying that the sacrament of the altar is the body and blood of Christ, and for saying it was an idol. He was therefore condemned to be burned. He was burnt the 7th of May 1557, and died godly, patiently, and constantly, confessing the articles of our faith.

The Thursday in the night before Easter. A.D. 1557, one David Herris, alderman, and John Stone, came to the house of one THOMAS HALE, a shoemaker of Bristol. They had him rise out of his bed, and brought him out his door. Thomas Hale said, "You have sought my blood these two years, and now much good you do with it." Being committed to the watchman, he was carried to Newgate, brought before the chancellor, and committed by him to prison. After, he was condemned to be burnt for saying the sacrament of the altar is an idol. He was burned the 7th of May, with Richard Sharp. He godly, patiently, and constantly embraced the fire with his arms.

Richard Sharpe and Thomas Hale were burned both together in one fire, and bound back to back.

THOMAS BENION, a weaver, at the command of the commissioners, was brought by a constable before Master Dalby, chancellor of Bristol, the 13th of August 1557. He committed

him to prison for saying there was nothing but bread in the sacrament, as they used it. Therefore he was condemned to be burnt for denying five of their sacraments, and only affirming two: that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism. He was burnt the 27th of the month, and died godly, constantly, and patiently, confessing the articles of our Christian faith.

The Last Martyrs to Suffer under Queen Mary

The Martyrdom of five Christians, who suffered the last of all others in the time of Queen Mary.

The last who suffered in queen Mary's time, were five at Canterbury, burned about six days before the death of queen Mary. Their names follow hereunder: John Corneford, of Wortham; Christopher Brown, of Maidstone; John Harst, of Ashford; Alice Smith; Katherine Knight, otherwise called Katherine Tynley, an aged woman.

To close up the final rage of queen Mary's persecution, for the testimony of that word for which so many had died before, these five gave up their lives meekly and patiently, suffering the violent malice of the papists. These papists might either have spared them, or else deferred their death, knowing of the sickness of Queen Mary. Yet such was the implacable spite of that generation, that there are some who say, the archdeacon of Canterbury being at London, and understanding the danger of the queen, made all haste home to dispatch these persons whom he had in his cruel custody.

The reason they were judged to the fire, was for believing the body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar, unless it is received. They said, moreover, that we receive another thing besides Christ's body which we see, and is a temporal thing according to St. Paul, 'The things that are seen, are temporal,' etc. Also for saying that it is idolatry to creep to the cross, and that St. John forbade it, saying, 'Keep yourselves from idols.' Also for confessing that we should not pray to our lady, and other saints, because they are not omnipotent.

For these and other such articles of Christian doctrine, the five were committed to the fire.

These godly martyrs, in their prayers, which they made before their martyrdom, desired of God, that their blood might be the last that would be shed, and so it was.

Among such young women as were burned at Canterbury, it is recorded about a certain maid — and it is supposed to be this Alice Smith, mentioned here, or else it is Agnes Snoth (for they were both burned) — that when she was brought to be executed, being at the stake, she called for her godfather and godmothers. The justice, hearing her, sent for them; but they dared not come. Notwithstanding, the justices had the messenger go again, and to show them that they would incur no danger from it.

Then, hearing that, they came to know the matter of their being sent for. When the maid saw them, she asked them what they had promised for her, and so she immediately recited her faith, and the commandments of God. She requested of them, if there was anything more that they had promised in her behalf. They said, "No."

"Then (she said), I die a Christian woman, bear witness of me." And so, cruelly, she was consumed in fire. She joyfully gave up her life for the testimony of Christ's gospel, to the terror of the wicked and comfort of the godly, and also to stop the slanderous mouths of those who falsely quarrel against the faithful martyrs, for going from that religion in which they were first baptized by their godfathers and godmothers.

The Condemnation of John Hunt and Richard White, who were to be burnt, but escaped by the death of Queen Mary.

Besides these martyrs, there were many imprisoned in other places of the realm, of whom some were only recently taken and not yet examined. Some began to be examined, but were not yet condemned. Others were both examined and condemned, but for lack of the writ, they escaped.

There were also others, both condemned and also having the writ brought down for their burning. Yet, by the death of the chancellor, the bishop, and of queen Mary, happening together at about the same time, they most happily and marvellously were preserved, and lived many years after. In the number of them were John Hunt and Richard White, imprisoned at Salisbury.

These two good men, and faithful servants of the Lord, had remained in prison at Salisbury for two years and more. During that time they were often called to examination by the bishops and priests. I thought it unnecessary to insert all the examinations here, for the length of them. Nor did I think it good to leave no memory at all of them, but to express some part that was not unworthy to be recounted.

[977] A.D. 1558.

The Examination of Richard White.

The bishop of Salisbury at that time was Dr. Capon. The bishop of Gloucester was Dr. Brookes. These, with Dr. Geffery, the chancellor of Salisbury, and a great number of priests were sitting in judgment. Richard White was brought before them.

Gloucester. — "Is this the prisoner?"

Chancellor. — "Yes, my lord."

Gloucester. — "Friend, why did you come here?"

White. — "My lord, I trust to know the cause. For the law says, 'In the mouth of two or three witnesses every word must be established.' "

Dr. Capon. — "Did I not examine you as to your faith when you came here?"

White. — "No, my lord, you did not examine me, but commanded me to the Lollard's Tower, and that no man should speak with me. Now I request to know my accuser."

Geffery. — "You will confess your faith before you depart; and therefore say your mind freely, and do not be ashamed to do so."

White. — "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, because it is the power of God to salvation for all who believe; and St. Peter says, 'Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asks you a reason for the hope that is in you, with meekness and fear.' 1Pet 3.15. Who will have the examination of me?"

Gloucester. — "I will oppose you upon certain articles, and principally upon the sacrament of the altar. What do you believe about the blessed sacrament of the altar? Do you not believe that the real, carnal, and corporeal presence of Christ is in the same, even the very same Christ who was born of the Virgin Mary, who was hanged on the cross, and who suffered for our sins?" At these words they all took off their caps, and bowed their bodies.

White. — "My Lord, what is a sacrament? "

Gloucester. — "It is the thing itself which it represents."

White. — "My Lord, that cannot be; for whoever represents a prince, cannot be the prince himself."

Gloucester. — "How many sacraments do you find in the Scriptures, called by the name of sacraments?"

White. — "I find two sacraments in the Scriptures, but not called by the name of sacraments. But I think St. Augustine first gave them the name of sacraments."

Gloucester. — "Then you do not find that word *sacrament* in the Scriptures? "

White. — "No, my Lord."

Gloucester. — "Did not Christ say, This is my body? and are not his words true?"

White. — "I am sure the words are true; but you play with me as the Devil played with Christ. For he said, 'If you are the son of God, cast yourself down; for it is written. He shall give his angels charge concerning you: and in their hands they shall bear you up, lest at any time you dash your foot against a stone.' Mat 4.6. — 'You shall tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the dragon you shall trample underfoot.' Psa 91.13. These words the devil left out, because they were spoken against himself. And yet even so, you cite the Scriptures."

Gloucester. — "Declare your faith upon the sacrament.'"

White. — "In Christ there are two natures, a divine and a human nature; so likewise there are two natures in the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, which I divide into two parts — that is, external and internal. The external part is the element of bread and wine, according to the saying of St. Augustine. The internal part is the invisible grace, which is represented by the same. So there is an external receiving of the same sacrament, and an internal. The external is with the hand, the eye, the mouth, and the ear. The internal is by the Holy Spirit in the heart, which works in me by faith. By this I apprehend all the merits of Christ, applying myself wholly to my salvation. If this is true, believe it; and if it is not, reprove it."

Gloucester. — "Do you not believe that after the words of consecration, the natural presence of Christ's body is there? "

White. — "My lord, I will answer you if you will answer me one question. Is this not an article of our belief: 'He sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty?' If he has come from there to judgment, say so."

Gloucester. — "No. But if you will believe the Scriptures, I will prove to you that Christ was both in heaven and on earth at one time."

White. — "As he is *God*, he is in all places; but as for his *manhood*, he is in but one place."

Gloucester. — "St. Paul says, 1Cor 15.8. 'Last of all he was seen of me also, as one born out of due time.' Here St. Paul says he saw Christ, and St. Paul was not in heaven."

White. — "St. Paul's chief purpose was by this place to prove the resurrection. But how do you prove that Christ, when he appeared to St. Paul, was not still in heaven, just as he was seen by Stephen, sitting at the right hand of God? St. Augustine says, the head that was in heaven, cried for the body and members who were on the earth, and said, 'Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me? 'And was not Paul taken up into the third heaven, where he might see Christ, as he witnesses, 1Cor 15.8. For there he only says he saw Christ; but concerning the

place, he says nothing. Therefore this place of Scripture does not prove that Christ was both in heaven and on earth at one time."

Gloucester. — "I told you before he would not believe. Here are three opinions, the Lutherans, the Oecolampadians, and we catholics. If you Oecolampadians have the truth, then the Lutherans and we catholics are out of the way. If the Lutherans have the truth, then you Oecolampadians and we catholics are out of the way. But if we catholics have the truth, as we have indeed, then the Lutherans and you Oecolampadians are out of the way, as you are indeed, for the Lutherans call you heretics."

White. — "My lord, you have troubled me greatly with the Scriptures."

Gloucester. — "Did I not tell you that it was not possible to remove him from his error. Away with him to the Lollard's Tower, and dispatch him as soon as you can."

Then John Hunt and Richard White, after many examinations and long captivity, at length were called for, and brought before Dr. Geffery the bishop's chancellor, to be condemned. The high-sheriff was named Sir Anthony Hungerford, who then being at the sessions, was charged with these two condemned persons, and with other malefactors likewise condemned at the same time, to see the execution of death ministered to them.

Not long after this, the writ came down to burn the above-named Richard White and John Hunt. But the under-sheriff receiving the writ, said; "I will not be guilty (he said) of these men's blood." He immediately burnt the writ, and departed his way. Within four days afterward, the chancellor died. Richard White and John Hunt, after the death of the chancellor, the bishop also having died a little before, continued in prison till the happy coming in of queen Elizabeth. And so they were set at liberty.

A Chapter or Treatise concerning those who were scourged and whipped by the Papists in the true cause of Christ's Gospel.

And thus through the merciful assistance and favorable aid of Christ our Savior, you have (good reader), as in a general register, the history if not of all, yet most — or at least I trust not many are omitted — of those good saints and martyrs who have lost their lives, and given their blood, or died in prison for the testimony of Christ's true doctrine and sacraments, from the time of the cruel statute first given out by king Henry IV, to this present time, and especially under the reign of queen Mary.

[978]

Now, after this bloody slaughter of God's good saints and servants, let us proceed to cover somewhat, those who for the same cause of religion have been, although not put to death, yet whipped and scourged by the adversaries of God's word. We first begin with Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairefax, who were pitifully rent and tormented with scourges and stripes for faithfully standing to Christ and his truth.

The Scourging of Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairefax.

After the first recantation of Doctor Crome for his sermon on the tenth chapter to the Hebrews, in which he proved very learnedly by the same place of Scripture and others, that Christ was the only and sufficient sacrifice to God the Father for the sins of the whole world, and that there was no more sacrifice to be offered for sin by the priests. This was because Christ had offered his body on the cross, and shed his blood for the sins of the people, and that was once for all. For this sermon he was apprehended by Bonner, and brought before Stephen Gardiner and others of the council, where he promised to recant his doctrine at St.

Paul's Cross, the second Sunday after Easter. Accordingly, he was there and he preached, with Bonner and all his doctors sitting before him. But he so preached and handled his matter, that he verified his former saying, rather than denying any part of what he had preached before. For this, the protestants praised God, and heartily rejoiced.

But Bishop Bonner with his champions were not pleased. Notwithstanding, they took him home with them, and so handled him, that they made him come to St. Paul's Cross again the next Sunday.

And because the magistrates would now hear him, and be witness of his recantation — which was most blasphemous, to deny that Christ's sacrifice was sufficient for penitent sinners, and to say that the sacrifice of the mass was good, godly, and a holy sacrifice, propitiatory and available both for the quick and the dead — because (I say) they would have the nobles hear this blasphemous doctrine, that generation of vipers procured all the chief of the council to be present.

At this time, between his first sermon and the last, and while Dr. Crome was imprisoned in the month of July, one Richard Wilmot, an apprentice in Bow-lane, aged eighteen years, was sitting at his work in his master's shop. Lewis, a Welshman, one of the guard, came into the shop. Someone asked him what the news was at the court. He answered that the old heretic, Dr. Crome, had recanted before the council, and that on Sunday next he would be at Paul's Cross again, and there declare it.

Then Wilmot sitting at his master's work, and hearing him speak these words, and rejoice in the same, began to speak to him, saying that he was sorry to hear these news. For (he said) if Crome were to say otherwise than he had said, then it is contrary to the truth of God's word, and contrary to his own conscience, which will accuse him before God.

Lewis answered and said that he had preached and taught heresy; and therefore it was fitting that he should revoke it in such a place.

Wilmot told him that he would not say so, nor did he hear him preach any doctrine contrary to God's written word, but that he proved his doctrine, and did that sufficiently by the Scriptures.

Lewis then asked him how he knew that.

Wilmot answered, by the Scriptures of God, in which he will find God's will and pleasure, what He wills all men to do, and what not to do; and also he should prove and try all doctrines by them, and the false doctrine from the true.

Lewis said, it had never been merry since the bible was in English: and that he was both a heretic and a traitor who had it translated into English (meaning Cromwell) and therefore he was rewarded according to his deserts.

Wilmot answered that he thought it pleased God to raise up Cromwell from a low estate, and to place him in high authority, so that he might do that which all the bishops in the realm never did, in restoring again God's holy word. I having been hidden from the people long before in a strange tongue, and now coming abroad among us, it will bring our bishops and priests in less estimation among the people. Lewis asked why so?

Wilmot said, because their doctrine and living was not according to God's word.

Then Lewis said, 'I never heard but that all men should learn from the bishops and priests, because they are learned men, and have been brought up in learning all the days of their

lives. Therefore they must know the truth, and our fathers believed their doctrine and learning, and I think they did well, for the world was far better then than it is now.'

Wilmot answered, I will not say so. For we must not believe them just because they are bishops, nor because they are learned, nor because our fathers followed their doctrine. For I have read in God's book, how bishops and learned men have taught the people false doctrine, and likewise the priests from time to time, and indeed our forefathers believed those people. As they taught, and as they thought, so the people thought, But for all this, Christ calls them false prophets, thieves, and murderers, blind leaders of the blind, commanding the people to take heed of them, lest they both fall into the ditch. Moreover, we read that the bishops, priests and learned men, have commonly been resisters of the truth from time to time, and have always persecuted the prophets in the old law, as their successors persecuted our Savior Christ and his disciples in the new law. We must take heed therefore, that we credit them no further than God would have us, nor follow them nor our forefathers otherwise than He commands us. For Almighty God has given to all people, to kings and princes, as well as to bishops, priests, learned and unlearned men, a commandment and law to which he wills all men to be obedient. Therefore, if any bishop or priest preaches or teaches, or any prince or magistrate commands, anything contrary to his commandment, we must take heed how we obey them. For it is better for us to obey God than man.

"Goodness, Sir," said Lewis, "you are a holy doctor indeed. By God's blood if you were my man, I would set you about your business a little better, and not allow you to look at books; and so would your master if he were wise." And with that, in came his master, and a young man with him, who was a servant with Mr. Daubney in Watling-street. His master asked what the matter was.

Lewis said, "that he had a knavish boy here for his servant, and how that if he were his, he would hang him, rather than keep him in his house."

Then his master, being somewhat moved, asked his fellows what was the matter.

They said, they began to talk about Dr. Crome.

Then his master "asked him what he had said, swearing a great oath, that he would make him tell him.

Wilmot said, "that he trusted he had said nothing, by which either he or Master Lewis might justly be offended. I pray," said Wilmot, "ask him what I said."

"Goodness," said Lewis, "he said this: 'That Dr. Crome preached and taught nothing but the truth, and how if Dr. Crome recants next Sunday, he would be sorry to hear it, and that if he does, he is made to do it against his conscience.' And moreover, he said, 'that we must not follow our bishops' doctrine and preaching, for,' he says, 'they are hinderers of God's word, and persecutors; and how Cromwell did more good (that traitor) in setting forth the bible, than all our bishops have done these hundred years.' "

Then Wilmot said that, "in many things Lewis made his tale worse than it was." His master hearing of this, was in a great fury, and berated him, saying that, "either he would be hanged or burned, swearing that he would take away all his books and burn them."

A young man standing by hearing this, began to speak on his part to Lewis; and confirmed all the sayings of the other (Wilmot).

This young man was learned. His name was Thomas Fairefax. Lewis, hearing this man's speech as well as the other's, went his way in a rage to the court.

[979] A.D. 1558.

On the morrow Wilmot and Fairefax were sent for, to come to the Lord Mayor, Sir Roger Cholmley. who was with the mayor. He asked him, "What do you say to Dr. Crome's sermon made at the cross the last day? Did you not hear it?"

Wilmot. — "Yes; and in that sermon he deceived a great number of people."

Cholmley. — "How so?"

Wilmot. — "They expected that he would have recanted his doctrine that he had taught before, and he did not, but rather confirmed it."

Cholmley. — "Yes Sir, but what do you say now to him? For he recanted before the council; and has promised on Sunday next to be at the cross again. What do you think about that?"

Wilmot. — "If he did so, I am the sorrier to hear it."

Cholmley. — "But what do you say? Was his first sermon heresy or not?"

Wilmot. — "No; I suppose it was not heresy. For if it were, St. Paul's epistle to the Hebrews was heresy, and Paul would be a heretic who preached such doctrine. But God forbid that any Christian man should so think of the holy apostle; nor do I think so."

Cholmley. — "Why, how do you know that St. Paul wrote those things that are in English now, to be true, whereas Paul never wrote English or Latin?"

Wilmot. — "I am certified that learned men of God, who sought to advance His word, translated the same out of the Greek and Hebrew into Latin and English, and they dared not presume to alter the sense of the Scripture of God, and the last will and testament of Christ Jesus."

Then the lord mayor, being in a great fury, asked him what he was doing reading such books? And he said that, "It was a pity that his master allowed him to do so, and that he was not set better to work by it. In brief, he said to him that he had spoken evil of my lord of Winchester and Bonner, those reverend and learned fathers and councillors of this realm, for which he saw no other remedy but that he must suffer."

At length through entreaty, he granted them this much favor: that they would not die, but would be tied to a cart's tail, and be whipped for three market days through the city. Thus they came home that day, and went another day. The mayor and the wardens of the company kneeled before them to have this public punishment released, as they were servants of so worshipful a company, and that they might be punished in their own hall,[29] before the wardens and the company. At length it was granted with a condition (some said), as will be declared shortly.

The next day Wilmot and Fairefax were sent to the hall, before the masters, both their masters being present. Laid to their charge were the heinous offenses committed by them, how they were both heretics and traitors, and deserved death for the same. This was declared with a long process by the master of the company, whose name was Master Brookes. He declared what great labor and suit the mayor and the wardens had made for them, to save them from death, which (he said) they deserved, and from open shame, which

[29] *Hall*: in the 16th century England, a hall served as a central hub for political and administrative functions.

they should have had — being judged by the council to be whipped three days through the city at a cart's tail. The mayor and wardens had labored to deliver them from these two dangers, but not without great suit and also cost. For he said, the company promised a hundred pounds [30] to the council for their mercy and favor shown towards them, being of such a worshipful company. Notwithstanding, he said, we must see them punished in our hall among ourselves, for their offenses. After these and many other words, Master Brookes commanded them to prepare themselves to receive their punishment.

Then they were taken aside, and stripped from the waist upward, one after another. In the midst of the hall, where they used to make their fire, there was a great ring of iron, to which a rope was tied fast, and one of their feet was tied to it.

Then two men came, disguised in mummer's apparel, with visors on their faces, and they beat them with great rods until the blood flowed.

Thus we have briefly recited this little tragedy, in which we may note the malice of the enemies at all times toward those who profess Christ and take His part, of whatever estate or degree they may be. This is according to the apostle's saying, "It is given to you not only to believe, but also to suffer with Him," Phi 1.29 to Whom be honor and glory, Amen.

The Scourging of Thomas Green, as written by himself.

"In the reign of Queen Mary, I, Thomas Green, being brought before Doctor Story, by my master, whose name is John Wayland, a printer, for a book called *Antichrist*, which had been distributed to certain honest men. He asked me where I got the book, and said I was a traitor. I told him I got the book from a Frenchman. Then he asked me more questions, but I told him I would tell him no more. Then he said it was not heresy, but treason, and that I should be hanged, drawn and quartered. And so he called for Cluny, the keeper of the Lollard's tower, and bade him set me fast in the stocks.

"I was not in the Lollard's-tower two hours, when Cluny came and took me out, and carried me to the coal-house. There I found a Frenchman lying in the stocks. He took him out, and put a bolt and a fetter on my right leg, and another on my left hand. And so he set me cross-fettered in the stocks, and took the Frenchman away with him. There I lay a day and a night. On the morrow after he came and said, 'Let us shift your hand and your leg, do that you may not become lame.' He made as though he pitied me, and said, tell me the truth, and I will be your friend.

"And I said, I had told the truth, and would tell no other. Then he put only my leg in the stocks, and went his way. There I remained six days.

"Then Doctor Story sent for me, and asked whether I would tell him the truth, where I got the book. I said I had told him of a Frenchman.

"Then Story scoffed at me and then said there was, 'brother in Christ, and brother in Christ.' He reviled me, and called me a heretic, and asked me if I obtained the book from him in Newgate. I said no, and told him I met him as I went about my business in the street. He asked me how I was doing. So falling into communication, he showed me that book, and I desired that he would let me have it.

[30] One hundred pounds in 1558 is worth about $75,000 today. It was paid by the civil authorities to the Church Council, in effect paying a ransom. The Church had monetized its "mercy."

"Then he called for Cluny, and bade him lay me fast in the coal-house, saying that he would make me tell another tale at my next coming. And so I lay in the stocks day and night, except when I ate my food; and there I remained ten days before I was called for again.

"Then Dr. Story sent for me again, and asked if I would yet tell him the truth. I said, I could tell him no other truth than I had, nor would. And while I was standing there, two were brought in whom I took to be prisoners.

"Then Mrs. Story fell into a rage, and swore a great oath, that it would be a good deed to put a hundred or two of these heretic knaves in a house, and I myself, she said, would set it on fire. So I was committed to prison again, where I remained fourteen days, and came to no answer.

"After this, being brought out again, Story burdened me with my faith, and said I was a heretic. Whereupon the chaplain asked me how I believed. Then I began to recite the articles of my belief, but he bade me let that alone. Then he asked me how I believed in Christ. I answered him that I believed in Christ who died and rose again the third day, and sits at the right hand of God the Father.

"Whereupon Story asked me mockingly, what is the right hand of God? I answered him that I thought it was His glory. Then he said, 'So they all say.' He asked me when he would be weary of sitting there. Then my lord of Windsor's chaplain interfered, asking me what I said about the mass. I said, I never knew what it was, nor what it meant, for I did not understand it, because I never learned any Latin. And since the time that I had any knowledge of it, I had been brought up in nothing but reading English, and with those men who have taught the same — with many more questions, which I cannot repeat.

[980]

"Moreover he asked me if the very body of Christ, flesh, blood and bone, were not in the mass, after the priest had consecrated it. And I answered him, as for the mass I cannot understand it; but in the new testament I read, that as the apostles stood looking after the Lord when he ascended up into heaven, an angel said to them, Even as you see him ascend up, so shall he come again. And I told them another sentence, where Christ says, The poor you will have always with you, but me you will not always have.

"Then the chaplain put to me many more questions, to which I could give him no answer. Among all the others, he brought Chrysostom and Jerome for his purpose. I answered him, that I neither minded nor was able to answer their doctors, nor did I know whether they alleged them rightly or not. But I would answer to that which is written in the new testament. Here they laughed me to scorn, and called me a fool, and said they would reason no more with me.

"Then Doctor Story called for Cluny, and bade him to take me away and set me fast, and let no man speak with me. So I was sent to the coal-house; where I had not been a week, before there fourteen prisoners came in. But I was still kept alone without company, in a prison called Salthouse, having a bolt and a fetter upon my leg, and my hands manacled together with irons. There I continued ten days, having nothing to lie on but bare stones or a board.

"In the end he commanded me to be stripped, he standing by me. He called for two of the beadles,[31] and for whips to whip me. The two beadles came with a cord, and bound my hands together, with the one end of the cord bound to a stone pillar. Then one of my friends,

[31] *Beadles*: low-level officials in a church, who are responsible for keeping order and carrying out minor duties.

Nicholas Priestman, hearing them call for whips, hurled in a bundle of rods, which seemed to somewhat pacify the mind of his cruelty; and so they scourged me with rods. But as they were whipping me, Story asked me if I would go to my master again, and I said no. He said, 'I perceive now he will be worse than he ever was before;' but he let me alone. He said, 'I will find him out if he is in England,' with many other things which I cannot repeat. When they were done whipping me, they bade me pay my fees, and go my way."

Doctor Story commanded that Green should have a hundred stripes; but the gentlemen so entreated, that he did not have that many. Story said, "if I might have my will, I would surely cut out his tongue."

The Scourging of James Harris.

In this society of the scourged professors of Christ, there was also one James Harris of Billericay, in Essex, a stripling seventeen years of age. Being apprehended and sent up to Bonner, he was strictly examined. In these examinations he was charged with not having come to his parish church for one year or more. He confessed that once, for fear, he had been at the church, and there he had received the popish sacrament of the altar, for which he was heartily sorry, detesting it with all his heart.

After this and similar answers, Bonner persuaded him to go to confess and be absolved. The lad consented to go. But when he came to the priest, he stood still, and said nothing. Why, asked the priest, do you say nothing? What should I say? Asked Harris. You must confess your sins, said the priest. My sins, he says, are so many that they cannot be numbered. With that, the priest told Bonner what he had said. And out of his accustomed devotion, Bonner took the poor lad into his garden. There, with a rod taken out of a cherry tree, he most cruelly whipped him.

The Whipping of a Beggar at Salisbury.

To these events specified above, is also to be added the miserable whipping of a certain poor starved beggar. Because he would not receive the sacrament at Easter in the town of Colingborough, he was brought to Salisbury to the chancellor, Doctor Geffery. He cast him into the dungeon, and afterward had him miserably whipped by two catchpoles.[32] The sight made all godly hearts rue it, to see such tyranny shown upon such a simple poor man, for those who saw him, reported that they never saw a simpler creature, but what pity can move the hearts of merciless papists?

Besides these, many others also suffered similar scourging and whippings of their bodies, for faithfully standing in the truth. It would be too lengthy to recite the details of more. It may be said of them, as it is written of the apostles in the Acts, "Who departed from the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus."

Treatise about those who, being pursued in Queen Mary's time, were in great danger; and yet, through the good Providence of God, they were mercifully preserved.

Although the secret purpose of Almighty God, who disposes all things, allowed a great number of his faithful servants, both men and women of all ages and degrees, to fall into the enemies' hands, and to abide the brunt of this persecution — to be tried with rods, whips, racks, fetters, famine, with the burning of hands, with plucking off beards, and also with the burning of both hand, beard, body, etc. — yet *notwithstanding*, there were some again, and

[32] *Catchpole*: officers of the law who made arrests, especially of debtors.

a great number of them, who miraculously, by the merciful providence of God, against all men's expectation, were safely delivered out of the fiery rage of this persecution. This was either by quitting the realm, or shifting their location, or the Lord so blinded the eyes of the persecutors, or disposed the opportunity of time, or worked some such means or other for his servants, that not only should it stir them up to perpetual thanks, but also that it may move all men to both behold and magnify the wondrous works of the Almighty.

About the time it began to be known that queen Mary was sick, several good men were in prison in various quarters of the realm, among whom was William Living (with his wife), and John Lithall, of whom something now remains to be said.

The Trouble and Deliverance of John Lithal, Minister.

It happened that certain books were in the custody of John Lithall. So the constable of the ward of Southwark, with others of the queen's servants, were sent to his house. Breaking up his doors and chests, they took away all his books, writings, and bills of debts, which he never got back. All this while, Lithall was not at home.

The next Saturday, after he returned, and was known to be at home, John Avales and certain of the queen's servants beset his house all night, with such a careful watch, that as Lithal went out of doors in the morning, thinking to escape their hands, John Avales burst out upon him and cried, "Stop the traitor, stop the traitor!'

And so John Avales came running to him, with others who were with him, saying, 'Ah sirrah, you are a pretty traitorly fellow indeed. We have had some trouble getting to you.' To whom Lithal answered that he was a truer man to the queen's majesty than Avales. 'For you,' he said, 'are commanded by God to keep holy the Sabbath-day, and you seek to shed your neighbor's blood on the Sabbath-day. Remember that you must therefore answer to God.' But Avales said. 'Come on you villain, you must go before the council.' So Lithall was brought into St. Paul's church-yard to the bishop's chancellor.

Among a great deal of other matter in the examination of Lithall by this chancellor, the following conversation passed between them, as recorded by Lithall himself:

"Chancellor. — 'You boast much, every one of you, of your faith and belief. Let me hear therefore, in effect, what you believe.'

"Lithall. — 'I believe to be justified really by Christ Jesus, according to the saying of St. Paul to the Ephesians, without either deeds or works, or anything that may be invented by man.'

[981] A.D. 1558.

"Chancellor. — 'Faith cannot save without works.'

"Lithall. — 'That is contrary to the doctrine of the apostles.'

"Chancellor. — 'Keeper! Take this fellow to prison.'

"Then John Avales, and Cluny, the keeper, took me into St. Paul's, and would have me see the apostles' mass."

"Lithall. — 'I know of none that the apostles had, and therefore, I will see none.'

"Cluny and John Avales. — 'Come and kneel down before the rood (cross), and say a Paternoster, and an Ave in the worship of the five wounds.'

"Lithall. — 'I am forbidden by God's own mouth to kneel to any idol or image; therefore, I will not.'

"Then they pulled me with great force, the one having me by one arm, and the other by the other arm; but God gave me strength, his name be praised for it.

"Then when they could not make me to kneel before the rood, or witness the mass,' a great company gathered about us, and all were against me. Some spit on me, and said, 'fie on you heretic; and others said it was a pity that I was not burned already.'

"Then they carried me to Lollard's-tower, and hung me in a great pair of stocks, in which I lay three days and three nights, till I was so lame that I could neither stir nor move.

"Then I offered the keeper a certain amount of money and gold that I had about me, to release me out of the stocks. He said I would not be ruled by him, either to see mass, or to kneel before the rood, and therefore, I should remain lying there. But I said, I would never do the thing that would be against my conscience. 'And though you have lamed my body, yet my conscience is whole, I praise God for it.' So shortly after, he let me out of the stocks, more for the love of my money, than for any other affection. And within four or five days my wife got leave from the chancellor to come to me, to bring me such things as were needful for me, and there I lay for five weeks and odd days. In that time, my neighbors and friends made suit to the chancellor for my deliverance. The bishop at that time, they said, was at Fulham, sick. So about twenty of my neighbors being there, the chancellor sent for me to come to his own house out of the Lollard's tower, and he said as follows:

"Chancellor. — 'Here are some of your neighbors who have been with me to entreat for you, and they have informed me that you have been a very honest and quiet neighbor among them. I think it is God's will that I should deliver you before my lord comes home. For if he comes, and you go home again, I will be burned in your stead. For I already know his mind in that matter.'

"Lithall. — 'I give you hearty thanks for your gentleness, and my neighbors for their good report.'

"Chancellor. — 'If your neighbors will be bound for your returning whenever you are called for; and also if you will be an obedient subject, I will be content to deliver you.'

"Neighbors. — 'If it please your worship, we will be bound for him in body and goods.'

"Chancellor. — 'I will require no such bond from you, but only that two of you will be bound for twenty pounds a-piece, that he will come to answer when he is called.'

"Lithall. — 'Where do you find, Mr. Chancellor, in all the Scriptures, that the church of God bound any man for the profession of his faith? You have heard this profession from me, that all our justification, righteousness, and salvation comes only and freely by the merits of our Savior Jesus Christ, and all the inventions and works of men, however glorious they may be, are altogether vain, as the wise man says.'

"Chancellor. — 'Look, where he is now [who said so]? I put no such matter to you, for I believe as you do in this. Yet St. James says that, 'A man is justified by works.'

"Lithall. — "St. James spoke to those who boasted of their faith, and showed no works of faith. But O, Mr. Chancellor, remember I pray you, how all the promises and prophecies of the holy Scripture, even from the first promise that God made to Adam, to the end of the Revelation of St. John, testify that in the name of Jesus, and only by his merits, all who believe will be saved from all their sins and offenses. 'I am sought by those who did not ask for me. I am found by those who did not seek me. I said, Behold me, behold me, to a nation that was not called by my name. I have spread out my hands all day to a rebellious people,

who walk in a way that was not good, according to their own thoughts.' Isa 65.1-2. And when the jailer asked St. Paul, what he should do to be saved, the apostle said, 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and you shall be saved, and your house.' Act 16.31. Again, St. John says in the Revelation, that there was none, either in heaven or on earth, nor under the earth, who was able to open the book nor its seals, but only the Lamb Jesus, our only Savior. And St. Paul says, 'So Christ was offered once to bear the sins of many; and to those who look for him, he will appear the second time without sin unto salvation.' Heb. 9.28.

"Chancellor. — 'With vain glory you recite much Scripture, as all the sort of you do; but you have no more understanding than sheep.'

"Then they made the bond and sealed it, and wanted me to seal it also. I said that I would not, nor could I observe the bond, and therefore I would not set my hand to it.

"Chancellor. — 'It is a pity that you have so much favor shown to you. And yet, for these honest men's sakes, I will discharge you.' "

Notwithstanding all these dissembling words of the chancellor, pretending to set Lithall at liberty for the favor of his sureties, it was no such thing. Nor was it any zeal for charity that moved him to do so. But it was only fear of the time, understanding the dangerous and unrecoverable sickness of queen Mary, which then began to assuage somewhat the cruel proceeding of these persecutors, by which they dared not do that they would.

William Browne.

William Browne, parson of Little Stanham, in the county of Suffolk, gave a sermon after the burial of our good king Edward. And in his sermon he said, "A report is going about, that our good king was buried with a mass by the bishop of Winchester, having a miter upon his head. But if it were so, he said, they are all traitors who do so, because it is both against the truth, and the laws of this realm, and it is great idolatry and blasphemy, and against the glory of God; and those who do so are no friends either to God, the king, or yet to the realm." For preaching this, the bailiffs took men with them to the parson's house. They took him in the night, and they kept him with watchmen until it was day. After a while, he got his liberty. But because he would not go to mass, his living was taken away, and he and his wife were constrained to flee here and there, for his life and conscience.

The Examination of Elizabeth Young

Elizabeth Young.

Elizabeth Young, coming from Emden to England, brought certain books with her, and circulated them in London. For this she was brought to examination thirteen times before the inquisitors of heretical depravity.

She was first brought before Lord Hussy, who examined her about many things. First, where she was born, and who was her father and mother.

Elizabeth Young. — "Sir, this is but vain talk, you have not put me in prison to know who is my father and mother. But I pray you go to the matter that I came here for."

Hussy. — "Why did you go out of the realm? "

Elizabeth. — "To keep my conscience clean."

Hussy. — "When were you at mass?"

Elizabeth. — "Not these three years.'"

Hussy. — "Then, were you not there three years before that?"

Elizabeth. — “No, sir, nor three years before that.”

Hussy. — “How old are you? “

[982]

Elizabeth. — “Forty and upwards.”

Hussy. — “Twenty of those years you did go to mass.”

Elizabeth. — “Yes, and I might have gone twenty more, and yet come home no wiser than I went, for I did not understand it.”

Hussy. — “Why will you not go to the mass?”

Elizabeth. — “Sir, my conscience will not allow me: for I would rather all the world should accuse me, than my own conscience.”

After this she was twice examined by Doctor Martin, who used her very badly and insulted her. Then she was brought before the bishop of London, and Sir Roger Cholmley and others.

Then the bishop said, “Why will you not swear before a judge? That is the right trade of the anabaptists.”

Elizabeth. — “My lord, I will not swear that this hand is mine.”

“No?” asked the bishop. “And why not? “

Elizabeth. — “My lord, Christ says, ‘That whatever is more than yes, yes, or no, no, it comes from evil.’ And moreover, I do not know what an oath is; and therefore, I will take no such thing upon me.”

Cholmley. — “Twenty pounds, it is a man in a woman’s clothes; twenty pounds, it is a man.”

Bonner. — “Do you think so, my lord? “

Cholmley. — “Yes, my lord.”

Elizabeth. — “My lord, I am a woman.”

Bishop. — “Swear her upon a book, seeing that it is but a question asked.”

Cholmley. — “I will lay twenty pounds, it is a man.”

Then Doctor Cooke brought her a book, commanding her to lay her hand upon it.

Elizabeth. — “No, my lord, I will not swear; for I do not know what an oath is. But I say that I am a woman, and I have children.”

Bishop. — “We do not know that; therefore swear.”

Cholmley. — “Lay your hand upon the book; I will lay on mine: and so he laid his hand upon the book.”

Elizabeth. — “I will not lay mine so.”

Then the bishop spoke a word in Latin, out of St. Paul, concerning swearing.

Elizabeth. — “My lord, if you speak to me of St. Paul, then speak English, for I do not understand you.”

Bishop. — “I dare swear that you do not.”

Elizabeth. — “My lord, St. Paul says, ‘that five words spoken in a language that may be understood, are better than many in a foreign or strange tongue which is unknown.’ “

After this she was brought before the bishop's chancellor, who requested what her age was.

Elizabeth. — "Forty years and upwards."

Chancellor. — "Why, you are a woman of fair years. Why would you meddle with the Scriptures? It is necessary for you to believe, and that is enough. It is more fitting for you to meddle with your distaff,[33] than to meddle with the Scriptures. What is your belief? I would hear it; for it cannot be good."

Elizabeth. — "Sir, if it will please you to hear, I will declare it to you. But I pray you that you will take your pen and write it down, and then examine it. And if you find anything in it that is not fit for a Christian woman, then teach me better, and I will learn it."

Chancellor. — "Well said; but who will judge between you and me? "

Elizabeth. — "The Scripture."

Chancellor. — "Will you stand by that?"

Elizabeth. — "Yes. sir."

Chancellor. — "Well, go your way out at the door a little while, for I am busy, and I will call for you back shortly."

Then he called me back and said, 'Now, woman, the time is too long to write. Say your mind, and I will bear it in my head.'

Then Elizabeth began, and declared her faith to him.

Chancellor. — "Woman, do you not believe that you receive the body of Christ, really, corporeally, and substantially? "

Elizabeth. — "These words, *really* and *corporeally*, I do not understand. As for *substantially*, I take it that you mean I should believe that I should receive his human body (which is at the right hand of God, and can occupy no more places at once) and that I do not believe."

Chancellor. — "You must believe this, or else you are damned."

Elizabeth. — "Sir, can you give me belief or faith?"

Chancellor. — "No, God must give it you."

Elizabeth. — "God has given me no such faith or belief."

Chancellor. — "I could make you believe, except that you have a cankered heart, and *will not* believe."

Elizabeth. — "You said even now, that faith or belief comes from God."

Chancellor. — "Christ says, 'For my flesh is food indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.' " Joh 6.55.

Elizabeth. — "Christ preached, saying, 'Unless you eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood, you will have no life in you.' Joh 6.53. And the Capernaites murmured at it. And his disciples also murmured, saying among themselves, 'This is a hard saying; who can hear it?' Christ understood their meaning, and said, 'Does this offend you? What if you see the son of man ascend up to where he was before? It is the spirit that quickens; the flesh profits nothing.* Joh 6.61-63. I pray you, sir, what does Christ mean by that?"

[33] *Distaff*: The sphere of work by women.

Chancellor. — "O, God forbid! Would you have me interpret the Scriptures? We must leave that for our old ancient fathers, who have studied Scriptures a long time, and have the Holy Spirit given to them."

Elizabeth. — "Christ's flesh and blood is food and drink for my soul, the food of my soul. For whoever believes that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, has died and shed his blood for his sins, his soul feeds on that forever."

Chancellor. — "When you receive the sacrament of the altar, do you not believe that you receive Christ's body?"

Elizabeth. — "Sir, when I receive the sacrament which Christ instituted and ordained the night before he was betrayed, and left among his disciples, as often (I say) as I receive it, I believe that spiritually, and by faith, I receive Christ. And I know Christ himself to be the author of this sacrament, and none but him. And this same sacrament is an establishment to my conscience, and an augmenting to my faith."

Chancellor. — "Why, did Christ not take bread, and give thanks, and broke it, and give it to his disciples, saying, 'Take eat, this is my body.' Did he give them his body or not?"

Elizabeth. — "He also took the cup, and gave thanks to his Father, and gave it to his disciples saying, 'Drink you all of it; for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.' Mat 26.27-28. Now I pray you, sir, let me ask you one question. Did he give the *cup* the name of his blood, or the wine that was *in* the cup?"

Then was he very angry, and said: "Do you think you have a hedge-priest in hand?"

Elizabeth. — "No, sir, I take you not to be a hedge-priest. I take you for a doctor."

Chancellor. — "So I think. You would take it upon yourself to teach me."

Elizabeth. — "No, sir. But Christ said: 'Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me;' but a remembrance is not of a thing present, but absent. Also St. Paul says, 'As often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you show the Lord's death till he comes.' 1Cor 11.26. Then we may not look for him here, until his coming again at the latter day. Again, is this article of our belief not true? 'He sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from there he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead?' But if he will not come before he comes to judgment, then how is he present here in your sacrament of the altar?"

Chancellor. — "What do you say concerning prayer for the dead? Is it not fitting that if a man is dead, his friend commends his soul to God?"

Elizabeth. "There is no Christian man who would commend his friend nor his foe to the devil. And whether it is good to pray for him when he is dead or not, I do not say. But I am sure that it is good when he is *alive*."

[983] A.D. 1558.

Chancellor. — "Then you do not admit that prayer is good for them when they are dead, and lying in purgatory. Is it not fitting that prayer be made to God for them?"

Elizabeth —"Sir, I never heard of purgatory in the Scriptures; but in the Scripture I have heard of heaven."

Chancellor. — "Why, you have nothing but the skimming of the Scriptures. Our ancient fathers could find out in the bottom of the Scriptures that there is a purgatory. Indeed, they

could find it in the new testament, that a priest will take the sacrament, and go to the altar, and make an oblation, and offer it up every day.

Elizabeth. — "Sir, that could never be found in the Bible or testament, as far as I could ever hear."

Chancellor. — "Whom do you hear read either the bible or testament, but sorts of schismatics and hedge-priests (who have brought into the church a communion which was never heard of in any place in the world but here in England), who have deceived the king and all the nobility, and the whole realm?"

Elizabeth — "Sir, it is a vile name that you give them all."

Chancellor. — "Where are all the hedge knaves now, that they do not come to answer?"

Elizabeth. — "Answer! Why, they have answered both with the Scriptures, and also with their blood. And then where were you that you did not come forth to answer in their times? I never knew any of you who were troubled, but two. And that was not for God's word, it was for their disobedience."

Chancellor. — "No, I pray you? Did you not know that we were killed, hanged, burned and beheaded?

Elizabeth. — "Sir, I never knew that any of you was ever hanged, killed, burned, or beheaded."

Chancellor. — "No? Did you never hear that the bishop of Rochester lost his head for the supremacy of the bishops of Rome?"

Elizabeth. — "Then he did not die for God's word."

Chancellor. — "Well, you will believe nothing but that which is written in God's word. Where can you find the sabbath written in the Scripture, by the name of the sabbath? For I will prove the right sabbath day to be *Saturday*. Or where can you find the articles of the creed in the scripture by the name of the articles? Or where can you find in the Scripture, that Christ went down into hell?"

Elizabeth. — "What place or part in the Scripture can YOU find to disprove any of these things?"

Chancellor. — "You have read a little in the bible or testament, and you think that you are able to reason with a doctor who has gone to school thirty years. I think if I had thus talked much with a Jew, as I have done with you, he would have turned before this time. But I may say by you, as Christ said by Jerusalem, saying; 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often I would have gathered your children together, even as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings, and you would not.' And so we would gather you together in one faith, and you will not. And therefore your own blood be upon your own heads; for I can do no more but teach you. You are one of the rankest heretics that I ever heard; for you believe nothing but what is in the Scripture, and therefore you are damned."

Elizabeth — "I do believe all things written in the Scripture, and all things agreeable with the Scripture given by the Holy Spirit to the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ. And will I be damned because I believe the truth, and will not believe an untruth?"

Chancellor. — "Do you not believe that the pope of Rome is the supreme head of the church, immediately under God in earth?"

Elizabeth. — "No, sir. No man can be the head of Christ's church; for Christ himself is the head and his word is the governor of all who are of that church, wherever they are scattered abroad."

Chancellor — "Do you not believe that the bishop of Rome can forgive you all your sins — heretical, detestable, and damnable — that you have done from your infancy to this day?"

Elizabeth. — "Sir, the bishop of Rome is a sinner as I am, and no man can forgive me my sins, but only he that is without sin, and that is Jesus Christ, who died for my sins."

Chancellor. — "Have you not desired God to defend you from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities?"

Elizabeth. — "Yes, that I have. '

Chancellor. — "And are you not sorry for it?"

Elizabeth. — "No, sir, not at all."

Chancellor — "Have you not said that the mass is wicked, and the sacrament of the altar is most abominable?"

Elizabeth. — "Yes, that I have.'

Chancellor. — "And are you not sorry for it?

Elizabeth. — "No, sir."

Chancellor. — "Are you not content to go to the church, and hear mass?"

Elizabeth. — "I will not go to the church, either to mass or matins, till I may hear it in a tongue that I can understand. For I will no longer be fed in a strange language."

Chancellor. — "Did my lord send for you by name, and will you not go to mass?"

Elizabeth. — "No, sir, I will never go to mass till I understand it, by the leave of God."

Chancellor. — "Understand it? Why, who the devil can make you understand Latin, you being so old?

Suit was afterwards made by her friends for her, and she was liberated after giving sureties.

Elizabeth Lawson.

In the town of Bedfield, in the county of Suffolk an ancient godly matron was dwelling, named Elizabeth Lawson. about sixty years of age. This Elizabeth was apprehended as a heretic by the constables of the same town, named Robert Kitrich and Thomas Elas, in the year of our Lord 1556, because she would not go to church to hear mass, and receive the sacrament, and believe in it.

First, they laid her in a dungeon; after that she was carried to Norwich; and from there to Bury jail, where at last she was condemned to be burnt. In the meantime, Sir John Sylliard had her brought home to his house, he being high-sheriff that year. There she was harshly kept, and wrapped in irons, till at length, when they could by no means move her to recant, she was sent to prison again, with shameful revilings.

Thus she continued in prison for two years and three quarters. In the meantime, her son was burnt, and many more, for which she would often say: "Good Lord, what is the reason that I may not yet come to you with your children? Well, good Lord, your blessed will be done, and not mine."

Not long after this followed the death of queen Mary, after whom succeeded our present queen. At that time, this Elizabeth Lawson still remained in Bury prison. At last she was bailed upon sureties, or else she could not be delivered. For being a condemned person, neither the temporal, nor the spiritual authority, would discharge her without sureties.

William Wood, of Kent.

The examination of William Wood, in the parish of Stroud, in Kent, before Doctor Kenall, chancellor of the diocese of Rochester, Doctor Chedsey the mayor of Rochester, and Master Robinson the scribe, the 19th of October, in the second year of queen Mary, in St. Nicholas church in Rochester — written by himself.

Robinson. — "You are presented, because you will not come to the church, nor receive the blessed sacrament of the altar. What do you say? Have you received it, or have you not?

Wood. — "I have not received it, nor dare I receive it, as you now minister it."

Kenall. — "You heretic, what is the reason that you have not received the blessed sacrament of the altar?"

And at this they all put off their caps and made low obeisance.

[984]

Wood. — "There are three reasons that make my conscience afraid, so that I dare not receive it. The first is, Christ delivered it to his twelve apostles and said, Take, eat, and drink you all of this, etc., and you eat and drink it up all alone. The second reason is, you command it to be worshipped, contrary to God's commandment, 'You shall not bow down nor worship.' The third reason is, you minister it in a strange tongue, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, 'I would rather speak five words with understanding, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue;' by which the people are ignorant of the death of Christ."

Kenall. — "You heretic, will you have any plainer words than these, 'Take, eat, this is my body'? Will you deny the Scripture?"

Wood. — "I will not deny the holy Scriptures, God forbid; but with my heart I faithfully believe them. St. Paul says, God calls those things that are not, as though they were; and Christ says, 'I am a vine; I am a door.' St. Paul says, 'The rock is Christ.' All of these are figurative sayings, in which one thing is spoken, and another thing is understood."

Robinson. — "You make a very long talk about this matter. Learn, Wood, *learn*."

Kenall. — "No, these heretics will not learn. Look how this heretic glories in himself. You fool. Are you wiser than the queen and her council, and all the learned men of this realm?"

Wood. — "I think you would be loath to have such glory, if your life and goods were taken away for it. Where you mock me, and say that I am wiser than the queen and her council, St. Paul says, 'The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. If any man among you seems to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise,' — 1Cor 3.18- 19."

Kenall. — "Do you not believe that after these words are spoken by a priest, 'This is my body,' there remains no more bread and wine, but the very flesh and blood of Christ, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, really and substantially, in quantity and quality as he hung upon the cross?"

Wood. — "I pray you, master chancellor, give me leave, for my instruction, to ask you one question, and I will answer you afterward."

Kenall. — "If it is some wise question, I warrant you."

Wood. — "God spoke to the prophet Ezekiel, saying, 'You son of man, take a razor, and shave off the hair of your head and of your beard, and take one part and cast into the air; take the second part and put it into your lap; and take the third part and cast it into the fire. And this is Jerusalem.' Eze 5.1-5 I pray you, master chancellor, was this *hair* that the prophet cast into the fire, or was it *Jerusalem*?"

Kenall. — "It *signified* Jerusalem."

Wood. — "Even so, this word of Christ, 'This is my body,' is not to be so understood, that Christ's carnal, natural, and real body in quantity and quality, as it was born of the Virgin Mary, and as he was crucified upon the cross, is present or enclosed in the sacrament; but it *signifies* Christ's body. As St. Paul says, 'As often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you show the Lord's death till he comes.' 1Cor 11.26. What would the apostle mean by this phrase, 'till he comes,' if he were already here carnally, naturally, corporeally, and really, in the same quantity and quality as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and as he hung on the cross, as you say? But St. Paul says, 'You show the Lord's death *till he comes*.' This proves that he is *not* here, as you would have us believe."

Doctor Chedsey. — "I will prove that Christ is here present under the form of bread, but not in quantity and quality."

Kenall said — "*Yes*, he is present here in quantity and quality."

Chedsey. — "He is here present under a *form*, and not in quantity and quality."

"Yes," said Kenall.

"No," said Chedsey.

"I will prove him here in quantity and quality," said Kenall.

"I will prove the contrary," said Chedsey,

These two doctors were so earnest in this matter, the one to affirm, the other to deny, contending and raging so sorely, one at the other, that they foamed at the mouth. One was ready to spit in the other's face. So that in great fury and rage, the two doctors rose up from the judgment seat, and Doctor Kenall immediately departed out of the church in great rage and fury.

Wood. — "Behold, good people, they would have us believe that Christ is naturally, really, in quantity and quality, present in the sacrament, and yet they cannot tell themselves, nor agree between themselves how he is there."

At these words the people made a great shout, and the mayor stood up and commanded the people to be quiet, and to keep silence. And the God who delivered St. Paul out of the hands of the high priests, by the contention that was between the Pharisees and Sadducees, even so delivered Wood at that time out of the mouths of the papists, by means of the contention of these two doctors. Blessed be the name of the Lord, who has promised to lay no more upon His own, than he will make them able to bear; and in the midst of temptation, he can make a way for His own to escape out of all dangers.

Many other similar examples of God's helping hand have been declared about his elect saints and children, in delivering them out of danger by wonderful and miraculous ways, some by one means, some by another.

The Preservation of Lady Elizabeth from Queen Mary

The Preservation of the Lady Elizabeth, now Queen of England, from extreme Calamity and Danger of Life, in the time of Queen Mary.

Whatever can be recited concerning the admirable working of God's hand in defending and delivering any person out of thralldom, never was there any example in which the Lord's mighty power has more admirably and blessedly shown itself, to the glory of his own name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the public felicity of this whole realm, than in the escape of our sovereign lady, now queen, then lady Elizabeth, in the time of queen Mary, her sister.

First here is to be noted, that queen Mary before she was crowned, would go nowhere that she did not have Elizabeth by the hand, and would send for her to dinner and supper. But after she was crowned, she never dined nor supped with her, but kept her aloof from her. After this, upon the rising of Sir Thomas Wyatt, as mentioned before (p. 688), the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney were charged with false suspicion. Whereupon queen Mary, whether for that surmise, or for what other cause I do not know, being offended with the lady Elizabeth, at that time living in her house at Ashbridge, sent to her three of her counsellors, to wit: Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troop of two hundred and fifty horsemen. At their sudden and unprovided coming, they found her sick in bed, and very feeble and weak of body. When they came, ascending to her grace's chamber, they desired one of her ladies to declare to her grace, that persons had come from the court, who had a message from the queen.

Her grace was right glad of their coming. However, being very sick, and the night far spent, she requested them by the messenger, that they would return there in the morning. To this they answered that they must see her, in whatever state she was in. The lady in waiting being alarmed, went to show her grace their words, but hastily following her, they came rushing into her grace's chamber unbidden.

At their coming so suddenly into her bed-chamber, her grace being not a little amazed, said to them, "Is the haste such that it might not have pleased you to come tomorrow in the morning?"

They answered that they were sorry to see her in that case. "And I (she said) am not glad to see you here at this time of the night." They answered that they came from the queen to do their message and duty, which was to this effect: that the queen's pleasure was that she should be at London, the 7th of the present month. She said, "No creature is more glad than I to come to her majesty, being sorry that I am not in a state at this time to wait on her, as you yourselves see, and can testify."

[985] A.D. 1558.

"Indeed we see it true," (they said), "what you say; for which we are very sorry. But we let you understand that our commission is such that we must bring you with us, either alive or dead." She being amazed, sorrowfully said that their commission was very sore; yet she hoped it to be otherwise, and not so peremptory. "Yes, truly," they said. Whereupon, calling for two physicians. Doctor Owen and Doctor Wendy, they demanded of them whether she might be removed from there with life, or not. Their answer and judgment was that there

was no impediment in their judgment to the contrary, but that she might travel without danger of life.

In conclusion, they required her to prepare for the next morning at nine o'clock, to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the queen's litter for her. After much talk, the messengers declared that there was no prolonging of times and days. They departed to their chamber, being entertained and cheered, as pertained to their worships.

The next morrow at the time prescribed, they had her come as she was, very faint and feeble, and in such a case that she was ready to swoon three or four times between them. What should I say here, what cannot well be expressed, what a heavy house there was to behold the irreverent dealing of these men, but especially the bodily fear and captivity of their innocent lady and mistress.

Now to proceed in her journey from Ashbridge, all sick in the litter. She came to Redborne, where she was guarded all night. From there to St. Albans, to Sir Ralph Rowlet's house, where she tarried that night, both feeble in body and comfortless in mind. From that place they passed to Master Dod's house, at Myms, where they also remained that night. And so from there she came to Highgate, where being very sick, she tarried that night and the next day. During this time of her abode, many pursuivants and messengers came from the court; but for what purpose I cannot tell.

From that place she was conveyed to the court, where many gentlemen came by the way to meet her, to accompany her highness, who were very sorry to see her in that state. But especially there was a great multitude of people standing by the way, who then flocked about her litter, greatly lamenting and bewailing her state. Now when she came to the court, her grace was straightway shut up there, and kept a close prisoner a fortnight. This was till Palm-Sunday — seeing neither king nor queen, nor lord, nor friend, all that time, except then lord chamberlain, Sir F. Gage, and the vice-chamberlain, who were attendant to the doors. About this time Sir William Sentlowe was called before the council. It was laid to his charge, that he knew of Wyatt's rebellion, which he firmly denied, protesting that he was a true man both to God and his prince, defying all traitors and rebels. But being strictly examined, in conclusion he was committed to the Tower.

The Friday before Palm-Sunday, the bishop of Winchester, with nineteen others of the council, came to her grace from the queen's majesty, and charged her with Wyatt's conspiracy. She utterly denied this, affirming that she was altogether guiltless. Not being content with this, they charged her grace with the business made by Sir Peter Carew, and the rest of the gentlemen of the west country. This she also utterly denied, clarifying her innocence in this.

In conclusion, after long debating these matters, they declared to her that it was the queen's will and pleasure that she should go to the Tower, while the matter was further tried and examined.

Being alarmed at this, she said that she trusted the queen's majesty would be a more gracious lady to her, and that her highness would not otherwise conceive of her, but that she was a loyal woman. She furthermore declared to the lords, that she was innocent in all those matters in which they had charged her, and she desired them, therefore, to request of the queen, her sister, that she being a loyal woman in thought, word and deed towards her majesty, she might not be committed to so notorious and doleful a place, protesting that she would request no favor at her hand, if she were to be proved to have consented to any such

kind of matter as they laid to her charge. Therefore, in brief, she desired their lordships to think of her what she was, and that she might not be so extremely dealt with for her truth.

The lords answered that "there was no remedy, for the queen's majesty was fully determined that she should go to the Tower." With this, the lords departed, their caps hanging over their eyes. Not long after, within an hour or a little more, four of the lords of the council came — the lord treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, the lord steward, and the earl of Sussex — along with the guard, who were guarding the chamber next to her. They secluded all her gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen, except for one gentleman usher, three gentlewomen, and two grooms of her chamber. There were appointed in their places, three other men of the queen's, and three waiting women, to attend upon the lady Elizbeth, so that none of her own household would have access to her grace.

At this time there were a hundred northern soldiers in white coats, watching and guarding about the gardens all that night. A great fire was made in the midst of the hall, and a certain two lords were watching there also, with their band and company.

On the following Saturday, two lords of the council, one was the earl of Sussex, came and notified her grace that she must go to the Tower. The barge was prepared for her, and the tide was now ready, which tarries for nobody. In a heavy mood, her grace requested of the lords that she might tarry another tide, trusting that the next would be better, and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied that neither time nor tide was to be delayed.

And when her grace requested him that she might be allowed to write to the queen's majesty, he answered that he dared not permit that, adding, that in his judgment it would hurt rather than profit her grace in doing so.

But the other lord, more courteous and favorable (who was the earl of Sussex) kneeling down, told her grace that she would have liberty to write, and as he was a loyal man, he would deliver it to the queen's highness, and bring an answer to it, whatever came of it. Whereupon she wrote; but she could in no case be allowed to speak with the queen — to the lady Elizabeth's great discomfort, being no offender against the queen's majesty.

And thus the time and tide passed away for that season, and they secretly appointed all things ready, so that she might go with the next tide, which fell about midnight. But for fear she might be taken by the way, they dared not depart. So they remained till the next day, being Palm-Sunday. [34] About nine o'clock these two returned again, declaring that it was time for her grace to depart. She answered, "if there is no remedy, I must be contented," and she desired the lords to go on before her. Having come into the garden, she cast her eyes towards the window, thinking to have seen the queen, which she could not. She said, "she marvelled much about what the nobility of the realm meant, who would allow her to be led into captivity in that way, the Lord knew to where, for she did not." In the meantime, a commandment was given in all London, that everyone should keep to the church, and carry their palms, so that she might be conveyed to the Tower in the meantime without any concourse of people.

After all this, she took her barge with the two lords, three of the queen's gentlewomen, and three of her own — her gentleman usher, and two of her grooms. They were lying and hovering on the water a certain time, for they could not shoot the bridge. The bargemen were very unwilling to shoot through it as soon as they did, because of the danger of it. For

[34] Palm Sunday in the year 1558 fell on March 25th.

the stern of the boat struck upon the ground, the fall was so great, and the water was so shallow, that being under the bridge, the boat stayed there a while.

[986]

At landing she first stopped and refused to land at those stairs where all traitors and offenders customarily used to land. Nor well could she, unless she were to go over her shoes. The lords had gone out of the boat before, and asked why she did not come. One of the lords went back to her, and brought word that she would not come.

Then one of the lords said that she should not refuse; and because it rained, he offered her his cloak, which she refused. So coming out, having one foot on the stair, she said, “Here lands as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs. And before you, O God, I speak it, having no other friends but you alone.”

The same lord answered again, “If it were so, it was the better for her.” At her landing there was a great multitude of their servants and warders standing in their order. “What needed all this?” she asked. It is the usual, said some, to be so when any prisoner came there. “And if it is for my cause,” she said, “I beseech you that they may be dismissed.” At this, the poor men kneeled down, and with one voice desired God to preserve her grace. The next day they were released from their cold coats.

After this, passing a little further on, she sat down on a cold stone, and rested herself there. The lieutenant then present, said to her, “Madam, you would do best to come out of the rain, for you sit unwholesomely.” She then replied, “It is better sitting here, than in a worse place; for God knows, I do not know where you will bring me.” With that, her gentleman usher wept. She demanded from him what he meant to so uncomfortably use her, seeing that she took him to be her comfort, and not to dismay her, especially for she knew the truth to be such that no man should have cause to weep for her. But she went forth into prison.

The doors were locked and bolted upon her, which did not a little discomfort and dismay her grace. At that time she called to her gentlewoman for her book, desiring God not to allow her to build her foundation upon the sands, but upon the rocks, by which all storms might have no power against her. The doors being thus locked, and she close shut up, the lords had great conference how to keep guard and watch, every man declaring his own opinion in that behalf, agreeing to keep her straitly and circumspectly.

Then the lord of Sussex, swearing, said, “My lords, let us take heed, and do no more than our commission will bear us out in, whatever happens hereafter. And further, let us consider that she was the king our master’s daughter. And therefore, let us use such dealing, that we may answer for it hereafter, if it so happens; for dealing justly is always answerable.” To this the other lords agreed that it was well said by him, and thereupon departed. Being in the tower, within two days commandment was brought that she should have mass within her house. One Master Young was then her chaplain. And because there was none of her men who was so well learned to help the priest say the mass, it was stopped for that day.

The next day two of her yeomen, who had long gone to school before, and were learned, had two ABC’s provided,[35] and delivered them, so that they might help the priest with the ABC’s. One of the yeomen, holding the ABC in his hand, pretending ignorance at *Kyrie eleison*,[36] set up the priest, making as though he could answer no further.

[35] ABC: the three-year cycle of Scripture readings used in the liturgy at Sunday mass (A, B, and C cycles).

[36] *Kyrie eleison*: a transliterated Greek phrase, said or sung in Christian services, meaning "Lord, have mercy."

It would make a pitiful and a strange history, here by the way, to touch and recite what examination and rackings of poor men there were to discover that knife that would cut her throat — what gaping among my lords of the clergy, to see the day in which they might wash their goodly white rochets in her innocent blood; but especially the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then lord-chancellor, ruler of the roast, who came to her within five days, with many other of the council, and examined her about the talk that was at Ashridge, between her and Sir James Acroft, concerning her removing from there to Dunnington castle, requiring her to declare what she meant by it.

At first, being so suddenly asked, she did not well remember any such house. But in a while, well-advising herself, she said, "Indeed, I do remember now that I have such a place, but I was never in it in all my life. As for anyone who has recommended it to me, I do not remember."

Then to force the matter, they brought out Sir James Acroft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of her what she said to that man. She answered that she had little to say to him, or to the rest who were then prisoners in the tower. "But, my lords," she said, "you examine every mean prisoner about me, in which I think you do me great injury. If they have done evil, and offended the queen's majesty, let them answer to it accordingly. I beseech you, my lords, do not join me in this sort with any of these offenders. And concerning my going to Dunnington castle, I do remember that bastard Hobby and my officers, and you Sir James Acroft, had such talk. But what is that to the purpose, my lords, except that I may go to my own houses at all times.'"

The lord of Arundel kneeling down, said, "Your grace says true, and certainly we are very sorry that we have so troubled you about such vain matters." She then said, "My lords, you sift me very narrowly; but I am well assured, you will not do more to me than God has appointed, and so God forgive you all."

At their departure Sir James Acroft kneeled down, declaring that he was sorry to see the day in which he would be brought as a witness against her grace. "But I assure your grace," he said, "I have been marvellously tossed and examined touching your highness, which the Lord knows is very strange to me. For I take God to record, before all your honors, I do not know anything of that crime that you have laid to my charge, and will take my death upon that, if I should be driven to so strict a trial."

That day, some of her own officers, who had made provision for her diet, brought it to the outer gate of the tower, the common soldiers receiving it. This was no small grief to the gentlemen. Therefore they requested to speak with the lord chamberlain, who was then constable of the tower. Coming before his presence, they declared to his lordship, that they were much afraid to bring her grace's diet, and to deliver it to such persons as those were who received it, beseeching his honor to consider her grace, and to give such an order that her meals might at all times be brought in by those who were appointed to it. "Yes, sirs," he said, "and who appointed *you* this office?" They answered, "her grace's council." "Council;" he said, "There is none of them who has to do either in that case, or anything else within this place. And I assure you, that as she is a prisoner, she will be served by the lieutenant's men, as the other prisoners are." At this, the gentlemen said "that they trusted for more favor at his hands, considering her personage. And that they did not mistrust but that the queen and her council would be better to her grace than to do so." And with that, they showed themselves to be offended at the ungrateful words of the lord chamberlain towards their lady and mistress.

At this he swore by God, striking himself upon his breast, that if they either frowned or shrugged at him, he would put them where they would see neither sun nor moon. Thus taking their leave, they desired God to bring him into a better mind toward her grace, and departed from him.

Upon the occasion of this, her grace's officers made great suit to the queen's council, that some might be appointed to bring her diet to her, and that it might no longer be delivered to the common soldiers of the tower. This being reasonably considered, it was granted by them. One of her gentlemen, the clerk of her kitchen, and her two purveyors there, were appointed to bring in her provision once a day. All of which being done, the warders ever waited upon those who brought them.

The lord chamberlain himself always being with them, circumspectly and narrowly watched and searched what they brought, and gave heed that they should have no talk with any of her grace's waiting servants; and so he guarded them both in and out.

[987] A.D. 1558.

In this way, having remained a whole month in close prison, and being very ill at ease, the lady Elizabeth sent for the lord chamberlain and Lord Chandos, to come and speak with her. She requested them, "that she might have liberty to walk in some place, for she felt unwell." They answered, "that they were sorry that they could not satisfy her grace's request, for they had received a commandment to the contrary, which they dared not break in any way." Furthermore, she desired of them, "if that could not be granted, that she might only walk into the queen's lodging." They answered, "No; not even that could by any means be obtained without a further suit to the queen and her council." "Well," she said, "my lords, if the matter is so hard, that they must be sued for so small a thing, and that friendship is so strict, God comfort me." And so they departed. She still remained in her old dungeon, without any kind of comfort, except God.

The next day, the Lord Chandos came again to her grace, declaring that he had sued to the council for further liberty. Some of them consented, but others dissented because there were so many prisoners in the tower. But in conclusion, they all agreed that her grace might walk into those lodgings, on condition that he and the lord chamberlain, and three of the queen's gentlewomen accompanied her, that the windows be shut, and she not be allowed to look out from any of them. She contented herself with this, and gave him thanks for his good will in that behalf.

Afterwards liberty was granted to her grace to walk in a little garden, the doors and gates being shut up — which notwithstanding, was as much discomfort to her, as the walk in the garden was pleasant and acceptable. At the times of her walking there, the prisoners on that side were strictly commanded not to speak or look out the windows into the garden, till her grace had gone out again. Thus her grace, with this small liberty, contented herself in God, to whom be praise for this.

During this time, a little boy, a man's child kept in the tower, was accustomed to resort to their chambers, and many times to bring her grace flowers, which he likewise did to the other prisoners who were there. Whereupon naughty and suspicious heads, thinking to make and wring out some matter from this, one time called the child to them, promising him figs and apples, and asked him when he had been with the earl of Devonshire, not ignorant of the child's usual frequenting to him. The boy answered that he would go there by and by. They further demanded of him, when he was with the lady Elizabeth's grace. He answered, every day. Furthermore, they examined him as to the lord of Devonshire, sent by

him to her grace. The child said, I will go and know what he will give me to carry to her. Such was the discretion of the child, being but four years of age. “This is a crafty boy,” said the lord chamberlain. “What do you say, my lord Chandos?” “I pray you, my lord,” said the boy, “give me the figs you promised me.” “No,” he said, “You will be whipped if you come to the lady Elizabeth any more, or to the lord Courtney.” The boy answered, “I will bring my lady, my mistress, more flowers.” Whereupon the child’s father was commanded to permit the boy to come up into their chambers no more.

The next day, as her grace was walking in the garden, the child peeping in at a hole in the door, cried out to her, saying; “Mistress, I can bring you no more flowers.” At which she smiled, but said nothing, understanding what they had done.

The 5th of May, the constable of the tower was discharged from his office, and one Sir Henry Benifield [37] was placed in his stead, a man unknown to her grace, and therefore the more feared. So sudden a charge was no little amazement to her. He brought with him a hundred soldiers in blue coats, by which she was marvellously discomforted. She demanded of those who were about her, whether the lady Jane Grey’s scaffold was taken away or not? An answer was given that the scaffold was taken away, and that her grace need not doubt any such tyranny; for God would not allow any such treason against her person. Being content with this, but not altogether satisfied, she asked what Sir Henry Benifield was about, and whether he was of that conscience or not, that if her murdering were secretly committed to his charge, he would see to the execution of it.

She was answered, that they were ignorant what manner of man he was. However they persuaded her that God would not allow such wickedness to proceed. “Well,” she said, “God grant it be so. For you, O God, can mollify all such tyrannous hearts, and disappoint all such cruel purposes; and I beseech You to hear me, your creature, who am your servant and at your commandment, trusting by your grace to ever remain so.”

On Trinity Sunday, the 19th of May, she was removed from the tower, to Woodstock, where she was enclosed. Every day sixty soldiers guarded and warded both within and without the walls; and there were forty soldiers in the night outside the walls, during the time of her imprisonment there.

At length she had gardens appointed for her walk, which was very comfortable to her grace. But always when she recreated herself in them, the doors were fast locked up, in as strict a manner as they were in the tower, with at least five or six locks between her lodging and her walks. Sir Henry himself kept the keys, and trusted no man with them. Whereupon she called him her “jailer.” Kneeling down, he desired her grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of her officers. “From such officers,” she said, “good Lord deliver me.”

After her grace had been there a time, she made suit to the council that she might be allowed to write to the queen. This was at last permitted. So Sir Henry Benifield brought her pen, ink, and paper. Standing by her while she wrote (which he straitly observed) when she was weary, he would carry away her letters, and bring them back when she called for them.

About this time, her grace was requested by a secret friend, to submit herself to the queen’s majesty. She answered that she would never submit herself to those whom she never

[37] That is, Sir Henry Bedingfeld (1505–1583), also spelled Bedingfield, of Oxburgh Hall, King's Lynn, Norfolk, was a Privy Councillor to King Edward VI and Queen Mary I, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and (in 1557) Vice-Chamberlain of the Household and Captain of the guards. With Henry Jerningham he was among the principals who rallied to Mary's cause following the death of Edward VI in 1553 and helped to set her on the throne (see p. 706).

offended. “For,” she said, “if I have offended and am guilty, then I crave no mercy, but the law, which I am certain I would have had before this, if it could be proved against me. For I know myself to be out of danger of it, wishing that I were as clear out of the peril of my enemies. And then I am assured I would not so be locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleases Him.”

Thus this worthy lady, oppressed with continual sorrow, was not permitted to have recourse to any friends that she had, but remaining in the hands of her enemies, she was left desolate and utterly destitute of all that might refresh a sorrowful heart, fraught full of terror and thralldom. No wonder that at one time, from her garden at Woodstock, hearing a milk-maid singing pleasantly, she wished herself to be a milk-maid as she was, saying that this maid’s case was better, and her life happier than hers.

After these things, she was to be removed to Hampton Court. Sir Henry Benifield and his soldiers, with the lord of Tame, and Sir Ralph Chamberlane, were guarding and waiting upon her; the first night leaving from Woodstock she came to Ricot. In this journey such a mighty wind blew, that her servants were glad to hold down her clothes about her: insomuch that her hood was twice or three times blown from her head. Whereupon, desiring to return to a certain gentleman’s house near there, she was not allowed to do so by Sir Henry Benifield, but was constrained under a hedge to trim her head as well as she could.

After this, the next night they journeyed to Master Dormer’s, and so on to Colebrook, where she stopped all that night at the George. Coming to Colebrook, sixty of her grace’s gentlemen and yeomen met her by the way, much to all their comforts. They had not seen her grace for such a long season before. Notwithstanding, they were commanded in the queen’s name to immediately depart the town. This was no little heaviness both to them and to her grace, who was not allowed once to speak with them.

[988]

So that night all her men were taken from her, except her gentleman usher, three gentlewomen, two grooms, and one of her wardrobe. The soldiers were watching and guarding about the house, and she was close shut up within her prison.

The next day her grace entered Hampton Court, the doors being shut upon her. She was guarded with soldiers, as before, and was there a fortnight at least, before anyone had recourse to her. At length, the lord William Haward came, who treated her grace honorably. Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, also came and kneeled down, and requested that she would submit herself to the queen’s grace, and in so doing he had no doubt that her majesty would be good to her. She answered, “that rather than do so, she would lie in prison all the days of her life — adding that she craved no mercy at her majesty’s hand, but rather she desired the law, if she had ever offended her majesty in thought, word or deed. And besides this, in yielding I would speak against myself, and confess myself to be an offender, which I never was towards her majesty, by occasion of which the king and the queen might ever hereafter conceive an evil opinion of me. And therefore I say, my lords, it would be better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and suspected by my sovereign.” And so they departed, promising to declare her message to the queen.

On the next day, the bishop of Winchester came again to her grace, and kneeling down he declared that the queen marvelled that she would so stoutly use herself, not confessing that she had offended — so that it should seem that the queen’s majesty had wrongfully imprisoned her grace.

"No," said the lady Elizabeth, "it may please her to punish me as she thinks good."

"Well," said Gardiner, "her majesty desires me to tell you, that you must tell another tale before you are set at liberty."

Her grace answered, "that she would as soon be in prison with honesty and truth, as to be abroad, suspected by her majesty. And this that I have said, I will stand to, for I will never belie myself."

A week after, the queen sent for her grace, at ten o'clock at night, to speak with her. For she had not seen her for two years before. Yet for all that, she was amazed at the sudden sending for her. And thinking it had been worse than afterwards it proved to be, she desired her gentlemen and gentlewomen to pray for her, because she could not tell whether she would ever see them again or not.

When she was conducted to the queen's bed-chamber where her majesty was, her grace kneeled down, and desired God to preserve her majesty, not mistrusting that she would prove herself as true a subject towards her majesty, as ever anyone did, and desired her majesty even to so judge of her. And she said that her majesty would not find her to the contrary, whatever report had otherwise gone of her.

The queen answered, "You will not confess your offense, but stand stoutly to your truth; I pray God it may so fall out."

"If it does not," said the lady Elizabeth, "I request neither favor nor pardon at your majesty's hands." "Well," said the queen, "you still persevere in your truth; probably you will not confess but that you have been wrongfully punished."

"I must not say so to you (if it please your majesty)."

"Why then," said the queen, "perhaps you will to others."

"No, if it please your majesty, I have borne the burden and must bear it. I humbly beseech your majesty to have a good opinion of me, and to think me to be your true subject, not only from the beginning, but for ever, as long as life lasts." And so they departed with very few comfortable words from the queen, in English. But what she said in Spanish, God knows. It is thought that king Phihp was there behind a cloth, and not seen, and that he showed himself a friend in that matter, etc.

Thus her grace departing, she went lo her lodging again, and that weekday she was released by Sir Henry Beniheld, her jailer as she termed him, and his soldiers. And so her grace being set at liberty from imprisonment, she went into the country. She had appointed Sir Thomas Pope to go with her, one of queen Mary's counsellors, and one of her gentlemen ushers, Master Gage. And thus narrowly was she looked to all of queen Mary's time. And this is the history of her highness's imprisonment.

The Death of Queen Mary.

But enough of this matter, and too much. Now let us return to where we left before, which was at the death of queen Mary. After her decease, her sister, lady Elizabeth, succeeded to the right of the crown of England. Mary being sick long before, on the 17th of November, at three or four o'clock in the morning, Mary yielded her life to nature, and her kingdom to queen Elizabeth, her sister.

As regards the manner of her death, some say that she died of a tympany,[38] some (by her much sighing before her death) supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Her council seeing her sighing, and desirous to know the cause (to the end that they might minister the more ready consolation to her), feared, they said, that she took that thought for the king's majesty, her husband, who had gone from her. To them she replied, "Indeed that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pierces my oppressed mind." But what that was, she would not express to them.

Afterward she opened her mind more plainly to Master Rice and Mistress Clarentius, who then being most familiar with her, and most bold about her, told her that they feared she took thought about king Philip's departing from her.[39] "Not that only (she said), but when I am dead and opened, you will find Calais lying in my heart, etc." And here is an end of queen Mary and of her persecution.

This may be truly affirmed about this queen, and left in story for a perpetual memorial or epitaph for all kings and queens who succeed her — that before her, there was never read in history of any king or queen of England since the beginning of the kingdom, under whom, in time of peace, by hanging, beheading, burning, and prisoning, so much Christian blood, so many Englishmen's lives spilled within this realm, as under queen Mary for those four years, and I beseech the Lord, may it never be seen again.

When she first began to stand for the title of the crown, and had not yet wrought resistance against Christ and his gospel, but had promised her faith to the Suffolk men, to maintain the religion left by her brother, king Edward, so long God went with her, and by means of the gospellers, He brought her to the possession of the realm. But after that, breaking her promise with God and man, she began to take part with Stephen Gardiner, giving over her supremacy, to the pope. God's blessing left her, nor did anything thrive well with her afterward, during the whole time of her reign.

She would need to bring in king Philip, and by her strange marriage with him, make the whole realm of England subject to a stranger. And all that notwithstanding, she could not bring it to pass to set the crown of England upon his head. With king Philip, the pope and his popish mass also came in. With him, her purpose was to restore the monks and nuns to their places; nor was there a lack of all kinds of attempts to the utmost of her ability. And yet God stopped her from her will.

Furthermore, where other kings are usually renowned by some worthy victory and prowess achieved by them, let us now see what valiant victory was gotten in queen Mary's days. King Edward, her blessed brother, how many rebellions did he suppress in Devonshire, in Norfolk, in Oxfordshire, and elsewhere? What famous victory in his time was gotten in Scotland? King Edward the third, by princely power, obtained Calais for England, which had been kept by the English ever since — till at length queen Mary came, who lost Calais from England again. The affairs of queen Mary have had no great and good success.

[989] A.D. 1559.

Never was any woman more disappointed than queen Mary was in her hope of children, for which she was so desirous, and of which the nation was so often in expectation (from the

[38] *Tympany*: A swelling or distension, especially of the abdomen.

[39] Philip II of Spain left Mary I of England in August 1554, shortly after their marriage, to return to the Netherlands and assume his father Charles V's responsibilities there. He never returned to England after that, despite Mary's emotional pleas and repeated hopes for his return.

accounts given out from the court). And yet, how was the whole realm deluded? And in the meanwhile, where were all the prayers, the solemn processions, the devout masses of the catholic clergy? Why did they not prevail with God, if their religion was so goodly as they pretend? If their masses '*Ex opere operato*,' [40] are able to fetch Christ from heaven, and to reach down to purgatory, then how did it chance that they could not reach to the queen's chamber to help her in her travail, if she had been with child indeed? And if not, then how did it come to pass that the whole popish church of England so erred, and was so deeply deceived? Queen Mary, after all these manifold plagues and corrections, which might sufficiently admonish her of God's disfavor provoked against her, would still not cease her persecution. But it still continued more and more to revenge her popish zeal upon the Lord's faithful people, setting fire to their poor bodies by dozens and half dozens.

Whereupon God's wrathful indignation increasing more and more against her, did not cease to touch her more nearly with private misfortunes and calamities. For after He had taken from her the fruit of children (which she desired chiefly and above all things), He then bereft her of that which, of all earthly things, should have been her chief stay of honor, and staff of comfort — that is, He withdrew from her the affection and company even of her own husband, by whose marriage she had promised to herself before, whole heaps of such joy and felicity. But now the Omnipotent Governor of all things so turned the wheel of her own spinning against her, that all her high buildings of such joys and felicities resulted in a castle fallen down. Her hopes being confounded, her purposes disappointed, and now being brought to desolation, she seemed to have neither the favor of God, nor the hearts of her subjects, nor yet the love of her husband. She did not have children by him while she had him; neither could she now enjoy him whom she had married; nor yet was she at liberty to marry any other whom she might enjoy. Mark here (Christian reader) the woeful adversity of this queen, and learn with it what the Lord can do when man's willfulness is compelled to resist Him, and will not be ruled.

At last, all these admonitions had no place with the queen, nor did they move her to revoke her bloody laws, nor stay the tyranny of her priests, nor yet to spare her own subjects — but the poor servants of God were most pitifully drawn daily by heaps, like sheep to the slaughter. When no other remedy would serve, it so pleased the heavenly majesty of Almighty God to cut her off by death, who in her life so little regarded the life of others. He gave her throne, which she abused to the destruction of Christ's church and people, to another, who could more temperately and quietly guide the same, after Mary had reigned here for five years and five months. The shortness of these years and reign, we scarcely find equalled in any other king or queen since the Conquest, except in king Richard III (p. 367).

In closing up the story, I thought to insert this summary of the unlucky and rueful reign of queen Mary — not to detract from her place and royal state to which she was called by the Lord — but only to this intent and effect: that because she would set herself so confidently to work and strive against the Lord and his proceedings, all readers and rulers may not only see how the Lord therefore worked against her, but also be warned, and learn what a perilous thing it is for men and women in authority, upon blind zeal and opinion, to stir up persecution in Christ's church, to the effusion of Christian blood. Else in the end, it may prove with them (as it did here), that while they think to persecute heretics, they stumble at

[40] *Ex opere operato:* Latin meaning "by the work worked." Roman Catholic belief that the sacraments confer grace in and of themselves when validly effected by the priest — not as the result of the recipent's faith alone.

the same stone as the Jews did in persecuting Christ and his true members to death, to their own confusion and destruction.

The Accession of Queen Elizabeth.

And now to enter on the time and history of queen Elizabeth. In her advancement and her princely governance, it cannot be sufficiently expressed what felicity and blessed happiness this realm has received, in receiving her at the Lord's almighty and gracious hand. For though there have been many kings and rulers over this realm, I could never find in our English chronicles what may be written about our noble and worthy queen. Her coming in was not only so calm, so joyful, and so peaceable, without shedding any blood, but also her reign up to now (reigning more than twenty-four years [41]) has been so quiet, that as yet (the Lord have all the glory) to this present day, her sword is spotted and polluted with no drop of blood.

I let pass the coronation of our most noble and Christian princess, which was the 15th of January 1559. Also I passed over the triumphant passage and honorable entertainment of our most dread sovereign through the city of London, with such celebrity, prayers, wishes, welcomings, cries, tender words, pageants, interludes, declamations and verses, as the like has not commonly been seen, arguing and declaring a wonderful earnest affection of loving hearts toward their sovereign. Letting these pass, I say, with many other things, we will now begin with the conference at Westminster between the popish bishops, and the learned men who had been exiled to Germany in the days of Mary.

The Conference at Westminster, the last day of March, on certain Questions or Articles of Religion proposed, and the breaking up of the same, by the Papists' defaults, at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth.

So it pleased the queen's most excellent majesty, having heard of the diversity of opinions in certain matters of religion, among sundry of her loving subjects, and being very desirous to have these reduced to some godly and Christian concord (by the advice of the lords and others of the privy council, for the satisfaction of doubtful persons, as well as for the knowledge of the very truth in certain matters of difference) to have a convenient chosen number of the best learned of either part, to confer together about their opinions and reasons, and thereby to come to some good and charitable agreement. Hereupon, by her majesty's commandment, certain of her privy council declared this purpose to the archbishop of York (who was also one of the same privy council) and requested of him that he would impart the same to some of the bishops, and to choose eight, nine, or ten of them, and that there should be the same number named of the other part. And further, they declared to him (it was then supposed) what the matter should be. As for the time, it was thought best to be as soon as possible, so that it might be agreed upon.

After a certain number of days had past, it was signified by the said archbishop, that there were appointed by those of the bishops to whom he had imparted this matter, nine persons; that is to say, five bishops and four doctors of each part. Their names are underwritten:

[41] This is obviously from the 1583 edition by Foxe, which was his final edition.

The Papists.	*The Protestants.*
Bishop of Winchester,	Bishop of Chichester,
Bishop of Lichfield,	Dr. Coxe,
Bishop of Chester.	Mr. Whitehead,
Bishop of Carlisle,	Mr. Grindall,
Bishop of Lincoln,	Mr. Horne,
Dr. Cole,	Mr. D. Sands,
Dr. Harpsfield,	Mr. Gest,
Dr. Langdale,	Mr. Aelmer,
Dr. Chedsey.	Mr. Jewell

They were content, at the queen majesty's command, to show their opinions, and as the said archbishop termed it, to render an account of their faith in those matters which were mentioned, and to do that especially in writing. Although he said they thought the same was so determined, that there was no cause to dispute them. The matter which they would talk upon, was comprehended in these three propositions specified hereunder.

[990]

1. It is against the word of God, and the custom of the ancient church to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayer, and the administration of the sacraments.

2. Every church has authority to appoint, take away, and change ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so long as the same is to edification.

3. It cannot be proved by the word of God, that in the mass a propitiatory sacrifice is offered up for the quick and the dead.

It was hereupon fully resolved by the queen's majesty, with the aforesaid advice, that according to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts, to avoid much altercation in words; and that the bishops would, because they were superiors in degree of authority, first declare their minds and opinions on the matter, with their reasons in writing. And the other number, also being nine men of good degree in schools (and some having been in high office in the church of England), if they had anything to say to the contrary, should the same day declare their opinions in like manner. And so each of them would deliver their writings to the other, to consider what was to be improved in them. And the same would declare again in writing at some other convenient day, with the same order to be kept in all the rest of the matters. All of this was fully agreed upon with the archbishop of York, and it was also so signified to both parties.

Immediately upon this, many of the nobility and states of the realm, understanding that such a meeting and conference would be taking place, and that in certain matters, upon which some laws might be grounded (the court of parliament consequently following), they made earnest means to her majesty, that (1) the parties of this conference might put down and read their assertions in the English tongue, and (2) that it would be done in the presence of those of the nobility and others of her parliament house, to better satisfy and enable of their own judgments, to address and conclude about those laws which might depend upon them.

This also, being thought very reasonable, was signified to both parties, and so it was fully agreed upon. The day appointed for the first meeting was to be Friday, the last day of March

in the forenoon, at Westminster church. At this day and place, both for good order and for the honor of the conference, by the queen's commandment, the lords and others of the privy council were present, and a great part of the nobility also. Notwithstanding that this former order had been appointed and consented to by both parties, yet the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues alleged that they had mistaken that their assertions and reasons should be written. And so they only recited out of the book, saying their book was not then ready written, but they were ready to argue and dispute. And therefore they would for that time repeat in speech, that which they had to say to the first probation.

This variation from the former order, and especially from that which they themselves had before required by the archbishop in writing, adding to it the reason of the apostle, that to contend with words is profitable for nothing, except to the subversion of the hearer, seemed to the queen's council somewhat strange. And yet it was permitted without any great reprehension, because they excused themselves with mistaking the order, and agreed that they would not fail to put it in writing, and according to the former order, delivered it to the other part. And so the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues appointed doctor Cole, dean of St. Paul's, to be the utterer of their minds, partly by speech only, and partly by reading from written authorities. And at certain times, being informed by his colleagues what to say, he made a declaration of their meanings and their reasons to their first proposition.

This being ended, they were asked by the privy council if any of them had any more to be said, and they said, "No." So the other party was permitted to show their minds, which they did according to the first order, exhibiting all that which they meant to be propounded, in a written book which, after prayer and invocation made most humbly to Almighty God for enduing them with his Holy Spirit, and a protestation also to stand to the doctrine of the catholic church built upon the Scriptures, and the doctrine of the prophets and the apostles. This was distinctly read by one Robert Home, bachelor in divinity, late dean of Durham, and afterwards bishop of Winchester. The copy of their protestation follows here as it was penned and exhibited by him, also with their preface.

> "Because it is thought good to the queen's most excellent majesty (to whom in the Lord all obedience is due) that we should declare our judgment in writing upon certain propositions; we, as it becomes us to do in this, most gladly obey.
>
> "Seeing that Christ is our only master, whom the Father has commanded us to hear; and seeing also his word is the truth, from which it is not lawful for us to depart, no not one hair's breadth, and against which (as the apostle says) we can do nothing; we do in all things submit ourselves to this truth, and attest that we will affirm nothing against the same.
>
> "And because we have for our mother, the true and catholic church of Christ, which is grounded upon the doctrine of the apostles and prophets, and is governed by Christ the head, in all things, we reverence her judgment; we obey her authority as becomes children; and we devoutly profess, and in all points follow the faith which is contained in the three creeds; that is to say, of the Apostles, of the Council of Nice, and of Athanasius.
>
> "And seeing that we never departed either from the doctrine of God, which is contained in the holy canonical Scriptures, nor yet from the faith of the true and catholic church of Christ; but have preached truly the word of God, and have sincerely ministered the sacraments according to the institution of Christ, to which our doctrine and faith most of our adversaries also subscribed many years past (although now as unnatural, they have revolted from the same), we desire that they render account of their backsliding, and show some reason why they not only resist that doctrine which they have professed before, but also persecute the same by all means they can. We do not doubt that through the equity of the queen's most excellent

majesty, we will be treated more gently in these disputations than in years late past, when we were handled most unjustly and scantily in the common manner of men. As for the judgment of the whole controversy, we refer to the most holy Scriptures, and the catholic church of Christ (whose judgment to us ought to be most sacred). Notwithstanding, by the *catholic* church we do not understand the Romish church, to which our adversaries attribute such reverence, but that which St. Augustine and other fathers affirm, ought to be sought in the holy Scriptures, and which is governed and led by the Spirit of Christ.

"It is against the word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayers and administration of the sacraments.

"By these words, 'the word of God,' we mean only the *written word of God*, or *canonical* Scriptures.

"And by the *custom of the primitive church*, we mean the order most generally used in the church for five hundred years after Christ, in which times the most notable fathers lived, such as Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basel, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, etc.

"This assertion above written, has two parts.

> "First, that the use of a tongue not understood by the people, in common prayers of the church, or in the administration of the sacraments, is against God's word.
>
> "The second, that the same is against the use of the primitive church.

"THE FIRST PART is most manifestly proved by the 14th chapter of the epistle to the Corinthians, almost throughout the whole chapter. In this chapter St. Paul treats this matter purposely. And although some cavil that St. Paul does not speak of praying in that chapter, but of preaching, yet is it most evident to any impartial reader of understanding, and also appears by the exposition of the best writers, that he plainly speaks there not only of preaching and prophesying, but also of prayer and thanksgiving, and generally of all other public actions which require any speech in the church or congregation.

[991]

"For of praying he says: I will pray with my spirit, and I will pray with my understanding; I will sing with my spirit, and I will sing with my understanding. And of thanksgiving (which is a kind of prayer) 'you give thanks well, but the other is not edified.' And 'how will he who occupies the place of the unlearned, say Amen to your thanksgiving, when he does not understand what you say?' And in the end, descending from particulars to a general proposition, concludes that 'all things ought to be done to edification.' This much is clear by the very words of St. Paul; and the ancient doctors Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and others, so understand this chapter, as it appears by their testimonies, which will follow afterwards.

"Upon this chapter of St. Paul, we gather the following reasons or arguments.

1. "All things done in the church or congregation, ought to be so done that they may edify the same.

"But the use of an unknown tongue in public prayer or administration of sacraments, does not edify the congregation.

"*Therefore* the use of an unknown tongue, in public prayer or administration of sacraments, is not to be had in the church.

"The first part of this reason is grounded upon St. Paul's words, commanding all things to be done to edification.

"The second part is also proved by St. Paul's plain words. First, by this similitude. 'If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who will prepare himself for the battle; so likewise you, except you utter by the tongue words easily understood, how will it be known what is spoken, for you will speak into the air.' 1Cor 14.8-9. That is to say, in vain, and consequently without edifying.

"And afterwards in the same chapter he says, 'how will he who occupies the place of the unlearned, say amen, at your giving of thanks, seeing that he does not understand what you say? For you truly give thanks well, but the other is not edified.' 1Cor 14.16-17.

"These are St. Paul's words, plainly proving that a tongue not understood, does not edify. And therefore, both parts of the reason being thus proved by St. Paul, the conclusion follows necessarily.

2. "Nothing is to be spoken in the congregation in an unknown tongue, unless it is interpreted to the people, so that it may be understood. For, Paul says, 'if there is no interpreter (for whoever speaks in an unknown tongue), let him keep silence in the church.' And therefore the common prayers and administration of sacraments, that are neither done in a known tongue, nor interpreted, are against the commandment of Paul, and are not to be used.

3. "The minister in prayer or in the administration of sacraments, using a language not understood by the hearers, is barbarous and an alien to them, which is accounted a great absurdity by St. Paul.

4. "It is not to be counted a Christian common prayer, where the people present do not declare their assent to it by saying Amen, in which is implied all other words of assent.

"But St. Paul affirms that the people cannot declare their assent in saying Amen, unless they understand what is said, as stated before.

"*Therefore* it is no Christian common prayer, where the people do not understand what is said.

5. "St. Paul would not in his time, allow a strange tongue to be heard in the common prayer in the church, notwithstanding that such speech was then a miracle, and a singular gift of the Holy Spirit, whereby infidels might be persuaded and brought to the faith; much less is it to be allowed now among Christian and faithful men, especially being no miracle or special gift of the Holy Spirit.

6. "Some will perhaps answer that to use any kind of tongue in common prayer or in the administration of sacraments, is an indifferent thing.

"But St. Paul says the contrary. For he commands all things to be done for edification; he commands to keep silence if there is no interpreter; and in the end of the chapter, he concludes this: 'If any man thinks himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write to you are the commandments of the Lord.' And so shortly to conclude, the use of a strange tongue in prayer and administration is against the word and commandment of God.

"To these reasons, grounded upon St. Paul's words, which are the most firm foundation of this assertion, diverse other reasons may be joined, gathered out of the Scriptures and otherwise.

7. "In the Old Testament, all things pertaining to the public prayer, benedictions, thanksgivings, or sacrifices, were always in their vulgar and natural tongue. In the 2d Book of Chronicles, chap. 29, it is written that Hezekiah commanded the Levites to praise God with the Psalms of David, and of Asaph the prophet, which doubtless were written in Hebrew, their vulgar tongue. If they did so in the shadows of the law, then much more should we do the same, who (as Christ says) must pray in spirit and in truth.

8. “The final end of our prayer (as David says) is that the people may tell the name of God in Sion, and his praises in Jerusalem.

“But the name and praises of God cannot be set forth to the people, unless it is done in such a tongue as they may understand; therefore common prayer must be had in the vulgar tongue.

9. “The definition of public prayer out of the words of St. Paul, is ‘I will pray with the spirit, I will pray with the understanding also;’ common prayer is to lift up our common desires to God with our minds, and to testify the same outwardly with our tongues.

10. “The administration of the Lord’s supper and baptism are, as it were, sermons of the death and resurrection of Christ.

“But sermons to the people must be given in such language as the people may perceive; otherwise they would be given in vain.

11. “It is not lawful for a Christian man to abuse the gifts of God; but whoever prays in the church in a strange tongue, abuses the gifts of God. For the tongue serves only to express the mind of the speaker to the hearer.

“The heathen and barbarous nations of all countries and sorts of men, however wild they were, evermore made their prayers and sacrifices to their gods in their own mother tongue. This is a manifest declaration that it is the very light and voice of nature.

“Thus much upon the ground of St. Paul and other reasons out of the Scriptures, joining with it the common usage of all nations, as a testimony of the law of nature.

“Now for THE SECOND PART of the assertion, which is, that the use of a strange tongue in public prayer and in the administration of sacraments, is against the custom of *the primitive church*. It is a matter so clear, that the denial of it must proceed either from great ignorance, or else from willful malice.

“For first of all Justin Martyr, describing the order of the communion in his time, says, ‘on the Sunday, assemblies are made both of the citizens and country people, at which the writings of the apostles and the prophets are read, as much as possible. Afterwards, when the reader ceases, the head minister makes an exhortation, exhorting them to follow these honest things. After this, we rise altogether and offer prayers. These being ended (as we have said) bread and water are brought out. Then the head minister offers prayers and thanksgivings, as much as he can, and the people answer Amen.’

“These words of Justin, who lived about one hundred and sixty years after Christ, declare plainly, that not only the Scriptures were read, but also that the prayers and the administration of the Lord’s Supper were done in an understood tongue.

“The liturgies both of Basel and Chrysostom declare that in the celebration of the communion, the people were appointed to answer to the prayer of the minister, sometimes ‘Amen,’ sometimes, ‘Lord have mercy upon us,’ sometimes, ‘and with your spirit,’ and, ‘we lift up our hearts to the Lord,’ etc. They could not have made these answers if the prayer had not been made in an understood tongue.

[992]

“And for further proof, let us hear what Basil writes in this matter to the clerics of Neo-Caesarea. ‘As regards what is laid to our charge in psalmodies and songs, with which our slanderers fray the simple, I have this to say: that our customs and usages in all churches are uniform and agreeable. For in the night, the people arise with us, go to the house of prayer, and in travail, tribulation, and continual tears, they confess themselves to God. And at last, rising again, they go to their songs or psalmody, where being divided into two parts, they

> sing by course together, both deeply weighing and confirming the matter of the heavenly sayings, and also stirring up their attention and devotion of heart, which by other means are alienated and plucked away. Then appointing one to begin the song, the rest follow, and so with diverse songs and prayers, they pass over the night. At the dawning of the day, all together, even as it were with one mouth and one heart, they sing to the Lord a song of confession, every man framing to himself fitting words of repentance.'
>
> "If you will flee from us from now on for these things, you must also flee both the Egyptians and the Libyans. You must eschew the Thebans, Palestines, Arabians, the Phoenicians, the Syrians, and those who dwell beside the Euphrates — and to be short, all those with whom watchings, prayers, and common singing of psalms are held in honor."

The following is the testimony of St. Ambrose, written upon the 14th chapter of the 1st epistle to the Corinthians, upon these words: "If you bless or give thanks with the spirit, how will he who occupies the place of the unlearned, say Amen at your giving of thanks, seeing that he does not understand what you say?"

"That is," says Ambrose, "if you speak the praise of God in a tongue unknown to the hearers. For the unlearned hearing that which he does not understand, does not know the end of the prayer, and he does not answer, Amen. That is as much as to say, "it is true," that the blessing or thanksgiving may be confirmed. For the confirmation of the prayer is fulfilled by those who answer, Amen — so that all things spoken might be confirmed in the minds of the hearers, through the testimony of the truth."

"Afterward upon these words, he says, "If one who does not believe or is unlearned, for when he understands, and is understood, hearing God to be praised and Christ to be worshipped, he sees perfectly that the religion is true, and to be reverenced, in which he sees nothing is to be done colorably, nothing in darkness, as it is among the heathen, whose eyes are covered, so that they do not see the things which they call holy, might perceive themselves to be deluded with many vanities. For all falsehood seeks darkness, and shows false things for true. Therefore with us nothing is done secretly, nothing covertly, but one God is simply praised, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus, by whom are all things. For if there is none who can understand, or by whom he may be tried, he may say there is some deceit and vanity which is therefore sung in tongues (that are not understood) because it is a shame to open it."

"Then there are the testimonies out of St. Jerome, upon that place of Paul, 'Whoever occupies the place of the unlearned, etc.'

"It is the layman," he says, "whom Paul understands here to be in the place of the ignorant man, who has no ecclesiastical office. How will he answer Amen to the prayer that he does not understand?"

"And again Jerome says: — "This is Paul's meaning: If any man speaks in strange and unknown tongues, his mind is not without fruit and profit to himself, but whoever hears him is not profited."

"And in the end of his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, he says this:

> "That Amen signifies the consent of the hearer, and it is the sealing up of the truth. Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians teaches, saying. 'But if you bless in spirit, who stands in the place of the ignorant, how will he answer Amen at your prayer, seeing that he does not know what you say?' By this he declares that the unlearned man cannot answer that what is spoken is true, unless he understands what is said."

"And again Chrysostom says.

> "In prayers you may see the people offer largely, both for the possessed and the penitents. For the priests and the people pray together commonly, and all in one prayer, a prayer full of mercy and pity. And excluding out of the priest's limits all those who cannot be partakers of the holy table, another prayer must be made, and all in one way prostrate themselves upon the earth, and all again in one way rise up together. Now, when 'the peace' is given, we all in like manner salute one another, and the priest in the reverend mysteries wishes well to the people, and the people to him. For 'and with your spirit,' is nothing else but this. All things that belong to the sacrament of thanksgiving, are common to all. But he does not give thanks alone, but all the people with him."

"Hereby it may appear that the priest did not communicate alone, nor did he pray alone, nor did he have any peculiar prayer, but such as was common to them all, such as they all understood, and all were able to say it with the priest, which could not have been, if he had used a strange tongue in the ministration of the sacraments.

"Dionysius describing the manner of the ministration of the Lord's supper, says that, 'hymns were said by the whole multitude of the people.'

"Cyprian says, 'The priest prepares the minds of the brethren, with a preface before the prayer saying, 'Lift up your hearts.' So that while the people answer, 'We have our hearts lifted up to the Lord,' they may be admonished that they ought to think of none other than of the Lord.'

"St. Augustine says: 'We ought to understand what this should be, that we may sing with the reason of man, not with the chattering of birds. For owls, and jays, and ravens, and magpies, and other such birds, are taught by men to mimic what they do not know. But to sing with understanding, is given by God's holy will to the nature of man.'

"The same Augustine also says, 'No speech is needed when we pray, except perhaps as the priests do, to declare their meaning — not that God, but that *men* may hear them; and so, being put in remembrance by consenting with the priests, they may hang upon God.'

"To these testimonies of the ancient writers, we will join one constitution of Justinian the emperor, who lived 527 years after Christ:

> 'We command that all bishops and priests celebrate the holy oblation, and the prayers used in holy baptism, not speaking low, but with a clear and audible voice, which may be heard by the people, so that thereby the minds of the hearers may be stirred up with greater devotion in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For so the holy apostle teaches in his first epistle to the Corinthians, saying, 'Truly, if you only bless or give thanks in *spirit*, how does he who occupies the place of the unlearned say, Amen, at the giving of thanks unto God? For he does not understand what you say. You truly give thanks well, but the other is not edified.' And again, in the epistle to the Romans, he says, 'With the heart a man believes unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.' Therefore for these causes it is convenient that among other prayers, those things also which are spoken in the holy oblation, are uttered and spoken by the most religious bishops and priests to our Lord Jesus Christ our God, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, with a loud voice. And let the most religious priests know this: that if they neglect any of these things, neither the dreadful judgment of the great God and our Savior Jesus Christ, nor will we when we know it, rest and leave it unrevenged.'

"Out of the constitution of Justinian the emperor, three things are worthy to be noted.

"First, That the common prayer and ministration be done with a loud voice, so that it may be heard and understood by the people, is a means to stir up devotion in the people, contrary to

the common assertion of Eckius [42] and other adversaries, who affirm that ignorance makes a great admiration and devotion.

[993] A.D. 1559.

"Secondly, That Justinian makes this matter of not ordering common ministration and prayers so that it may be understood by the people, not a matter of indifference, but such a thing that it must be answered for at the Day of Judgment.

"Thirdly, That this emperor, being a Christian emperor, not only constitutes ecclesiastical matters, but also threatens revenge and sharp punishment to the violators of the same.

"These are sufficient to prove that it is against God's word, and the use of the primitive church, to use a language that is not understood by the people, in common prayer and in the ministration of the sacraments. therefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how such an untruth and abuse first crept into the church, but also how it is maintained so stiffly to this day, and upon what ground these, who would be thought guides and pastors of Christ's church, are so loath to return to the origin of St. Paul's doctrine, and the practice of the primitive catholic church of Christ.

"The God of patience and consolation, give us grace to be like-minded towards one another in Christ Jesus, that all agreeing together, we may with one mouth praise God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen."

"(Signed by) John Scory, John Jewell, Richard Coxe, Robert Home, David Whitehead, John Aelmer, Edmund Grindall, Edmund Gest.

And the same having ended with some likelihood, it seemed, that it was very acceptable to the audience; some of the bishops began to speak contrary to their former answer, that they now had much more to say to this matter, in which although they might have been well reprehended for such cavilling, yet for avoiding of any more mistaking of orders in this conference, and so that they would utter all that which they had to say, it was both ordered and agreed upon by both parties, in the full audience, that upon the following Monday, the bishops would bring their reasons in writing to the second assertion, and the last also, if they could. And they were first to read the same; and that being done, the other party would likewise bring theirs. And being read, each of them would deliver the writings to the other. In the meantime, the bishops would put in writing, not only that which Doctor Cole had uttered that day, but all such other matters as they otherwise could think of for the same. And as soon as they possibly might, to send the book regarding that first assertion to the other party, and they would receive from them that writing which Mr. Home had read there that day. And on Monday it would be agreed what day they should publish their answers regarding the first proposition. Thus both parties assented, and the assembly was quietly dismissed.

The Order of the Second Day's Conference.

The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the archbishop of York, the duke of Norfolk, and all the council being set, the bishops on the one side, and the protestants — that is, the late banished preachers — on the other side, thus began the lord keeper:

"My lords and masters, I am sure you remember well at our last meeting, what order of talk and writing was appointed to be had this day in this assembly, which I will not refuse now to repeat again for the shortness of it. It was that you appointed that on both sides you would

[42] Johann Eck (Eckius) was a German Roman Catholic theologian and the most prominent opponent of Martin Luther during the Protestant Reformation.

bring in English writing, what you had to say on the *second* question, and to read the same in this appointed place. Therefore, begin my lords."

Winchester (papist). — "I am determined for my part that there will be now read, what we have to say for the *first* question."

Lord Keeper. — "Will you not then proceed in the order appointed to you?"

Winchester. — "I have, as I said, provided for the first question or proposition. And we would suffer prejudice if you do not permit us to treat that first, and so we would come to the second question, and this is the order we would use. I judge all my brethren are so minded."

Bishops. — "We are so determined."

Lord Keeper. — "I do not know what you would do for your determined order. But you ought to look to what order is appointed for you to keep, which you break by this means, and little regard."

Winchester. — "Since our adversaries party, if it please your grace and honors, have so confirmed their assertion and purpose, we suffer a prejudice or damage, if you do not permit us the like."

At this, Doctor Watson, bishop of Lincoln, being very desirous to speak, said to the bishop of Winchester; "I pray you let me speak (which was permitted him). We are not used impartially, since you do not allow us to open in present writing what we have to say for the declaration of the first question, in so far that what you take for the information of the same, was not meant at all for that purpose. For what Master Cole spoke in this last assembly, was not prepared to strengthen our cause, but he made his oration from himself, and *ex-tempore*, that is, with no fore-studied talk."

At the bishop's words, the nobility and others of the audience much frowned and grudged, since they all well knew that Master Cole spoke out of a writing which he held in his hand, and often read out of the same, and that was in the same places which the bishops informed him, and appointed him to, with their fingers. All of these things well declare the matter to be premeditated, and not done *ex-tempore*, for Master Cole was appointed by them to be their speaker. Whereupon, this statement of the bishop of Lincoln was taken the worse. Notwithstanding, he went onward complaining, and said, "We are also badly ordered as regards the time. Our adversaries' part having warning long before, and we were warned only two days before the last assembly in this place. What with this business, and other trouble we have been driven to, we have been occupied the whole of last night. For we may in no way betray the cause of God, nor will we do so, but sustain it to the uttermost of our powers, as we ought to so endeavor by all manner of means. But as to this, we now lack impartial using."

Lord Keeper. — "Take heed that you do not deceive yourselves when it comes to a just trial of the matter, and then it is proved against you that you complain without cause, when the order and your manner towards it is duly weighed. I am willing and ready to hear you in the order taken and appointed for you to reason in this; and further or contrary to that, I cannot deal with you."

Lichfield (papist). — "Let us suffer no misorder or injury in this, but be heard with that impartiality that is convenient and fitting that we should have here."

Lord Keeper. — "I pray you, sirs, hear me, and mark it well. It was concluded by my lords of the council, who you well know of, that their writing, which you are now so willing to have heard, should have been read the first day, and then we understood that Master Cole had said what you would have him say, and as much as you willed him to say, and upon that impartiality among us, I judge you were asked in the end of Master Cole's recital, whether that which he spoke was what you would have him say; and you granted it. Then, whether you would have him say any more on the matter, you answered, 'No,' whereupon the other part was heard. You hearing it, then indeed, without any good impartiality or plain dealing, yet pretended that you had more to say. So mark with how small an equity you used yourselves."

Bishops. — "We indeed had more to say, if we might have been fairly heard."

Lord Keeper. — "Give me leave I say, and look what gains you would have if your present request were to be granted to you, who call so much about impartial using, how you would use those other men. For many who are here present, were then away. So you would have your writing now read to those who did not hear this.

[994]

Mark whether it would not have been more fitting if you had provided it against the first day, when they orderly read theirs, since, to my knowledge and as far as I have had to do with the matter, both sides (I am sure) were warned at one time. However, to satisfy your importunity and earnestness of this crying out to have your first writing heard, I might well allow, if it so pleased the rest of the queen's most honorable council, that you dispatch the work of the second question, appointed for this day, and give us your writing for the first, so that when the day comes that each of you will answer the other in confirmation of the first question, then the same day you will have time to read this first writing of yours, which you would now so gladly read." To this order, all the council willingly condescended.

Lichfield. — "No, my lords, they reading one, and we two books in one day, we would not have time enough to read them both. It would occupy too much time."

Lord Keeper. — "For my part I might well stay at the hearing of them both, and so I judge would the rest of the council, and likewise the whole audience." At this saying, there was a shout, crying out on all sides. "Yes, yes, we would hear it gladly."

Lincoln. — "We cannot read them both at one time. For their writing, I am sure, would require an hour and a half, if it is as long as their last one was, and then our answer would require no less time after the first question."

Lord Keeper. — "I have shown you we could be well contented to wait out the time, when it comes to it. Therefore, you need not to be so crafty in this. We are granting you this much, and yet you will obey no orders. I cannot tell what I will say to you."

Lincoln. — "We have been terribly troubled in the order of this disputation. For, first it was appointed us by my lord the archbishop, that we should dispute, and that would be in Latin. And then we had another commandment, that we should provide a Latin writing. And now at last, we are desired to bring forth our writings in English."

At these words the lord keeper of the great seal, the archbishop, with all the council were much surprised, and many murmured at such a wrong report of the order which was plainly given. Whereupon, the lord keeper answered; "I marvel greatly about the using of yourself in this point, since I am assured the order was never otherwise taken, than that you should bring forth in English a writing of what you had to say for your purpose."

Hereupon the bishops of Lichfield and Chichester, to excuse my lord of Lincoln, said; “We so understood the order, my lords.”

Lord Keeper. — “How likely is that, since that it was so plainly told you? But to end these delays, I pray you follow the order appointed, and begin to address the second question.”

Lichfield. — “We were appointed this day by your honors, to bring in what we had to say on the first question.”

At this statement, the audience much grudged, who heard the former talk, contrary to his report.

Lord Keeper. — “The order was given, because your writings were not ready the last time, that you should yield the same to these men (meaning the protestants) as soon as you might, and upon the receipt of your writings, you would have theirs. And this day you would address the second question, and the third, if you had enough leisure. This was the order, my lords, unless my memory greatly fails me.” The whole council affirmed the same.

Lincoln. — “We were desired then to bring in this day, our writing for the first question also.”

Lord Keeper. — “Ah! sirs, if you are so hard to be satisfied, and to incline to the truth, let my lords here say what was then determined.”

Archbishop of York. — “You are to blame for delaying this issue, for there was a plain decreed order given for you to address the second question. Therefore leave your contention in this, and show what you have to say on the second question.”

Lord Keeper. — “Go to now, begin my lords.”

Lichfield. — “It is contrary to the order in disputations, that we should begin.”

Chester. — “We have the negative, they the affirmative, therefore they must begin.”

Lichfield. — “They must first say what they can bring against us, since we are the defending part.”

Chester. — “So is the school manner, and likewise is the manner in Westminster-hall, that the plaintiffs part should speak first, and then the accused party answer.”

Lichfield. — “I pray you let the proposition be read, and then let us see who has the negative part, and so let the other begin.”

Lord Keeper. — “The order was given that you should begin.”

Lichfield. — “But then we would act against the school order.”

Lord Keeper. — “My masters, you much enforce the school orders. I wonder greatly at this, since various orders are oftentimes taken for the exercise of youth, and ought to maintain a fashion, and many prescriptions, which we do not need to recite here, much less observe. We have come here to keep the order of God, and to set forth His truth, and to this end we have taken as good order as we might, which it does not lie in me to change.”

Carlisle (papist). — “We are of the catholic church, and abide in it, and stand in possession of the truth; and therefore they must say what they have to allege against us, and so we are to maintain and defend our cause.”

Lichfield. — “Yes, even so the matter must be ordered.”

Chester. — "When they bring anything against us, it is sufficient for us to deny it. Therefore they must begin."

Lichfield. — "And when they affirm anything, and we say no, the proof belongs to them. And so it behoves them to first show what they affirm, and for what cause and purpose."

Lord Keeper. — "Here rests our purpose and the whole matter: whether you will begin, if they do not, since it was determined that you should begin."

Lichfield. — "We heard of no such order."

Lord Keeper. — "No? And yet in the first question you began willingly. How does it come to pass that you will not do so now?"

Chester. — "Then we had the affirmation, which since our adversaries now have it, they should presently begin."

The protestants denied this, saying that on the first day they had the negative, yet they did not refuse to begin.

Lord Keeper. — "If you have anything to say to the purpose, my lords, say on."

Lichfield. — "A particular sort of men can never break a universal church, which we now maintain. And as for these men, our adversary's part, I never thought they would have done so much as to have named themselves to be of the *catholic church*, claiming the name as we do."

Protestants. — "We do so, and we are of the *true* catholic church, and maintain the verity of it."

Lincoln. — "Yet you would overthrow all catholic order."

Horne (protestant). — "I wonder that you hesitate so much as to who should begin."

Lincoln. — "You count it requisite that we should follow your orders, as we have taken the questions at your hands, in the sort that you have assigned them."

Lichfield. — "Yes, even so we are driven to do now."

Lord Keeper. — "No, I judge that if you mark the matter well, the questions are neither of their propounding them to you, nor of your device to them, but offered equally to you both."

Horne. — "Indeed, my lords of the queen's most honorable council, these questions or propositions were proposed to us by your honors, and they then having the pre-eminence, chose for themselves the negative; and yet they freely began first. Now again, why do they not do the same? "

[995] A.D. 1559.

Lichfield being angry that Horne should speak so strictly against them, went quite away from the matter, saying, "My lord keeper of the great seal, and you, the rest of the queen's most honorable council, I hope that you all, and the queen's majesty herself, are inclined to favor the verity in all things, and the truth of the catholic church, which we must, will, or cannot do otherwise than to earnestly maintain to the uttermost of our power, and to this purpose let us now well weigh who are of the true catholic church; they, or we."

Lord Keeper. — "Stop! you now go away from the matter, and make questions of your own."

Lichfield not yet straying from his digression, said, 'We must go to work, and try that first, what church they are of. For there are many churches in Germany. Master Horne, Master Horne, I pray you, which of these churches are you of?"

Horne. — "I am of Christ's catholic church."

Lord Keeper. — "You should not in this way run into voluntary talk of your own inventing, nor devise new questions of your own appointment, and thereby enter into that talk — you should not so to do. But say on, if you have anything to say in this matter."

Lichfield. — "No, we must first thus go to work with them as I have said, if we would search a truth. However, we have no doubt of the truth, for we assuredly stand in it. These men come in, and they pretended to be doubtful. Therefore they should first bring what they have to impugn or withstand us with."

Winchester. — "Let them begin; so we will go onward with our matter."

Chester (papist). — "Otherwise, my lords, if they were not to begin, but to end the talk, then the verity on our side would not be so well marked. For they would depart, having spoken last, with the rejoicing triumph of the people."

Winchester. — "Therefore, I am resolved that they will begin before we say anything."

Chester. — "I am sorry, my lords, that we should stand so long on this matter with your honors, and make so many words, and so much ado with you whom we ought to obey. However, there is no fairness if they do not begin; and surely we think it fitting that for their parts, they should give way to us."

Lichfield. — "Yes, that they should, and they ought to do so where any fairness is used."

Aelmer (protestant). — "We gave way to you, did we not? And we do not deprive you of the pre-eminence, because you are bishops. Therefore, I pray you, *begin*."

Bishops. — "A goodly giving way, I assure you; Oh yes, goodness, you give way." Such words they used, with more scoffs.

Lord Keeper. — "If you make this assembly to have gathered in vain, and will not go to the matter, let us rise and depart."

Winchester. — "Contented, let us be gone. For we will not give over on this point. I pray you, my lords, do not require at our hands that we should be any cause of hindrance or delay to our religion, or give any such evil example to our posterity, which we would do if we gave over to them, which in no way we may, or will do."

Lord Keeper. — "Let us then break up, if you are thus minded."

With these words the bishops were straightway rising. But then the lord keeper said, "Let us see whether every one of you is thus minded. How is it with you, my lord of Winchester? Will you not begin to read your writing? "

Winchester. — "No, surely, I am fully determined, and fully at a point in this, whatever my brethren may do."

Then the Lord Keeper asked how the bishop was called, who sat next to Winchester in order. It was the bishop of Exeter. Being inquired as to his mind in this, he answered that he was none of them. Then the lord keeper asked the others in order — first Lincoln, who said he was of the same mind that Winchester was of; and likewise answered Lichfield, Coventry, Dr. Cole, and Dr. Chedsey. Then Chester, being asked his sentence, said, "My lords, I do not

say that I will not read it, if you command us; but we should not do it. Yet I desire your honors not to take it so, as though I would not have read it. I do not mean so."

Lord Keeper. — "What do you say to it, my lord of Carlisle?"

Carlisle. — "If they should not read theirs this day, so that our writing may be last read, then I am contented that ours will be read first."

Lord Keeper. — "So you would make orders yourselves, and appoint that we should spend one day in hearing you."

Then the abbot of Westminster was asked his mind. He said, "If it please your honors, I judge that my lords here stay most on this point: they fear that when they begin first, and the other answers upon it, no more time will be given them to speak, which my lord mislikes."

Lord Keeper. — "How can it be otherwise in a talk appointed in such an assembly and audience? Do you think that answering one another can be continued when it should in that sort have an end? "

Lichfield. — "It must be so in disputation to seek out the truth."

Lord Keeper. — "But what do you say, my lord Abbot, are you of the mind it will be read?"

Abbot. — "Yes truly, my lord, I am very well pleased with it."

Harpsfield being inquired of his mind, thought as the others did.

Lord Keeper. — "My lords, since you are not willing, but refuse to read your writing in the order taken, we will break up and depart. And because you will not have us hear you, you may perhaps shortly hear from us."

Thus have we declared the order and manner of this communication or conference at Westminster, between these two parties, in which if any law or order were broken, then judge, good reader, where the fault was. And consider what these papists are about. If you take away from them their sword and authority, you see all their cunning, how soon it lies in the dust, or else why would they not abide the trial of writing? Why would they not, or why *dared* they not stand to the order agreed upon? Should we say it is more from ignorance, or from stubbornness in them, or both together? First, being gently and favorably required to keep the order appointed, they would not. Then secondly, being (as it appeared by the Lord Keeper's words) pressed more earnestly, they did not regard the authority of that place, nor their own reputation, nor the credit of the cause, but utterly refused to do so. And finally, every of them, again being particularly apart, and required distinctly by name to understand their opinions in this, all of them except one (which was the abbot of Westminster, having more consideration of order and of his duty of obedience, than the others) utterly and plainly denied to have their book read — some of them more earnestly than others, and also some other more indiscreetly and irreverently than others.

About this time, at the beginning of the flourishing reign of queen Elizabeth, a parliament was summoned and held at Westminster, in which there was much debating about matters of religion. Great study was employed on both parts, the one to still retain, the other to impugn the doctrine which had been established before, in queen Mary's time. But here it is especially to be noted that no industry was lacking on the papists' side to hold fast to that which they most cruelly from time to time had studied, and by all means practiced to come by. Yet notwithstanding, such was the providence of God at that time, that for lack of the

other bishops whom the Lord had taken away by death a little earlier, those who were left could do less; and in very need, God be praised, they did nothing at all in effect.

Although there was some diversity of judgment and opinion between parties in this parliament, yet notwithstanding, through the merciful goodness of the Lord, the true cause of the gospel had the upper hand, the hopes of the papists were frustrated, and their rage abated. The order and proceedings of king Edward's time concerning religion were revived; the supremacy of the pope was abolished; and the articles and bloody statutes of queen Mary were repealed. Briefly, the furious fire-brands of cruel persecution which had consumed so many poor men's bodies, were now extinct and quenched.

[996]

Finally, the old bishops were deposed, for they refused the oath in renouncing the pope, and did not subscribe to the queen's just and lawful title. In their stead and places, first for cardinal Poole, succeeded Doctor Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury; in the place of Heath, succeeded Doctor Young; instead of Bonner, Edmund Grindall was bishop of London; for Hopton, Thurlby, Tunstall, Pates, Christopherson, Peto, Coates, Morgan, Feasie, White, Oglethorpe, etc., were placed Doctor John Parkhurst, in Norwich; Doctor Coxe, in Ely; Jewell, in Salisbury; Pilkenton, in Durham; Doctor Sands, in Worcester; Master Downam, in Westchester; Bentam, in Coventry and Lichfield; David, in St. David's; Ally, in Exeter; Horne, in Winchester; Story, in Hereford; Best, in Carlisle; Bullingham, in Lincoln; Seamler, in Peterborough; Bartlet, in Bath; Gest in Rochester; and Barlo, in Chichester, etc.

Massacre of the Protestants in France

A Brief Note concerning the horrible Massacre in France, A.D. 1572.

Here, before closing up this book, in no case should the tragic and furious massacre in France be unremembered, in which so many hundreds and thousands of God's good martyrs were murdered. But because the true narration of this lamentable story is set forth in English at large in a book by itself, and extant in print already, it will be less needed now to discourse that matter with any new repetition — only a brief mention of summary notes for remembrance may suffice.

And first, for brevity's sake, to bypass the massacre by the Romish catholics in Orange against the protestants — most fiercely and unawares breaking into their houses, and there, without mercy, killing man, woman, and child. Some of them being spoiled and naked, they threw out of their lofts into the streets; some they smothered in their houses with smoke; some were killed with sword and weapon, sparing none. The carcasses of some they threw to the dogs, etc. This was A.D. 1570, in the reign of Charles IX.

Likewise to pass over the cruel slaughter at Rome where, the protestants being at a sermon outside the city walls, upon the king's edict, the Roman catholics in a fury ran upon those who were coming home, and slew over forty of them at least; they wounded many more. This example at Rome, stirred up the papists in Dieppe to also practice the same rage against the Christians there returning from the sermon. Their slaughter would have been greater, had they not more wisely been provided with weapons before, for their own defense in time of need. All of this happened about the same year mentioned, A.D. 1570. But these, with similar incidents, I briefly pass over, to enter now into the matter premised above — that is, to briefly address the horrible and most barbarous massacre wrought in Paris. Such

was never heard of before, I suppose, in any civil dissension even among the heathen. In a few words, I will touch the substance of the matter.

After long troubles in France, the Roman catholic side, foreseeing no good to be done against the protestants by open force, began to devise how to entrap them by crafty means, and that was in two ways.

The one was by pretending that a power was sent into the lower country, of which the admiral was to be the captain. It was not that the king meant it indeed, but only to understand thereby, what power and force the admiral had under him, who they were, and what their names were.

The second was by a certain marriage suborned between the prince of Navarre and the king's sister. To this pretended marriage, it was devised that all the chief protestants of France would be invited, and meet in Paris. Among them, they began with the queen of Navarre, mother to the prince who would marry the king's sister, attempting by all means possible to obtain her consent to it. She was then at Rochelle, and was allured by many fair words to repair to the king. At length she consented to come, and was received at Paris, where after much ado, she was at length won to the king's mind, and provided for the marriage. Shortly after, she fell sick and expired within five days — not without suspicion, as some said, of poison. But her body being opened, no sign of poison could be found there, except that a certain apothecary boasted that he had killed the queen by certain venomous odors and smells confected by him.

After this, the marriage still going forward, the admiral, prince of Navarre, Conde, with diverse other chief men of the protestants, induced by the king's letters and many fair promises, were at last brought to Paris. There they were received with great solemnity, but especially the admiral. To make the matter short, the day of the marriage came, which was the 18th of August 1572. This marriage being celebrated and solemnized by the cardinal of Bourbon, on a high stage outside the church walls, the prince of Navarre and Conde came down, waiting for the king's sister; she was then at mass. This done, they resorted all together to the bishop's palace for dinner. At evening they were lead to a palace in the middle of Paris to supper. Not long after this, on the 22nd of August, the admiral came from the council table. On the way he was struck with a discharge from a pistol, charged with three pellets, in both his arms. He being thus wounded, and yet still remaining in Paris, although the Vidam gave him counsel to flee away, it so fell out that certain soldiers were appointed in various places of the city to be ready at a watch-word, at the commandment of the prince. Upon this watch-word being given, they burst out to the slaughter of the protestants, beginning with the admiral himself. Being wounded with many sore wounds, he was cast out of the window into the street, where his head being first struck off, was embalmed with spices to be sent to the pope. The savage people raging against him, cut off his arms, and so drew him through the streets of Paris for three days. They dragged him to the place of execution outside of the city. There they hung him up by his heels, to the greater display and scorn of him.

After the martyrdom of this good man, the armed soldiers with rage and violence ran upon all others of the same profession, slaying and killing all the protestants they knew or could find within the city gates. This bloody slaughter continued for many days, but the greatest slaughter was especially in the three first days, in which over ten thousand men, women, old and young, were slain, as the history says, of all sorts and conditions. The bodies of the dead were carried in carts to be thrown into the river: so that not only was the river all stained with them, but also whole streams in certain places of the city ran with the blood of the slain

bodies. So great was the outrage of that heathenish persecution, that not only the protestants, but also certain of those whom they thought were indifferent papists, were put to the sword with the protestants.

And this uproar was not contained only within the walls of Paris, but it extended further into other cities and quarters of the realm, especially Lyons, Orleans, Toulouse, and Rouen. In these cities it is almost incredible, and scarcely ever heard of in any nation, what cruelty was shown, what numbers of good men were destroyed – to the extent that within one month, at least thirty thousand religious protestants were slain.

Furthermore, it is to be noted here, that when the pope first heard of this bloody stir, he made such joy with his cardinals at Rome — with their procession, with their firing guns, and singing *Te Deum* — that in honor of that festival act, a jubilee was commanded by the pope, with great indulgences, and much solemnity. By this you have to discern and judge here, with what spirit and charity these Roman catholics are moved to maintain their religion, which otherwise would fall to the ground without any hope of recovery. Likewise in France, there was no less rejoicing on the 28th of the month. The king commanded public processions to be made throughout the city, with bonfires, bell ringing, and singing. There the king himself, with the queen his mother, and his whole court resorting to that church together, gave thanks and laud to God, for so worthy a victory on St. Bartholomew's day against the protestants, whom they thought to be utterly overthrown and vanquished in the whole realm forever.

[997] A.D. 1572-1674.

And indeed, to man's thinking it might appear no less a victory after such a great destruction of the protestants, having lost so many worthy and noble captains as were then cut off. Many, revoking their religion out of fear, returned to the pope; many fled out of the realm; those who would not turn, kept themselves secret, and dared not be known or seen. So that it was past all hope of man, that the gospel would ever have any more place in France. But such is the admirable working of the Lord, where man's help and hope most fail, that He most shows his strength and help, as is to be seen and noted here. For the very small remnant on the gospel side, being brought to utter desperation, were now ready to give over to the king; and many had already gone against their conscience, yielding to the time. Yet the Lord, out of his goodness, so worked that many were stayed and reclaimed again through the occasion of those in Rochelle. Hearing of the cruel massacre in Paris, and the slaughter at Toulouse, most constantly with valiant hearts (the Lord so working) they thought to stand to their defense against the king's power. By their example certain other cities hearing of it, took no little courage to do the same. Being confederated together, they exhorted one another to be circumspect, and take good heed of the false dissembling practices of the merciless papists, who intend nothing but blood and destruction.

These things thus passing at Rochelle, and the king hearing of it, he commanded captains Strozzius and Guardius to see to Rochelle. After this he sent a nobleman, one Bironius, requiring of the Rochelle-men to receive him as their governor under the king. Great consultation was had. At length the Rochelle-men began to condescend upon certain conditions. This not being easily granted, and especially hearing in the meantime what was done to others of their fellows who had submitted themselves, they thought it better to stand to the defense of their lives and consciences, and to venture the worst. Whereupon a great siege and battery began to be laid against Rochelle, both by land and sea. This was A.D. 1572, about the 4th of December. It would require another volume to describe all

things that passed on either side during the time of this siege, between the king's party and the town of Rochelle.

To briefly run over some parts of the matter, in January of the following year, A.D. 1573, commandment was given by the king to all and sundry nobles and peers of France, upon great punishment, to address themselves in a most forcible way to the assaulting of Rochelle. Upon this, a great concourse of all the nobility, with the whole power of France, was assembled there. Among them was the prince of Anjou, the king's brother, accompanied by his other brother, duke Alencon, Navarre, Conde, and a great number of other states besides. Thus the whole power of France was gathered against one poor town. If the mighty hand of the Lord had not stood on their side, it would have been impossible for them to escape.

During the time of this siege, which lasted about seven months, what skirmishes and conflicts were on both sides would require a long treatise to describe. To make it short, seven principal assaults were made against the poor town of Rochelle, with all the power that France could make. In all these assaults, the pope's side always had the worst of it. Concerning the first assault I find it written that within twenty-six days, there were discharged against the walls and houses of Rochelle, thirty thousand shot of iron bullets and globes, whereby a great breach was made for the adversary to invade the city. But such was the courage of those within, not only of the men, but also of the women, armed with spits, fire, and whatever other weapons came to hand, that the adversary was driven back, with no small slaughter of their soldiers. And of the townsmen, only sixty persons were slain and wounded. Likewise in the second assault, the adversary attempted to invade the town, but through the industry of the soldiers and citizens, and also of the women and maids, the invaders were forced at length to fly away faster then they came. All the assaults that followed had no better success. By this, consider, gentle reader, what great distress these good men were under, not only of Rochelle, but of other cities also, during the seven months mentioned above, if the mighty hand of the Lord Almighty had not sustained them.

And especially at the siege of Sanser. This city was terribly battered and razed with gunshot of great cannons, and field-pieces, having at one siege no less than three thousand bullets and gunshots flying upon them. With these, the crests of their helmets were pierced, their sleeves, their hose, their hats were pierced, their weapons in their hands were broken, their walls shaken, their houses torn down. And yet not one person was slain or wounded with all this, except at the first a certain maiden was struck down and died, with the blast of the shot flying by her.

What number were lost on both sides during this seven months' war, it is not certainly known. Of the king's camp, what number were slain may be conjectured by this, that 132 of their captains were killed.

To close up this tragic story concerning the breaking up of this seven months' siege, it thus fell out that shortly after the seventh assault given against Rochelle, which was A.D. 1573, about June, word came to the camp, that duke Anjou, the king's brother, was proclaimed king of Poland. There was great joy in the camp at this. On this occasion, the new king, more willing to have peace, entered into negotiation with those of Rochelle. Just as he showed himself not ungentle toward them, so he found them not unconformable to him in return. Whereupon a certain peace agreement was concluded between them on certain conditions. The new Polish king soon proffered this agreement to the French king his brother, not without some suit and intercession to have it ratified. Also the king himself, partly being weary of these costly wars, was more willing to assent to it. And thus at length, through the

Lord's great work, the king's royal consent, in the form of an edict, was set down in writing, and confirmed by the king . It contained twenty-five articles. In these were included certain other cities of the protestants, granting to them the benefits of peace, and liberty of religion. This edict or mandate sent down from the king, was solemnly proclaimed at Rochelle by his herald at arms, Bironius, in the king's name, the 24th of June A.D. 1573.

The following year, 1574, two things seemed fatal and famous — the death of Charles IX, the French king, and also, most of all, the death of Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, brother to the duke of Guise. I find little mention in histories of the manner of the cardinal's death. Regarding the king's death, although Richard Dinothus says nothing, likely for fear, because being a Frenchman, his name is expressed and known. But another history (whom the said Dinothus follows) which bears no name, says that he died the 25th of May, on Whitsun evening, at the age of twenty-five.

The constant report so goes, that his blood gushing out at various parts of his body, he tossed in his bed, and tossing out many horrible blasphemies, he laid on pillows with his heels upward and head downward. This voided so much blood at his mouth, that in a few hours he died. This story, if it is true, as recorded and testified, may be a spectacle and example to all persecuting kings and princes polluted with the blood of Christian martyrs. And thus much briefly touching the late terrible persecution in France.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE WORK.

And thus to conclude this present history, good Christian reader, not for lack of matter, but rather to shorten the matter for the largeness of the volume, I stay here for this present time, without the further addition of more discourse, not to over-weary you with longer tediousness, nor to overcharge the book with longer prolixity (wordiness).

[998]

Up to here I have set forth the acts and proceedings of the whole church of Christ, namely, of the church of England, although not in such particular perfection that nothing has surpassed us — yet in such general sufficiency, that I trust not very much has escaped us which is necessary to be known, regarding the principal affairs, doings, and proceedings of the church and churchmen. In this may be seen the whole state, order, descent, course and continuance of the same, the increase and decrease of true religion, the creeping in of superstition, the horrible troubles of persecution, the wonderful assistance of the Almighty in maintaining His truth, the glorious constancy of Christ's martyrs, the rage of the enemies, the alteration of times, the trials and troubles of the church, from the first primitive age of Christ's gospel, to the end of queen Mary, and the beginning of this our gracious queen Elizabeth. During the time of her happy reign, which has continued (through the gracious protection of the Lord) for twenty-four years, as my wish is, so I would be glad if the good will of the Lord were so, that no more matter of such lamentable histories may ever be offered hereafter to write upon.

But so it is, I cannot tell how, the older the world grows, the longer it continues, the nearer it hastens to its end, the more Satan rages, giving still new matter for writing books and volumes. It is such that if all were recorded and committed to history, that up to now has happened within the said compass of this queen's reign in Scotland, Flanders, France, Spain, and Germany, besides our own country of England and Ireland, with other countries, I truly suppose one Eusebius or Polyhistor, whom Pliny writes of, would not suffice for it. But more may be said of these incidents and occurrences hereafter, as it pleases the Lord to

give grace and space. In the meantime, the grace of the Lord Jesus work with you, gentle reader, in all your studious readings. And while you have time, so employ yourself to read, so that by reading you may learn daily to know that which may profit your soul; teach you experience; arm you with patience; and instruct you in all spiritual knowledge more and more, to your perpetual comfort and salvation in Christ Jesus our Lord; to whom be all glory for ever and ever, Amen.

APPENDIX I.

Massacre of Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Day

In Paris and other French cities.

Of the coming of the Queen of Navarre to the City of Paris, with her Sickness and Death there.

By John Foxe

That noble and virtuous lady, Jane de Albert, queen of Navarre, before she could be drawn to come to Paris to solemnize the marriage of her son, the prince of Navarre, with the sister of Charles IX, then king of France, she received letters upon letters from the said king, to accompany the prince her son in that solemnity. Now, though she had some doubts regarding her son's marriage with someone of another religion,[43] the king assured her that all things would be so wrought, that it would give her good satisfaction and content, promising that he would get a dispensation from the pope to that end. But when the queen understood that the king was minded to have this marriage solemnized at Paris, she would by no means hear of it: "For I will not," she said, "put any confidence in that so mutinous people, being the sworn enemies of both myself and mine."

Still the king persisted in his suit for obtaining the same at her hands. And also having intelligence by some of his agents, that the queen of Navarre began to waver a little, he solicited her yet once again to come, assuring her that all things would be carried out in such a peaceful way, that she would have no cause to complain. At length the queen came from Rochelle to Elois, in March 1572, with great attendance. It is incredible to think what welcome she had on all sides, especially from the king and his brethren, etc. who, when all was done, could yet say to his mother, "Now, madam, have I not acquit myself well? Leave me alone, and I will bring them all into the net."

The following April, the articles were concluded concerning the marriage of the prince of Navarre with the king's sister. In the beginning of May, the king again invited the queen of Navarre to come to Paris, for preparing the things fitting for this marriage. She accordingly yielded, and departing from Blois on the 6th of May, she came to Paris on the 15th. She immediately became ill and died in a few days, with some suspicion of being poisoned.[44]

The Death of the Admiral at Paris, and the Massacre of the Protestants.

After the death of the queen, certain princes were solicited by the king to give their attendance at Paris to solemnize the marriage of the prince of Navarre (now made king by the death of his mother), according to the ceremonies which pertained to it. Among the rest, letters were directed to the admiral by the king himself, to come to this marriage. These were delivered to him by Cavagues,[45] in which the king assured him he would not tarry long behind him; willing him not to be afraid of the fury of the Parisians, nor of their threats which they had formerly uttered against him. For he was not ignorant of the deadly hatred they bore him. And therefore he wrote to the mayor of the city, to look to it at his peril, that the admiral would have no wrong offered to him by the citizens, either at his entrance or his

[43] She and her son were Protestants, and his fiancée was Roman Catholic.

[44] A popular rumor maintained that Jeanne had been poisoned by Catherine de' Medici. However, an autopsy showed she died of complications from tuberculosis, a disease she had suffered from for years.

[45] Cavagnes was a Huguenot nobleman who was among the Protestant leaders targeted during the massacre.

continuance in the city. For of all the cities in that kingdom, Paris is the most superstitious, and easily moved to sedition. And therefore the admiral, being of a contrary religion, could expect but ill welcome at his coming there; especially because at his solicitation, the cross of Gastines [46] was removed from the street of St. Dennis.

The queen-mother and the duke of Anjou wrote to the mayor also, and likewise to the rest of the magistrates, to the same effect — but especially to their servants, some of whom had a little light given them regarding that scheme. To be short, they endeavored to take all rubs out of his way, so that he might fall into the trap with less mistrust.

Attack on the Admiral at Paris.

The admiral, not thinking there were any perils, resolved to take his journey to Paris. He did not lack sundry notifications from his own followers, and other well-wishers of his in the kingdom, who honored him much, desiring that although he had no sinister opinion of the king, of his mother, or any of theirs, yet at least he should take into consideration the place where he went, and among what enemies he was now to venture himself. But always leaning upon the testimony of a good conscience, and being confident in God's providence, he was not moved by these warnings. So he took his journey to Paris with very few attendants. Having come there, he was honorably received by the king, and by his brethren, and by the queen-mother, with others also.

The marriage of the king of Navarre with the king's sister being solemnized on the 17th and 18th of August 1572, and all the triumphs and feastings accompanying it being finished, the admiral determined to take his leave at court, and so return homewards.

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The deputies of the reformed churches brought him, all of a sudden, their request to present their grievances to the king, in regard to the many wrongs the reformed churches had sustained. And therefore they instantly sought that he would not leave the court till some order might be taken to redress them.

These, with other impediments, were the occasions of detaining him there.

Mauravell [47] came to Paris while these feasts lasted, having presented his service first to the king and his mother, the duke of Anjou, and the duke of Guise. After he spoke with the king and queen, another one called Chain, was commanded to direct him to the house from which the blow would be given. He left him with a woman in that house. She was forbidden not only to ask his name, but also to so much as inquire for what cause he was lodged there.

On Friday, the 22nd of August, in the morning, Mauravell trimmed up his harquebus,[48] watching secretly for the admiral's coming.

The admiral left the Louvre, meeting the king coming out of a chapel, which is in front of the Louvre. He passed from there to play at tennis. He had scarcely gone a hundred paces from the place, as he was returning to his lodging on foot to dine there, when he was confronted by some twelve or fifteen gentlemen reading a petition. Out of the window of a lodging (where Villemur, tutor to the duke of Guise usually lay) he was shot with a harquebus

[46] Croix de Gastines was a monumental cross erected in Paris in 1569 on the site of the demolished house of Philippe de Gastines, a Huguenot executed for allegedly holding a Protestant Last Supper.

[47] Or Maurevert, was the assassin hired by the Catholic faction, specifically the House of Guise, to kill Admiral Gaspard II de Coligny, who was a leading Huguenot figure.

[48] *Harqebus*: a heavy musket fired from a rest or support.

charged with three brass bullets. One of them took off the forefinger of his right hand, and he was hurt with another in his left arm. Feeling himself thus wounded, he had some of his followers enter that house, and to discover who had done that, or who set him on work to do it — and then to notify the king of it, giving him to understand how well his commandment was observed.

Now, while they were busy forcing open the door, the murderer fled out by a back way, escaping from there out of the gate of St. Anthony. There someone attended him, holding a Spanish gennet (small horse), brought from the duke of Guise's stable, upon which he galloped away, yet not without some difficulty. For thus fleeing in some fear, he fell off his horse twice or three times.

A gentleman seeing the admiral hurt, came to support his left arm, binding up the wound with his handkerchief; and thus the admiral was conducted to his lodging, which was some twenty paces distant from there. In his passing by, a gentleman said it was to be feared the bullets were poisoned: to which the admiral replied, "All must be as it pleases God."

The king hearing of the admiral's hurt, left his game where he had been playing with the duke of Guise. Throwing away his racket, it seemed in anger, and with a sad and heavy countenance, he withdrew himself into his chamber. The duke of Guise followed him a little while later.

The king of Navarre, the prince of Conde, with many other of the protestant religion, having notice of the admiral's hurt, complained to the king of this untimely accident. They entreated that they might have leave to depart out of the city, seeing they could expect little safety there. The king moaned to them about the mischance that had happened, swearing and protesting that he would execute such impartial justice upon the offender, and on all his accomplices, as might make the admiral and all his friends content. Only he wished them to stay, promising before long to provide for their security.

The surgeons and physicians were quickly sent for, among whom was Ambrose Pare, the king's surgeon, a very expert man. He began first with the admiral's finger, which put him to much pain, in that the scissors were not sharp enough to cut it off at once. Besides this, he was glad to stop and open the wound three times. And then he came to the left arm, making incisions in two places into which the bullet had pierced. The admiral endured all this with an undaunted countenance, and wonderful patience, while those which stood by and saw him so mangled, could not refrain from tears. Captain Mouius held him with both his arms about the middle, and Cornaton held his hands. Seeing their dismay, he exclaimed, "My friends, why do you weep? I think myself happy to be thus handled in the cause of God." And shortly, casting his eyes upon a minister named Merlin, he said, "Here you see, my friends, God's blessings. I am hurt indeed; but I know it has come to pass by the will of my Heavenly Father, humbly thanking his Majesty that he is pleased to honor me so far as to suffer anything for his holy name. Let us pray to him, that he would grant to me the gift of perseverance."

Then looking upon the said minister, who wept over him. "Oh, Master Merlin (he says), what, will you not comfort me?" "Yes, sir, (he says), for in what may you take greater comfort than in calling to mind how greatly God has always honored you in esteeming you worthy to suffer rebuke for his name's sake, and true religion?" The admiral replied; "Alas, if God were to deal with me according to my deserts, he might have put me to worse torments than these. But blessed be his holy name, in that he is pleased to take pity on me, his poor and unworthy servant." Then said another to him, "Be of good cheer, sir, for seeing God has

spared your more noble part whole, you have cause in this to magnify his goodness. In these wounds you have received from God a testimony of his love, rather than of his displeasure, seeing that he has preserved your head and comprehension safe."

Then Merlin said. "Sir, you do well in turning your thoughts away from the one who has committed this outrage upon you, in looking only to God; for no doubt it is his hand that has struck you. Therefore, for the present, cease to think on the malefactor." "I assure you, (said the admiral), I freely forgive him from the bottom of my heart, and those also who are his abettors; being fully persuaded that none of them could have done me the least hurt, no, even if with violent hands they had put me to death. For what is death itself to God's children, but an assured passage to an eternal rest and life? "

Now as the said minister declared how the evils which happen to the children of God in this present life, often incite and quicken them to pour out their prayers into the bosom of the Almighty, the admiral presently with a loud voice and ardent affection, prayed thus:

> "Lord God, and heavenly Father, have pity upon me for your goodness and mercy's sake; do not remember, Lord, the sins of my past life, nor the offenses which I have committed against you; for if you narrowly mark our sins, the looseness of our behavior and disloyalties in transgressing your holy commandments. Lord, who would stand? Who is able to bear the weight of your displeasure? I renounce all idol gods; I acknowledge you to be the only true God, and worship you alone, O Eternal Father, in your eternal son, Jesus Christ. I beseech you for His sake, that you would give me your Holy Spirit, and with that, the gift of patience. I put my trust in your free mercy. For in that consists the stay and prop of all my hope, whether I die now at present, or live for the time to come. Behold, Lord, here I am. Do with me as it pleases you; having this confidence in You: that if I now depart from here, you will receive me into the blessed rest of your kingdom. If it pleases you to lengthen my days here on earth, O heavenly Father, give me grace that I may spend the remainder of it in setting forth the glory of your holy name, and in maintaining, to the utmost of my power, your pure worship and service. Amen."

Having ended this prayer. Merlin asked him, if it pleased him that the minister of Christ should now pray with him and for him. He said to him, "Yes; with all my heart I ask you to begin." While Merlin pronounced the prayer, applying the same to the present occasion, the admiral, with his eyes looking up to heaven, expressed the ardency of his affection in consenting to it. The prayer being ended, Merlin began to propound to the admiral the examples of the martyrs, showing that from Abel to Abraham, and subsequently up to now, whoever earned themselves in any degree of faithfulness in the House of God, felt at one time or other the smart of afflictions in diverse kinds.

[1000] A.D. 1572.

The admiral answered that when he called to mind the sufferings of the patriarchs and martyrs, it greatly comforted him, and helped him somewhat to allay the sharpness of his affiliated estate.

The king of Navarre and the prince of Conde, having bitterly bewailed this outrage committed upon the admiral (as you heard before), about two o'clock in the afternoon, the king, accompanied with the queen-mother, his brother, and others of the lords, went to visit the admiral.

The king, with tears, seemed to be exceedingly sorry for what had come to pass, promising him, with one blasphemous oath upon another, to revenge the fact, no less than if it had been committed upon his own person. He asked the admiral to come and take up his

lodging with him in the Louvre, for his greater security and safety. Whereupon the admiral, after some discourse made to the king in secret, gave him most humble thanks for so great a favor as to visit him in his own person.

Upon the motion made by the king, Mazilles his chief physician was called, the king demanding of him, whether the admiral might safely be removed from there into the Louvre or not? His answer was that it could not be done without danger. Some of the admiral's friends thought it fitting to request a guard of soldiers to be assigned to him by the king, for his better security. The king answered that he liked that suggestion well, being fully determined to provide for the admiral's safety as his own, and would preserve him no less then the apple of his eye. After the king called for the bullet of brass with which the admiral was hurt, that he might see it, he asked whether he was not put to great pain when his finger was cut off, and likewise regarding the dressing of his arm. Now as Cornaton showed the bullet, having his sleeve all bloody, (because he was appointed to hold the admiral's arm while it was being dressed) the king asked if that was the admiral's blood, and whether so much blood issued out of his wounds? He added (after Cornaton's answer), he never saw a man in his life show greater constancy and magnanimity of spirit than the admiral did.

Then the queen-mother was desirous to see the bullet, saying, "I am glad the bullet is taken out; for I remember when the duke of Guise was killed before Orleans, the physician told me that if the bullet was gotten out, there was no danger of death even if it were poisoned."

Then Cornaton answered, we have foreseen that, madam. For being careful to prevent that danger, the admiral had a medicine given him to expel the poison, if perhaps any such thing should be.

The Saturday before the admiral was slain, he began to be somewhat cheered, so that the surgeons and physicians let it be known that they would warrant the admiral's life, because his arm, having lost but little of its strength, would soon be healed. This news was brought to the king, who seemed to entertain it joyfully. The newly married wife also came to visit the admiral. But all this was but a show before death. For that night there was heard a great clattering of armor in the city, and many torches were lighted everywhere, borne by many of the people. Some gentlemen, whose lodgings were near to the admiral's, rose and went out, asking some of their acquaintance, why there were so many up in arms at that hour of the night? They answered that the king much desired to see a castle assailed and defended (devised only in sport), to make him content. Passing further on, they came to the Louvre, where they likewise saw many torches lighted, and troops of armed men.

The guard there could no longer contain themselves, but began to pick a quarrel with them. And as one of the said gentlemen was about to speak, a Gascoine soldier struck at him with a partizan; and then they fell upon the rest. The noise of this spreading, the queen-mother said that, seeing it is not possible to restrain any longer the fury of the soldiers from breaking out, she said, "Let the bell of the church of St. Germain be tolled."

The admiral coming to the knowledge of this uproar (though he had but few of his followers about him), was not moved much by this; trusting (as he often used to say) upon the king's favor, of which he had large experience. Also he knew that when the Parisians understood how much the king disliked their folly, even if they had an intention to do him some mischief, yet they would be quieted as soon as they saw Cosseins and his guard.

This Cosseins was appointed by the duke of Anjou to defend the admiral's lodging, in which the old proverb was verified, that "the wolf was set to keep the sheep."

About break of day, August 24th, A.D. 1572, St. Bartholomew's day, they began to knock at the door where the admiral lay. La Bonne, who lay not far from him, having the keys, and thinking there were some who came with a message from the king to the admiral, came down quickly and opened the door. Cosseins quickly fell upon him and stabbed him with his dagger, so that he died. Then Cosseins' harquebusiers rushed into the house, killing whoever they met; others fled. Cornaton, awaking with the noise that he heard at the door (for he lay in the next chamber), ran there, causing the Swiss and other officers to fortify it. Cosseins hearing that, cried out to him to open it in the king's name. He so handled the matter, that with the help he had, he forced the door open, and gained the stairs. The admiral and those who were with him, noting how they shot off pistols and guns, and finding themselves enclosed in their enemies' hands, fell to prayer, begging pardon of God for their sins.

The admiral rising out of his bed, and putting on his nightgown, commanded Merlin, the minister, to make the prayer. Also calling earnestly upon Jesus Christ, his God and Savior, he commended his spirit into his hands. The one who testified of these things, and made report it, coming into the chamber and being asked by the admiral what the tumult meant, said, "Sir, God is now summoning us to look to our end." The admiral seeing what would be the outcome, answered, "I have long since expected death; save yourselves if possible, for you cannot secure me. I commend my soul into the hands of the merciful God." Those who were present and escaped, have affirmed that the admiral was no more frightened at death, which he saw present before his eyes, than if there had been no likelihood of it at all.

Immediately, everyone in the chamber getting up to the top of the house, and having found a window near the roof, saved themselves there. But the greater part, who were beneath in the room next to the admiral, were slain; others miraculously escaped. Meanwhile, Cosseins having made his way, he had certain Swiss of the duke of Anjou's guard enter the house.

Besine, Cosseins, and Sarlabor, with their targets in one hand, and their naked swords in the other, broke open the admiral's chamber door. Besine (who was afterwards slain himself by one Bertoville on the way, after he escaped from prison) came towards the admiral, holding the point of his sword to his breast. He said, "Are you not the admiral?" "I am the man," he said, with an undaunted courage, as the murderers afterwards confessed. Then beholding the naked sword, the admiral said, "Young man, you should somewhat respect my years, and my infirmity of body; but it is not you who can shorten my days." Besine desperately thrust the admiral through the body with his sword, and then struck him with it on the head; each of the rest had one a blow at him, so that he quickly fell down, wounded to death.

While this mischief was enacting, the duke of Guise being below in the base court, with other Romish catholic lords, cried to the murderer above, "Besine, are you done?" "It is done," he said. Then the duke replied, "Monsieur, our knight (meaning king Henry's bastard) will not believe it unless he sees it with his eyes. Throw him down out of the window."

Then Besine and Sarlabor, lifting up the body of the admiral, threw him down to them, where he lay naked on the ground, exposed to all sorts of scorn and mocks of the multitude, some trampling on him with their feet.

[1002]

Now, because the blow which Besine had given the admiral on his head, had so covered his face with blood issuing from it that his visage could not be discerned, the duke of Guise stooped down, took his handkerchief, and wiping the admiral's face with it, said, "It is he, I know him well enough." And giving this poor dead body a spurn on the head with his foot

(whom all the murderers in France feared while he lived) he passed from there, encouraging his soldiers, saying, "We have made a good beginning. Now let us go on to the rest, for the king has so commanded, the king has so commanded," repeating it twice.

An Italian of the duke of Never's guard cut off the admiral's head, and brought it to the king and queen-mother. Being embalmed, it was sent to Rome to the pope, and to the cardinal of Lorrain, who was there at that time. The common people on Monday following, cut off his hands. And then, in this woeful plight, his body was dragged up and down for three days in the gutters throughout the streets. He was at the last carried out of the city to a gibbet in Mount Faucon, where they hanged him by the feet. From there, some who were well disposed, going together in the night to this gibbet, took down the body of the admiral. They interred it so secretly that whatever the papists did, they could never find it; it remained buried. So they were glad to make a body of straw, and hung that up instead of the body itself, rather than have none at all.

This Sunday morning, all who were popishly affected, took liberty to kill and rob It was credibly reported that the number of the slain that day and the two following days, in the city of Paris and in the suburbs, totalled more than ten thousand — counting lords, gentlemen, presidents, counsellors, advocates, lawyers, scholars, physicians, merchants, tradesmen, women, and children. The streets were covered with dead bodies. The river was dyed with blood. The gates and entrance into the king's palace were painted with the same color. But the blood-thirsty were not yet satisfied. Going from house to house with their associates, where they thought to find any Huguenots, they broke open the doors, then cruelly murdered whomever they met, sparing neither sex nor age. Carts were laden with dead bodies of young maidens, women, men, and children. These were discharged into the river, which was in a way covered all over with the slain, and dyed red with their blood, which also streamed down the streets from sundry parts of the city.

One of the massacrers having snatched up a little child in his arms, the poor babe began to play with his beard, and to smile upon him. But instead of being moved to compassion with it, this barbarous wretch wounded it with his dagger, and so cast it all wounded and bleeding into the river.

To proceed further, and to fully relate all the tragic acts committed in this massacre at Paris — to set down the thundering of guns and pistols, the lamentable voices and outcries of the slain, the roarings and horrible blasphemies of these murderers and devils incarnate, would be enough to cause the paper on which they were described, either to blush or weep.

Therefore, not to keep the reader any longer in this, having many things of like nature to present to your view, we will pass from the dolorous city of Paris, to other cities in France, and set before you, as in a mirror, a company of horrible and rueful spectacles.

Massacres committed at Meaux in Brie.

Let us begin then with those of Meaux in Brie, which is not more than a day's journey from Paris.

The poor protestants in this city were destined to drink this cup of martyrdom, after their brethren and sisters in the city of Paris. Therefore, on the same Sunday, the 24th of August, about four o'clock in the afternoon, a post was sent to Meaux with letters, accompanied with a seditious fellow called Le Froid. Having come there, the packet was presented to Monsieur Louis Cosset, the king's attorney there. Upon the receipt of it, this attorney hastened here and there personally, to notify whichever cut-throats had their hands in pillaging and

robbing those of the protestant religion in the first, second, and third troubles.[49] He commanded that they should be ready to come from their houses armed, at seven o'clock, and then to have the gates of the city instantly shut.

The time having come, which was about supper-time, the gates were shut, and then they began to execute their cruelties in sundry parts of the city. Thus that night was passed, not without uproars and strange events.

The next day Monday, about three o'clock in the morning, these good catholics began to pillage the houses of the protestants of the best things they had, which continued till eight o'clock, because they loved their trade so well. The principal of all the spoils were conveyed into the court and house of Louis Cosset; yet these were only the beginning of sorrows.

After robbing and spoiling, they commenced shutting up the protestants in prison. Those being filled, and the murderers having Cosset as their captain (who usually carried in each hand a pistol ready to discharge), they went into the prison on Tuesday, the 26th of August, about five or six o'clock at night, with swords, daggers, and butchers knives.

Near to this prison there was a great court, enclosed on every side, with walls and a very strong gate. In a corner of it is a large pair of winding stairs, containing twenty-five or thirty steps, by which they go up to the judgment hall, to the seat of justice. The murderers were assembled into this court. This done, Cosset went up into his seat. Then they had a scroll or bill, containing the names of the prisoners imprisoned there. They were called over one by one, numbering two hundred and more, as some of the murderers have since reported when they impudently bragged about their horrible impieties and injustices.

Then the attorney, laughing, began to call for the first man named in the bill. Being brought out, and seeing naked swords before him, he fell down and craved forgiveness of his sins at the hands of God. He was suddenly butchered by five or six men.

One Quintin Croyer, an elder of the reformed church, being called out, and seeing many of his companions massacred before his eyes, kneeled down, praying God to pardon these murderers. At this prayer, they fell to laughing. Not being able to pierce with their daggers a jerkin of double buff which he wore, and which they were loth to spoil (for it was good booty) they cut apart the points, and then gave him five or six stabs with a dagger into his body. And so this good man, wounded to death and calling upon God, rendered up his spirit into the hands of Him who gave it.

Faron Haren, a man zealously affected toward religion, had been sheriff of the city in the first troubles. By his endeavors, he had chased the mass out of Meaux for a time. He was mortally hated by these seditious papists. And therefore they were not content to simply kill him, but first cut off his nose, ears, and other parts. Then giving him many small thrusts into diverse parts of the body, they forced him to and fro among them, as if he had gone through the pikes. But being weakened, and not able to hold out any longer from the loss of blood that issued from all parts of his body, he fell with his face to the ground. Calling upon the name of the Lord, he received infinite gashes and wounds after he was dead.

[49] The French Wars of Religion began in March 1562, ten years earlier, with the Massacre of Vassy. Forces loyal to the Duke of Guise attacked a group of unarmed Huguenots (French Protestants) worshipping in a barn in the village of Vassy, killing several hundred. This sparked widespread conflict between French Catholics and Protestants, marking the start of a series of eight civil wars that lasted until 1598.

By this time it grew late. Therefore these bloodsuckers, having almost wearied themselves in worrying these poor lambs and sheep of Christ,[50] deferred the execution of the rest till after supper. It was also to take some breathing and refreshment, so as to murder the rest with greater alacrity. For the blood of the slain was reeking on the swords and arms of the murderers (their sleeves being tucked up), somewhat hindering their proceeding. After they had drunk wine to their fill, they meant to return and make themselves drunk with blood also! Rev 17.6 That they might shed blood more freely, they took butchers with them, and great axes with which they struck down their oxen. And in the presence of this honest attorney, they felled these poor prisoners one after another.

[1003] A.D. 1572.

The prisoners called upon God, and cried so loud for mercy, that the whole city was in a way rung by it. This massacre lasted from nine o'clock at night till it was midnight. And because many prisoners still remained alive, they deferred their bloody business till the next day.

But this may suffice to describe this massacre at Meaux in Brie. We will now pass on to the city of Troyes in Champaign, and there take notice by the way, what cruelties were executed in that place.

Persecution of the Faithful at Troyes, in Champaign.

News coming to Troyes of the massacre executed at Paris, most of the judges and officers of the king were sent to the bailiff of Troyes, with a commandment to diligently search from house to house for all those of the protestant religion, and to imprison as many as they could meet with.

In this city there was a merchant named Peter Belin, a man of turbulent nature. This Belin was at the massacre in Paris on St. Bartholomew's day. From there he was sent with letters from the king, dated the 28th of August, to the mayor and sheriffs of Troyes, to have all these persecutions cease, and the prisoners to be set at liberty. On the 3rd of September he came to Troyes with these two letters (which had first been published in Paris) with a commandment to deliver them to the foresaid magistrates, and be proclaimed there also.

But at the first entrance into the city, he began to ask, so that all might hear him, whether they had not executed the Huguenots there, as they had done in Paris. This was his language through the streets till he came home. But even some of the papists, who were not so cruelly minded, demanded of Belin what were the contents of the king's letters, of which they had some inkling before. But like a madman swelling with choler, he re that whoever said they contained anything tending to pacification, lied. Hastening therefore to the bailiff's house at Troyes, after he had delivered him the packet and whispered somewhat in his ear, he put him on to see this execution done. Now, so that this might the better as lawful, the help of the executioner of Troyes was requested, whose name was Charles.

Yet, showing himself more just and humane than the rest he, peremptorily refused to have his hand in an act tending to such great cruelty. He answered that it was contrary to his office to execute any man before sentence of death had first been pronounced by the magistrates. If they had such a sentence to show against any of the prisoners, he was ready to do justice. Otherwise he would not presume, without a warrant, to bereave any man of his life. And so with these words he returned home to his house.

[50] *Worrying:* what wild dogs do as they tear at the flesh of their prey, ripping it apart.

Now although this answer, proceeding from such a kind of person, whose office and custom it was to shed blood, might somewhat have assuaged and reduced the rage of the most barbarous tiger in the world, yet the bailiff seeing it, was further enraged. Upon this he sent for one of the jailers of the prison who kept those of the protestant religion. But the man being sick of a tertian ague,[51] Martin de Bures was sent to know his pleasure.

The bailiff told him at large what Belin had signified to him in private, and also that all the protestant prisoners must be put to sudden death so that the place might be purged of them. This, he said, you must not fail to do. But, said the bailiff, so that the blood may not run into the streets, you must have a trench dug in the midst of the prison, and set certain vessels at the two ends of it to receive the blood.

But this De Bures, for some considerations, such as thinking the king's letters (of which he had had some intelligence) might be proclaimed, made no haste to perform his charge. He acquainted no man with anything that had passed between the bailiff and him — not even Perennet the keeper, who then lay sick in his bed.

The next day, Tuesday, which was the 4th of September, the bailiff came into the prison about seven or eight o'clock. Calling for Perennet, he asked of him with a smile, "Perennet, is it done?" Perennet knowing nothing, more or less, asked of him what? Then the bailiff said, "Why, are the prisoners not dispatched? Thereupon he was ready with his dagger to have stabbed him. But coming a little better to himself, he told Perennet what his purpose was, and how he was to behave himself concerning the execution of it, telling him by all means not to forget to make the trench. At these words, Perennet stood amazed. Though otherwise he was a fellow eager enough by himself to commit any outrages against the protestants, he notified the bailiff that such an inhuman act could not be committed over to him, fearing lest in the time to come, justice might be followed against him by the parents or allies of the prisoners. No, no, said the bailiff, do not fear. I will stand between you and all harm. Others of the justices have consented to this besides myself, and would you have better security than that?

A while later, the jailer coming into the court of the prison where the prisoners were abroad recreating themselves, had every one of them resort to his cabin or hole because, he said, the bailiff will come by and by, to see whether the keepers have done as he commanded them; which they did. Then these poor sheep began to fear they were destined to the slaughter, and therefore went immediately to prayer. Perennet instantly called his companions about him, reporting to them what the bailiff had given him in charge. Then they all took an oath to execute the same. But approaching near to the prisoners, they were so surprised with fear, and their hearts so failed them, that they stood gazing at one another, having no courage to commit such a barbarous cruelty. And so they returned to the jailer's lodge from which they came, without doing anything.

But instead of laying this to heart, as a notice and warning sent to them from above — and as if from a set purpose they meant to resist the checks of their own consciences, and so kick against the goads — they sent to the tavern for sixteen pints of the best wine, Troyes measure, with sheep's tongues and other viands. And thus intoxicating their brains with wine, they drew a list or catalogue of all the prisoners, which they delivered to Nicholas Martin, one of their confederates. He was to call the prisoners forward as he saw their names set down in the scroll. And thus, as they came forward, they massacred them.

[51] *Tertian ague*: a raging fever, with symptoms similar to Malaria.

Ludot, one of the prisoners, being called forth as his turn came, presented himself before them with a cheerful countenance, calling upon the name of the Lord. Now as he was to receive the stroke of death from these desperate blood-spillers, he prayed them to forbear a little, till he had taken off his doublet, which he usually put on when any tumult grew in the city. Having unlaced it, he presented his naked breast to them, received the blow, and fell down dead.

But poor Meurs did not escape so cheaply. For his turn having come, he was no sooner in their sight, than one of them drove at him with the point of his halbert, repeating the thrust often, hoping to have killed him, yet he could not. The poor man seeing himself thus dealt with by the caitiff, and no end made of it, took hold with his hands on the point of the halbert, and himself pointing to the seat of the heart, cried to the murderer with steadfast voice, "Here, soldier, here, right at the heart, right at the heart!" and so he finished this life.

However, in this massacre, these two just mentioned, for brevity's sake, are only named. Yet by what immediately follows, you may perceive there were not a few who suffered in this tragedy.

The massacre being ended, the murderers made a great pit at the back of the chapel of the prison, into which they cast the bodies one upon another, some of them still breathing. One, called Maufere, lying in the midst of them, was seen to raise up himself above his fellow martyrs in this pit. They immediately threw earth upon him, smothering him, being but half dead. Because the order which the bailiff set down was not observed, namely, making a trench in the prison to receive the blood which was shed, it ran in such abundance out at the prison door, and from there through a channel into a river nearby, that the river was turned the color of blood.

[1004]

Some of the papists themselves, taking notice of this, and being ignorant of the fact, were so terrified by it, that they ran along the street, crying out and pointing at everyone they met, to behold this horrible and lamentable spectacle. Whereupon many hastening to the prison, could conjecture nothing else but that the prisoners had slain one another.

This was quickly rumored through the city, so that some went to inform the lieutenant and bailiff of it. But it was as if they had run to the wolves to tell them the sheep were devoured.

While this savage cruelty was being committed in the prison, one Bartholomew Carlet, a cooper, was a prisoner there for his debts. In the former troubles, he had exercised most notorious cruelties against those of the protestant religion. He was called in by these murderers to be one of their associates. Of the whole troop of murderers in Troyes, he was a principal one. He executed his part in so bloody a manner that (as he himself afterwards often acknowledged) he slaughtered thirty of these poor innocents with his own hands — so far had he grown past shame or common honesty. But his cruel work was so pleasing to certain of the popish religion at Troyes, that for a recompence, they paid his debt, and set him free from prison. This was done by taking up a collection for him in certain parishes.

The day after, which was the 5th of September, this worshipful bailiff of Troyes, so that he might apply the plaster when the parties were dead, had the king's letters (which he had received on the 30th of August) published in all the corners of the city, with the sound of trumpet. The bailiff was present in person at the publication. As the notary read the contents to him, he pronounced them jeeringly — not with a full and audible voice, as matters of such consequence ought to be read.

Of the Massacre at Orleans.

It now remains that we proceed to the city of Orleans, and take notice of whether the papists there were less cruel than those of Paris. But the historian says, "When I call to mind what has been the report of those who were present at that time in Orleans, it made the hair stand upright on my head." Yet because it is fitting that posterity be acquainted with the fury of these monsters in nature, we will commit to writing that of which we have been credibly informed.

On Saturday, the 23rd of August, letters were sent from the king to Orleans, to Sieur de la Renic, president of Dijon, to prevent all disorders, murders, etc., with the command that he should notify the citizens how the admiral was hurt, as also assure the protestants that before long, such justice would be executed on the actors, that all France should take warning by it not to attempt the like.

This was carefully performed by the Sieur de la Renic the same day. He had those of the best rank of both religions present at the publishing of the king's mind. The faithful, thinking themselves secure, were quiet. On the sabbath day, three hundred men, women, and children assembled in the place appointed for their meeting.

But on the same day, towards night, a new order came to the justice, mayor, and sheriffs of the said city, by which they were enjoined to take up arms, and to gather whatever strength they could, with an express charge to make havoc of those of the protestant religion. To this purpose, the captains of twelve companies were appointed to be the leaders of the rest, divided into forty-eight squadrons.

One of these blood-suckers, called Texier, came with a small troop to a counsellor's house of Orleans, whose name was Dechampeaux, lord of Bonilli. He invited himself and his company to supper with him. Dechampeaux bid them all a kindly welcome, making them good cheer, being ignorant of what had happened at Paris. But supper having ended, and all of them risen from the table, Texier told him to deliver his purse. Dechampeaux laughing at this, thinking he had been in jest, this cruel and unthankful guest, with blasphemous oaths, told him in few words what had happened in the city of Paris, and what preparation there was among the Roman catholics of Orleans, to cut off and root out the protestants there. Dechampeaux, seeing there was no time now to contest with him, gave money to this thief. To requite the courtesy and good entertainment he had been shown, Texier imbrued his hands in the blood of his host and neighbor, a man of as good and upright a carriage as anyone in the whole city. Afterwards, with his troop, Texier pillaged the whole house.

The 26th of August, the murderers began the execution about the ramparts, in such a strange way, that anyone with but a spark of humanity left in him, would be moved out of compassion to abhor and detest it. In these quarters there were many of the protestant religion. All night long nothing was heard but the shooting off of guns and pistols, forcing open doors and windows, fearful outcries of men, women, and little children, the trampling of horses and rumbling of carts hurrying dead bodies to and fro; the street swarming with aberrant exclamations by those of the common sort, with the horrible blasphemies of the murderers, laughing horribly at their furious exploits; some crying, "Kill them all, and then take the spoil;" others, "Do not spoil, but kill them all."

On Wednesday the massacre began more fiercely, and so it continued to the end of the week, not sparing to break these and similar jests upon the poor sufferers: "Where now is your God? What has become of all your prayers, and psalms now? Let your God, whom you called upon, save you if he can." Indeed, some of them, who in times past had been

professors of the same religion, while they were slaughtering the poor innocents, dared sing to them in scorn, the beginning of the 43rd psalm: "Judge me, O God, and plead my cause." Others striking them said, sing now, "Have mercy on me O God." This is the language they used with these poor people in Paris and elsewhere. But these execrable outrages in no way daunted the courage of the faithful from dying steadfast in the faith.

Regarding the multitude of the slain, the murderers boasted that in this city they caused more than 12,000 men to perish: also 150 women, with a great number of children, nine years old and upward. But as some have since reported of themselves, there were 18,000 murdered, besides women and children. The manner of their death was first to shoot them with pistols, then strip them of their clothes, and either drown or else bury the dead bodies in pits, namely, those who dwelt around the walls. They were also armed with knives and poniards;[52] and in like manner, with javelins and partizans,[53] with which they murdered these poor, meek, and harmless creatures.

On Tuesday, at night, certain of this bloody crew came and knocked at the door of someone who was a doctor of the civil law, called Taillebous. Opening a casement, and somewhat understanding what they had to say to him, came down immediately, and opened the door to them. At the first greeting, they told him he must die. Whereupon he fell to prayer, and he did that with such constancy and affection, that the murderers being astonished, and restrained by a secret celestial power, they contented themselves only with taking his purse, in which there was fifteen crowns. And so they left him, offering him no more violence.

The following day, certain scholars resorting to his lodging, requested of him that they might see his library. Having brought them into it, one asked about this book of his, and another about another book, which he willingly gave them. At length they told him they were not as yet satisfied; their purpose was to kill him. Prostrating himself on the ground, and having ended his prayer, he wanted them to kill him there. But they forced him out of his own house, from which he went on with an undaunted courage, till in the way he lighted upon the body of a certain shoemaker, newly wounded, lying gasping for breath.

[1005] A.D. 1572.

At this sight, starting back as one somewhat appalled, he prayed them to kill him there. Yet they would not, but constrained him to pass on forward. Having come to the schools of the civil law, he said, at least let me die in front of this place where I have taught so long. But they furiously repulsed him more than before, and made him go further with them, where at length they knocked him down.

A rich burgess of the city, named Nicholas Bougars Sieur de Neva, a man of singular worth, and highly esteemed by all, was deadly sick at that time. Some of the murderers came into his chamber with a purpose to kill him; but seeing him in that state, they spared him. Yet finding Noel Chaperon there, an apothecary who brought him his medicine, they cut off one of his arms, then drew him into the open marketplace, where they made an end of him.

The next day someone came to the lodgings of someone who was sick, who till then was accustomed to visit him. Now as he was entering, he met the mother of the sick party at the door, going to mass. Coming up into the chamber, he stabbed the sick man with a dagger in many places, and so he killed a dying man. Then, with all silence, as if he had done no such act, wiping his dagger, he went downstairs again, and meeting someone at the door who

[52] *Poniard*: a dagger with a slender blade.

[53] *Partizan*: a pike with a long tapering double-edged blade with lateral projections.

came to visit the one who was sick, this fellow greeted and passed by him, without any change either in his behavior or countenance.

A cook, having hidden himself for three whole days, was forced by hunger to come out, for want of food. But while he went about to escape one death, he fell into the talons of these lions, who devoured him, and did that quickly.

Francis Stample, a rich merchant, was threatened with having his throat cut if he did not give the murderers money. But having none on him, and being taken by them out of his house, he called for pen and ink. He wrote a letter to his wife, wishing her to immediately send him his ransom. No sooner had he sealed the letter, than the murderers deprived him of both it and his life, laughing at what they had done. Though they got a round sum of money from his widow, she could not obtain from them the body of her dead husband.

But to fill up the measure of their cruelty, so that those of the protestant religion might taste of it to the utmost, the papists were not content to be murderers themselves, but constrained those of the protestants who had revolted through fear, to play the murderers also. Thus placing these wicked revolters into the forefront of their companies, and arming them with weapons fit for the purpose, they pressed them to march on before them, and to give the first onset, crying out to them, "Strike them down, strike them down; are they not of your brethren and holy sisters?" And if they refused to do as they were commanded, their turns were likely to be next.

The massacres committed at Bourges and la Charite, are passed over in silence, because the history requires at this time to touch only upon those things which are most remarkable, and will follow later.

Yet one thing should not be forgotten, which fell out in the city last mentioned. There was one John Sarrazin, seventy years of age and more, who for a long time had exercised the office of a deacon in the reformed church. He so faithfully performed this office, that he was esteemed a father of the poor. This good old father was set upon on Tuesday night, in his own house, the 4th of September 1572, and struck with swords by these furious murderers. Looking upon them with a venerable and smiling countenance, he said them, "My friends, what will you do with me? Have I ever offended any of you? If I have, let him speak." But nothing could prevail with these savage monsters to soften their stony hearts. For with a more than brutish rage, they fell upon this grey head and poor withered carcass. To fence off the blows, he crept under his bed, where one of these rake-hells,[54] his next door neighbor and godson, gave him such a thrust with his sword into the belly, that his bowels spilled out.

The poor man, seeing himself thus wounded, and perceiving who had done it, said, "Ah, godson, do you use me thus? I never hurt you, but have done you good." He languished from this hurt for two days and two nights. During that time, as we learned from his wife, who attended him all the while, he did not cease with great zeal, to call upon God, thinking himself happy to have suffered that outrage for His name. And so, not long after, he yielded up his spirit into the hands of God who gave it.

The horrible Massacre of the Faithful at Lyons, in France.

On Wednesday, the 27th of August 1672, about six o'clock in the morning, Sieur Mandolet, governor of Lyons, was informed of the massacre at Paris. Within an hour and a half, a soldier passing through the streets, made it known to the people, that the admiral and all

[54] *Rakehell*: someone who is unrestrained by convention or morality; profligate.

the protestant princes were slain. By and by the gates of the city were shut, and guards of soldiers placed here and there.

But lest the protestants be moved by such an unusual and unexpected shutting up of the gates (as in the time of open war), the Roman catholics had it reported that it was all done to secure the protestants. Some gave too much credit to this report (for besides the ordinary guard of the governor, and that of the citadel, with the 300 harquebusiers of the city, which all amounted to about 1000), many of the city were gathered to them besides, likewise with arms. They were commanded that if they saw any of the protestant religion coming abroad, even if only with their swords girded to them, to immediately cut them off with the rest also. But having inured themselves to an incredible modesty and patience, the protestants did not give the least appearance of defending themselves, seeing a tempest now near at hand which they knew could not arise without a special providence of God.

The following day, notwithstanding all these fair shows, they evidently perceived that their lives were at the mercy of the papists, who had sucked the blood of many of them in the first troubles. For though they found no more passage for themselves out of the city than they did the preceding day, now they might not either freely go out or come in on their necessary occasions. If they presented themselves in the streets, they were clapped up in prison; for this reason they were obliged to keep to their houses. Night having come, the papists made a secret search in the protestants' dwelling houses — some they rifled, others were ransomed, and the rest imprisoned. Many of them never coming there, were either killed in the corners of the streets with daggers, or else cast into the river; some of these (who were still living when this history was in writing) were saved by swimming, being carried down by the current of the stream, half a mile beneath the city. On Friday after, there was a proclamation, with the sound of trumpets, in all the chief places of the city. The sum of it was that, "those of the protestant religion were to appear before the governor at his house, there to be informed what the king's pleasure was concerning them." Most of them, being too credulous, did not fear to make their appearance at the place assigned, from which they were soon after committed to various prisons. The following night there were heard from all parts of the city lamentable cries and shriekings, not only of those who were massacred in their houses, but of others half wounded to death, whom they forced to the river.

From that time forwards, there were such murders and outrages committed throughout the city, that it seemed hell was set open; and the devils coming from there in the likeness of men, ran roaring to and fro in the streets.

On Sunday, which was the last of August, about eight o'clock in the morning, the rest, who were not massacred the Friday before, were then made an end of.

About one o'clock the same day, commandment was given that under every ancient, twenty-five armed men, with twelve porters, should be gathered to conduct them to St. George's gate, which is by the archbishop's house. In this gate, in which the great massacre was to be executed, were more than 350 prisoners.

[1006]

The keys of the archbishop's house, in which so many prisoners were enclosed, were delivered to this murderous crew. They joyfully offered themselves to perform so horrible a business, which the ordinary executioner refused, and common soldiers abhorred to undertake. When it was first propounded to the soldiers, they answered peremptorily that they would never do it.

The executioner alleged that, "If according to the course of justice, the sentence of death had been denounced against them, he knew what he had to do; but for this purpose of theirs," he told them that he thought "they might have only too many executioners in the city to satisfy their desire." The soldiers answered, "They thought it more than inhuman to cut the throats of those who never offended them. But if the prisoners had made any insurrection or sedition in the city, then they might have some color of reason to do it. Otherwise they not mean to stain the honor of their profession (which is accompanied with nobleness of spirit) with so villainous an act, more befitting butchers than soldiers."

But Mandelot and his accomplices were not so scrupulous. For within three hours, Le Clou, captain of the harquebusiers of the city, came with an enraged troop, etc., the greater part of which were furnished with short swords and hangers (daggers).

As soon as Le Clou entered into the great court, he gave the prisoners to understand, with a loud voice, that "They must die." Turning himself towards his slaughtermen, he said, "On, on, go in, and get to your work." But first he did not forget to demand the prisoners' purses for his booty. When he pocketed these, he got into a gallery, there he satisfied his hellish lust in taking a view of this rueful spectacle.

The murderers began to fall upon the poor prisoners with such barbarous cruelty, hacking and hewing them in so furious a manner, that within less than an hour they were all cut in pieces; not so much as one escaped their hands. All these for the most part were massacred on their knees, and lifting up their eyes and hands to God for mercy, while they had their hands and fingers cut off.

The Death and Martyrdom of Francis le Bossu,
together with his two Sons,

Among all those who confessed the name of Jesus Christ, and gave their lives for his truth, a certain merchant of hats and caps, called Francis le Bossu, well deserves to be set in the first rank, with his two sons. For while he stood in the blood of his brethren, being besmeared with it, and spirting in his face, as it were, he encouraged his children to take their death willingly and patiently, using this speech:

> "Children, we are not to learn now that it has always been the portion of believers to be hated, cruelly used, and devoured by unbelievers — as Christ's simple sheep, by ravening wolves. If we suffer with Christ, we will also reign with him. Let not these drawn swords terrify us; they will be but a bridge by which we will pass over out of a miserable life, into immortal blessedness. We have breathed and lived long enough among the wicked; let us now go and live with our God; let us joyfully march after this great company which has gone before us here, and let us make way for those who follow after."

When he saw the murderers come, he clasped his arms about his two sons, and they likewise embraced their father; as if the father meant to be a buckler for his children, and the children as if by the bond of nature (which binds them to defend his life from where they received it) they meant to ward off the blows which were coming towards their father, even if with the loss of their own lives. When the massacre was ended, all three were found dead, thus embracing one another.

Now after this furious assault, these impudent creatures went up and down the city, showing their white doublets all besprinkled with blood, boasting, that some had killed a hundred, some more, some less. Immediately the great gates of the archbishop's house were set wide open for all comers. Surely there was none of them (if they were of the most devout Romanists) who did not have their hearts wounded and pierced within them, to see so

hideous a slaughter. And indeed, some of them were heard to say, when they beheld such an inhuman and cruel act, that "certainly they were not men, but devils in the habit of men, who had done this."

The next morning, which was Monday, the first of September, the remainder of the corpses, which were cast into the water, were put into great boats. Being rowed over to the other side of the river Saon, they were all cast on shore there. The corpses were also spread upon the ground near the abbey of Esnay, like dung upon the earth. The monks would not allow them to be buried in their church-yard, esteeming them unworthy of burial. They also feared that so many put together would be a means to infect the air, and therefore they gave a sign to have them thrown into the river.

Now as the multitude were dragging them in there, an apothecary came and informed them that money might be made from the grease that was taken out of their bodies. Then the most corpulent bodies were quickly sought out. When they had ripped them up, a great quantity of that commodity gotten from there, was sold by these merchants for three shillings per pound. And then, not knowing how to wreak their malice any further upon them, after many derisions and scorns which the bystanders, especially the Italians, had done to these poor despised carcasses, they were tumbled into a great pit, and the rest were thrown into the river.

Those of Dauphiny, of Languedoc, and Provence, were amazed to see so many bodies floating on the water, some dismembered, others fastened together with long poles, others lying on the shore, some having their eyes put out, others their noses, ears, and hands cut off, stabbed with daggers in every part of their bodies, so that some among them had no human shape remaining. Indeed, so great a number of these mangled corpses presented themselves on the port of Tournon, that the men and women of the place made an outcry, as if the enemies had been at their gates.

Not many months after, when all these bloody tragedies were ended, the pope sent a legate to the king, named cardinal Ursin. This legate was received with great solemnity at Lyons, and the streets were hung with tapestry. Now, having heard mass at St. John's church, and returning by the same door which he went in at, the greatest number of the murderers attended his coming there. As he passed by, they all kneeled down for his absolution. But the legate did not know the reason why they kneeled thus before him. One of the principal agents kneeling there among them, told the legate that they were those who had been the actors in the massacre. When the legate perceived that to be the cause, he absolved them all with making the sign of the cross.

Persecution at Angiers, in France.

As soon as the massacre began at Paris, a gentleman of Paris, named Monsoreau, obtained a passport, with letters to massacre those of the protestant religion at Angiers. Being disappointed of his prey in one place, he came to the lodging of a reverend and learned minister named John Mason, surnamed de Launay, Sieur of Riviere. Meeting his wife at his entrance into the house, he greeted her and kissed her, as it is the manner in France, especially among the courtiers. He asked her where her husband was? She answered that he was walking in his garden; and then directed him the way to him.

Monsoreau, having lovingly embraced La Riviere, said to him, "Do you know why I have come? The king has commanded me to kill you immediately, and has given me express charge to do it, as you will know by his letters." After these words, he showed him a pistol, ready charged. Riviere replied that he "did not know in what he had offended the king; but

seeing that you seek my life, give me a little leave to cry to God for mercy, and to recommend my spirit into His hands."

Having made a short prayer, he willingly presented his body to the murderer, who shot him with his pistol, and he shortly died.

[1007] A.D. 1572.

Not long after, the king sent Puygaillard, who drowned nine or ten, and among others, the wife of this minister, de la Riviere, named above. She expressed a singular constancy of faith even to her last breath.

This minister and martyr formerly mentioned, surnamed Launay, was the eldest son of Sieur de Launay, a man exceedingly rich and wealthy, but an obstinate papist. When the old man saw how his son was inclined to be a professor of the gospel, he threatened to disinherit him unless he would abjure. He promised, on the contrary, to bestow great matters upon him, and to marry him honorably, if he would be ruled by him. His son refusing all of this, his father's love was turned into hatred, insofar that the young man was forced to flee to Paris. There in time he was called to be a minister of the first reformed church planted in that city, under the reign of King Henry II. From that reformed church other churches in diverse cities in France fetched their light.

Persecution at Rouen.

When the murderers began to play their parts in this city, they counselled those of the protestant religion to get themselves into the prisons, as places of the greatest security from the fury and rage of the people. But those who followed this advice, found that they were ready to be devoured there like poor sheep, by these greedy wolves, at their pleasure.

Those who were murdered in the city in just a few days — some in their houses, and others in the prisons — amounted to 6000, besides more than 50 women upon whom they exercised no less cruelty than upon the men.

For brevity's sake, their names are omitted here. The dead bodies being piled together, they were conveyed in dung carts out of the city, and thrown by heaps, one upon another, into great pits dug for that purpose. Their garments being washed from their blood in the river, by certain poor women, were afterwards distributed here and there to the poor by the papists, so that they might seem to mingle with their unjust cruelty, some works of justice and charity.

The Shameful fall of a Minister named Du Rosier.

Within a mile of Paris there is a place where the protestants who dwelt thereabouts, usually assembled to hear sermons, and to participate in the sacraments. Hughes Sureau (called Du Rosier) was placed over this flock as overseer.

In times past, he was a minister at Orleans. He was discharged from there, as someone of a contentious spirit, and given to affect novelties. In the process of time, he came to be the established minister of this foresaid church, near to Paris.

Hearing the news of the massacre, he fled with the rest, for company. Being apprehended, he began to waver, persuading many prisoners to revolt as he had done. This caused him afterwards, if his repentance was sound, to utter these words in a book which I have, in which he bitterly lamented his woeful fall. "The murderers, by their cruel hands, murdered men's bodies, while their souls escaped safe; but by my persuasions I have been a killer of souls, in turning them from the truth which they professed before."

The judge who had him in bonds, sent letters to Paris, to give notice of his apprehension, and also of some apparent signs which gave the judge hope of the minister's conversion.

The king sent for him shortly after. Being brought into the king's presence, he subscribed instantly to an abjuration, with a detestation of the Huguenot's profession. Before the king of Navarre and the prince of Conde, he maintained the Romish religion, and consented to it with the Sorbonists, who were present there at the time. A few years before, he had learnedly defended the truth against them.

[1008]

In this abjuration, he endeavored to confute many articles which were maintained by Calvin and Beza, against the Romish religion. In these disputes, this minister being of a prompt wit and having the ability to express himself well, handled the matter so cunningly, that the king of Navarre, his sister the princess, and the prince of Conde so far yielded, that within five or six days they went to mass, and received absolution from the cardinal of Bourbon.

The points about which this Rosier disputed, were these: 1. Concerning the marks of the church; 2. Of the trinity of persons; 3. Of the incarnation of Jesus Christ; 4. Of Christ's descent into hell. 5. Of original sin; 6. Of the providence of God; 7. Of predestination and reprobation; 8. Of man's freewill; 9. Of justification; 10. Of succession; 11. Of intercession of saints; 12. Of the sacrifice of the mass; and lastly, of transubstantiation. The Sorbonists had this confession printed, to which the ministers of the reformed religion would not grant an answer. They knew that the one who made it, acted contrary to his own conscience, adding nothing to it which had not been confuted a thousand times.

Upon his repentance, he afterwards revoked all this, as is to be seen by his book printed here in London, in the French tongue, in the year 1573. I have this confession of his in my custody, which was contrary to his abjuration.

Now, regarding the prince of Conde, the king propounded three things to him: either to go to mass, to die, or else perpetual prison — and therefore to think well to himself, which of the three he liked best. The prince answered, as it is reported, "That by God's grace he would never choose the first; as for the latter two, he referred himself to the king's pleasure."

A Massacre at Toulouse, in France.

On Sunday, which was the eighth day after the massacre of Paris, about eight o'clock in the morning, the chief of the papists received intelligence of what had passed, with letters directing them what they were to do. Then a council was called, at the breaking up of which the great gates of the city were shut; only the wickets were left open, at which those were set to watch as they thought fit. Soon after it was rumored throughout the city, that the protestant lords and gentlemen were massacred at Paris. The protestants at Toulouse noting this, having gone forth about five o'clock in the morning to hear the sermon at Castanet, some thought it fit not to return, but to resort to some other place. Others resolved to go back again, so that they might take order about their affairs. These being ill-advised, were allowed to enter peaceably, leaving their swords and daggers at the gate. At evening, soldiers were placed here and there. But because many counsellors and chief men of the protestants were still abroad, and so that they might better entrap them, the next day the gates were not so carefully looked to. Whoever would, might come in and go out at their leisure, without being questioned at all. This was done to draw in the simple people who wandered up and down the fields. The first president, called Dasis, a subtle-headed man, sent to the counsellors abroad to come in, promising them their safety upon his word, showing that

their absence only incensed the inhabitants of Toulouse more against them. It was granted indeed, that there had been a massacre at Paris, but that was upon some private quarrel, so that the king was not minded for that to break his edict of pacification.

Some of them were persuaded and returned; others apprehending danger, resolved to retire to Montauban, Realmont, and elsewhere. On the following Tuesday, that they might hold those whom they had gotten within the walls, and draw in those who as yet kept themselves without, they had it published, with the sound of trumpets, that the king's will was that none of the protestant religion should be molested. The presidents, with others, were present at this proclamation, accompanied by a guard of soldiers. This caused many of the protestants, especially the counsellors, to suspect some treachery. They therefore hastened to the first president to know what these things meant. He answered, it was only to restrain the people from making a tumult. But perceiving that they could not by their cunning catch the birds who kept aloof, they wreaked their malice upon those they had in their hands.

[1008]

On the next Wednesday, about ten o'clock in the morning, having separated their troops into different quarters, they had them enter into the houses of the protestants, whom they imprisoned in sundry prisons of the city. This business took them all that Wednesday. The guard was doubled at the gates. One of the parliament, with a merchant who was a papist, were deputed as commanders at the gates, to examine all those who went out, and to put back those who meant to escape. There was also a charge given, that none should dare to conceal any of the protestants, as they would answer for it. By these means, many were discovered and imprisoned. Among them were five or six counsellors, men excellently learned, who comforted the rest. They were thus detained three weeks. In the meanwhile, the murderers set upon the neighboring cities.

The three weeks having expired, they put all these prisoners together into the Conciergerie, which is a special prison. After this they began to manifest themselves. For the reason they had deferred the slaughter of them so long was that they might obtain authority from Paris. This was brought to them by their deputies, whose names were Delpech and Madron, rich merchants of the city. These came with a warrant from the king, that if the massacre was not finished, then they should not defer any longer to put his will into execution. They showed themselves all too forward and ready for this.

On Saturday morning, before the sun was up, certain scholars who were night-walkers, with seven or eight other vile fellows, armed with axes and butchers' knives, entered into the said Conciergerie, and had the prisoners called down one after another. They massacred them beneath, at the foot of the stairs of the Conciergerie, not permitting them so much leisure as to speak, much less to pray. It was thought that they massacred 300. Afterwards, spoiling them of all they had, they stripped them out of their clothes and shirts, and left them naked. They were exposed to the view of all for two days, while great pits were dug, in which the corpses, thus cruelly massacred, were cast naked one upon another. The counsellors whom they had imprisoned, after they were massacred, were hanged in their long gowns upon a great elm, which was in the court of the palace. In the meanwhile, all the houses of the protestants were sacked and pillaged.

Many among these, because of the barbarous cruelties used against their brethren, abjured daily. [55] Now, because the Sorbonists provided a form of abjuration to that purpose, for

[55] *Abjure*: to formally reject or disavow a formerly held belief, usually under pressure.

saving the lives of those who recanted, it will not be impertinent to insert it here. It was printed at Paris by Nicholas Roffet.

"The abjured, minding to return into the lap of our holy mother, the Roman church, must present themselves first to their parsons or curates, to be directed by them what they ought to do. Afterwards, they are to be sent from there to their reverend bishop and diocesan, or his official, to pronounce the said abjuration in the following manner and form:

"1. I___, such a one, of such a diocese, and dwelling in such a place, acknowledge by the grace of God the true catholic and apostolic faith from which I have willfully gone astray and separated myself; and now desiring to return into the true sheepfold, which is the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church, I profess to have abjured, and here before you my superior, I do abjure and detest all the Huguenot errors of Luther, Calvin, and all heresies whatever, with which up to now I have been infected and defamed, consenting now to the doctrine of our holy mother, the church, beseeching you in the name of God, and of his Son, Jesus Christ, and of the glorious Virgin Mary his mother, with all the saints and she-saints in Paradise, that it will please you to receive me into the fold of the Christian flock and people of God, who live under the obedience of the pope, ordained Christ's vicar in the said church, submitting myself patiently to hear, and willingly to perform the penance you will think fit to impose upon me, absolving me from all offenses committed while I lived in such errors, for which I here ask pardon of God, of the said church, and of you my pastor (set over me by God the Creator) to absolve me with such penance as you will judge to be available for the satisfaction of my sins and offenses. And that it may be seen that I have made, and do make this abjuration from the heart.

"2. I further confess, before God and you, that I believe all that is contained in the Apostles', Athanasian and Nicene creeds, with all the confessions of faith besides, allowed and approved by the councils of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church, and so forth as it follows in those creeds.

"3. I also believe, acknowledge, and confess whatever is contained in the old and new testament, approved by the said holy catholic, apostolic, Roman church, according to the sense and interpretation of the holy doctors, and received by them, rejecting wholly all other interpretations as false and erroneous.

"4. I acknowledge the seven sacraments of the said church to have been instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, as necessary for the salvation of mankind, although all of them are not of necessity to be conferred upon all; namely, I acknowledge that the seven sacraments are baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, which is the holy sacrament of the altar, penance, extreme unction, orders, and marriage; and that of them, baptism, confirmation, and orders, cannot be reiterated without sacrilege; that the said sacraments confer grace, and have those effects which the church has taught, and that the form and use according to which they are administered to Christians is holy and necessary.

"5. I further acknowledge that the holy mass is a sacrifice and oblation of the true body and blood of Jesus Christ, under the forms of bread and wine mingled with water; which bread and wine under the foresaid forms are in the mass, by the words of consecration there pronounced by the priest, transubstantiated and changed into the said body and blood of Christ; although the qualities and accidents remain in the said forms after consecration; and that the mass is profitable and available both for the living and for the dead.

"6. I acknowledge and confess the concomitance, namely, that in receiving the body of Christ under the form of bread only, I then likewise receive the blood of Jesus Christ.

"7. I confess that prayer to, and intercession of saints for the living and for the dead, is holy, good, and profitable for Christians, and in no way contrary to the honor of God.

"8. That prayers made in the church for the faithful departed are beneficial for them, for the remission of sins, and the mitigating of their pains deserved for the same.

"9. That there is a purgatory, where the souls of those who are detained there are relieved by the prayers of the faithful.

"10. I confess that honor ought to be given to the saints reigning with Christ in heaven, that they ought to be prayed to, and that they make intercession for us to God, and that their relics ought to be worshipped.

"11. That the commandments and traditions of the said church, consisting in divine ceremonies, are holy and good, such as fastings, abstinence from meats, observation of feasts, and other ecclesiastical rites, and ought to be observed according to the traditions of the apostles and ancient fathers, continued from the primitive times, and since brought into the church by the decrees of councils, received from them long ago or lately. Also, that I will and ought to obey them as prescribed and authorized by the Holy Spirit, the ordainer of those things which serve to the upholding of Christian religion, and of the holy catholic and apostolic Roman church.

"12. I likewise believe and consent to all the articles concerning original sin and justification.

[1009] A.D. 1572.

"13. I also steadfastly believe that the pictures of Christ, of his holy mother, and of all the saints, ought to be retained in the church, that the uses of them are very profitable, and that they ought to be worshipped.

"14. I confess that the power of indulgences and pardons is left to the church by Jesus Christ, and the use of them is greatly available. And I also acknowledge the church of Rome to be the chief mother of all churches, and that she has the Holy Spirit for her guide; and that all private and pretended inspirations contradicting the same, are of the devil, the prince of dissension, who would rend asunder the seamless coat of Jesus Christ.

"Lastly, I strictly promise to observe and keep whatever was decreed and ordained by the last Council of Trent, and I promise before God and you, never to depart from the catholic and apostolic Roman church. And if I do, which God forbid, I submit myself to the correction and canons of the said church, made, decreed, and ordained against them which fall into apostasy.

"To which abjuration and confession, I have subscribed with my hand, etc."

Some of those who for fear abjured, afterwards relented. Others grew more and more hardened, that in going often to mass they took part with the priests and murderers, as if they had never made any profession at all of the truth.

Persecution at Bordeaux.

Soon after the massacre at Paris, tidings of it came to Bordeaux. It happened there one morning, as the protestants were taking a boat to hear a sermon in a meadow where they usually met, about three miles from Bordeaux, between the river of Garonne and the brook of La Jalla, that the governor Mountferrand commanded them to come back. He had the skill to cloak it under a plausible pretense; namely, that they might not be set upon there by the multitude.

After their return, a strong watch and ward was set at the gates, so that none of the protestants would have leave to pass unless he had a passport from the governor. Yet means

were made for the escape of their ministers, without being perceived. They went to Medox, expecting what the outcome of this business at Bordeaux would be. Having intelligence of what was executed there, they stayed a number of days and nights, hiding themselves in the rocks and marshes until they had an opportunity to take shipping, and sail to England.

Instantly thereupon, the lord of Montpessat arrived at Bordeaux from the king. At his first coming, he feigned as if he meant to settle all things in peace. Yet underhandedly, he worked in such a way with the governor, that a massacre was resolved upon. He was solicited to this by a Jesuit called Edmund Angier, who out of the pulpit used to horribly and bitterly thunder and inveigh against the remissness and faint-heartedness of the governor. It went so far that on St. Michael's day (as they called it), he spoke of the angels by whom God executes his judgments. He cried out by way of interrogation, "Who executed God's judgments upon the Huguenots in Paris? The angel of God. Who has executed the like upon other cities in this kingdom? The angel of God." In a word, he never ceased, in public and private, to solicit the papists of Bordeaux to follow the example of the Parisians. And then, day by day, he menaced those of the protestant religion with the approaching of an utter ruin and desolation, if they did not quickly return into the bosom of the Roman church. If they refused this offer now, they should not be received when they would.

Many being terrified with these threats, and also by the entreaties of their kindred — who set before them the imminent danger which hung over their heads — revolted and abjured. The lord of Montpessat had Master William Blanck, an advocate in the court of parliament, called before him. He was counsellor to him and to his father-in-law. He exhorted and persuaded him to return to the unity of the Roman church.

Le Blanck answered that he, "had sufficiently weighed and compared all things together, before he took upon himself the profession of that religion which he now professed, which was the true religion, acknowledging it to far exceed the other in every respect."

Montpessat hearing this, rebuked him sharply, saying that, "He then thought himself wiser than the king, and all those who professed as his majesty did." It went so far that those who stood about Le Blanck began to handle him roughly; so that he had much to do to escape with his life, if Montpessat had not rescued him from that danger, because he had come there upon his word. The governor said, "If I had been there, I would have slain him."

The governor being pressed to dispatch this massacre at Bordeaux, did not know what to do. For on the one side, La Sieur de Vesins, with sundry others coming from the court, assured him that the king wondered why the business was deferred so long — showing that he could not perform a more acceptable service to the king than this. On the other side, Strossi, who hovered about Rochelle, to take it, wished him to be well-advised what he did, whatever command he had to the contrary — foreseeing, perhaps, that if he went forward with his execution, the people of Rochelle would have held Strossi in such favor that the governor's project would have been defeated; and so it would be no small prejudice to the king's affairs. This put the governor in hope that he would stand between him and all perils.

For the truth is, the army by sea, which was prepared against Rochelle, lay for a time at Bordeaux, under the pretense of conquering Florida. They would have been ready enough to conduct a general massacre there, but were afraid the Rochellers would be incensed by it.[56]

[56] In other words, Strossi was waiting for the governor of Bordeaeux to act first.

Yet, in conclusion, having balanced things on both sides, the governor was persuaded by the lord Montpessat to execute the massacre. To this purpose, an oath was taken, and a catalogue was made of what they meant to spoil.

On Saturday then, which was the 3rd of October 1572, the governor having assembled together all the scum of the city to aid and assist him in so barbarous an act, commanded them, with other soldiers, to be ready shortly after dinner to put the king's command into execution. They were very eager for this, coming in their liveries, attended by captains of tens, who taught them what they had to do.

Most of the murderers had red hats given to them by Peter Estounach. For this, and also for the blood with which they dyed their arms, they were called *the red band*. Others called them *the cardinal's band*. The governor commanded them to kill all those of the protestant religion, especially those who had taken up arms, and not to spare one.

The governor, intending to show them the way, went to the house of Master John Guilloch, lord of Obiere, counsellor in the court of parliament, to execute the hatred he had long since conceived against him. He was about to escape out at a back door, when they caught and brought him into the outer court in front of his house, in the presence of the governor, who killed him with a sword. This done, the man's house was wholly pillaged.

At that time, they brought a certain minister out of the Conciergerie, who a few days before, coming from the country Saintong to Bordeaux (he thought for his better safety), was apprehended and imprisoned there. As soon as he came out of the prison, they killed him before the gates of the palace.

Master William Savin's house (he was a counsellor of the parliament, and also a protestant) was forced open, pillaged, and spoiled, and himself cruelly murdered. His clerk, called Simonet, seeing his master about to be killed, embraced and comforted him. Being asked whether he was of the protestant religion, he answered yes, and would die with his master for the same. Thus they were slain in one another's arms.

[1010]

The cruel Martyrdom of Du Tour,
a Deacon of the Protestant Church.

A deacon of the reformed church, called Du Tour, an old man who, in the days of his ignorance, had been a priest in the popish church. Being sick in his bed, he was dragged out into the open street. It being demanded of him whether he would go to mass, and thereby save his life. He freely answered, "No, especially now, drawing so near my end, both in regard to my years and grievous sickness. I hope I will not so far forget the eternal salvation of my soul, as for fear of death to prolong this life for a few days. For so I would buy a short term of life at too dear a cost." Hearing him say so, they killed him instantly.

It was lamentable to see the poor protestants wandering up and down, not knowing where to save their lives. Some were rejected by their own parents and kinsfolks, who shut their doors against them, pretending they did not know them. Others were betrayed and delivered up by those to whose trust they had committed themselves. Many were saved, even by priests and others, from whom a man would have expected no such security. Some were saved by their very enemies, whose hearts abhorred such detestable outrages.

The whole city was full of terrors and horrible threats against those of the protestant religion, saying that the king's commandment was that he would not have so much as one of

them left in his kingdom. And if any refused to go to mass, a hole should be dug for him in the earth, in which he should immediately be buried without any more ado.

Thus we have taken a view of the extreme afflictions and oppressions of the reformed churches in many parts of France, in which within a few weeks well near 30,000 were put to death.

The Famine at Sancerre

Now, in the year 1573, many places to which the faithful fled for refuge were assailed by open war; namely, in the first place, Sancerre — the history of which you have here in a short view, presented before you in what follows.

Being surrounded by irreconcilable enemies, from about the beginning of April, the lack of victuals (food) caused them to gather together all the asses and mules they had in the city. They were eaten up in less than a month.

Then they came to horses, cats, rats, moles, mice and dogs. After these were spent, they fell to eating ox and cow-hides, sheep-skins, parchment, old shoes, bullocks and horse-hoofs, horns, and lanterns, ropes and horse harnesses, leather girdles, etc.

In the end of June, a third of the besieged had no bread to eat. Those who could get hemp-seed, ground it, or stamped it in mortars, and made bread of it. They did the same with all sorts of herbs, mingling it with bran if they had it. They ate the meal of chaff, nut-shells, and of slate, excrements of horses and men; even the offal which lay in the streets was not spared.

The 29th of July, a poor man and his wife were executed for having eaten the head, brains, and entrails of a young child about three years old, which died of hunger, having made ready the other parts to eat at another meal. An old woman lodging in their house, eating a part of this mournful diet, died in prison, within a few hours after her imprisonment.

They were found guilty of other offenses, but this aggravated the same even more. All children under twelve years of age died. It was lamentable to hear the pitiful voices uttered by poor parents for the misery in which their eyes beheld their languishing and dying infants. To this purpose you may take notice here of a memorable accident. A boy ten years old, being ready to give up the ghost, seeing his father and mother weeping over him (whose arms and legs when they handled them, felt as if they had been dried sticks) said to them, why do you weep thus, in seeing me famished to death? Mother, he says, I ask you for no bread, I know you have none. But seeing it is God's will that I must die this death, let us be thankful for it. Did not the holy man Lazarus die of famine? Have I not read it in my bible? Uttering these, with like speeches, he yielded up the ghost.

That all the people did not die of famine in the end of this month, was because of certain horses which were reserved for service if necessary, and six cows which were left to give milk for the sustenance of young infants. These beasts were killed, and their flesh sold for the relief of those who were living, with a little corn — which by stealth some brought into the city. So that a pound of wheat was sold for half-a-crown. [57]

[57] Half a crown in 1570 could buy several loaves of bread, a substantial amount of cheese, a leg of lamb, or a side of beef. It could also cover the cost of a week's worth of household fuel (coal or wood).

Only 84 persons died by fight in Sancerre, but of the famine killed more than 500. Many soldiers got out of the city as they were able, fleeing from the famine; they chose rather to die by the sword of the enemy. Some of these were slain, others imprisoned, and the rest were put to death by the executioner.

But when all help of man failed, the king having sworn that he would make them eat one another, the King of kings delivered them by his wonderful providence. For at this instant, the ambassadors from Poland came into France, to accept the duke of Anjou as their king. At their entreaty (which could not well be denied) poor Sancerre, more than half famished, was now set at liberty by raising the siege. For the inhabitants were determined to leave their bones there, rather than yield themselves into their enemies' hands, as they had often threatened them with a general massacre. Whereas now, by the king's appointment, they were permitted to pass out of the city armed. If any would tarry, they would not be molested. They had liberty granted to dispose of their affairs as they pleased, with the promise that neither their persons nor their property would be injured.

The Siege of Rochelle

Now let us come to the city of Rochelle, which at this instant was strongly besieged by the forces of France, both by sea and land, with about 40-50,000 men. Yet in the end, it too was delivered by the immediate hand of God, though not without many hot conflicts. The ambassador of Poland arriving in France on the 17th of June, a truce was suddenly made. Articles of peace were drawn up and sent to the king, who consented to them, and returned an answer in the form of an edict. He granted to those of Rochelle, Montauban, Nismes, and other cities which stood upon their defense, liberty for the exercises of religion. The rest were to live peaceably in their houses, and to minister in them the sacrament of baptism and marriage as they had usually done, so long as their assemblies did not exceed ten in number, besides the parents.

He restored to the Rochellers and others their rights and privileges, letting fall all the decrees given out against them, approving of their defensive war; giving them leave, according to their ancient custom, to retain their towers and fortresses in their cities, men and ammunition, even to have governors among them, provided that they were such that there was no cause to suspect or take exception to them.

By virtue of this edict, on the 10th of July, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, the lord of Biron entered into the city, at the gate called De Coigne, with a herald of arms and four of the king's trumpeters. At this hour, peace was proclaimed in its most eminent places. The lord of Biron was accompanied by the lieutenant of the city, and the lord of Villiers. After this, dining at the mayor's house, he soon after retired, being conducted along till he was outside the city.

The same day, many small vessels laden with biscuits, corn, meal, fish, and other provision, entered into the haven. At this siege, the duke D'Amaule lost his life, with Cosseins (who had broken into the admiral's lodging and began the massacre at Paris), besides many great lords, gentlemen, captains, lieutenants, and ancients, sixty in number. Most of them had their hands imbrued in those other bloody massacres. Having come there, however, they received their reward — namely, either immediate death, or wounds so incurable that they did not escape with their life.

[1011] A.D. 1585.

The Bull of Pope Sixtus the Fifth.

A note touching a Bull of Pope Sixtus the Fifth, in which the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde, were declared Heretics, etc. with their Censure by the Parliament of Paris.

In September 1585, Pope Sixtus V, by a bull sent from Rome, condemned the king of Navarre and the prince of Conde as heretics. He excommunicated them, degrading them and their successors from their dignities, especially laying claim to the crown of France, absolving their subjects from their oath of allegiance, and exposing their countries to be a prey for those who could first subdue them.

The court of parliament of Paris made a notable remonstrance to the king concerning these bulls, in which they sought to maintain the privileges of the Galilean church.[58] Among other things, the words that follow are very remarkable.

The court thinks that these bulls are set forth in a style altogether of a new stamp, and so contrary to the modesty of former popes, that they can in no way discern in them the spirit of a successor of the apostles. And therefore (as the deputies of the court added),

> "We can neither find by our registers, nor by any antiquity, that the princes of France ever subjected themselves so far to the authority of the pope, nor that the subjects have taken such knowledge of the religion of their princes. The court, therefore, cannot determine anything thereupon, unless the pope can first of all cause his pretended right in the translation of kingdoms to appear, which kingdoms were established and ordained by God before the name of a pope was heard of in the world; that he does not manifest to us what title (right) he has to intermeddle with the matter of the succession of a young and vigorous prince who, for all the pope knows, may yet have his succession in his loins; that he does not show with what appearance of justice or equity he should deny that privilege which is allowed to those who are accused of heresy against the decrees of ancient canons; namely, that no man should be held as a heretic, until his defense is fully and freely heard, till he has received frequent admonitions from many synods, and thereupon sentenced by a council lawfully assembled."

They further added that seeing the pope, instead of instruction, breathes forth nothing in his bulls but destruction, changing his shepherd's crook into a terrible thunderbolt, to scatter rather than sweetly call the erring flock into the bosom of the catholic church, the court cannot safely allow or entertain a bull so pernicious and opposite to the general good of the whole Christian world, and to the sovereignty of the crown of France. Indeed, they were further of the opinion that this bull deserved to be thrown into the fire and burned, and the solicitors or upholders of it, for example's sake, to be severely chastised; humbly beseeching the king to maintain his edicts in his own kingdom in peace.

This remonstrance (*i.e.*, the objection of the court) had little effect. For not long after, the king being solicited by the principal of the league, set forth a declaration on the 7th of October, upon the edict published the previous July, in which having confiscated the body and goods of those of the protestant religion, with their associates, who in any province had taken arms against the fury of the league, it was ordained that those of the protestant religion were to depart out of the kingdom within six months, unless they were to fully abjure within fifteen days after the said declaration.

[58] The "Galilean Church" refers to the Roman Catholic Church in France, characterized by its distinct spirit of independence from and resistance to centralized papal authority. This later became known as *Gallicanism*.

The parliament, allowing themselves to be carried down by the violence of this stream, accepted and admitted this edict. The princes framed an opposition against the pope's bull, appealing from it as a wrong done to them, offering to make it appear in a free and lawful council, that the pope had maliciously belied them in calling them heretics. So, as if he refused this fair and lawful course propounded by them, they would hold and esteem him for that great antichrist, and would proclaim an open irreconcilable war against him. This opposition was affixed and set up at Rome on the 7th of November.

Not long after, among those of the protestant religion who were imprisoned, others were more severely handled. Among many, we will here take notice of two honorable women, whose memory ought to be celebrated in this history of the martyrs; namely, Radagonde, daughter of Master John Foucoult, attorney in the parliament of Paris, widow, forty years of age, and Claude Foucoult her sister, about thirty-six. They were apprehended the 29th of October 1585, the one from the village of Pierrepit near Paris, and the other in the suburbs of Saint Germain, and brought prisoners into Chastelet. This was because they refused to go to mass, and would not abjure and forsake the true religion. Being severed one from the other in prison, they were examined on sundry articles, to which they gave their direct answer according to the word of God.

Then being put together, they were accused of disobeying the king's commandment, which was that those of the protestant religion were either to depart the kingdom by such a time, or else abjure. They answered, that they were willing to leave the kingdom, if they might obtain a convenient time to put into order what little they had there. But the council refused to yield to their request, and they were shut up again. The 7th of November, in the presence of the lieutenant, and also of the advocate for the king, and a Sorbonist, they pleaded their innocence. These men, getting no advantage against them, but being rather confounded by the wisdom of God's Spirit speaking by these two sisters, went and complained to the king, that they were obstinate heretics. This was in the beginning of 1586.

They continued in prison for many weeks, cumbered with many disputes, yet remaining unshaken. The Friday before Easter, the king himself went to see them, asking them whether they would conform themselves to the catholic apostolic Roman church (as he called it). With such reverence and obeisance as became them, they gave him their reasons why they could not so do, confirming them by texts of holy Scripture. His second question was, why they had not obeyed his last edict. The widow answered, "Sir, I have three small children to care for; and whereas your majesty allotted those of the protestant religion the term of fifteen days, after six months had ended, to depart the kingdom; I have done my utmost to take up such monies as were due me. But those who were indebted to me, neglected to pay me. Besides, the one who kept my vineyards of Pierrepit, to quit himself of me, accused me of heresy, causing my sister and myself to be imprisoned here, where we have lain for six months. And if our petition presented by us finds no acceptance in your majesty's sight, we most humbly beseech you to grant that we may be freed from prison, and we will be gone instantly out of the kingdom, according to your majesty's edict."

"The date is past," said the king. "Nor will I show you any favor, unless you promise to go to mass." He was much displeased in seeing their constancy. Now at the same time, there was presented before him one surnamed Richelot, who had been apprehended that very day in which the women were taken for the cause of religion, to whom the king did not use many words. Only, in conclusion he said, nothing was lacking but faggots to burn him. Richelot abjured that same day in which these two sisters were executed. The king had five or six Sorbonists who attended on him there. They offered to reason with the prisoners, by

occasion of a word spoken by the widow. But the king prevented it, saying, we have not come here to dispute. Let them be laid waste, and none allowed to come to them.

Within half an hour, the duke of Longueville came to visit them, saying that he was sorry for their affliction, counselling them to go to mass, alleging, it is written, "You shall obey your prince, and if he forces you to do it against your conscience, he shall answer for it." He added that they were to remember their sex, and therefore to be teachable upon the point of obedience. They answered that no earthly potentate had any warrant to command Christians to sin against their consciences.

[1012]

They further besought him to be a means for them to the king, that they might be delivered. But the only answer he gave them was this: That if they would not return, the king would not deliver them. Also, there was great likelihood, after their long detention in prison, that they must be executed in the end.

The next day, being Easter Eve, the queen, with the duchess of Joyeuse, came into Chastelet to visit the prisoners. But instead of speaking to the two sisters herself, she sent them a wicked apostate named Mathew de Launy. He was a minister turned popish priest, and one whom the league made no small use of. Loading these honorable sisters with injuries and reproachful speeches, calling them dogs and devils incarnate, and worthy to be burnt, he so left them and never came back any more. Soon after the day of the barricades, which is a defense made of earth and stones heaped up, serving to stop a street or any passage, the judges of Chastelet adjudged them to be hanged, and their bodies to be burned to ashes. They appealed to the court from this sentence, and were brought into the Conciergerie, which is the name of a common jail belonging to Paris.

On the evening before Saint John Baptist's day, in the month of June, the common people in Paris made fires as they traditionally did (among other insolences), and in various parts of the city, they burnt a picture representing the queen of England.

The next day the curates and preachers began to thunder in their sermons, saying that it was not enough to burn the pictures of heretics, but to burn the bodies of the obstinate prisoners. This so enraged the tumultuous sort of people, that the following day, flocking together into the court of the palace, they threatened the presidents and the council, that some mischief would follow unless they condemned these two prisoners to die. A gentle answer was returned to this factious crew, with a promise that the business would not long be delayed.

The next day, the eldest son of Radagonde presented a petition to the duchess of Nemours, daughter to the late lady of Ferrare. Her grace solicited the duke of Guise, her son, for the prisoners. His answer was that he did not come to Paris to petition the king in favor of those of the protestant religion. And even if he would do so (in regard to the services which the prisoners had done to his grandfather) yet he could not, fearing lest the mad multitude might set upon him.

The 28th of June, the court having confirmed the sentence given at Chastelet, they sent them back there to be executed. So about noon they were gagged, because the maiden professed that if they brought her into any idols' temple, she would raise her voice so loudly against the same, that everyone would hear it. About three o'clock they were led as sheep to the slaughter, where they constantly persisted in the profession of the true religion.

The widow, having ascended the ladder, shook out of her hands a wooden cross, which they had by force affixed to it. The multitude were so provoked by this, that they began to throw stones and staves at her. The hangman having turned her off the ladder, cut the rope by and by, letting her fall half dead into the fire, in which she yielded up her soul into the hands of God, as did her sister also.

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Having now come to the year 1588, it gives us just occasion to call to mind that miraculous deliverance of our noble queen and country, from the intended invasion of the Spaniards the same year. The memorial of this, so that it might be continued to succeeding ages, deserves to be inserted here by way of history, as in its due and proper place. Of this deliverance it may truly be said (all things considered) that it was the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. The true relation of it follows next.

APPENDIX II.

Preparations for invading England, by the Spaniards and other Roman Catholics

A brief discourse touching the great preparations made for that "invincible" navy intended for invading and surprising the realm of England, together with their utter overthrow.

By John Foxe

The queen of England had intelligence from sundry places, of the great and diligent preparation of the king of Spain in diverse parts, both by sea and land, not only of the strongest ships in all places within his dominions, but of all sorts of provision necessary for so mighty a fleet, as he intended to set forth. And these rumors of war, which before were only slight, daily increased. At last it was certainly confirmed by the news on all sides, that in Spain an invincible navy was being preparing against England; that the most famous captains in military knowledge, and the best soldiers were sent for from Italy, Sicily, even from America. For the pope and some religious Spaniards (*i.e.* bound by vows), and English fugitives, now recalled to the minds of the Spaniards the idea of surprising England, this purpose having been interrupted by the Portugal wars.[59] They earnestly exhorted the king to do God this service, that had done so much for him. Now that he enjoyed Portugal with the West-Indies, and many rich islands, to add England to all of these would be a special act of service to God, fit for his catholic majesty. By this means he might add these flourishing kingdoms to his empire, and so keep the Low Countries in peace, and secure the navigation to both the Indies. The preparations of Spain were so great, that no power was able to resist it. They made the king believe it was an easier matter to overcome England, than to overcome Holland, because the navigation from Spain to England was much shorter than to the Netherlands. And by surprising England, the other would easily follow.

Hereupon consultation began of the best way and means to oppress England. The marquis of Santa Cruz, who was chief commander in the navy, advised first to make sure some part of Holland or Zealand by the land forces of the duke of Parma, and by sending before him some Spanish ships to take some place all of a sudden, where the Spanish navy might have a staging ground, and from there the invasion might begin with convenience. For in the English sea, which is troublesome, the winds often changing and the tides unknown, the navy could not be in safety. Parma agreed with him, who much urged this expedition. Yet others disliked this counsel as a matter of great difficulty and danger, taking a long time, with much labor, great expense, and uncertain success. They said it could be performed neither secretly nor openly, and might easily be hindered by the English. The marquis and duke thought that with the same labor and expense, England might be won. And the victory would be sure if a well prepared army from Spain might, with a strong navy, be landed on the Thames side, and suddenly surprise London, the chief city, by an unexpected assault. This seemed a thing that could be effected most easily.

The duke of Parma built ships and a great number of small broad vessels in Flanders, by the command of Philip. Each one was able to transport thirty horse, with bridges fitted for each; and he hired mariners from the eastern part of Germany. He provided long pieces of wood sharpened at the end, and covered with iron, with hooks on one side; and 20,000 vessels, with a huge number of faggots. He placed a ready army in Flanders: 103 companies of foot

[59] The Spanish-Portuguese Wars were a series of conflicts driven by a struggle for dynastic control over Portugal following the death of King Sebastian in 1578.

soldiers, and 4000 horsemen. Among these were 700 English fugitives who were treated with the greatest contempt. Nor was Stanley respected or heard, who was set over the English; nor Westmoreland,[60] nor any others who offered their help. Rather, for their impiety towards their own country, they were shut out from all consultations, and rejected as ill-omened men, not without detestation. And Pope Sixtus V, who would not be wanting in such a purpose, sent cardinal Allen into Flanders, and renewed the declaratory bulls of Pius V and Gregory XIII. He excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, deposed her, absolved her subjects from all allegiance; and as if it had been against the Turks and infidels, he published in print, a conceit in which he bestowed plenary indulgences out of the treasure of the church upon all those who would join their help against England (besides a million in gold to be distributed, one-half in hand, and the other half when either England, or some famous haven in it, was won). By this means, many foreign princes and nobles were induced to engage in this war.

Queen Elizabeth, so that she might not be taken by surprise, prepared as great a navy as she could; and with singular care and providence, she made ready all things necessary for war. And she herself, who was ever most judicious in discerning men's wits and aptness, and most happy in making a choice when she made it on her own judgment, and not by the advice of others, destined the best and most serviceable to each separate employment.

[1014]

Over the whole navy she appointed the lord high admiral, Charles Howard, in whom she reposed much trust. She sent him to the west parts of England where Sir Francis Drake, whom she made vice-admiral, joined him. She commanded Henry Seymour, the second son to the duke of Somerset, to watch upon the Belgic shore, with forty English and Dutch ships, so that the duke of Parma might not come out with his forces. Yet some were of the opinion that the enemy was to be expected and set upon by land forces, according to what was resolved upon deliberation in the time of Henry VIII, when the French brought a great navy upon the English shore.

For the land fight, 20,000 were placed on the south shores; and two armies besides were mustered of the choicest men of war. One of these, which consisted of 1000 horse, and 22,000 foot soldiers, was commanded by the earl of Leicester, and encamped at Tilbury, on the side of the Thames, for the enemy was resolved first to set upon London. The other army was governed by Lord Hunsdon, consisting of 31,000 foot soldiers, and 2000 horsemen, to guard the queen.

The queen visited the camp at Tilbury. The following account of it is given by Richard Leigh, a seminary priest, who was executed for high treason while the Spanish Armada was on the sea.

> "She had an army encamped near the seaside, on the river Thames. After the army had come there, she would not by any advice be stayed. But for the comfort of her people, and to show her own magnanimity of heart, she went to the camp which was at that time between the city of London and the sea, under the charge of the earl of Leicester, placing herself between the enemy and her city. And there she reviewed her army, passing through it diverse times, and lodging on the borders of it. She returned again and dined in the army. First viewing from place to place the people, as they were lodged by their countries and quartered by their several camps. Afterwards, when they were all reduced into battle, prepared, as it were, for a fight, she

[60] Thomas Stanley and Charles Neville, 6th Earl of Westmorland, opposed Queen Elizabeth I. They were involved in the Northern Rebellion of 1569, which aimed to depose Elizabeth and restore Catholic rule in England.

rode round about with a general's staff in her hand, only accompanied by the general and three or four others attending her. Yet to show her state (I well marked it) she had the sword carried before her by the earl of Ormond. There she was generally saluted with cries, with shouts, with all tokens of love, of obedience, of readiness, and willingness to fight for her, as seldom the like has been seen in any army, considering she was a queen. All of this tended to show a marvellous concord in a mutual love between a queen and her subjects, and of reverence and obedience of subjects to their sovereign; all of which she requited with very princely thanks, and a good speech.

"I could enlarge the description of this with many more particulars of my own sight; for I went there as many others did; and all that day, wandering from place to place, I never heard any word spoken of her, but in praising her for her stately person and princely behavior, and in praying for her life and safety, with cursing all her enemies, both traitors and all papists, with an earnest desire to venture their lives for her safety. And besides such particular acclamations, the whole army in every quarter, so devoutly at certain times sang in her hearing in very tunable manner, diverse psalms that were put in the form of prayers, in praise to Almighty God — in no way to be disliked — that she greatly commended them, and with very earnest speech thanked God with them. This that I write, you may be sure, is not with any comfort, but to give you these manifest arguments, that this queen neither discontents her peoplc, nor do her people show any discontent in anything they are commanded to do for her service, as up to now has been imagined."

The Lord Grey, Sir Francis Knolls, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Roger Williams, men of known military experience, were chosen to confer on the land fight. These thought fit that all those places should be fortified which were the easiest to land in, either out of Spain, or out of Flanders — such as Milford Haven, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, the open side of Kent called the Downs, the mouth of the Thames, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull, etc. That trained soldiers throughout all the maritime provinces should meet, upon a warning given, to defend these places; that they should, by their best means and power, hinder the enemy from landing. If the enemy should land, then they should they waste the country all about, and spoil everything that might be of any use to them, so that they might find no more victuals than what they brought with them; and that, by continual skirmishes, the enemy would find no rest day or night. But they should not try any battle until the various captains had met together with their companies, and one captain were named to command in every shire.

Prior Negotiation Between England and the King of Spain.

Two years before, the duke of Parma, considering how hard a matter it was to end the Belgic war, so long as it was continually nourished and supported with aid from the queen, he moved for a treaty of peace, by means of Sir James Croft, one of the privy council, a man desirous of peace; and Andrew Loe, a Dutchman. He professed that Philip had delegated authority to him for this purpose. But the queen, fearing that there was some cunning in this seeking of peace, so that the friendship between her and the confederate princes might be dissolved, and so that they might secretly be drawn to the Spaniards, deferred that treaty for some time. But now that the war which both sides were preparing for might be turned away, she was content to treat for peace, but so as to still hold the weapons in her hand.

For this purpose, in February, delegates were sent into Flanders: the earl of Derby, Lord Cobham, Sir James Croft, Dr. Dale, and Dr. Rogers. These were received with kindness on the duke's behalf, and they presently sent Dr. Dale to him, so that a place might be appointed for their treating, and that they might see the authority delegated to him by the Spanish king. He appointed a place *near* to Ostend, but not *in* Ostend, which then was held

by the English against the king. He promised to show his delegated authority once they were met together. He wished them to make good speed in the business, lest something fall out in the meantime which might trouble the motions of peace. Richardot [61] spoke somewhat more plainly, that he did not know what should be done against England in the interim.

Not long after, Dr. Rogers was sent to the prince, by an express command from the queen, to know the truth whether the Spaniards had resolved to invade England, which he and Richardot seemed to signify. He affirmed that he did not so much as think of the invasion of England, when he wished that the business might proceed with speed; and was offended with Richardot, who denied that such words fell from him.

On the 12th of April, the count Aremberg, Champigny, Richardot, D. Maesius, and Garnier, delegated by the prince of Parma, met the English, and yielded to them the honor both in walking and sitting. And when they affirmed that the duke had full authority to treat for peace, the English moved that first a truce might be made. They refused this, alleging that this would be hurtful to the Spaniards, who for six months had maintained a great army which could not be dismissed upon a truce, but upon absolute peace. The English urged that a truce was promised before they came into Flanders. The Spaniards, against that, held that six months earlier a truce was promised, which they granted, but it was not admitted. Nor was it in the queen's power to undertake a truce for Holland and Zealand, who attempted hostility daily. The English moved instantly, that the truce might be general for all the queen's territories, and for the kingdom of Scotland. But they would have it only for four Dutch towns which were in the queen's hands; that is, Ostend, Flushing, Bergen-op-Zoom, and the Briel — and these were only during negotiations and twenty days after; and in the meantime, it might be lawful for the queen to invade Spain, or for the Spaniards to invade England, either from Spain or Flanders.

[1014] A.D. 1588.

At last, when the English could not obtain a cessation of arms, and could by no means see the charter by which the duke of Parma was authorized to negotiate peace; they proposed these things: that the ancient leagues between the kings of England and the dukes of Burgundy might be renewed and confirmed; that all the Dutch might fully enjoy their own privileges; that they might serve God with freedom of conscience; that the Spanish and foreign soldiers might be sent out of Holland, so that neither the Dutch nor their neighboring nations might fear them. If these things were granted, the queen would come to equal conditions concerning the towns which she now held (that all might know she took up arms not for her own gain, but for the necessary defense of both herself and the Dutch) so long as the money which is owing for them is repaid. To this they answered that there would be no difficulty in renewing the old leagues when they might have a friendly conference about it; that concerning the privileges of the Dutch, there was no reason why foreign princes should take care about which privileges were most favorably granted not only to reconciled provinces and towns, but even to those who by force of arms were brought into subjection; and that foreign soldiers were held upon urgent necessity, since Holland, England, and France, were all in arms.

Regarding those towns taken from the king of Spain, and repaying the money, they answered that, "Spain might demand as many myriads of crowns to be repaid by the queen, as the Belgic war had cost since the time that she favored and protected the Dutch." At this

[61] Jean Richardot (1540-1609) was in charge of the delegation that met with the envoys of Queen Elizabeth at Bourbourg in 1587, in a feigned attempt to end hostilities between England and Spain.

time, Dr. Dale, by the queen's command, went to the duke of Parma. He gently expostulated with him regarding a book printed there, that was recently set out by cardinal Allen. In this book, he exhorts the nobles and people of England and Ireland to join themselves to the king of Spain's forces, under the conduct of the prince of Parma, for the execution of the sentence of pope Sixtus V against the queen, declaring her a heretic, illegitimate, and cruel against Mary queen of Scots. Her subjects were commanded by this bull, to help Parma against her. For at that time, a great number of those bulls and books were printed at Antwerp, to be dispersed throughout England. The duke denied that he had seen such a bull or book, nor would he do anything by the pope's authority. As for his own king, he must obey him. "Yet (he said) he so observed the queen for her princely virtues that, after the king of Spain, he offered all service to her. He said he "had persuaded the king of Spain to yield to this treaty of peace, which is more profitable for England than Spain. For if they should be overcome, they would easily repair their loss; but if you are overcome, the kingdom is lost." Dale replied, "Our queen is sufficiently furnished with forces to defend the kingdom. A kingdom will not easily be gotten by the fortune of one battle, seeing that the king of Spain, in so long a war, is not yet able to recover his ancient patrimony in the Netherlands."

"Well (said the duke), even if so, these things are in God's hands."

After this, the delegates contended among themselves by mutual replications (pleadings), weaving and unweaving the same web. The English were earnest in this, that freedom of religion might be granted for at least two years to the confederate provinces. They answered, "That as the king of Spain had not entreated for English catholics, so they hoped the queen, in her wisdom, would not entreat anything from the king of Spain which might stand against his honor, his oath, and his conscience."

Then they demanded the money due from the states of Brabant. It was answered that, "The money was lent without the king's authority or knowledge. But let the account be taken of how much the money was, and how much the king has spent in these wars, and then it may appear who should look for repayment."

Thus the English, of set purpose, were driven off from time to time, until the Spanish fleet had come near the English shore, and the noise of guns were heard from the sea. Then they had leave to depart, and they were, by the delegates, honorably brought to the borders near Calais. The duke of Parma had in the meantime brought all his forces to the sea's shore.

Thus this conference came to nothing; undertaken by the queen, as the wiser then thought, to avert the Spanish fleet. It was continued by the Spaniard, so that he might surprise the queen, being (he supposed) unprovided for, and not expecting the danger. So both of them tried to use time to their best advantage.

When the Spanish fleet was collecting in the Tagus,[62] the command had been given to the marquis of Santa Cruz, an officer of distinguished merit. But he died before the preparations were completed. About the same time, the duke of Paliano, who was the second in command, also died. The chief command was then conferred upon Don Alphonso de Gusinan, duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman unacquainted with the art of war. Don Martinez de Recalde, a veteran of great experience, was appointed vice-admiral. In addition to the fleet that was preparing at Lisbon, the duke of Parma had been commanded to build a number of vessels at Dunkirk, Newport, and Antwerp, and also to assemble a large army to

[62] *Tagus*: a river in the Iberian Peninsula flowing into the North Atlantic.

assist in the invasion of England. The Spanish fleet being at last well-furnished with men and every munition of war, so as to be considered the most powerful that had ever been seen upon the sea, and called by that arrogant title, "the Invincible Armada." It consisted of 130 ships, and some smaller vessels in which there were upwards of 30,000 sailors and soldiers, and 3,000 pieces of cannon.

On the 30th of May, they sailed from the river Tagus. Proposing to hold their course to the Garonne in Galicia,[63] were beaten and scattered by a tempest. Three galleys, by the skill of David Gwin, an Englishman, and by the perfidiousness of the Turks who rowed, were safely carried to the coast of France. After some days, the fleet, with much ado, came to the Garonne and other harbors near adjoining. The report was that the enemy was so scattered by this tempest, that the queen was persuaded she was not to expect that fleet this year. Sir Francis Walsingham, her secretary, wrote to the lord admiral, that he should lay up four of the greatest ships, as if the war had been ended. But the lord admiral did not easily give credit to that report. Yet with a gentle answer, he entreated Walsingham to believe nothing hastily in so important a matter. As also that he might be permitted to keep those ships with him which he had, even if it were at his own expense. Finding a favorable wind, he made sail towards Spain, to surprise the enemy's disabled ships in their harbors. When he was not far from the shores of Spain, the wind turned. Being charged to defend the English shore, and fearing that the enemy might be driven unseen to England by the same wind, he returned to Plymouth.

Now, with the same wind, on the 12th of July, the duke of Medina with his fleet, departed from the Garonne. And after a few days, he sent Roderigo de Telle into Flanders, to notify the duke of Parma that the fleet was approaching, and therefore he was to make himself ready. For Medina's commission was to join himself with the ships and soldiers of Parma. And then, under the protection of his fleet, he was to bring them into England, and put his land forces on the banks of the Thames.

On the sixteenth day (says the relator) there was a great calm, and a thick cloud was upon the sea till noon. Then the north-wind blew roughly, and again the west-wind till midnight, and after that the east. The Spanish navy was scattered, and hardly gathered together until they came within sight of England on the 19th of July. On that day, the lord admiral was informed by Flemming, who had been a pirate, that the Spanish fleet had entered into the English Channel, and was spotted near the Lizard.[64] The lord admiral brought forth the English fleet into the sea, but not without great difficulty — only by the skill, labor, and alacrity of the soldiers and mariners, everyone laboring; even the lord admiral himself put his hand to this work.

[1016]

The next day the English fleet viewed the Spanish fleet coming along, with towers like castles in height, her front crooked like the fashion of the moon, the horns of the front were extended one from the other, about seven miles, or as some say, eight miles apart, sailing with the labor of the winds, the ocean as it were groaning under it. Their sail was but slow, and yet at full sail before the wind. The English were willing to let them hold on their course. When they had passed by, they got behind them, and so got the help of the wind.

[63] *Garonne*: A river that rises in the Pyrenees and flows northwest to the Bay of Biscay.

[64] *Lizard*: A peninsula in southern Cornwall, in southwest England.

On the **21st of July**, the lord admiral of England sent a pinnace before,[65] called the Defiance, to announce war, by shooting off some cannons. Being himself in the *Ark Royal*, the English flag-ship or Admiral, he set upon a ship which he took to be the Spanish Admiral; but it was the ship of Alfonso de Leva. He bestowed much shot upon it. Presently Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher came in upon the Spanish hindmost ships, which Recalde commanded. They thundered upon these. Recalde labored as much as he could to stay his men, who fled in their navy, until his ship, beaten and much battered with many shot, hardly recovered the fleet. Then the duke of Medina gathered together his dispersed fleet, and setting up more sail, they held on their course. Indeed, they could do no other, for the English had gotten the advantage of the wind, and their ships were much more nimble, and ready with incredible speed to come upon the enemy with a full course of guns, and then to turn and return, and be on every side at their pleasure. After a long fight, and each of them having had some trial, as of their own courage, so of the Spaniards also. The lord admiral thought it good not to continue the same any longer, as forty ships were then absent, which at that instant had scarcely drawn out of Plymouth harbor.

On the following night, the *St. Katharine*, a Spanish ship, being greatly injured in the fight, was received into the midst of the navy to be mended. Here a great Cantabrian ship of the squadron of Oquendo, in which was the treasure of the camp, was set on fire by an explosion of gunpowder. Yet it was quenched in time by the ships that came to help her. Of these that came to help the fired ship, one was a galleon, in which was Pedro de Valdez. The foremast of this galleon was caught in the tackling of another ship, and broken. These two vessels were taken by Drake. On board there was a great sum of money, viz. 55,000 ducats. He sent Valdez to Dartmouth, and distributed the money among the sailors. This Valdez, coming into Drake's presence, kissed his hand, and told him they had all resolved to die, if they had not been so happy as to fall into his hands, whom he knew to be noble. On this night, Drake had been appointed to set out lights, but he neglected it, as he was led to give chase to some German merchant ships, which he mistook for vessels in the service of the enemy. This neglect obliged most of the English fleet to lay to until the morning. Drake and the rest of the squadron did not come up with the admiral until the next evening, because the admiral with only the Bear and Mary Rose, had closely followed the Spaniards during the night; and in the morning, he found himself separated from the rest of his ships.

The duke of Medina spent the following day re-ordering his fleet. Alfonso de Leva was commanded to form a junction of the first and last squadron. After this, every ship had its station assigned, according to that prescribed form which was appointed in Spain; it was instant death to the commander to forsake his station without sufficient cause. This done, he sent Glich, an ensign, to the duke of Parma, to declare to him what state they were in, and that they had left the Cantabrian ship of Oquendo to the wind and sea, after having taken out the mariners, and put them in other ships. Yet it seems that he had not taken care of all. For that ship, the same day, with fifty lamed mariners and soldiers, and half burnt, again fell into the hands of the English, and was carried to Weymouth.

On the **23rd of July**, the Spaniards having a favorable north wind, tacked about and bore down upon the English. The English, being much readier in the use of their ships, immediately changed their course, and having gotten advantage of the wind, they came to the fight on both sides. They fought for a while confusedly, with variable success. While on the one side, the English with great courage delivered the London ships which were surrounded by the Spaniards, on the other side, the Spaniards by valor freed Recalde from

[65] *Pinnace*: a boat for communication between ship and shore.

the extreme danger he was in. This day, the loss, by the good providence of God, fell upon the Spanish side. Their ships were so high that the shot went over our English ships; and the English having such a fair mark at their taller ships, never shot in vain. Amidst these encounters, Cope, an Englishman, being caught in the midst of the Spanish ships, could not be recovered, but perished, although he revenged himself with great honor. Thus for a long time the English ships with great agility were sometimes upon the Spaniards, giving them the one side, and then the other, and presently were off again, and still took the sea, to make themselves ready to come in again. Whereas the Spanish ships, being of great burden, were troubled and hindered, and stood to be marks for the English bullets. For all that, the English admiral would not permit his men to board their ships, because they had a full army in their ships, which he did not. Their ships were so many in number, and so much larger and higher, that if they had come to grapple, as some would have had it, the English being much lower than the Spanish ships, would have had the worst of those who fought from the higher ships. And if the English had been overcome, the loss would have been greater than the advantage of a victory. For ours being overcome, would have put the kingdom in hazard.

On the **24th of July** they gave up fighting on both sides. The English admiral sent some small barques to the nearest shore, to get a supply of provisions. He divided his navy into four squadrons. The first was under his own government; the next commanded by Drake; the third by Hawkins; and the last by Forbisher. He selected out of every squadron the swiftest ships, which on different sides might set upon the Spaniards in the night. But a sudden calm took them, and so that advice was without effect.

On **the 25th**, being St. James's day, Santa Anna the galleon of Portugal, not being able to hold course with the rest, was set upon and taken by some small English ships. To its aid came Leva, and Diego Tellez Enriquez with their galeasses.[66] The admiral and the lord Thomas Howard spying these, made in against the galeasses (the calm was so great that they were drawn in by boats with cords) and so beat upon the galeasses with great shot, that it was with much ado, and not without great loss, that they recovered the galleon. The Spaniards reported that their admiral's ship that day was in the hindmost company. Having come nearer the English ships than before, it was sorely beaten with the English great ordnance, many men slain in her, and her great mast overthrown. After that, the admiral of Spain, accompanied by Recalde and others, set upon the English admiral, who by the benefit of the wind, suddenly turned and escaped. The Spaniards held on their course again, and sent to the duke of Parma, that with all speed he should join his ships with the king's fleet. In this day's contest, the English write that they had stricken the lantern from one of the Spanish ships, the stern from another, and had sorely beaten a third, doing much harm to her; that the *Non-Pareil*, and the *Mary Rose* fought a while with the Spaniards: and the *Triumph* being in danger, other ships came in good time to help her.

The next day the lord admiral knighted the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbisher, for their valor displayed in the last fight. After this they resolved not to set upon the enemy until they came into the straits of Calais, where Henry Seymour, and William Winter, stayed for their coming. Thus with a fair gale, the Spanish fleet went forward, and the English followed.

[1017] A.D. 1558.

This great Spanish Armada was so far from being esteemed invincible, in the opinion of the English, that many young men and gentlemen, hoping to be partakers of a famous victory

[66] *Galeasse*: large, low-built sailing vessels that had both sails and oars.

against the Spaniards, provided ships at their own expense, and joined themselves to the English fleet. Among them were the earls of Essex, Northumberland, and Cumberland, and sirs Thomas and Robert Cecil, Henry Brook, William Hatton, Robert Carew, Ambrose Willoughby, Thomas Gerard, Mr. Arthur Gage, and other gentlemen of good note and quality.

On the **27th of July**, at evening, the Spaniards cast anchor near Calais, being admonished by their skillful seamen that if they went any further, they might be endangered by the force of the tide, of being driven into the north sea. Near to them stood the English admiral with his fleet, within a great gun's shot. To the admiral, Seymour and Winter now joined their ships; so that now there were 140 ships in the English fleet, able and well-furnished for fight, for sail, and to turn whichever way was needful. And yet there were but 15 of these which bore the burden of battle and repulsed the enemy. The Spaniard, as he had often done before, so now with great earnestness, sent to the duke of Parma to send 40 fly boats, without which they could not fight with the English, because of the greatness and slowness of their own ships, and the agility of the English ships. He was entreated by all means to now come to sea with his army. That army was now to be protected, as it were, under the wings of the Spanish Armada, till they were landed in England.

But the duke was unprovided, and could not come out at an instant. The broad ships with flat bottoms, then full of holes, must be mended. Victuals were lacking and must be provided. The mariners, long kept against their wills, began to shrink away. The ports of Dunkirk and Newport, by which he must bring his army to the sea, were now so beset with the strong ships of Holland and Zealand, which were furnished with great and small ammunition, that he was not able to come to sea, unless he would come upon his own apparent destruction, and headlong cast himself and his men willfully into danger. Yet he omitted nothing that might be done, being an eager and industrious man, and inflamed with a desire to overcome England.

But queen Elizabeth's prudence and care, prevented both the diligence of the duke of Parma, and the credulous hope of the Spaniards. For by her commandment, the next day the admiral took eight of his worst ships, charged the ordnance in them up to the mouth with small shot, nails, and stones, and dressed them with wild-fire, pitch, and rosin, and filled them full of brimstone and some other matter fit for fire. These being set on fire under the direction of Young and Prowse, were secretly in the night, by the help of the wind, set full upon the Spanish fleet, and sent in among them as they lay at anchor, on Sunday, the **28th of July**.

When the Spaniards saw them come near, the flame shining and giving light all over the sea; they supposed those ships, besides the danger of fire, to have been also furnished with deadly engines, to make horrible destruction among them. They lifted up a most hideous, woeful cry. Some pulled up their anchors, some for haste cut their cables. They raised their sails, worked their oars, and stricken with panic and terror, they fled in great haste most confusedly. Among them, their flag ship, floating upon the seas, her rudder broken, in great danger and fear, drew towards Calais. Sticking in the sand, it was taken by Sir Amias Preston, Sir Thomas Gerard, and Mr. Harvey. Don Hugo de Moncada the captain, was slain; the soldiers and mariners were either killed or drowned. There was found a great store of gold in her, which fell to be the prey of the English. The ship and ordnance fell to the share of the governor of Calais.

The Spaniards report that the duke, when he saw the fire-ships coming, commanded all the fleet to pull up their anchors, and that as soon as the danger was past, every ship should

return again to its station. He himself returned, giving a sign to the rest by shooting off a gun. This was heard but by a few, for they were scattered far off, some into the open sea, some through fear were driven upon the shallows of the coast of Flanders.

Over against Graveling,[67] the Spanish fleet began to gather themselves together. But Drake and Fenner came upon them, and battered them with great ordnance. Fenton, Southwel, Beeston, Cross, Riman, and soon after, the lord Admiral, the lord Howard, and the lord Sheffield, came in, and all joined together. The duke of Medina, and the admirals Leva, Oquendo, Recalde, and others, with much ado getting themselves out of the shallows, sustained the English force as well as they could, until most of their ships were pierced and torn; the galleon *St. Matthew*, commanded by Diego Pienientelli, coming to the aid of the *St. Philip*, was pierced and shaken with the reiterated shots of Seymour and Winter, and driven to Ostend. It was at last taken by the Flushingers. The *St. Philip* came to the same end; so did the galleon of Biscay, and diverse others.

On the last day of this month, the Spanish fleet, striving to recover the straits again, were driven toward Zealand. The English left off pursuing them, as the Spaniards thought, because they saw them in a manner thrown away, and supposing that they could not avoid the shallows of Zealand. But the wind turning, the Spaniards got out of the shallows, and then began to consult what was best for them to do.

It was determined, that as they had no hope that the duke of Parma would be able to get out to their assistance, as he himself was blockaded by lord Henry Seymour and the Hollanders, their only chance of safety was to sail northwards, and by making the circuit of the British isles, return to Spain.

Every sail was now set, and the remaining ships of the armada stood out to sea. They were followed by the English admiral as far as the Frith of Forth in Scotland. After the Spaniards had passed the Orkneys, a violent storm arose which so disheartened the mariners that they allowed many of their ships to be driven on the adjacent coast. Many were also shipwrecked on the coast of Ireland, and were either killed on the spot, or only reserved to perish by the hands of the executioner. During the tempest, one division of the armada was driven back into the English Channel where the ships were separately engaged. After a feeble resistance they were either taken by the English cruizers,[68] or by the vessels belonging to Rochelle. Such was the fate of a fleet which was considered invincible. In the space of a single month it was nearly destroyed either by their enemy, or by the tempest, and very few of the ships were ever permitted to return to their own country. Thus God miraculously defended us against the dangerous intentions of our enemies.

Queen Elizabeth, after the signal success which had attended her arms, came to St. Paul's church to give public thanksgiving, in a chariot drawn with two horses. Her nobles accompanied her with a very gallant train through the streets of London, which were hung with blue cloth. The companies standing on both sides were in their liveries; the banners that were taken from the enemy were spread. She heard the sermon, and public thanks were rendered to God with great joy. This public joy was augmented when Sir Robert Sidney, returning from Scotland, brought from the king assurance of his noble mind and affection to the queen, and to religion. Just as he had established this in sincerity, so he purposed to maintain it with all his power. Sir Robert Sidney was sent to him when the Spanish fleet was coming, to congratulate and to give him thanks for his ready affection towards the

[67] *Graveling* (*i.e., Gravelines*): a fortified town in northern France, located between Calais and Dunkirk.

[68] *Cruizer* (or cruiser): fast and well-armed ships used for raiding and patrolling in times of war.

maintenance of the common cause; and to declare how ready the queen would be to help him if the Spaniards should land in Scotland. Also that he might recall to memory, with what strange ambition the Spaniard had gaped for all Britain, urging the pope to excommunicate Sidney, to the end that he might be thrust from the kingdom of Scotland, and from the succession in England. And she gave him notice of Mendoza and the pope's nuncio (ambassador), who threatened Sidney's ruin if they could work it. Therefore she warned him to take especial heed to the Scottish papists.

The king pleasantly answered that he looked for no other benefit from the Spaniard, than that which Polyphemus promised to Ulysses,[69] to devour him last, after his fellows were devoured.

[69] *Ulysses*: legendary Greek king of Ithaca and hero of Homer's epic poem *the Odyssey*.

APPENDIX III.

Discovering the Gunpowder Treason, with the examination of some of the prisoners.

Containing a discourse regarding the manner of the discovery. [70]

By John Foxe

While this land and its entire monarchy flourished in a most happy and plentiful peace, at home as well as abroad, sustained and conducted by these two main pillars of all good government, Piety and Justice, no foreign grudge, nor inward whispering of discontentment appeared in any way. The king [71] was returning from his hunting exercise at Royston, on the occasion of the meeting of parliament drawing near, which had been twice prorogued already. This was partly regarding the season of the year, and partly the term. As the winds are ever stillest immediately before a storm; and as the sun often shines hottest to foretell a shower to come; so it was at that time of greatest calm, that secretly hatched thunder began to cast forth the first flashes and flaming lightnings of the approaching tempest. For the Saturday of the week immediately preceding the king's return, which was on a Thursday (only ten days before the parliament), lord Monteagle, son and heir to the lord Morley, being in his own lodging, ready to go to supper at seven o'clock at night, one of his footmen (whom he had sent on an errand across the street) was met by an unknown man who delivered him a letter, charging him to put it into his master's hands.

My lord no sooner received this, than he opened it, and perceived it was of an unknown and somewhat illegible hand, and without date or superscription, called one of his men to help him to read it. But no sooner did he perceive the strange contents of it, though he was somewhat perplexed as to what construction to make of it (whether it was a matter of consequence, as indeed it was, or whether it was some foolishly devised pasquinade [72] made by some of his enemies, to scare him from his attendance at the parliament) yet as a most dutiful and loyal subject, he concluded not to conceal it, whatever might come of it. Whereupon, notwithstanding the lateness and darkness of the night in that season of the year, he quickly repaired to his majesty's palace at Whitehall, and there he delivered the same to the earl of Salisbury, his majesty's principal secretary. The said earl of Salisbury, having read the letter and heard the manner of it the coming to his hands, greatly encouraged and commended my lord for his discretion. He told him plainly that whatever the purpose of the letter might prove hereafter, yet this accident put him in mind of diverse advices he had received from beyond the seas, with which he had acquainted the king himself, as well as diverse of his privy councilors. They concerned some business the papists were about both at home and abroad, making preparation for some combination among them against this session of parliament, enabling them to deliver at that time to the king some petition for toleration of religion. This would be delivered in some such order, and so

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[70] The Gunpowder Treason was a failed conspiracy by a group of English Catholics, led by Robert Catesby and Guy Fawkes, to assassinate King James I during the State Opening of Parliament, the 5th of November 1605.

[71] James I of England (1566–1625) was a devout Protestant, raised in the Protestant faith despite his Catholic mother, Mary, Queen of Scots. He was a prolific writer on Protestant theology and strongly supported the Anglican Church, advocating for an episcopal structure in both England and Scotland. His belief in the divine right of kings led him to view himself as a unifying figure, aiming to reconcile religious divisions rather than promote militant Protestantism. He was the first Stuart king of England, reigning from 1603 until his death in 1625. He was also James VI of Scotland, having ascended the Scottish throne at just 13 months old in 1567 after his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, was forced to abdicate. He was anointed by John Knox (c. 1514-1572). James I commissioned the *King James Bible*, published in 1611, stabilizing the English language and the text of Scripture for the next 400 years.

[72] *Pasquinade*: a composition that imitates or misrepresents somebody's style, usually in a humorous way.

well backed, that the king would be loath to refuse their request — like sturdy beggars craving alms with one open hand, but carrying a stone in the other, in case of refusal. And therefore the earl of Salisbury concluded with the lord Monteagle, that he would, in regard of the king's absence, impart the same letter to some more of his majesty's council. My lord Monteagle approved of this, only adding this request, by way of protestation, that whatever the event of it might prove, it should not be imputed to him. It proceeded upon too light or too sudden an apprehension, that he delivered this letter, being only moved to it as a demonstration of his ready devotion and care for the preservation of his majesty and the state. And thus the earl of Salisbury presently acquainted the lord chamberlain with the said letter. Whereupon those two, in the presence of lord Monteagle, called to mind the former intelligence already mentioned, which seemed to have some relation with this letter. The tender care which they ever carried to the preservation of his majesty's person, made them apprehend that some perilous attempt thereby appeared to be intended against the same. This more nearly concerned the lord chamberlain to take care of, in that it belongs to the charge of his office to oversee all places of assembly where his majesty is to repair, as well as his highness's own private houses. Therefore the said two counsellors concluded that they should join to themselves three more of the council, to wit, the lord admiral, the earls of Worcester and Northampton, to also be particularly acquainted with this accident. All of them having concurred together to the re-examination of the contents of the said letter, they concluded that however slight a matter it might at first appear to be, yet it was not absolutely to be dismissed in respect to the care which it behooved them to take for the preservation of his majesty's person.

[1011] AD. 1585

Therefore they resolved to acquaint the king himself with the letter before they proceeded to any further inquisition in the matter. This was for two reasons. First, for the expectation and experience they had of his majesty's fortunate judgment in clearing up obscure riddles and doubtful mysteries, and secondly, because more time would be given in the meanwhile for the practice to ripen, if there really was any, by which the discovery might be clearer and more evident, and the ground for proceeding upon it would be safer, more just, and easier. And so, according to their determination, the said earl of Salisbury repaired to the king in his gallery on Friday (All-hallow's day), in the afternoon. This was the day after his majesty's arrival. None but himself was present with his highness at that time. There, without any other speech or judgment given about the letter, but simply relating the form of its delivery, he presented it to his majesty. Its contents follow:

> "My lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care for your preservation. Therefore I would advise you as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And do not think slightly of this notice; but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there is no appearance of any stir, yet I say, this parliament will receive a terrible blow, and yet they will not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be dismissed, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm. For the danger is past as soon as you have burnt the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it; to whose holy protection I commend you."

The king no sooner read the letter, than after a little pause, and then reading it over again, he delivered his judgment about it, saying that he thought it was not to be dismissed. For the style of it appeared to be more quick and pithy than is usual in any pasquinade or hoax (the superfluities of idle brains). But the earl of Salisbury, perceiving the king to apprehend it deeper than he looked for, knowing his nature, told him that he thought by one sentence

in it, that it was likely to be written by some fool or madman, reading to him this sentence, "For the danger is past as soon as you have burnt the letter," which he said was likely to be the saying of a fool. For if the danger was past as soon as the letter was burnt, then the warning was necessarily of little avail, when the burning of the letter might make the danger avoided. But the king, on the contrary, considering the former sentence in the letter, "That they should receive a terrible blow at this parliament, and yet would not see who hurt them," joining it to the sentence immediately following, already alleged, conjectured from these that the danger mentioned would be some sudden danger by blowing up powder. For no other insurrection, rebellion, or other private and desperate attempt could be committed or attempted in the time of the meeting of parliament. And the authors of it would be unseen, unless it was by blowing up powder, which might be performed by one base knave in a dark corner. Whereupon he was moved to interpret and construe the latter sentence in the letter (alleged by the earl of Salisbury) against all ordinary sense and construction in grammar. As if these words, "For the danger is past as soon as you have burnt the letter," should be closely understood as the sudden effects of the danger, which would be as quickly performed and at an end, as that paper would be, blazing up in the fire. He turned that word "as soon," to the sense of, "as quickly." And therefore he wished that before his going to the parliament, the under-rooms of the parliament-house might be well and narrowly searched.

But the earl of Salisbury, wondered at his majesty's comments, which he knew to be so far contrary to his ordinary and natural disposition. He was someone who leaned rather on the other side, in not apprehending or trusting due notices of practices and perils when he was truly informed of them. By this means he had many times drawn himself into many desperate dangers. Rightly interpreting this extraordinary caution at this time, proceeded from the vigilant care he had for the whole state, more than of his own person, both of which could have perished together if this design had succeeded. The earl thought it good to still dissemble to the king, if there had been any just cause for such apprehension. And so, ending the purpose with some merry jest on this subject, as his custom was, he took his leave for that time. Though he thus seemed to neglect it, his customary and watchful care of the king and the state still boiling within him, he could not be at rest till he acquainted the lords with what had passed between the king and himself in private.

Whereupon, they were all so earnest to remind his majesty of the same purpose, that it was agreed the earl would repair to his highness the next day, being Saturday. This he did in the privy gallery, renewing the memory of the letter; the lord chamberlain was then present with the king. At that time, it was determined that the lord chamberlain should, according to his custom and office, view all the parliament houses, both above and below, and consider what likelihood or appearance of any such danger might possibly be gathered by the sight of them, as well as staying idle rumors. As for being better able to discern any mystery, the nearer that things were in readiness, his journey there was ordained to be deferred till the afternoon before Parliament sat down, which was on the following Monday. At that time (according to this conclusion) he went to the parliament house, accompanied by my lord Monteagle, being zealous in the king's service, earnest and curious to see the outcome of that accident of which he had the fortune to be the first discoverer. There, having viewed all the lower rooms, he found in the vault under the upper house, a great store and provisions of billets (crates), faggots, and coals. Inquiring from Whynniard, the keeper of the wardrobe, to what use he had put those lower rooms and cellars, he was told that Thomas Percy [73] had hired both the house and part of the cellar or vault under the same, and that the

[73] Thomas Percy was a leader in the treasonous conspiracy, with Robert Catesby, John Wright, *et al.*

wood and coal, under which were hidden thirty-six barrels of gunpowder, great and small, besides great bars of iron, pieces of timber, and massive stones covered over with faggots, were Percy's own provision. Whereupon the lord chamberlain, casting his eye aside, perceived a fellow standing in a corner there, calling himself the Percy's man, and keeper of that house for him. But indeed it was Guido (Guy) Fawkes, the owner of that hand which would have enacted that monstrous and hellish tragedy.

The lord chamberlain, looking upon all things with great suspicion, cast in outward appearance only a careless and reckless eye (as became so wise and diligent a minister). He quickly addressed himself to the king in the privy gallery where, in the presence of the lord treasurer, the lord admiral, the earls of Worcester, Northampton, and Salisbury, he made his report of what he had seen and observed there. He noted what Monteagle had told him, and that he no sooner heard Thomas Percy named as the possessor of that house, than considering both his backwardness in religion, and the old dearness in friendship between himself and Percy, he greatly suspected the matter, and that the letter might come from him. The lord chamberlain also said that he did not wonder a little at the extraordinary great provision of wood and coal in that house, when Thomas Percy so seldom had occasion to remain long in town. Likewise it seemed to him in his mind, that this man looked like a very tall and desperate fellow.

This could not help but increase the king's former apprehension and jealousy. Whereupon he insisted (as before) that the house should be narrowly searched, and that those billets and coals should be searched to the bottom, it being most suspicious that they were laid there only to cover the gunpowder. All the counsellors then present were also of this same mind.

[1020] A.D. 1605.

But as to the manner of making the search, it was long debated. For on the one side, they were all so jealous for the king's safety, that they all agreed that there could not be too much caution used for preventing his danger. Yet on the other side they were all extremely loath and delicate that in case this letter should prove to be nothing but the evaporation of an idle brain, then a curious search being made, and nothing found, it might not only turn to the general scandal of the king and the state, as being so suspicious of every light and frivolous toy, but likewise lay an ill-favored imputation upon the earl of Northumberland, one of his majesty's greatest subjects and counsellors, this Thomas Percy being his kinsman and most confident familiar. And they were rather curious on this point, knowing how far the king detested to be thought suspicious or jealous of any of his good subjects, even of the meanest degree. And therefore, though they all agreed upon the main ground, which was to provide for the security of the king's person, yet they greatly differed in the circumstances by which this action might best be carried out, with the least noise and occasion for slander. But the king himself still persisting that there were diverse shrewd appearances, and that a narrow search of those places could prejudice no man who was innocent, he at last plainly resolved that either all the parts of those rooms must be narrowly searched, and no possibility of danger left unexamined, or else he and they must all resolve not to meddle in it at all, but to plainly go the next day to the parliament, and leave the success to fortune. This he believed they would be loath to take upon their consciences. For in such a case as this, half doing was worse than not doing at all.

Whereupon it was at last concluded that nothing should be left unsearched in those houses. and yet for the better color and staying of rumor, in case nothing were found, it was thought appropriate that upon a pretense of Whynniard's missing some of the king's stuff or

hangings which he had in keeping, all these rooms should be narrowly ripped for them. And to this purpose, Sir Thomas Knevet was employed, a gentleman of his majesty's privy chamber. He was a justice of peace in Westminster, and one whose ancient fidelity to both the late queen and our new sovereign, have had large proof. According to the trust committed to him, he went about, the midnight preceding the parliament house, accompanied by as small a number as was fit for that errand. But before his entry into the house, finding Thomas Percy's alleged man standing outside the doors, his clothes and boots on at so dead a time of night, he resolved to apprehend him, as he did. Afterwards he went forward to searching the house. After he had some of the billets and coals overturned, he first found one of the small barrels of gunpowder, and afterward all the rest, numbering thirty-six barrels, great and small. Thereafter, searching the fellow whom he had taken, he found three matches ready upon him, and all other instruments fit for blowing up the powder. This made him instantly confess his own guiltiness, declaring also to him, that if he had happened to be within the house when he took him at the ending of his work, as he was immediately before, he would not have failed to blow him up, house and all.

Thus after Sir Thomas had the wretch securely bound, and well-guarded by the company he had with him, he returned to the king's palace, and gave warning of his success to the lord chamberlain and earl of Salisbury. They immediately warned the rest of the council that lay in the house, as soon as they could get themselves ready, and came with their fellow councilors to the king's bedchamber. It was at that time nearly four o'clock in the morning. At the first entry at the king's chamber door, the lord chamberlain, no longer able to conceal his joy for preventing so great a danger, told the king in a confused haste, that all was found and discovered, and the traitor was in hands and fast bound.

Then, order first being taken to send for the rest of the council that lay in the town, the prisoner himself was brought into the house. A short while later, the council examined him. Seeming to put on a Roman resolution, both to the council and to every other person who spoke with him that day, he appeared so constant and settled upon his grounds, that we all thought we had found some new Mutius Scaevola [74] born in England. For notwithstanding the horror of the fact — the guilt of his conscience, his sudden surprising, the terror which should have been stricken in him by coming into the presence of so grave a council, and the restless and confused questions that every man vexed him with all that day — his countenance was far from being dejected. He often smiled in a scornful manner, not only avowing the fact, but repenting only, with the said Scaevola, his failing in its execution. He said of this, that the devil, and not God, was the discoverer. He answered quickly to every man's objection, scoffed at any idle questions propounded to him, and jested at those he thought had no authority to examine him. All that day the council could get nothing out of him regarding his accomplices, refusing to answer to any questions he thought might reveal the plot, and laying all the blame on himself. As to this, he said he was moved only for religion and conscience' sake, denying the king was his lawful sovereign, nor the anointed of God, in respect to which he was a heretic. He gave himself no other name than John Johnson, servant to Thomas Percy. But the next morning, being carried to the Tower of London, he did not remain there more than two or three days, being re-examined two or three times in that space. The rack was merely offered and shown to him, when the mask of his Roman fortitude visibly began to wear and slide off his face. Then he began to confess

[74] Gaius Mucius Scaevola was a legendary Roman hero known for his bravery during the siege of Rome by the Etruscan king Lars Porsena, c. 509 BC. He attempted to assassinate the king, but mistakenly killed an attendant. To show his courage, he burned his own hand in a fire, earning the nickname "Scaevola," which means "left-handed."

part of the truth, and thereafter he opened the whole matter, as it appears by his depositions, which immediately follow.

The True Copy of the Declaration of Guido (Guy) Fawkes, taken in the presence of the Counsellors whose Names are underwritten.

"I confess that a practice in general was first broken to me against his majesty for the relief of the catholic cause, and not invented or propounded by myself; and this was first propounded to me about Easter, twelve months ago, beyond the seas in the Low Countries, by Thomas Winter. He thereupon came with me into England, and there we imparted our purpose to three other gentlemen, namely, Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, and John Wright. All five were consulting together about the means of executing the same, and taking a vow among ourselves for secrecy.

[The vow was this: "You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that will be proposed to you to keep secret; nor desist from the execution of it until the rest give you leave." After this, being confessed and receiving absolution, the forementioned received the sacrament by the hands of Gerrard, the Jesuit present there.]

"Catesby propounded to have it performed by gunpowder, and by making a mine under the upper house of Parliament. We made this choice because religion having been unjustly suppressed there, it was fittest that justice and punishment should be executed there.

"This being resolved among us, Thomas Percy hired a house at Westminster for that purpose, near adjoining the parliament-house, and there we began to make our mine about the 11th of December 1604.

"The five who first entered into the work were Thomas Percy, Robert Catesby, Thomas Winter, John Wright, and myself. Soon after we took to us Christopher Wright, having sworn him also, and taken the sacrament for secrecy.

"When we came to the very foundation of the wall of the house, which was about three yards thick, and found it a matter of great difficulty, we took to us another gentleman, Robert Winter, in like manner with oath and sacrament, as aforesaid.

"It was about Christmas when we brought our mine to the wall, and about Candlemas we had wrought the wall halfway through. While they were in working, I stood as sentinel to spot any man who came near, of which I gave them warning, and so they ceased until I gave notice again to proceed.

[1021] A.D. 1605.

"All seven of us lay in the house, having shot and powder, being resolved to die in that place, before we would yield or be taken.

"As they were working on the wall, they heard a rushing in the cellar, of removing coals, upon which we feared we had been discovered. They sent me to the cellar. Finding the coals were being sold, and that the cellar was to be let, viewing the commodity of it for our purpose, Percy went and hired the same for yearly rent.

"Before this, we had provided and brought into the house twenty barrels of powder, which we removed into the cellar, and we covered the same with billets and faggots, which were provided for that purpose.

"About Easter, the parliament being prorogued till October next, we dispersed ourselves. I retired into the Low Countries, by advice and direction of the rest, to acquaint Owen with the

particulars of the plot, and also lest by my longer stay I might have grown suspected, and so come into question.

"In the meantime Percy, having the key to the cellar, laid more powder and wood into it. I returned about the beginning of that September. Then receiving the key again from Mr. Percy, we brought in more powder, and billets to cover it again. And so I went for a time into the country till the 30th of October.

"It was further resolved among us, that the same day that this act would have been performed, some others of our confederates would have surprised the person of the lady Elizabeth, the king's eldest daughter, who was kept in Warwickshire at the lord Harrington's house, and quickly have proclaimed her queen, having a project of a proclamation ready for that purpose. We made no mention in it of altering religion, nor would we have avowed the deed to be ours, until we had power enough to make our party good; and then we would have avowed both.

"Concerning duke Charles, the king's second son, we had sundry consultations how to seize his person. But because we found no means to compass it (the duke being kept near London, where we did not have enough forces) we resolved to serve our turn with the lady Elizabeth."

Commissioners.

Nottingham,	Worcester,
Suffolk,	Devonshire,
Northampton,	Salisbury.

Before the above discourse was ready to go to press, Thomas Winter was apprehended and brought to the Tower. He made a confession, agreeing in substance with the former one of Fawkes, only more at large in some circumstances. I thought it good to insert it here, to further clarify the matter, and for the greater benefit of the reader.

Thomas Winter's Confession, taken the 23rd of November, in the year 1605, in the presence of the Councillors, whose Names are under-written.

"My most Honorable Lords,

"Not out of hope to obtain pardon; for speaking of my temporal part in this, I may say the fault is greater than can be forgiven. Nor affecting here the title of a good subject, I must redeem my country from as great a danger, as I have hazarded bringing her into, before I can purchase any such opinion. Only, at your honors' command, I will briefly set down my accusation, and how far I have proceeded in this business, which I will more faithfully do, since I see such courses are not pleasing to Almighty God, and that all, or the most material parts, have already been confessed.

"I remained with my brother in the country from Alhallowtide [75] until the beginning of Lent, in the year of our Lord 1603, the first year of the king's reign. About that time Catesby sent there, entreating me to come to London, where he and my other friends would be glad to see me. I desired him to excuse me, for I found myself not very well disposed. And (which had never happened to me before) the messenger returned without my company. Shortly I received another letter, to come anyway. At the second summons I presently came up, and found him with Mr. John Wright at Lambeth, where he told me how necessary it was not to forsake our country (for he knew then I had a resolution to go over); but to deliver her from the servitude

[75] Allhallowtide is a Christian season that includes three days: All Hallows' Eve (Halloween) on Oct 31st, All Saints' Day on Nov 1st, and All Souls' Day on Nov 2nd, dedicated to honoring saints and all faithful departed Christians.

in which she remained, or at least to assist her with our uttermost endeavors. I answered that I had often risked my life on far lighter terms, and now would not refuse any good occasion in which I might do service to the catholic cause. But for myself, I knew no probable means to succeed. He said that he had thought to himself of a way, at one instant, to deliver us from all our bonds, and also without any foreign help, to replant again the catholic religion. With this, he told me in a word, that it was to blow up the parliament house with gunpowder. For, he said, in that place they have done us all the mischief, and perhaps God has designed that place for their punishment.

"I wondered at the strangeness of the concept, and told him that it was true, that this struck at the root, and would breed a confusion fit to beget new alterations. But if it were not to take effect (as most things of this nature miscarried), the scandal would be so great which the catholic religion might sustain by it, that not only our enemies, but also our friends would condemn us with good reason. He told me the nature of the disease required so sharp a remedy, and asked me if I would consent to it. I told him, yes, in this or whatever else, if he resolved upon it, I would venture my life. But I proposed many difficulties, such as lack of a house, and of someone to carry the mine, noise in the working, and such like. His answer was, 'Let us make an attempt, and where it fails, pass no further. But first,' he said, 'because we will leave no peaceable and quiet way untried, you will go over and inform the constable, of the state of the catholics here in England, entreating him to solicit his majesty at his coming here, that the penal laws may be recalled, and we be admitted into the rank of his other subjects. With this, you may bring over some confident gentlemen, such as you understand will be best able for this business; and he named to me Master Fawkes. Shortly after, I passed over the sea and found the constable at Bergen near Dunkirk, where by help of Master Owen, I delivered my message. His answer was that he had strict command from his master, to do all good offices for the catholics, and for his own part, he thought himself bound in conscience to do so, and that no good occasion should be omitted, but say nothing to him of this matter.

"Returning to Dunkirk with Master Owen, we spoke about whether he thought the constable would faithfully help us or not. He said he believed that they sought only their own ends, taking small account of catholics. I told him that there were many gentlemen in England, who would not forsake their country until they had tried their uttermost, and would rather venture their lives than forsake her in this misery. And to add one more to our number, as a fit man both for counsel and execution of whatever we should resolve, we wished for Master Fawkes, of whom I had heard good commendations. He told me the gentleman deserved no less, but was at Brussels. And that if he did not come before my departure, as perhaps he might, he would send him into England shortly after. Soon after that, I went to Ostend, where Sir William Stanley had not arrived, but came two days later. I remained with him three or four days, in which time I asked him whether, if the catholics in England were to do anything to help themselves, he thought the archduke would second them? He answered, no. For all those parts were so desirous of peace with England, that they would endure no speech of other enterprises. Nor was it fit, he said, to set any project afoot now that the peace is concluding. I told him there was no such resolution, and so I fell to discoursing about other matters, until I came to speak of Master Fawkes, whose company I wished over into England.

[1022] A.D. 1605.

"I asked of his sufficiency in the wars, and told him we would need men such as he if occasion required. He gave very good commendations of him. As we were thus discoursing, and I was ready to depart from Newport, upon taking my leave of Sir William, Master Fawkes came into our company, newly returned, and greeted us. This is the gentleman, said Sir William, that we wished for, and so we embraced again. I told him, some good friends of his wished his company in England, and that if he was pleased to come to Dunkirk, to which I was then

going, we would have further conference. So taking my leave of them both, I departed. About two days later Master Fawkes came to Dunkirk, where I told him that upon a resolution, we were to do something with England, if the peace with Spain did not help us, but as yet we had resolved upon nothing. Such or like talk we passed at Graveling, where I lay for a wind. And when it served, we both came in one passage to Greenwich, near which we took a pair of oars, and so came up to London, and came to Master Catesby, whom we found in his lodging. He welcomed us into England, and asked me what news from the constable. I told him, good words, but I feared the deeds would not correspond. This was the beginning of Easter term, and about the middle of the term (whether sent for by Master Catesby, or upon some business of his own) Master Thomas Percy came up. The first word he spoke (after he came into our company) was, 'Shall we always *talk* (gentlemen), and never *do* anything?' Master Catesby took him aside, and told him something about what was to be done, so that first we might all take an oath of secrecy, which we resolved to do within two or three days. So that there we met behind St. Clements — Master Catesby, Master Percy, Master Wright, Master Guy Fawkes, and myself. And having given each other the oath of secrecy upon a primer,[76] in a chamber where nobody else was, we later went into the next room, heard mass, and received the blessed sacrament upon the same.

"Then Master Catesby disclosed to Master Percy and I, together with Jack Wright, and tell to Master Fawkes, the business for which we took this oath, which they both approved. And then Master Percy was sent to take the house which Master Catesby had learned, in my absence, belonged to one Ferris. With some difficulty, in the end he obtained it, and became as Ferris was before, a tenant to Whynniard. Master Fawkes went under the name of Master Percy's man, calling him Johnson, because his name was the most unknown. He received the keys of the house, until we heard that the parliament was adjourned to the 7th of February. At which time we all departed our several ways into the country, to meet again at the beginning of Michaelmas term.[77] Before this time it was also thought convenient to have a house that might answer to Master Percy's, where we might make provision of powder and wood for the mine, which being made ready there in a night, should be conveyed by boat in a night to the house by the parliament, because we were loath to make that suspicious by often going in and out. There was none that we could devise so fit as Lambeth, where Master Catesby often lay. And to be the keeper of it (by Master Catesby's choice) we received Keyes into our number, as a trusty honest man. This was about a month before Michaelmas.

"Some fortnight later, towards the beginning of the term. Master Fawkes and I came to Master Catesby at Moorecrofts, where we agreed that now it was time to begin and set things in order for the mine. So Master Fawkes went to London. The next day he sent for me to come over to him. When I came, the reason was that the Scottish lords were appointed to sit in conference of the union in Master Percy's house. This hindered our beginning until a fortnight before Christmas, by which time both Master Percy and Master Wright had come to London, and against their coming, we had provided a good part of the powder; so that all five of us entered with tools fit to begin our work. We had provided ourselves with baked meats so there was less need to send abroad for them. We entered late in the night, and were never seen, only Master Percy's man, until Christmas eve. At that time we worked under a little entry to the wall of the parliament house, and underpropped it with wood as we went.

"While we were together, we began to fashion our business, and discoursed about what we should do after this deed was done. The first question was how we might surprise the next heir. The prince [78] perhaps would be at the parliament with the king his father. How should we

[76] *Primer*: a prayer or devotional book intended for laity, initially an abridgment of the breviary and manual.

[77] *Michaelmas*: a day of feasting on September 29th, the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel.

[78] The prince (son of James I) was the future King Charles I (Roman Catholic), only five years old at the time.

then be able to seize on the duke? Master Percy undertook this burden, that by his acquaintance with another gentleman, he would enter the chamber without suspicion. And having some dozen others at several doors to expect his coming, and two or three on horseback at the court gate to receive him, he would undertake (the blow being given, until which he would attend in the duke's chamber) to carry the prince safely away. For he supposed most of the court would be absent, and those who were there, were not suspecting, or had not provided for any such matter. As for the lady Elizabeth,[79] it would be easy to surprise her in the country, by drawing friends together at a hunt near the lord Harrington's, and Ashby, Master Catesby's house, not being far off, was a fit place for preparation.

"The next was for money and horses, which if we could provide in any reasonable measure (having the heir apparent, and advance knowledge by four or five days), was odds sufficient.

"Then what lords we should save from the parliament. This was first agreed in general, as many as we could who were catholics, or so disposed. But later we descended to speak of particulars.

"Next what foreign princes we should acquaint with this beforehand, or join with afterward. For this point we agreed on, that first we could not enjoin princes to that secrecy, nor oblige them by oath, so as to be secure of their promises. Besides, we did not know whether they would approve of the project or dislike it. And if they did allow for it, to prepare beforehand might beget suspicion; and not to provide until after the business was enacted, the same letter that carried news of the thing done, might as well entreat their help and furtherance. Spain is too slow in her preparations to hope for any good from in the first extremities; and France was too near and too dangerous. With the shipping of Holland, we feared that, of all the world, they might be the ones to make away with us.

"But while we were in the middle of these discourses, we heard that the parliament would be adjourned anew until after Michaelmas. Upon these tidings we broke off both discourse and working until after Christmas. About Candlemas [80] we brought over in a boat the powder, which we had provided at Lambeth, and laid it in Percy's house, because we were willing to have all our dangers in one place.

"We also worked another fortnight in the mine against the stone wall, which was very hard to break through. At that time we called in Kit Wright; and near to Easter, as we worked on it the third time, opportunity was given to hire the cellar, in which we resolved to lay the powder and leave the mine.

"Now, the charge of maintaining us all for so long together, besides the cost of several houses which had been hired for different uses, and buying powder, etc., had lain heavy upon Master Catesby alone to support, it was necessary for him to call in some others to ease his costs. And to that end, he desired leave that he, with Percy, and a third, whom they would call, might acquaint whomever they thought fit and willing to aid the business. For many, he said, may be content that I should know, but who would not have the whole company be acquainted with their names. To this we all agreed.

"After this, Fawkes laid into the cellar (which he had newly taken) a thousand billets, and five hundred faggots, and covered the powder with that, because then we might have the house free to allow anyone to enter who would. Catesby wished us to consider whether it would not

[79] Elizabeth (of Bohemia) was the only surviving daughter of James I; she was nine years old at the time. She later married Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and became known as the "Winter Queen."

[80] Candlemas: a festival celebrating the purification of the Virgin Mary and the presentation of Christ in the Temple, observed on February 2nd.

now be necessary to send Master Fawkes over, both to absent himself for a time, and also to acquaint Sir William Stanley and Master Owen with this matter.

[1023] A.D. 1605.

"We agreed that he should (provided that he gave it them with the same oath that we had taken before) viz., to keep it secret from the whole world. The reason why we desired that Sir William Stanley should be acquainted with it, was to have him with us as soon as we could. And for Owen, that he might hold good correspondence afterward with foreign princes. So Fawkes departed about Easter for Flanders, and returned at the latter end of August. He told me that when he arrived at Brussels, Sir William Stanley had not returned from Spain, so that he uttered the matter only to Owen, who seemed well pleased with the business. But he told him that surely Sir William would not be acquainted with any such plot, now having business a-foot in the court of England. But he himself would always be ready to tell it to him, and send him away as soon as it was done.

"About this time Percy and Catesby met at Bath, where they agreed that the company still being but a few, Catesby should have the others' authority to call in whomever he thought best. By this authority he later called in Sir Everard Digby, though at what time I know not, and last of all Francis Tresham. The first promised, as I heard Catesby say, 1500 pounds; the second 2000 pounds; Percy himself promised all that he could get from the earl of Northumberland's rents, which was about 4000 pounds, and to provide ten swift horses.

"Meanwhile Fawkes and myself alone bought some new powder, suspecting the first to be wet, and conveyed it into the cellar, and set it in order as we resolved it should stand.

"Then the parliament was prorogued anew until the 5th of November. So we all went down until some ten days before, when Catesby came up with Fawkes to a house by Enfield-Chase called White-Webs, where I came to them. Catesby wished me to inquire whether the young prince came to the parliament. I told him that I heard his grace would not be there. Then we must have our horses beyond the water, said Catesby, and provision for more company to surprise the prince and leave the duke alone.

"Two days later, being Sunday night, someone came into my chamber and told me that a letter had been given to my lord Monteagle to this effect: that he wished his lordship's absence from the parliament, because a blow would be given there. This letter he quickly carried to my lord of Salisbury.

"On the morrow I went to White-Webs, and informed Catesby, assuring him with this, that the matter was disclosed, and wishing him in any case to forsake his country. He told me he would see further as yet, and resolved to send Fawkes to try to the uttermost, protesting that if it were his case, he would take the same risk.

"On Wednesday, Fawkes went and returned at night, of which we were very glad.

"On Thursday, I came to London. On Friday, Catesby, Tresham, and I met at Barnet, where we questioned how this letter might have been sent to my lord Monteagle, but could not conceive of it. For Tresham forswore it was not him, whom we suspected.

"On Saturday night, I met Tresham again in Lincoln's-inn-Walks, where he told such things that my lord of Salisbury might use to the king, as I gave the affair up for lost the second time, and repeated the same to Catesby. Hereupon he was resolved to be gone, but stayed to have Percy come up, whose consent in this we wanted. On Sunday, Percy being dealt with to that end, determined to abide the uttermost trial.

"This suspicion of all hands put us into such confusion, that Catesby resolved to go down into the country the Monday that Master Percy went to Sion. Percy resolved to follow the same

night, or early the next morning. About five o'clock Tuesday, the younger Wright came to my chamber, and told me that a nobleman called the lord Monteagle had said arise and come to Essex-house, for I am going to call up my lord of Northumberland — saying with this, that the matter is discovered. 'Go back, Master Wright,' I said, 'and learn what you can about Essex-Gate. Shortly after, he returned and said, 'Surely all is lost. For Lepton has gotten on horseback at Essex-door. And as he parted, he asked if their lordships would have any more with him. Being told no, he rode as fast up Fleet-street as he could. 'Go then,' I said to Percy, 'for surely it is for him they seek, and bid him be gone; I will stay and see the uttermost.' Then I went to the court-gate and found them strictly guarded, so that nobody could enter. From there I went down towards the parliament house, and in the middle of King's-street found a guard standing, who would not let me pass. As I returned I heard one say, 'There is a treason discovered, in which the king and the lords would have been blown up.' So then I was fully satisfied that all was known, and went to the stable where my horse stood, and rode into the country.

"Catesby had appointed our meeting at Dunchurch. but I could not overtake them until I came to my brother's, which was Wednesday night. On Thursday we took the armor at my lord Windsor's, and went that night to one Stephen Littleton's house. The next day (being Friday), as I was early abroad, my man came to me and said that a heavy mischance had separated all the company. For Catesby, Rookwood, and Grant were burned with gunpowder, upon which sight the rest dispersed. Littleton wished me to flee, and so would he. I told him I would first see the body of my friend and bury him, whatever befell me. When I came, I found Catesby reasonably well, Percy, both the Wrights, Rookewood, and Grant. I asked them what they resolved to do. They answered, 'We mean to die here.' I said again, I would take whatever part they did. About eleven o'clock the company came to beset the house. And as I walked into the court, I was shot in the shoulder, which lost me the use of my arm. The elder Wright was stricken dead by the next shot; after him the younger Wright; and fourthly, Ambrose Rookwood was shot. Then Catesby said to me (standing before the door they were to enter) 'stand by me, Tom, and we will die together.' 'Sir,' I said, 'I have lost the use of my right arm, and I fear that will cause me to be taken.' So as we stood close together, Catesby, Percy, and myself, those two were shot (as far as I could guess, with one bullet) and then the company entered upon me, hurt me in the belly with a pike, and gave me other wounds, until one came behind and caught hold of both my arms.'"

Commissioners:
Nottingham, Suffolk, Northampton, Marr, Worcester, Levrnshire,
Salisbury, Dunbar, Popham. Also, Edw. Coke, W. Waad.

The names of those who were first in the treason, and labored in the mine:

Esquires.
Robert Catesby, and Robert Winter,

Gentlemen.
Thomas Percy, Thomas Winter, John Wright, Christopher Wright,
Guido Fawkes, and Bates, Catesby's man.

Those who were made acquainted with it, though not personally laboring in the mine, nor in the cellar:

Everard Digby, knight.

Esquires:
Ambrose Rookwood, Francis Tresham;
John Grant, gentleman, and Robert Keyes.

The Fate of the Other Conspirators.

But here, let us leave Fawkes in a lodging fit for such a guest, and taking time to advise upon his conscience, and turn to that part of the history which concerns the fortune of the rest of his partakers in that abominable treason. The news was no sooner spread abroad that morning, which was on a Tuesday, the 5th of November, which was the first day designed for that session of parliament. The news, I say, of such a strange and unlooked-for accident, was no sooner divulged, than some of these conspirators — namely, Winter and the two Wrights — thought it high time for them to hasten out of town.

[1024]

For Catesby had gone the night before, and Percy at four o'clock in the morning, the same day of the discovery. And all of them held their course with more haste than good speed, to Warwickshire towards Coventry. There, on Wednesday morning, about the same hour that Fawkes was taken in Westminster, one Grant, a gentleman, having associated with some others of his opinion (all violent papists and strong recusants), came to a stable of one Benock, a rider of great horses. Having violently broken it open, they carried along with them all the great horses that were in it, numbering seven or eight, belonging to different noblemen and gentlemen of that county, who had put them into that rider's hands to be made fit for their service. And so both that company of those who fled out of London, as also Grant and his accomplices, met together at Dunchurch, at Sir Everard Digby's lodging, on the Tuesday night after the discovery of this treacherous attempt. Regarding this, Digby had likewise, for his part, appointed a hunting match for the next day, which was Wednesday — though his mind was Nimrod-like upon a far different manner of hunting, one more bent on the blood of reasonable men than brute beasts.

This company and hellish society thus convened, finding their purpose discovered and their treachery prevented, resolved to run a desperate course. And since they could not prevail by so private a blow, [they hoped] to practice by a public rebellion, either to attain their object, or at least to save themselves in the throng of others. Therefore, gathering all the company they could to themselves, and pretending it was the quarrel of religion, they intercepted such provision of armor, horses, and powder as the time permitted. They thought, to augment their number piece by piece by running up and down the country — dreaming they had the virtue of a snow-ball which, being little at the first and tumbling down from a great hill, grows to a great quantity by increasing itself with the snow it meets on the way. They also thought that first beginning this brave show in one part of the country, they could by their sympathy and example, stir up and encourage the rest of their religion to rise in other parts of England, as they had done there. But when they had gathered their force to the greatest, they did not come to eighty in number. Yet they were troubled all the hours of the day to keep and contain their own servants from stealing from them, who notwithstanding all their care, left them daily. They were far inferior to Gideon's host in number, but their faith in the justness of their quarrel was far more.

And so, after this popish troop had wandered a while through Warwickshire to Worcestershire, and from there to the edge and borders of Staffordshire, this gallantly armed band did not have the honor to at last be beaten by the king's lieutenant, or the extraordinary commissioners sent down for the purpose. It was only the ordinary sheriff of Worcestershire by whom they were all beaten, killed, taken, and dispersed. In this you have to note the following circumstance, which so admirably and so lively displays the greatness of God's justice, that it could not be concealed without betraying, in a manner, the glory due to the Almighty for the same.

Many of the king's proclamations were posted after these traitors with all possible speed, declaring the odiousness of that bloody attempt, and the necessity to preserve Percy alive if possible, together with the assembly of that wicked crew, who now were no longer secret conspirators, but open and avowed rebels. Yet the distance of the journey (which was over 100 miles) together with the extreme deepness of it, joined with the shortness of the day, was the reason that the hearty and loving affections of the king's good subjects in those parts prevented the speed of his proclamations. For on the third day after the flight of these rebels — which was the next Friday after the discovery of the plot — most of them were surprised by the sheriff of Worcestershire at Holbeach, about noon, and that was in the following manner.

Grant, one of those I mentioned before, taking the great horses, had not stirred from his own house all the preceding time, till the morning after the attempt had been put into execution. Then laying his account outside his host, as the proverb goes,[81] thinking their plot had without fail received their hoped-for success the day before, he took, or rather stole their horses, as I said before. Thus he was enabled, with so many of that soul-less society who still remained in the country near about him, to make a sudden surprise upon the king's eldest daughter, the lady Elizabeth, who had her residence near that place, at the lord Harrington's house. They thought to have used her for the color of their treacherous design (his majesty, her father, her mother and male children, all being destroyed above). And to this purpose, that Nimrod-like Digby had also provided his hunting match against the same time, so that numbers of people flocking together on the pretense of it, they might more easily have brought to pass the sudden surprise of her noble person.

Now, the violent taking of those horses long before daylight seemed to be so great a riot in the eyes of the common people (who knew of no greater mystery), and the bold attempting of it engendered such a suspicion of some following rebellion in the hearts of the wiser sort, that both great and small began to stir and arm themselves upon this unlooked-for incident. Among them was Sir Fulke Grevill the elder, a knight, as became one both so ancient in years and good reputation. And by his office, being deputy-lieutenant of Warwickshire, though unable in his body, yet by the zeal and true fervency of his mind, he first apprehended this foresaid riot was nothing but the sparkles and sure indication of a subsequent rebellion. Whereupon he both courageously and honestly gave orders to get into his own hands the ammunition and armor of all those gentlemen about him who were either absent from their own houses, or in doubtful guard, and also sent direction to the towns about him. So that thereupon followed the striking of Winter by a poor smith, who had likewise been taken by these vulgar people; but he was rescued by the rest of his company. Winter, perceiving that the country before them had notice of them, hastened away with loss in their own sight. Sixteen of their followers had been taken by the townsmen, and sent immediately to the sheriff at Warwick, and from there to London.

But before twelve or sixteen hours had passed, Catesby, Perry, the Winters, Wrights, Rookwood, and the rest were assured that their main plot had failed and was disclosed, upon which they had built the golden mountains of their glorious hopes. They then took their last desperate resolution to flock together in a troop and wander, as they did, for the reasons before mentioned. But on the one part, the zealous duty to their God and their sovereign had been so deeply imprinted in the hearts of all the lowliest and poorest sort of the people (although they then knew of no further mystery than such public misbehaviors as

[81] "laying an account outside the host" metaphorically means sharing private financial or personal details with someone who is not trustworthy, which the Bible warns against (Pro 10.14; 11.13).

their own eyes taught them), that notwithstanding all their fair shows and pretense of their catholic cause, no creature, man or woman, through all the country, would so much as once willingly give them a cup of drink, or any sort of comfort or support, but with execrations they detested this band. On the other part, the sheriffs of the shires through which they wandered, convening their people with all possible speed, hunted as hotly after them as the badness of the way and the unprovided state of their people could permit them on such sudden notice. And so at last, after Sir Richard Verney, sheriff of Warwickshire, had carefully and straitly chased them into the confines of his country, some of the meaner sort were apprehended by him. Sir Richard Walsh, sheriff of Worcestershire, likewise dutifully and hotly pursued them through his shire. Having gotten certain information about their taking harbor at the house named above, he sent trumpeters and messengers there, commanding them in the king's name to surrender to him, his majesty's minister.

[1025] A.D. 1605.

Knowing no more at that time of their guilt than was publicly visible, he promised upon their dutiful and obedient surrendering to him, to intercede at the king's hand to spare their lives. He received from them only this scornful answer, that he would need better assistance than of those few persons who were with him, before he could be able to command or control them. They were better witnesses to themselves of their inward evil consciences.

But here the wondrous work of God's justice happened. As this message passed between the sheriff and them, the zeal of the sheriff and his people was justly kindled and augmented by their arrogant answer. And so they prepared themselves to give a furious assault. The other party making themselves ready within the house to perform their promise by a defense that was just as resolute; it pleased God, that in mending the fire in their chamber, one small spark should flee out and light among less than two pounds of powder which was drying a little from the chimney, thereby blowing it up. It so maimed the faces of some of the principal rebels, and the hands and sides of the others (also blowing up a great bag full of powder which had not directly caught fire) that they were disabled and discouraged by it from any further resistance. And in respect to Catesby himself, Rookwood, Grant, and several others of greatest note among them, they were thereby not only made unable to defend themselves; but also wonderfully struck with amazement in their guilty consciences, calling to memory how God had justly punished them with that same instrument which they had intended to use for effectuating so great a sin. This was according to the old Latin saying, "*In quo peccamus, in eodem plectimur*." [82] They all quickly fell down upon their knees, praying God to pardon them for their bloody enterprise (see the wonderful power of God's justice upon guilty consciences). And thereafter giving up any further opposition, they opened the gate, allowed the sheriff's people to rush in furiously among them, and desperately sought their own destruction. The three principal ones among them joined backs together (Catesby, Percy, and Winter), of whom two were slain with one shot, Catesby and Percy, and the third, Winter, was taken alive.

And thus these resolute and high-aspiring Romanists, who dreamed of no less than the destruction of king and kingdoms, promised themselves no lower an estate than the government of great and ancient monarchies. But they were miserably defeated and quite overthrown in an instant, falling into the pit which they had prepared for others. And so they fulfilled that sentence which his majesty had in a manner prophesied about them in his oration to the parliament. Some were slain. Others, mortally wounded, were stripped of

[82] Translation: *In what we sin, we are punished in the same way.*

their clothes and left lying miserably naked; and so they died from cold rather than from the danger of their wounds. The rest who were either whole, or only slightly hurt, were taken and led prisoners by the sheriff, the ordinary minister of justice, to the jail, the common prison for even the basest malefactors, where they remained till they were sent up to London. They were met with a huge confluence of people of all sorts, desirous to see them like the rarest sort of monsters — fools to laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the wiser sort to satisfy their curiosity in seeing the outward examples of such unheard of villainy; and generally, all sorts of people to satiate their eyes with the sight of them, whom in their hearts they so far wondered at and detested — thus serving as a fearful and public spectacle of God's fierce wrath and just indignation.

An Act for a public Thanksgiving to Almighty God,
every Year, on the 5th day of November.

Because Almighty God has in all ages shown his power and mercy in the miraculous and gracious deliverance of his church, and in the protection of religious kings and states, and because no nation of the earth has been blessed with greater benefits than this kingdom now enjoys, having the true and free possession of the gospel under our most sovereign lord king James, the most great, learned, and religious king who ever reigned in it, enriched with a most hopeful and plentiful progeny proceeding out of his royal loins, promising continuance of his happiness and profession to all posterity

— which many malignant and devilish papists, Jesuits, and seminary priests, much envying and fearing, conspired most horribly when the king's most excellent majesty, the queen, the prince, and all the lords both spiritual, temporal, and commons would have been assembled in the upper house of parliament on the 5th day of November in the year of our Lord 1605, to suddenly have blown up the said whole house with gunpowder,

— an invention so inhuman, barbarous, and cruel that the like was never heard of before, that it was purposely devised and concluded to be done (as some of the principal conspirators confess) in the said house where sundry necessary and religious laws for the preservation of the church and state were made, which they falsely and slanderously term *cruel laws enacted against them and their religion*, both place and persons should be all destroyed and blown up at once,

— which would have turned to the utter ruin of this whole kingdom, had it not pleased Almighty God, by inspiring the king's most excellent majesty with a divine spirit, to interpret some dark phrases of a letter showed to his majesty, above and beyond all ordinary construction, thereby miraculously discovering this hidden treason not many hours before the appointed time for the execution of it,

— Therefore the king's most excellent majesty, the lords spiritual and temporal, and all his majesty's faithful and loving subjects, most justly acknowledge this great and infinite blessing to have proceeded merely from God's great mercy, and ascribe all honor, glory, and praise to his most holy name.

— And to the end that this unfeigned thankfulness may never be forgotten, but be held in perpetual remembrance, that all ages to come may yield praises to his Divine Majesty for the same, and have in memory this joyful day of deliverance,

Be it therefore enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all and singular ministers in every cathedral or parish church, or other usual

place for common prayer within this realm of England and the dominions of the same, shall always on the 5th day of November, say morning prayer, and give to Almighty God thanks for this most happy deliverance; and that all and every person and persons inhabiting within this realm of England and the dominions of the same, shall always upon that day diligently and faithfully resort to the parish church or chapel where the said morning prayer, preaching, or other service of God shall be used and ministered.

And because all and every person may be put in mind of this duty, and be better prepared for the said holy service, be it enacted by the aforesaid authority, that every minister shall give warning to his parishioners publicly in the church at morning prayer, the Sunday before every such 5th day of November, for the due observation of the said day; and that after morning prayer or preaching on the said 5th day of November, they read distinctly and plainly this present act.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

A Prayer and Thanksgiving for the happy Deliverance of his Majesty, the Queen, the Prince, and the State of Parliament, etc.

"Almighty God, who have in all ages shown your power and mercy, in the miraculous and gracious deliverances of your church, and in the protection of righteous and religious kings, and states professing your holy and eternal truth, against the wicked conspiracies and malicious practices of all the enemies of it. We yield to you from the very ground of our hearts, all possible praise and thanks for your wonderful and mighty deliverance of our gracious sovereign king James, the queen, the prince, and all the royal branches, with the nobility, clergy, and commons of this realm, assembled together at present in parliament, appointed as sheep to the slaughter by popish treachery, and that was in a most barbarous and savage manner, no age yielding an example of like cruelty intended towards the Lord's anointed and His people.

[1026] A.D. 1605.

"Can this your goodness, O Lord, be forgotten, worthy to be written on a pillar of marble, that we may ever remember to praise you for the same, as the fact is worthy of a lasting monument, so that all posterity may learn to detest it? From this unnatural conspiracy, not our merit, but Your mercy, not our foresight, but Your providence has delivered us; not our love to you, but Your love to your anointed servant, and your poor church, with whom you have promised to be present to the end of the world. And therefore not to us, not to us, Lord, but to Your name be ascribed all honor, and glory, in all churches of the saints, throughout all generations. For You, Lord, have discovered the snares of death; You have broken them and we are delivered. Be still our mighty Protector, and scatter our cruel enemies who delight in blood. Infatuate their counsel, and root out that Babylonish and antichristian sect which says with Jerusalem, 'Down with it, down with it, even to the ground.' And to that end, strengthen the hands of our gracious king, the nobles and magistrates of the land with judgment and justice, to cut off those workers of iniquity (whose religion is rebellion, whose faith is faction, whose practice is murdering of souls and bodies), and to root them out of the confines and limits of this kingdom, so that they may never prevail against us and triumph in the ruin of your church; and give us grace by true and serious repentance, to avert these and like judgments from us. This, Lord, we earnestly crave at your merciful hands, together with the continuance of your powerful protection over our dread sovereign, the whole church, and these realms, and the speedy confusion of our implacable enemies, and that is for your dear Son's sake, our only mediator and advocate. Amen."

Those of the conspirators who were taken prisoners, were afterwards brought to trial on the following **indictment**:

"Whereas our sovereign lord the king appointed a parliament to be held at his city of Westminster by the advice and assent of his council, for diverse, weighty and urgent occasions concerning his majesty, the state, and defense of the church and kingdom of England,

"Henry Garnet, superior of the Jesuits within the realm of England, also called by the several names of Wally, Darcy, Roberts, Farmer, and Henry Philips; — Oswald Tesmond, Jesuit, otherwise called Oswald Greenwell; — John Gerrard, Jesuit, also called by the several names of Lee and Brook; — Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, gentlemen; — Guy Fawkes, gentleman, otherwise called Guy Johnson; Robert Keyes, gentleman; and Thomas Bates, yeoman, late servant to Thomas Catesby, esq.; together with the said Robert Catesby, and Thomas Percy, esquires; John Wright and Christopher Wright, gentlemen, recently slain,

"in open rebellion and insurrection against his majesty; and Francis Tresham, esq., recently dead; as false traitors against our said sovereign lord the king, traitorously met and assembled themselves together; and being so met, the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits, maliciously, falsely, and traitorously moved and persuaded the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as well as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, that our said sovereign lord the king, the nobility, clergy, and whole commonalty of the realm of England (papists excepted) were heretics; and that all heretics were accursed and excommunicated; and that no heretic could be king; but that it was lawful and meritorious to kill our said sovereign lord the king, and all other heretics within this realm of England, for the advancing and enlargement of the pretended and usurped authority and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, and for restoring the superstitious Romish religion within this realm of England; to which traitorous persuasions, the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, traitorously yielded their assents;

"and that thereupon the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and diverse other Jesuits; Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates; and also the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, traitorously among themselves concluded and agreed that with one blast, as it were, with gunpowder, to suddenly blow up and tear in pieces our sovereign lord the king; the excellent, virtuous, and gracious queen Anne, his dearest wife; the most noble prince Henry, their eldest son, the future hope and joy of England; and the lords spiritual and temporal; the reverend judges of the realm; the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the parliament, and diverse other faithful subjects and servants of the king in the said parliament, for the said causes aforesaid, to be assembled in the parliament-house, and all of them, without any respect of majesty, dignity, degree, sex, age, or place, most barbarously, and more than beastly, traitorously and suddenly to destroy and swallow them up;

"and further, they most traitorously conspired and concluded among themselves, that not only the whole royal issue male of our said sovereign lord the king should be destroyed and rooted out, but that the aforesaid persons, together with diverse other false traitors who were to be traitorously assembled with them, should surprise the persons of the noble ladies Elizabeth and Mary, daughters of our said sovereign lord the king, and should falsely and traitorously proclaim the said lady Elizabeth to be queen of this realm of England;

"and thereupon they would publish a certain traitorous proclamation in the name of the said lady Elizabeth, in which, as it was specially agreed between and by the said conspirators, that no mention should be made at first of the alteration of religion established within this realm of England; neither would the said false traitors in this, acknowledge themselves to be the authors, or actors, or devisers of the most wicked and horrible treasons, until they had gotten

sufficient power and strength for the assured execution and accomplishment of their said conspiracy and treason; and that then they would avenge and justify the said most wicked and horrible treasons, as actions that were in the number of those '*Quae non laudantur nisi peracta*' (who are not to be commended before they are accomplished) — but by the said feigned and traitorous proclamation, they would publish that all and singular abuses and grievances within this realm of England should be reformed for the satisfaction of the people;

"and that for the better concealing, as well as for the more effectual accomplishing of the said horrible treasons, the said Thomas Winter, Guy Pawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as well as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and John Tresham, by the traitorous advice and procurement of the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits, traitorously further concluded and agreed that the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as well as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, should thereupon severally and traitorously receive their corporeal oaths upon the holy evangelists, and the sacrament of the Eucharist, that the aforesaid would traitorously conceal and keep secret, and not reveal them directly nor indirectly, by words or circumstances; nor would they desist from the execution and final accomplishment of the said treasons, without the consent of some three of the aforesaid false traitors first being had in that behalf;

"and that thereupon, the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as well as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, traitorously took these corporeal oaths separately, and received the sacrament of the Eucharist aforesaid, by the hands of the said Henry Garnet, John Gerrard, Oswald Tesmond, and other Jesuits;

"and further, that the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham,

[1027] A.D. 1605.

"by the like traitorous advice and council of the said Henry Garnet, John Gerrard, Oswald Tesmond, and other Jesuits, to more effectually accomplish and finally execute the said treason, traitorously among themselves, concluded and agreed to dig a certain mine under the said house of parliament, and there secretly, under the said house, to bestow and place a great quantity of gunpowder.

"and that according to the said traitorous conclusion, the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, afterwards secretly, not without great labor and difficulty, dug and made the said mine into the midst of the foundation of the wall of the said house of parliament, the said foundation being three yards thick, with a traitorous intent to bestow and place a great quantity of gunpowder in the aforesaid mine, so as aforesaid, to be traitorously made for the traitorous accomplishing of their aforesaid traitorous purposes;

"and that the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, finding and perceiving the said work to be a great difficulty because of the hardness and thickness of the said wall, and understanding a certain cellar under the said parliament-house, and adjoining to the house of the said Thomas Percy, was then to be farmed out for a yearly rent, the said Thomas Percy, by the traitorous procurement of the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as well as the said Robert Catesby, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, traitorously hired the cellar aforesaid for a certain yearly rent and term; and then those

traitors removed twenty barrels full of gunpowder out of the said house of the said Thomas Percy, and secretly and traitorously bestowed and placed them in the cellar aforesaid under the said parliament-house, for the traitorous effecting of the treason and traitorous purposes aforesaid;

"and that afterwards the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits; Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, traitorously met with Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, esq., and traitorously imparted to the said Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, the treasons, traitorous intentions, and purposes aforesaid, and required the said Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, to join themselves with the said Henry Garnet, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as well as with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, in the treasons, traitorous intentions and purposes aforesaid; and to traitorously provide horses, armor, and other necessaries to better accomplish and effect the said treasons; to which traitorous motion and request, the said Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, traitorously yielded their assents in the said treasons, traitorous intentions, and purposes aforesaid;

"and with the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as well as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, they traitorously adhered and united themselves, and thereupon traitorously took several corporeal oaths in the above said form, and received the sacrament of the Eucharist by the hands of the said Jesuits, to such an intent and purpose as aforesaid; and traitorously provided horses, armor, and other necessaries to better effect the said treasons according to their traitorous intents aforesaid; and that afterwards, all the said traitors traitorously provided, and brought into the cellar aforesaid, ten other barrels full of gunpowder newly bought, fearing lest the former gunpowder, so bestowed and placed there as aforesaid, had become dampish; and secretly and traitorously covered the said several quantities of gunpowder aforesaid, with billets and faggots, lest they be spied; and that afterwards, the said false traitors traitorously provided and brought into the cellar aforesaid, four hogsheads [83] full of gunpowder, and laid diverse great iron bars and stones upon the said four hogsheads, and the aforesaid other quantities of gunpowder; and the said quantities of gunpowder, bars and stones, with billets and faggots (lest they be espied), they likewise secretly and traitorously covered;

"and that the said Guy Fawkes afterwards, for a full and final accomplishment of the said treasons, traitorous intents, and purposes aforesaid, by the traitorous procurement of the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits; Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, John Grant, and Ambrose Rookwood, as well as of the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, traitorously had prepared, and had found upon his person, touchwood and match, with which to traitorously set fire to the several barrels, hogsheads and quantities of gunpowder aforesaid, at the time appointed for the execution of the said horrible treasons;

"and further, that after the said horrible treasons were discovered by the great favor and mercy of God, in a wonderful manner, not many hours before it would have been executed, the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, John Grant, and Ambrose Rookwood, as well as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, traitorously fled and withdrew

[83] *Hogshead*: a large cask holding approximately 63 gals.

themselves with the intent to traitorously stir up and procure such popish persons as they could, to join with them in actual, public, and open rebellion against our said sovereign lord the king; to that end they published diverse feigned and false rumors that the papists' throats were to be cut; and that thereupon diverse papists would be in arms, and in open, public, and actual rebellion against our said sovereign lord the king, in diverse parts of the realm."

The conspirators gave so little defense for themselves, Garnet excepted, that we will only observe that after reading their several examinations, confessions, and voluntary declarations of themselves, as well as of some of their dead confederates, they were all found guilty of the treasons contained in their indictment. Being asked why sentence of death should not pass upon them, Thomas Winter desired he might be hanged both for his brother and himself. Fawkes being asked why he did not plead guilty, he said he had done so because of some conferences mentioned in the indictment which he was ignorant of. Keyes told the court his fortune was desperate, and he would as soon die now as at any other time; and for this cause, rather than another. Bates and Robert Winter craved mercy; Grant was mute for a great while, but at last submissively owned he was guilty of an intended conspiracy, but never effected. Ambrose Rookwood excused his denial of the indictment, saying he would rather lose his life than give it. He then owned his offense justly deserving the king's indignation, and that of the whole realm, yet he could not despair of mercy from so gracious a prince; and more, because though his offense was not capable of excuse, yet it was of extenuation, since he had been neither author nor actor, but drawn in by Catesby, whom he loved above all mankind. And his mercy he craved, not for fear of death, but to prevent the blemish and ignominy that would remain on his name and family to all future ages; and he prayed that the king would imitate God in this, who sometimes punished '*corporaliter non mortaliter*' (corporeally but not mortally).

Sir Everard Digby owned that the love and friendship he had toward Catesby drew him into the conspiracy; that the cause of religion was another motive; and the last was the violation of promises to the catholics. And since his offenses were confined within himself, he desired that the punishment might only extend to himself, and not to his wife, children, and other relations. Then begging pardon of the king, he entreated that he might be beheaded.

[1028]

The attorney-general Coke, having given suitable answers to Sir Everard, and sentence being passed, he, together with Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates, were executed on Thursday, the 30th of January, at the west end of St. Paul's church. The next day Thomas Winter, Ambrose Rookwood, Robert Keyes, and Guy Fawkes were hanged within the old Palace-yard, at Westminster, not far from the parliament-house.

Having brought these criminals to execution, we come to the trial of Henry Garnet, on the 28th of March 1606, at Guildhall, in the city of London, before these lords-commissioners:

Sir Leonard Holiday, Lord Mayor,
Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham,
Thomas Howard, earl of Suffolk,
Edward Somerset, earl of Worcester,
Henry Howard, earl of Northampton,
Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury,
The Lord-Chief-Justice of England,
The Lord-Chief-Baron of the Exchequer,
Sir Christopher Yelverton, Kt. one of the justices of the King's-Bench.

The indictment need not be repeated, it being the same in effect as that already given. It was opened by Sir John Croke, the king's sergeant, who said that the prisoner at the bar proved it to be true, which the Author of truth told us, "That there is nothing hidden that shall not be made manifest; that God, by whom kings reigned, scattered, and brought to nothing the counsels of the wicked;" that if he spoke with fear and trembling, and with horror and amazement, against the rotten root of that hideous and hateful tree of treason, and of that detestable and unheard-of wickedness, he begged pardon, affirming nobody could mention it without astonishment. He set forth that Garnet, otherwise known as Walley, etc., stood indicted of the most damnable treason that was ever heard of; that he was a man of many names, as appeared by the indictment, but no good name — adorned by nature with many gifts and graces, if the grace of God had been joined with them; but that being wanting, 'quanto melior' (how much better) in other gifts, 'tanto nequior' (so much the more wicked).

Sir Edward Coke then entered at great length into the part that the Jesuit Garnet had taken in this conspiracy. He said,

> "Their lordships might perceive, by the parts of the indictment now succinctly opened, that this was but a later act of that woeful tragedy commonly called the powder-treason, in which some had already, according to their demerits, suffered condign (deserved) punishment; that they were now to proceed against the prisoner for the same treason. And therefore the repetition of some things spoken before, should at least seem tolerable; for that can never be said too often, which can never be said enough. Indeed, it might be thought justifiable to fully represent that case, because many could not hear because of the great confluence of people at the former arraignment. Yet he would not be tedious, because the lords-commissioners and others were present at that arraignment."

Having premised this much, he reduced what he had to say under two general heads:

> "First, he said he would consider the offenses together, with some circumstances.
>
> "Preceding the offense,
> "Concurrent with the offense,
> "Subsequent to the offense.
>
> "Secondly, he would lay down some observations concerning the same.
>
> "As for the proper name of that offense, and to distinguish it from others, he would call it the *Jesuits' Treason*, as belonging to them, both '*ex congruo et condigno*' (from a fitting and appropriate point of view). They were the proprietors, plotters, and promoters of it; and in such crimes the author or promoter is a greater offender than the actor or executor, as appears by God's own judgment against the first sin in paradise, where the serpent had three punishments inflicted on her, as the original plotter; the woman had two, as the mediate procurer; and Adam only one, as the seduced party.
>
> "That the precedent and subsequent circumstances, so I termed there, were in reality all high treasons, but in respect to the magnitude and monstrousness of this, might be comparatively used as circumstances. And because they had to do with the superior of the Jesuits, he would touch upon those treasons plotted by that order, and some others, since he came into England, of which he may truly say, '*Et quorum pars magna fui*' (and of which I was a big part).
>
> "That he came into England about twenty years before, viz. July 1586, in the 28th year of queen Elizabeth, which was treason in itself. Whereas the year before, a law was enacted which made it treason for any priest, so made by any authority from the See of Rome, since the first year of her reign, to come into her dominions."

He went on and informed them that:

"In the 28th year of the queen, A.D. 1586, Garnet came into England; and that at a time when the Spanish Armada — which the pope blessed and christened by the name of the Invincible Navy, and consisted of at least 158 great ships — was preparing to invade the kingdom, that the Jesuits were the forerunners of this invasion, and navy, and Garnet was among them; but that the queen, with her own shipping and subjects, defeated that Armada by God's blessing, and destroyed most of them, scarcely forty of them returning home to the bar of their own haven; and most of them, according to common fame, also perished."

Here he observed that:

"About the time of that invasion, there was a consultation held in Spain, between the cardinal of Austria, duke of Medina, count Fuentes, two Irish bishops, and several military men; and among others, Winslade, an Englishman. The Irish bishops, perceiving that they expected a party of papists in England, agreed that it was impossible to do any good there without it; but such, they said, was the English policy, that it could never be effected. For upon the least suspicion that arose, the catholics would either soon be confined, or quite cut off. But an old soldier who was present there said that, 'This makes for us; for by that means their souls shall go to heaven for their religion, their bodies to the earth for their treason, and their lands and goods to us as conquerors;' and it was what indeed what they principally aimed at. To this he subjoined that, 'since the Jesuits set foot in England, no four years had passed without a most pestilent and horrid treason invented by them, to the subversion of the state — and that after the invasion of '88, they fell upon new treasonable practices, for in '92, Patrick Cullen came over at the instigation of Sir William Stanley, Hugh Owen, James Francis, and William Holt the Jesuit, and resolved by the same Holt to kill the queen. For this Cullen received absolution and the sacrament from Holt, together with the spiritual advice that it was both lawful and meritorious to do it. 'No indeed,' said this James, a laundress's son; 'The state of England was and would be so well settled, that unless Mistress Elizabeth were suddenly taken away, all the devils in hell would not be able to prevail against or shake it.'

"That Cullen's treason was attended with a book called *Philopater*, written to abet and authorize such a hellish act in general, by Creswell, the legate Jesuit in Spain, under the aforesaid feigned name. That in '94, Williams and York came over to destroy the queen, being set on by father Holt and his accomplices, and to that end he received the sacrament from him and other Jesuits in the Jesuits' College. That treason was also accompanied with a book written by Parsons, under the name of Doleman, who was the legate Jesuit and rector at Rome. It was a book full of falsehood, forgery, and malediction. That Squire, in '97, came from Spain to poison the queen at the instigation of Walpole, the Jesuit, then residing there, who also gave him absolution and the sacrament — to execute the parricide, as well as keep it secret. All of these treasons were freely and voluntarily confessed by the parties themselves, under their own hands, and were then extant to be seen.

[1029] A.D. 1606.

"That in 1601, when these practices failed, force was again attempted. For then Thomas Winter was employed for the king of Spain, with Tesmond, the Jesuit, by this Garnet, who wrote letters to Arthur, alias Joseph Creswell, the legate Jesuit in Spain, to offer the services of the English catholics to that king, and concert an invasion — with promises of assistance from those in England, both of men and horses, ready to join them; that this negotiation by means of Creswell had that effect; that the two kingdoms then being in hostility, the proposals of the English Romanists were received and agreed to, an army was promised, and 100,000 crowns were to be distributed among the papists and malcontents for promoting that service; and that, in the meantime, the king earnestly desired that if the queen should die, he might have early information about it.

"That this treason was accompanied with two briefs or bulls of the pope, one to the clergy and the other to the laity, sent to Garnet under these titles; 'To our beloved sons, the noblemen and gentlemen of England, who are catholics, greeting an apostolical benediction.' The other to the clergy ran thus: 'To our beloved sons, the arch-priests, and the rest of the catholic clergy.' The contents were that, when the queen died, whoever laid claim to the crown, however near in blood, unless it was someone who would not only tolerate the catholic religion, but use his best endeavors to promote it, and according to ancient custom, religiously promise and undertake to perform the same by a solemn oath, he should not be admitted to be king.'

"That the bulls came upon Winter's negotiations in Spain for an army to invade the kingdom upon the death of miserable queen Elizabeth, for so the pope expressed it.

"That since the death of queen Elizabeth and his present majesty's accession, not four years had passed, not even four, and scarcely two months without some treason; that first in March 1603, upon the queen's death, and before they had seen the king's face, Christopher Wright was sent into Spain, by Garnet, Catesby, and Tresham, to continue the former negotiation of Winter; and Garnet wrote by him to Creswell to further it. That Fawkes, on the 22nd of the following June was sent to Flanders by Baldwin the Jesuit, Sir William Stanley, and Hugh Owen, about the same treason. That in the same month, Garnet, Gerrard, and other Jesuits labored to provide horses, which they promised by Winter and Wright's negotiations, in the name of the English Romanists, to assist the king of Spain with, whenever he sent his forces to invade the kingdom, and land either at Milford Haven or in Kent. And by virtue of the said bulls, they dissuaded the Romanists from yielding due obedience to his majesty, because he was not of their religion, contrary to the practice of the true church and churchmen who undergo wars '*ferendo non feriendo*' (with patience, not with strokes), their weapons properly being prayers and tears.

"That on the 9th of June, 1603, the treason broke out by the Romish priests, Wilson and Clark, and also that of Raleigh and others; that the Jesuits seeing the peace in great forwardness, and also having notice that the king of Spain disliked their proposals, they reassumed their secret practices. As for the bulls aforementioned, when Catesby had informed Garnet that king James had been proclaimed, and the state settled, Garnet admitted that he himself burnt them. That these two conferring together in March 1605, Catesby told the other, though most falsely, that the king had broken his promise with the catholics, and therefore there would certainly be commotions in England in a short time.

"That Garnet, in January, in the first year of the king's reign, granted a general pardon under the great seal of England for all treasons, the king condescending to do this for all men at his accession to the English throne. It was under the name of Henry Garnet of London, gentleman, and no other. But Catesby, fearing that any of those whom he might engage in the conspiracy would be pricked in conscience and make a revelation, required Garnet, being the superior of the Jesuits, and therefore of great authority among them, to give him his opinion as to the lawfulness of the act. This was to help him satisfy others whom he might have to deal with, and he stated the case thus:

"Whether for the good and promotion of the catholic cause against heretics, or the necessity of time and opportunity requiring it, might it be lawful or not among many nocents (guilty parties), to destroy and take away some innocents also? Garnet answered that if the advantage were greater to the catholic cause, by taking away some innocents together with many nocents, then doubtless it might be lawful to kill and destroy them all. He instanced by way of comparison, in a city possessed by an enemy, in which at taking it, there were a few friends, they must undergo the fortune of war in the general slaughter. And it was by this resolution of Garnet, that Catesby kept up the traitors. And the following March, with Thomas Winter and others, he resolved upon the powder-plot. Fawkes, not being known by others, and also being

desperate and a soldier, was pitched upon to execute it; and so Winter fetched him out of Flanders in April. In May, Catesby, Percy, John Wright, Thomas Winter, and Fawkes had a meeting, and took an oath of secrecy and constancy, to this effect:

> "You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose, directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that will be proposed to you to be kept secret, nor desist from the execution of it, until the rest give you leave.'

"Then they were all confessed, had absolution, and received the sacrament by the hands of Gerrard, the Jesuit, who was then present. At Midsummer, Catesby and Garnet talked about the powder-plot. They said it was so secret that it must prevail before it could be revealed. Then Garnet, seeming desirous that the pope's comment might be obtained, Catesby answered that he took that as granted by the pope in the two bulls mentioned before. The attorney here taking notice that Thomas Bates was brought into the plot by his master, Catesby, and confessed and encouraged to persevere in it by Greenwell, the Jesuit; and that Robert Keyes was engaged about the same time in the design, he informed the court, that on the 11th of December they entered the mine. The following March 1605, Guy Fawkes was sent over to Sir John Stanley, with letters from Garnet to Baldwin, the legate Jesuit there, to see that the forces might be brought near the seaside against the time the blow would be given, to be wafted suddenly over into England. And there Fawkes, by the consent of the conspirators, gave Owen the oath of secrecy and perseverance. Then he acquainted him with the whole treason. He greatly applauded it and consented to promote it. In May 1605, broils happening among the Roman catholics in Wales, Rookwood was then engaged in the plot by Catesby, and convinced of its lawfulness. It was then that Garnet wrote to the pope, that he or 'Aquaviva,' general of the Jesuits, might command a stop to be made of all commotions in the kingdom by the Romanists, thus putting their whole stress upon the powder-plot, and thereby lulling us also into the deepest security. But when he further desired that it might be enjoined upon censures, that was rejected, lest indeed it might be an impediment to the powder-plot.

"Greenwell, the following June, consulted with Garnet about the whole course of the plot. But the subtle Jesuit said he would not confer about it with any layman except Catesby, because that might derogate from his character as superior, should he openly join with laymen in the business of so much blood. But he would consult with a priest, and particularly with Greenwell, the Jesuit, about it, as in a disguised confession. Being informed that the discourse would take too long kneeling, he would do it in an ambulatory confession. He discoursed at large with him about the whole plot, and said that a protector, when the blow was given, should be chosen out of those of the nobility who would be warned and reserved.

"There was now also a great conference between Garnet, Catesby, and Tresham, about the strength of the English catholics, that the pope might be acquainted with it by Garnet, his holiness being unwilling to consent to any insurrection until he was informed that they certainly had a sufficient force.

[1030]

"So the following August, in a conference held about acquainting the pope with the powder-treason, Garnet named Sir Edward Baynam to carry the message to him, not as pope, but as a temporal prince. Garnet wrote a letter by him to that purpose, and also for prohibiting any commotions upon certain censures. He likewise wrote to Baldwin, the legate Jesuit in Flanders, in behalf of Catesby, saying that Owen should solicit the marquis for a regiment of horse for him (the said Catesby). It was not with any intent that Catesby should undertake any such charge himself, but that under color of this, horses and other necessaries might be provided to furnish the traitors, without suspicion.

"Parsons, the Jesuit, wrote to Garnet in September, to know the particulars of the project in hand. For the journey now to St. Winifrid's Well [84] was but a blind, that they might be more secluded, and have a better opportunity to confer together. In October, Garnet met the other traitors at Coughton in Warwickshire, the place of rendezvous, to which they resorted out of all their countries on the 1st of November. He openly prayed for the good success of this great action at the beginning of the parliament, concerning the catholic cause. In his prayer he used two verses from a hymn, '*Gentem auferte perfidam credentium de finibus, ut Christo laudes debitas persolvamus alacriter*.' [85] Now, the warning letter was with the lord Monteagle on the 4th of November. And by the providence of God, it was fully discovered not many hours before the treason would have been executed.

"On the 5th, the day on which the conspirators expected their hellish devices would have taken effect, they met at Dunchurch, under the pretense of a great hunting-match appointed by Sir Everard Digby, being a man of note thereabouts, designing to supply themselves with men for the intended insurrection and rebellion. And being full of imaginary assurances, they thought they might easily surprise the person of the lady Elizabeth, who was then in those parts, in the lord Harrington's house.

"Catesby and the other conspirators, early in the morning on the 6th of November, dispatched Bates with a letter to Garnet, who was then at Coulton, near to them. They earnestly pressed for his assistance to raise the Welch, and as much as possible, to foment an open rebellion. At that time, Garnet and Greenwell, who were then together, perceived the plot to be discovered. Knowing themselves to be its chief authors, they were much abashed, though Greenwell's fiery spirit urged him into still other overt-acts.

"There was a double consequence of this treason, 1. Open rebellion, and 2. afterwards there was blasphemy in Garnet. For having liberty in the Tower to write, and sending a letter to an acquaintance in the Gate-House, which was openly shown in court before him, there was nothing to be read in it but ordinary things, and some necessaries. But in the margin, which was very large, and also underneath, he wrote several things with the juice of a lemon, to vindicate his innocence and hard usage. He denied those things which he had freely and voluntarily confessed before. He said, as to the Spanish treason, that he was secured by the king's pardon; and for the powder-treason, he hoped to get clear of it well enough for lack of proof against him. But concluding blasphemously, he applied the words spoken of our Savior to himself, '*Necesse est ut unus homo morietor pro populo*' (it is necessary that one man should die for the people). His prevarications and equivocations are even more conspicuous, since he truly and freely confessed his treasons before the commissioners, which was, as he admitted, under his own hand. He was overwhelmed '*tanta nube testium*' (with such a cloud of witnesses), and it was 'faciendum populum' (done for the people). Thus, in his letters that he wrote abroad, he cleared himself of the powder treason."

Sir Edward Coke having concluded a very elaborate and learned address, the proofs were repeated for every particular accusation, by the express and voluntary words of Garnet and his accomplices, and of two credible witnesses sworn at the bar and acknowledged by Garnet himself to be men without exception; they were heard openly *viva voce* (verbally).

Garnet's Defense

Garnet now had leave from the court to make his defense. He divided all that had been laid to his charge into four parts, containing matters of,

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[84] St. Winefride's Well is in Holywell, Flintshire, in North Wales; a pilgrimage site since the 7th century.

[85] *Translation*: Remove the faithless nation of believers from our borders, that we may eagerly pay the praises due to Christ.

1. — "Doctrine.
2. — "Recusants.[86]
3. — "Jesuits in general.
4. — "Himself in particular."

"1. As to doctrine, he fell upon two points.

"First, equivocation, to which he answered that "their church condemned all lying, but especially in matters of religion and faith — that being the most pernicious lie of all others, and condemned by St. Augustine in the *Priscillianists*.[87] No indeed, to lie on any account, was reputed a sin; however, of eight degrees instanced by St. Augustine, the lowest indeed was to lie to procure good for some, without hurting anybody; so that their equivocation was not to maintain lies, but to defend the use of some propositions. For one might ask another a question, who had no authority to do it, or to interrogate him about a thing he had no right to know, such as what a man thinks, etc., to the extent that no man should equivocate when he ought to tell the truth, but otherwise he might. So Augustine, writing upon St. John, said that Christ denied he knew about the day of judgment — namely, with the purpose to tell it to his disciples. So St. Thomas and others addressed that matter, chiefly under the topic of confession."

Secondly, as to the power of the pope to depose princes, his answer was threefold.

"1. That he only proposed this, and followed the doctrine of the church.

"2. That that doctrine of the pope's power was tolerated by other catholic princes without grievance.

"3. That for his own part, he always made a distinction in the point of excommunicating and deposing princes, between the condition and state of our king and others who, having been catholics for some time, did or might fall away.

"As for Simanca [88] and other writers, whatever they said about deposing heretics, that was to be understood of those princes who, having at one time professed the faith of the church of Rome, afterwards made a defection from it."

"2. For Recusants;

"First, he desired them not to impute any crime of his to the prejudice of the cause of religion.

"Secondly, as to their not going to church. Whereas Master Attorney urged that the excommunication and bull of Pius Quintus was the cause of it, they might now go, because the king was not excommunicated. Garnet's answer was that the Arians and orthodox had the same service in their churches, yet they did not assemble together, and he knew several himself, who before that bull, refused to go to church in the queen's time, though perhaps, most catholics did go till about the end of the Council of Trent, when this matter was debated by twelve learned men, and concluded to be unlawful. And this was occasioned because Calvin himself held it unlawful for a protestant to be present not only at their mass, in which perhaps (they might say) there was idolatry, but not at our even-song, though it is the same as theirs.

[86] *Recusant*: Someone who refuses to conform to established standards of conduct.

[87] Followers of Priscillian, bishop of Ávila in Spain in the 4th century, who mixed various elements of Gnosticism and Manichaeism with Christianity.

[88] Diego de Simancas: a Roman Catholic prelate who served as Bishop of Zamora from 1578 to 1583.

"3. As to the Jesuits, he said if any were privy to such horrible treasons, it was impious, especially in men of their profession. But he added that he had talked with some of them about it, and they denied it.

"4. As to himself particularly, he owned that the negotiation in Spain was proposed to him; and he was also acquainted with that for money, but always intended that it should be applied to the relief of poor catholics. When they were there, they moved for an army. Being informed of this, he disapproved of it, saying it would be much disliked at Rome. Only he must confess that he concealed it in the manner of Christ, who commanded us, when our brother offended, to reprove him, for if he amended we would have cured him. Yet he could only confess that the laws made against such concealments were very good and just; and that it was not suitable that the safety of a prince should depend upon any other man's conscience. So that he was easily persuaded that it might have gone well, if they had yielded to him. But he was enjoined not to intermeddle with their intent in insisting on an army; nor with the money, which was to be sent for pensions, even though it was to maintain the title of the king."

[1031] A.D. 1606.

Earl of Salisbury. — "To maintain whose title?"

Garnet. — "The title of the king of Spain."

Earl of Norfolk. — "Why did you not oppose and forbid it, as you might have done, for 'qui cum possit non prohibet, Jubet?'" [89]

Garnet. — "He could not do it; and as for sending letters and recommending some persons in them, he admitted that he did it often, as they were recommended to him without knowing either their purposes, or some of their persons; for he never knew Mr. Wright, for whom he wrote."

Salisbury. — "I must now, Garnet, put you in mind, how little any of your answers can serve your purpose, when you endeavor to color your correspondence with Baynham, by professing to write to Rome to get the conspiracies countermanded. And yet you say now, that when he set out for Rome, the blow must have been given before his arrival there (such being your zeal and his haste for any prevention) that it was about the 20th of October when he passed by Florence."

Garnet made little answer to this, but going on with his defense about sending recommendatory letters, he admitted that he had written in favor of Fawkes, thinking he went to serve as a soldier, and did not know of any other design he had in hand. He did not know particularly what sir Edmond Baynham or Catesby intended, except that Catesby asked him a general question about the lawfulness of destroying the innocent with the guilty, as had been objected against him.

Garnet. — "At first, I thought this had been an idle question, though afterwards I truly apprehended he designed something that was not good. Whereupon, having soon after received letters from Rome prohibiting all insurrections intended by the catholics, which might disturb the government, I informed Catesby of it — telling him that if he proceeded against the pope's will, he would not prevail. But Catesby refused, saying he would take no notice of the pope's pleasure."

Nevertheless, he showed Catesby the general letter he received from Rome. Catesby said he would inform the pope, and tell Garnet in particular what attempt he had in hand, if he

[89] "Whoever does not prohibit what he can, assents to it."

would hear it. Afterwards Garnet offered to do this. But the other refused it, and on two separate occasions, he requested him to let the pope know what was his intention.

Again, when sir Edmond Baynham was to go into Flanders for a soldier. Garnet thought it fit to send him to the pope's nuncio (ambassador), and to recommend him to other friends, so that they might send him to inform the pope of the distressed state of the catholics in England; so that the pope having a layman there, he might be made acquainted with all their proceedings; and that Baynham might then know the pope's sentiments about what the catholics should do in England for their advantage. But he would not have Baynham, by any means, use his name to the nuncio on that account.

Here two witnesses were called, both of them persons of good reputation, who overheard the conference between Garnet and Hall the Jesuit — namely, Mr. Fauset, a learned gentleman, and a justice of the peace, and Mr. Lockerson. The first not being in court, he was sent for; and the other in the meantime was sworn and deposed that they heard Garnet say to Hall, 'They will charge me with my prayer for the good success of the great action, in the beginning of the parliament.'

Garnet. — "It is true, I prayed for the good success of that great action. But I will tell them that I meant it in respect to some sharp laws which I was afraid they would then make against the catholics. As for the two gentlemen who heard the conference, I will not charge them with perjury, because I know them to be honest men. Yet I think they mistook some things. Though in the substantial part, I confess I cannot deny what they related. And for the main plot, I admit that I was made acquainted with it, particularly by Greenwell, and that he came to me perplexed, to somewhat open what Catesby and diverse others intended. I said to them that I was content to hear what it was from him, but on condition that he would not let Mr. Catesby or any other person know I was made privy to it. When Father Greenwell told me the whole conspiracy in all its particulars, I profess that I was much disturbed, and could never sleep quietly afterwards, but sometimes prayed to God it might not have effect."

Salisbury. — "You would do well to speak plainly of your devotion on that account, for otherwise I must put you in mind that you confessed to the lords, you had offered sacrifice to God to prevent that plot, unless it was for the good of the catholic cause. And that this government was in no other way beholden to you for your masses and oblations."

He added that he wondered why Garnet wrote to his superior Aquaviva about this powder treason in particular, as well as procuring prohibitions for smaller matters."

Garnet. — "I was not to reveal it to anybody, because it was a point of secret confession, and would endanger the lives of several persons."

Northampton. — "That matter of confession which you refused to confess before, because you would save lives, you confess now to endanger your own; and therefore your former answer was idle and frivolous."

Garnet. — "I commanded Greenwell to dissuade Catesby, which I thought he did. And if Catesby had come to me at Allhallows-day, I think I could have so far managed him, that he would have been persuaded to desist."

Salisbury. — ""'And did you refuse to hear Catesby tell you all the particulars, when he would have told you, if you had been desirous to prevent it?"

Garnet. — “After Greenwell told me what Catesby intended, and when I called to mind what Catesby had said to me at his first disclosing it to me in general terms, my soul was so troubled with abhorrence of the plot, that I was loath to hear any more of it.”

Salisbury. — “Well then,” said the earl of Salisbury, “you see his heart.”

And then turning to the lords commissioners, he desired their leave to say something concerning the proceedings of the government in that grand affair, from the very beginning to that time:

> “Although the evidence had been so well opened by Mr. Attorney, he having never heard so much matter better compacted, or made more intelligible to the jury, to whom it was not his business to speak, nor his design to meddle with Mr. Garnet’s divinity, or his doctrine of equivocation in which last he saw how he had played his master-piece. Yet because he had been one of the committee of lords employed in the examination, who next to God’s glory, desired nothing more than to demonstrate to the world, with what sincerity and moderation his majesty’s justice had been shown on all occasions, he would venture to say something about the manner of that arraignment, and of the place where it was appointed. For the first, seeing that there was nothing to which the government might more attribute the infinite goodness and mercy of God, than to the protection of the true religion which had groaned so long under the bitter persecution of men of Garnet’s profession, he admitted that he thought himself much honored to become an assistant among so many lords at the seat of justice, where God’s cause might receive so much honor by discrediting the person of Garnet, on whom the common adversary thought fit to confer the usurpation of so eminent a jurisdiction. For otherwise, who did not know that the quality of poor Harry Garnet might have undergone a more ordinary form of trial, and perhaps in some other place of easy note and observation.’
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> “And then taking occasion to declare that the city of London was so dear to the king, and his majesty so desirous to give it all honor and consolation, that when this opportunity was put into his hands, by which there might be made so visible an anatomy of popish doctrines, from where those treasons had their source and support, he thought he could not choose a fitter stage than that city, which was not only termed the chamber of his empire, but was esteemed by him as his greatest and safest treasury, who accounted no riches comparable to his subjects’ hearts. And he acknowledged that such a compass never contained so many faithful subjects within its walls; a thing among others that he himself, upon the decease of the late queen, when attending most of the peers and privy councillors of the kingdom, who were accompanied with no small number of noble and faithful gentlemen, had seen them all stopped from entering the city gates, till they had publicly declared with one voice, that they would live and die with the king our sovereign lord.

[1032]

> “To you, therefore, Mr. Garnet, I must address myself, as the man in whom it best appears what horrible treasons you have concealed under the mask of religion, which up to now had been petty treason for a protestant to have affirmed. Such has been the iniquity of false tongues that always sought to prove truth a falsehood, of which impudent calumnies the government has been so tender, as you best know, Mr. Garnet. That since you were taken, up to this time, you have been used as Christianly, courteously, and civilly as any of your quality or profession could be. Indeed, I may say you have been well-attended in respect to your health or otherwise, as a nursing child, for the truth of which I appeal to yourself.”

Garnet. — “It is most true, my lord; I own it.”

Salisbury. — “Well, then, if your strange doctrine of equivocation is to be minded, and the hardness of your heart to deny everything, we must not forget that your discourse with Hall,

which was overheard by others, appears to be the finger of God. For the lords had some light and proof against you by it, which otherwise must have been discovered by violence and coercion, a usual practice in other kingdoms, though now disused here. But it was better as it was, for the honor of the state. For so were your own words, that you thought it best to tell the truth at last, when you saw you were confounded '*tanta nube testium*' (with such a cloud of witnesses). In this I profess and firmly assure myself that you would have confessed yourself to be the author of the whole, as easily as the concealer, but that the king and my lords were content to draw everything from you without the rack or any torments. I pray you, Mr. Garnet, to tell me what encouraged Catesby to proceed, if not your resolution of the first proposition? What was it that excited Fawkes, if not Catesby's explanation of your arguments? This appears plainly by Winter's confession and Fawkes', that they knew Mr. Catesby had received satisfaction in the point, 'by the best authority.'"

Garnet. — "Mr. Catesby was to blame to name such an application."

Salisbury. — "I must be bold with you, and remind you how, after the interlocution (conversation) between you and Hall, when you were brought before the lords, and asked *not* what you said, but whether Hall and you had any conference together, and desired not to equivocate, how stiffly you denied this upon your soul, repeating the same with so many horrid execrations, that it wounded their hearts to hear them. And yet Hall had no sooner confessed it, than you were ashamed, begged the lords' pardon, and said you had offended, because equivocation had not helped you."

Garnet. — "When one is asked a question before a magistrate, he is not bound to answer before some witnesses are produced."

Then falling to professions of his well-wishes toward the king, and being put in mind of the answer he gave concerning the excommunications of kings, in which he referred himself to the canon of '*Nos sanctorum*;' [90] he answered, "his majesty was not yet excommunicated."

Salisbury. — "Deal plainly, for now is the time, whether in case the pope should excommunicate the king '*per Sententiam orthodoxam*' (by orthodox opinion), his subjects were bound to continue their obedience?" This he declined to answer.

Afterward, other witnesses were examined. The earl of Northampton made the following speech to the prisoner. —

> "Though no man living can be more unwilling to add the least grain or scruple to any man's calamity than myself, yet as the case now stands, Mr. Garnet, between our dread sovereign, '*ex cujus spiritu*,' as one said of Alexander, '*nos omnes spiritum ducimus*' (from whose spirit we all draw our breath) and you, who were so well content to let the conspiracy run on, to stop that breath before the time which God, by nature, prescribes between His honor and your error, between His just proceedings and your painted shows. His sincerity and your hypocrisy; I could wish it possible that you might, in a person of some other quality, hear the echoes of your imperfect and weak answers, and so judge more indifferently of the true state of the cause than you have done up to now.
>
> "I confess, nobody in your condition gave less advantage in the whole course of the proceedings, to us, who are commissioned to examine and try you, than you have done — sometimes by perjury, according to the confession of Hall, your companion; sometimes by dissimulation, as about the places of your rendezvous; by earnest expostulations, by artificial equivocation, sophisticating true substances and adding false qualities — yet there is enough

[90] The sanctity of the confessional, alluding to his statement that "it was a point of secret confession."

to defeat your devices, and to defend his majesty, '*Quia magna est Veritas et praevalebit*' (because the Truth is great and will prevail.).

"But now, to weigh your answers about the plot. You cannot deny, Mr. Garnet, but that Greenwell's overture, as you say in your confession, being made after the notice you took of Catesby's question about innocents, was the fruit of your own doctrine, the effect of your own instruction, and a conclusion wholly drawn from your own propositions and principles. Now, when we press to know the reason for your concealing such a project, so pernicious to the king and kingdom, without revealing it either to the king himself or his ministers, you flee to the cover of confession, which will not do in reference to Catesby's first revelation, according to your own words. I will not argue in this place, what course a confessor should take, or how far he ought to strain to save a prince's life, who otherwise is sure to perish by the hands of a base villain, because time will not allow it. But I am sure that confession about a thing of lesser weight, and a crime of lesser importance than the life of a prince or state, received a deep wound over a thousand years past, in the church of Constantinople.[91] For God forbid that things of such weight should hang by slender threads.

"But as to the case in hand, I am very doubtful whether this course of conference was a confession, or not; seeing that sometimes you kneeled, and sometimes you walked up and down; and there was matter of conspiracy interlaced with matters of confession — not for ease of conscience (by what appears), but for advice in executing, which excludes the shift of reference. And Greenwell must be found to lie to the Holy Spirit, in case this was a *true* confession, in promising, as you say, to dissuade the project, which it is plain he prosecuted to the last. I conclude that the discovery was by confession. It was no *supersedeas* [92] to your former knowledge of the plot from Catesby. What need is there to seek light through the cobweb lawns,[93] when the whole drift of your design in concealing from one, what you learned from another, and from all, what you affected and abetted in your heart, evidently proves your counsels to have been carried on with such a reservedness of temper, that whatever mischief came to light, the world might admire your caution rather than commend your fidelity.

"You must, by giving such weak answers to so many demonstrations, either work by the Ring of Giges [94] to make your designs invisible, or else have a low opinion of our understandings, as if we would be put off with such sophistry. For though you pretended to have a wounded conscience upon the first revelation to you, to have lost sleep through the vexation of your spirit, to have prayed to God for His preventing grace, and to have required Greenwell's assistance in crossing the design — yet you allowed the project to go on. You assisted their endeavors; wrote earnestly to Baldwin and Creswell to further the ordinary means; ordered a prayer to be said by the catholics for their prosperous success; ever had an ear open for the blow, and were in the same agony for the powder-plot as Charles V was for the pope's imprisonment, ordering prayers to be said in all his dominions for his liberty, when at the same time, the pope was his own prisoner. The least word of your mouth, or stroke of your pen, might have secured the king and government, though you pretend it disturbed your sleep and mind. And your tenderness in this was of a piece with another dutiful desire of yours to dissuade Catesby from the plot at his coming into Warwickshire, when he never intended to go there.

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[91] Perhaps referring to the *Nika Riots* of 532 AD, a major uprising in Constantinople sparked by political and social unrest. The riots were fueled by rivalry between two chariot racing factions, the Blues and the Greens. But it quickly escalated into a broader revolt against Justinian's rule, with rebels demanding his abdication.

[92] *Supersedeas*: an order to suspend a legal proceeding, especially to stay a writ or judgment previously issued,

[93] *Cobweb lawns*: metaphor representing a web of lies, deceits, or excuses which hide an underlying truth.

[94] *Ring of Giges*: a mythical artifact from Plato's "Republic" granting its wearer the power of invisibility. The question is whether a person would act justly if they could do so without fear of being caught.

[1033] A.D. 1606.

> "But as to the rendezvous, when the parliament had been blown up and the storm was over, your mind, perhaps, was disquieted with considerations of strange events — so were Cain, Ahithophel and Judas. The reason is that, seeing wickedness is cowardly and timorous, it gives evidence of condemnation against itself; but Satan prevailing, his angels execute.
>
> "I have dwelt longer upon this point, to let you know how idly and willfully you strive against the divine providence, and the justice of the land. The more you labor to get out of the wood, once you have lost the right way, the further you creep in. For the wisdom of the world is folly with God. And it is impossible that those courses would either be approved of in this world, or rewarded in the next, which are imbrued (stained) in blood and pursued with tyranny. If then there is no other way to heaven, than by the destruction of God's anointed and his heirs, I conclude with you, Mr. Garnet, as Constantius did with Ascesius,[95] '*Erigito tibi scalam et in coelum solus ascendite*' (set up a ladder for yourself, and climb up to heaven alone), for loyal minds cannot suit such bad company. The worst I wish to your person, standing now to be convicted at the bar, is remorse and repentance for the safety of your soul. And for the rest, '*fiat justitia, curret lex, et vincet veritas*' (let justice be done, let the law run, and truth will prevail.)"

Garnet. — "I have done more than I can excuse; I have dealt plainly with you, but I am bound to keep the secrets of confession, and to disclose nothing that I have heard in sacramental confession."

Nottingham. — "If one confesses this day to you, that tomorrow morning he intends to kill the king with a dagger, must you conceal it?"

Garnet. — "I must conceal it."

Salisbury. — "I desire leave to ask you some questions concerning the nature of confessions."

Garnet. — " Your lordship may, and I will answer you as well as I can."

Salisbury. — "Must there not be confession and contrition before the absolution?"

Garnet. — "Yes."

Salisbury. — "Was Greenwell absolved by you, or not?"

Garnet. — "He was."

Salisbury. — "What did Greenwell do to show that he was sorry for it, and whether he promised to desist.'"

Garnet. — "Greenwell said he would do his best."

Salisbury. — "It could not be so. For as soon as Catesby and Percy were in arms, Greenwell came to them from you, and so he went from them to Hall, at Mr. Abington's house, most earnestly inviting them to go and assist those gentlemen in the action. By this it appears that either Greenwell told you outside of confession, and then there was no need for secrecy; or if it was in confession, he promised no repentance, and therefore you could not absolve him. This one circumstance must still be remembered, and you cannot get clear of it, that when Greenwell told you what Catesby meant *in particular*, you then also called to mind what

[95] Acesius was a bishop of Constantinople during the reign of Constantine the Great, not Constantius. He was a follower of Novatianism, which held that those who had renounced their faith during persecution could not be readmitted to church communion, even with sincere repentance.

Catesby had told you before *in general*. If you had not been desirous to have the plot succeed, you might have discovered it from the general knowledge you had of it from Catesby. But when he offered to impart the particulars to you, as he had done to Greenwell, you refused to hear him, lest your tongue have betrayed your heart."

Garnet. — "I did what I could to dissuade it, and went into Warwickshire with the design to dissuade Mr. Catesby from it, when he came down. And as for Greenwell's going to Father Hall to persuade him to join in it, he did evil in doing so."

Salisbury. — "Your first answer is absurd, seeing that you knew Catesby would not come down till the 6th of November, the day after the blow was to have been given; and you went into the country ten days before. As to the second, I am only glad that the world may now see that Jesuits are condemned by Jesuits, and treasons and traitors are laid naked by traitors themselves — indeed, Jesuits [are condemned] by that Jesuit who governs all of them here, and without whom none of them in England can do anything."

Garnet. — "I pray God and the king that other catholics may not fare the worse for my sake."

Salisbury. — "Mr. Garnet, is it not a lamentable thing, that if the pope, or Claudius Aquaviva,[96] or yourself, should command the poor catholics to do anything, they must obey, even to the endangering of body and soul? And if you maintain such doctrines among you, how can the king be safe? Is it not therefore time, that the king and government should be watchful of you, seeing that you thus spend your time in his dominions?"

Garnet. — "My lord, I would to God I had never known of the powder-treason."

Lord Chief Justice. — "Garnet, you are the superior of the Jesuits; and if you forbid, must not the rest obey? Was not Greenwell half-an-hour with you at Sir Everard Digby's, when you talked of the discovery of your treason? Did you not confer there, and debate the matters? Did you not send him to Hall at Abington's house, to excite him to go to the rebels and encourage them? Yet you seek to disguise all this; but it is a mere shift.[97] And though you say no man living but one knew that you were privy to it, it is like some who are dead did. Catesby was never absent from you, like the gentlewoman confessed, who kept your house. And you were, by many apparent proofs and evident presumptions in every particular of this fact, directing and commanding the actors. No, I think you were the *chief mover* of it."

Garnet. — "No, my lord, I was not."

Lord Chief Justice. — "You wrote letters to Winter, Fawkes, Baynham, and Catesby, the principal actors in this matchless treason, and kept the two bulls in prejudice to the king's title, and to do other mischiefs to the kingdom. But when you saw the king came in peaceably, you burnt them, being out of hope to do any good."

In the end, the jury withdrew, and returned within less than a quarter of an hour, finding Henry Garnet guilty. Here the Lord-Chief-Justice having summed up all the proofs and presumptions of his guilt, gave judgment that he should be drawn, hanged, and quartered.

Salisbury. — "Garnet, would you say anything else?"

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[96] Claudio Acquaviva (d. 1615) was an Italian Jesuit priest elected in 1581 as the fifth Superior General of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits). He has been referred to as the second founder of the Jesuit order. Under his rule the order grew from about 5,000 to over 13,000 members, from 21 to 32 provinces, with the number of colleges reaching 372.

[97] *Shift*: redirecting focus or blame from oneself to another person or issue, often to avoid accountability.

Garnet. — "No, my lord, but I humbly desire all your lordships to commend my life to the king's majesty," saying that at his pleasure he was ready either to live or die, or to do him service."

May 3, 1606, being the day appointed for the execution of Mr. Garnet, there was a scaffold set up for that purpose at the west-end of St. Paul's. Upon his mounting, he seemed to be much amazed. The deans of St. Paul and Westminster were present. In a grave and Christian manner, they exhorted him to place a true and lively faith in God, and to freely and plainly acknowledge his offense to the world. And if he knew of any further treason, to discharge his conscience, and show his sorrow and detestation of it. But Garnet, not pleased to be exhorted by them, desired them not to trouble him, for he came prepared, and was resolved. Then the recorder of London, appointed by the king to be there, asked the malefactor if he had anything to say to the people before he died; that it was no time to dissemble, for his treasons were manifest. Therefore, if he were willing to let the world see the thoughts he had of himself and his actions, he might freely do it. But he said his voice was slow, his strength gone, and the people could not hear him. But to those about him on the scaffold he said, "The intention was wicked, and the act would have been cruel, and he should have abhorred it from his soul if it had taken effect. "But," he said, "he only had a general knowledge of it from Catesby, and had offended by not discovering it, and using means to prevent it. What he knew in particular was in confession." But the recorder reminded him, that the king had the following four points under Garnet's own hand:

1. That Greenwell told him of it, not as a fault, but as a thing he had intelligence of, and by way of consultation.
2. That Catesby and Greenwell came together to be resolved.
3. That Tesmond and he conferenced about the particulars of the plot in Essex, long after.
4. That Greenwell had asked him, who should be protector?

But Garnet said that was to be deferred till the blow was past. That these proved his privity (complicity), besides his confession, and were under his hand, he answered that whatever was under his hand was true; and because he did not reveal them to the king, he confessed he was justly condemned and asked forgiveness of him.

[1034]

Then the recorder, leading him to the scaffold to make his confession in public, Garnet said, "Good countrymen, I come here this day of the invention of the holy cross, to end all my crosses in this life. You know the cause of my sufferings. I confess I have offended the king, and am sorry for it, so far as I was guilty by concealing it; and for that I ask pardon of the king. The treason intended against the king and state was bloody; I myself would have detested it, had it taken effect, and I am heartily sorry that any catholics ever had so cruel a design."

Then preparing for death, he kneeled at the foot of the ladder, and asked if he might have time to pray, and for how long? It was answered that he should limit himself, for none would interrupt him. During the time of his prayers, he often broke off, turned and looked about him, and answered to what he overheard while he seemed to be praying.

When he stood up, the recorder finding by his behavior some expectation of a pardon, wished him not to deceive himself, for he had come to die, and *must* die — requiring him not to equivocate with his last breath. If he knew anything that might be dangerous to the king or state, he ought to reveal it then. Garnet said, "It was no time now to equivocate. He

had shown his mind elsewhere how and when it was lawful. But," he said, "I do not now equivocate, and I do not know more than I have confessed." At his going up the ladder, he desired to have warning before he was turned away. But he was told that he "must look for no other turn than death." Being upon the gibbet, he used these words:

> "I commend myself to all good catholics, and I pray God to preserve the king, queen, and all their posterity, and my lords of the privy-council, to whom I give my humble duty; and I am sorry I dissembled with them. But I did not think they had such proof against me till it was shown to me. But when it was proved, I thought it more honorable at that time to confess, than before. And, for my brother Greenwell, I wish the truth were known, for the false reports that fly about, make him more criminal than he is. I should not have charged him, except that I thought he had been safe. I pray God the catholics may not fare the worse for my sake. I earnestly exhort them all, never to enter into any treasons, rebellions, and insurrections against the king."

Then falling to his prayers, and crossing himself, he said, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit," and prayed, "O Mary, mother of grace! Mary, mother of mercy, protect me from the evil one, and receive me in the hour of death." Then, "Into your hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit;" again, "By this sign of the cross," crossing himself, "May the evil one be far from me, place your cross in my heart, O Lord." "Let me always remember the cross;" and so returning to "Mary, mother of grace," he was turned away, and hung till he was dead.

APPENDIX IV.

The history of the Irish Rebellion in the year 1641

When the papists attempted to extirpate the Protestants in the kingdom of Ireland.

By Sir John Temple, Knight, Master of the Rolls, and one of His Majesty's most honorable privy-council at that time in Ireland. [98]

The Irish Rebellion, or a history of the Attempt of the Irish Papists, in the Year 1641, to extirpate the Protestants in the Kingdom of Ireland; together with the Barbarous Cruelties and Bloody Massacres which ensued thereupon. Written from his own Observations, and the authentic Depositions of other eye-witnesses, by Sir John Temple, Knight, Master of the Rolls, and one of His Majesty's Most Honorable Privy-Council at that time in Ireland. Now reprinted for the perusal of all Protestants, as the most effectual warning-piece to keep them on their guard against the encroachments of popery. [99]

Such was now the state and present condition of the kingdom of Ireland, such was the great serenity through the gentle and happy transaction of the public affairs here, that the Irish army, raised for the invasion of the kingdom of Scotland, being peaceably disbanded, their arms and ammunition, by the singular care of the lords justices and council, brought into his majesty's stores within the city of Dublin, there was no manner of warlike preparations, no relics of any kind of disorders proceeding from the late levies, nor indeed, any noise of war remaining within these coasts. Now, the British continued in this great calm, in a most deep security, under the assurance of the blessed peace of this land. All things were carried on with great temper and moderation in the present government, and all men sat pleasantly enjoying the comfortable fruits of their own labors, without the least thoughts or apprehension of either tumults or other troubles. The differences between his majesty and his subjects of Scotland were fairly composed and settled. While all this was going on, there broke out, on the 23rd of October 1641, a most desperate and formidable rebellion — a universal defection and general revolt — in which not only all the Irish, but almost all the old English who adhered to the church of Rome, were totally involved. And because it will be necessary to leave some monuments of this to posterity, I will observe the beginnings and first motions, as well as trace out the progress of a rebellion, so execrable in itself, so odious to God and the whole world, that no age, no kingdom, no people, can parallel the horrid cruelties, the abominable murders that have occurred, without number and without mercy, committed upon the British inhabitants throughout the land, of whatever sex or age, of whatever quality or condition they were in.

And first, I must say that notwithstanding, I have observed in the nature of the Irish, such a dull and deep reservedness, as to make them carry on their business with much silence and secrecy. Yet I cannot but consider it as a most astonishing event, that this mischievous plot was acted out so generally, at the same time, and in so many places. Therefore it must necessarily have been known to so many persons. Yet, without any noise, it was brought to such maturity, as to arrive at the very point of execution, without any notice or intimation given to any two of that great multitude of persons who were generally designed to be destroyed in it, that afterwards most of them were indeed destroyed. For except the

[98] Sir John Temple (1600–1677). Born in Ireland, he was the eldest son of Sir William Temple, Provost of Trinity College Dublin, and educated at Trinity College. He was appointed Master of the Rolls in 1640.

[99] Some needless duplication has been removed. – WHG

uncertain presumptions that Sir William Cole [100] had entertained about a commotion to be raised by the Irish in the province of Ulster, about a fortnight before this rebellion broke out openly, and some certain intelligence which he received of the same two days before the Irish rose, I could never hear that any Englishman received any certain notice of this conspiracy before the very evening before the day on which it was to be generally put into execution. It is true, Sir William Cole, upon the very first apprehensions of something that he conceived to be hatching among the Irish, wrote a letter to the lords-justices and council, dated the 11th of October 1641, in which he gave them notice of the great resort made to Sir Phelim O'Neale, in the county of Tyrone, and also to the house of the Lord Mac-Guire, in the county of Fermanagh, that several suspected persons were thought to be fit instruments for mischief. And also that the said Lord Mac-Guire had, of late, made several journeys into the Pale and other places, [101] and had spent much of his time in writing letters, and sending dispatches abroad.[102]

These letters were received by the lords-justices and council. And in answer to them, they required him to be very vigilant and industrious, to find out what might be the occasion of those several meetings, and to speedily notify them of it, or of any other particulars that he conceived might tend to the public service of the state.

[1036] A.D. 1641.

As to that which was revealed to Sir William Cole on the 21st of October, by John Cormacke, and Flarty Mac-Hugh, from Brian Mac-Cohamaught, Mac-Guire, regarding the resolution of the Irish to seize his majesty's castle and the city of Dublin, and to murder the lords-justices and Council of Ireland, and the rest of the protestants there, and to seize all the castles, forts, sea-ports, and strong-holds that were in the possession of the protestants within the kingdom of Ireland, — I find by the examination of John Cormache, taken under oath at Westminster, Nov. 18, 1644, that the said Sir William Cole did dispatch letters to the lords-justices and council, the same day, to give them notice of it. But I can also testify that those letters (whether they were intercepted or otherwise miscarried, I cannot say), did not come into their hands; and also that they did not have any certain notice of this general conspiracy of the Irish, until the 22nd of October, the very evening before the day appointed for the surprise of the castle and city of Dublin.

Then the conspirators, many of whom arrived within the city, and having met that day at the Lion tavern near Copper Alley, and there, turning the barkeep out of the room, ordered their affairs together, and drank to their health upon their knees, to the happy success of the next morning's work. Owen O'Conally, a gentleman of an Irish family, but one who had long lived among the English, and who had been trained up in the protestant religion, came to the lord-justice Parsons, about nine o'clock that evening, and made him a broken relation of a great conspiracy, for seizing his majesty's castle of Dublin. He gave him the names of some

[100] Sir William Cole (1571?–1653) served as a key English Parliamentarian commander in Ulster. In 1607 he was the vice-governor of Ballyshannon, and in that year was given command of Enniskillen castle. He was sheriff of Fermanagh (1615, 1623, 1626-7), and also a Justice of the Peace and collector of fines (1616). In 1640–41, he was a member of the Irish parliamentary delegation sent to London to complain against Thomas Wentworth (qv) and his government of Ireland.

[101] *The Pale*: a region directly controlled by the English government during the Late Middle Ages, centered around Dublin and stretching along the east coast. By the late 15th century, it had been reduced to a narrow strip of land from Dalkey, just south of Dublin, north to the garrison town of Dundalk in County Louth.

[102] Conor Maguire was a key figure in the Irish Rebellion, which aimed to drive out the Protestants and regain their confiscated lands. He was involved in a failed plot to seize Dublin Castle, which ultimately led to a violent uprising and the subsequent Irish Confederate Wars (1641-1653), part of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms.

of the chief conspirators, assured him they had come up expressly to the town for the same purpose, and that the next morning they would undoubtedly attempt, and surely effect it, if their design were not speedily prevented. He said that he had understood all this from Hugh Mac-Mahon, one of the chief conspirators, who was then in the town, and came up the very same afternoon for the execution of the plot; and indeed, he had been drinking with him somewhat liberally. The truth is, he then made such a confused relation of a matter that seemed incredible in itself, that his lordship gave very little belief to it at first, considering that it came from an obscure person, and someone, he conceived, who was at that time somewhat disordered by drinking.

However, the lord Parsons ordered him to go back to Mac-Mahon, and to get out of him as much certainty of the plot, with as many particular circumstances, as he could, strictly charging him to return to him the same evening. In the meantime, by strict commands given to the constable of the castle, he ordered the gates to be well-guarded, and also with the mayor and sheriffs of the city, he ordered strong watches be set upon all its parts, and to stop all strangers. He went privately, about ten o'clock that night, to the lord Borlace's house outside the town. And there, acquainting him with what he understood from Conally, they sent for those of the council whom they knew were then in the town. But that night only Sir Thomas Rotheram and Sir Robert Meredith, chancellor of the exchequer, came to them. They entered into consultation with them, as to what was fit to be done while they were waiting for the return of Conally. Finding that he stayed somewhat longer than the time appointed, they sent in search after him, and found him seized by the watch. And so he would have been carried away to prison, and the discovery of the plot on that night would have been disappointed, had not one of the lord Parsons' servants (who had been expressly sent, among others, to walk the streets, and attend to the motions of the said Conally), come in and rescued him, and brought him to the lord Borlace's house.

Conally had somewhat recovered from his distemper, which was occasioned partly, as he said himself, by the horror of the plot revealed to him, and partly by his too liberal drinking with Mac-Mahon — so that he might more easily get away from him. For he was beginning to much suspect and fear his discovering the plot. He confirmed what he had formerly related, and added these further particulars, set down in his examination, as follows:

The Examination of Owen O'Conally, Gentleman,
taken before us whose name ensue, October 22, 1641.

Who, being duly sworn and examined, says that, "being at Monimore, in the county of Londonderry, on Tuesday last, he received a letter from Colonel Hugh-Oge Mac-Mahon, desiring him to come to Connaught, in the county of Monaghan, and to be with him on Wednesday or Thursday last. Whereupon he, this examinant, came to Connaught on Wednesday night last, and finding the said Hugh had come to Dublin, he followed him there. He came here about six o'clock in the evening, and immediately went to the lodging of the said Hugh, to the house near the boat in Oxmantown, and there he found the said Hugh, and came with the said Hugh into the town, near the pillory, to the lodging of the Lord Mac-Guire, whom they did not find within. There they drank a cup of beer, and then went back to the said Hugh's lodging."

He says that, "at the Lord Mac-Guire's lodging, the said Hugh told him that there were, and would be this night, great numbers of noblemen and gentlemen of the Irish papists, from all parts of the kingdom, in this town, who with himself had determined to take the castle of Dublin, and possess themselves of all his majesty's ammunition there tomorrow morning, being Saturday; and that they intended, first, to batter the chimneys of the said town, and if

the city would not yield, then to batter down the houses, and so cut off all the protestants who would not join with them."

He further says that, "the said Hugh then told him that the Irish had prepared men in all parts of the kingdom, to destroy all the English inhabiting there tomorrow morning by ten o'clock; and that, in all the seaports, and other towns in the kingdom; all the protestants would be killed this night, and that all the posts they had, could not prevent it."

And he further says that, "he moved the said Hugh to forbear executing that business, and to reveal it to the State, to save his own estate. He said he could not help it; but said they owed their allegiance to the king, and would pay him all his rights; but they did this because of the tyrannical government that was over them, and to imitate Scotland, which got a privilege by that course." And he further says that, 'when he was with the said Hugh in his lodging the second time, the said Hugh swore that he would not go out of his lodging that night, but told him that he would go with him the next morning to the castle; and he said, if this matter was discovered, somebody would die for it. Whereupon this examinant, feigning some necessity for his easement, went down out of the chamber, left his sword in pawn, and the said Hugh sent his man down with him. When this examinant came down into the yard, and found an opportunity, he (this examinant) leaped over a wall and two pales (fences), and so he came to the Lord Justice Parsons.' "

William Parsons, Thomas Rotheram, Robert Meredith.
OWEN O'CONALLY.
October 22, 1641.

Hereupon the lords quickly ordered a watch privately set upon the lodging of Mac Mahon, and also upon the Lord Mac Guire's. And so they sat up all that night in consultation, having far stronger presumptions upon this latter examination that was taken, than any ways they could entertain at first. The lords justices, upon a further consideration (several others of the privy council having come to them early the next morning), sent before daylight, and seized Mac-Mahon then, with his servant, in his own lodging. At first the two gave some little resistance with their drawn swords; but finding themselves overpowered, they presently yielded.

[1037] A.D. 1641.

And so they were brought before the lords-justices and council, still sitting at the Lord Borlace's house. There, upon examination, without much difficulty, he confessed the plot, resolutely telling them that,

> "On that very day all the forts and strong places in Ireland would be taken; that he, with the Lord Mac Guire, Hugh Birn, Captain Brian O'Neale, and several other Irish gentlemen, had come up expressly to surprise the castle of Dublin. That twenty men out of each county in the kingdom, were to be here to join with them. That all the lords and gentlemen in the kingdom, who were papists, were engaged in this plot. That what was to be done that day in other parts of the country, was so far advanced by that time, that it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it. And with this, he told them that it was true they had him in their power, and might use him as they pleased; but he was sure he would be revenged."

By this time, the rumor of this conspiracy began to be confusedly spread abroad about the town. Notice was brought to the lords-justices, then in council, that great numbers of strangers had been observed to come into the town the last evening, and early in the morning, and most of them put up their horses in the suburbs. Whereupon the lords, having in the first place ordered the apprehension of the lord Mac Guire, removed themselves into

the castle, for their better security, where the body of the council then in town attended them at the ordinary place of their meeting there.

In the first place, they had an immediate search made for all such horses belonging to strangers, that were brought into any of the inns. And by that means, they discovered some of the owners, who were presently seized upon, and committed to the castle of Dublin. They had already delivered over to the custody of the constable there, the lord Mac Guire, and Hugh Mac Mahon. But Hugh Birn, and Roger Moore, chiefs of the conspirators, escaped over the river in the night. And colonel Plunket, captain Fox, with several others, likewise found means to get away undiscerned. Of the great numbers who came up out of several counties, to be actors in taking the castle and city of Dublin, not over thirty of them were seized (through the slack pursuit and great negligence of the inhabitants). Most of them were servants and inconsiderable persons. Those of quality, having so many good friends within the town, would have had very bad luck if they were apprehended. On the same night, the lord Blaney arrived with the news of the surprisal of his house, his wife, and his children, by the rebels of the county of Monaghan. The next day intelligence came from Sir Arthur Tyringham, of the taking of the Mewry. And then the sad relations of burning, spoiling, and horrible murders committed within the province of Ulster, began to multiply. For a good while after, several persons every day, and almost every hour in every day, arrived like Job's messengers, telling the story of their own sufferings, and the fearful massacres of the poor English in those parts from which they came.

These things wrought such a general consternation and astonishment in the minds of all the English, and other well-affected inhabitants within the city, that they were much frightened by it, expecting every hour, when the Irish, who had already crept into the town, joining with the papists there, would make the city a theatre upon which to act out the second part of that tragedy, most bloodily begun by them in the northern parts.

And it added most keenly to these present fears that several unhappy rumors, the great tormentors of the weaker sex, were vainly spread abroad, of the sudden approach of great numbers of rebels out of the adjacent Irish counties into this city. Some would make us believe that they were seen at some distance, already marching down from the mountain-side within view of the town; a report so credibly delivered by those who pretended to be eye-witnesses, that it drew some of the state up to the platform of the castle to behold those who were yet invisible — though there were some who would not be persuaded, but thought they saw the very motions of the men as they marched down the mountains.

At the same time, it was also generally rumored abroad, that there were 10,000 of the rebels assembled together in a body at the hill of Tarah, a place not more than 16 miles distant from the town; and that they intended, without any further delay, to march on and presently surprise the town. These false rumors being unluckily spread, and fomented by some out of evil ends, exceedingly increased the present distractions of the people, and raised such a panic among them, that about seven o'clock at night (the lords-justices, and some of the council, then being in the council-chamber within the castle), a gentleman of good quality came in to them, who having (not without much difficulty, as he pretended), recovered the gate of the castle, caused the warders then attending it to draw up the bridge, assuring them that the rebels, gathered together in great numbers, had already possessed themselves of a good part of the town, and were now marching with great fury down the street that leads directly towards the castle gate.

But this fear was quickly removed by Sir Francis Willoughby, who (being made governor of the castle that day) had the draw-bridge let down. He found this to be a false alarm,

occasioned by some mistake among the people, who continued wandering up and down the streets, prepossessed with strange fears. Some of them, upon some slender incident, drew their swords; others, who did not know the cause, thought it fitting to follow their example. And so they appeared to this gentleman (who was none of their company), as so many rebels coming up to enter the castle.

These were the first beginnings of our sorrows; ill symptoms, and sad preparatives to the ensuing evils. Therefore the lords, finding by means of several communications (though some were purposely framed), that the power of the rebels was suddenly swollen up to so great a bulk, and likely to multiply and increase upon them so fast, thought it high time to consider the remedies, and in what condition they were to oppose so imminent a danger, since they could not prevent it. The rebellion now appeared, without question, to be generally raised in all parts of the north, and, to come down most impetuously upon them like a torrent. Besides, it was not improbable that all ether parts of the kingdom would take fire, and follow their example; for they had the positive (though drunken) testimony of Mac-Mahon in this.

The first thing, therefore, which they took into consideration was, How were the rebels provided with money, arms, and ammunition? Then, What companies of foot soldiers and horse troops of the old English army were they able to draw together quickly? And also, What numbers of new men could they suddenly raise? For the first, they had this short account from the vice-treasurer, that there was no money in the exchequer. And certainly it was a main policy, in the first contrivers of this rebellion, to plot to break it out at such a time when the exchequer would be empty, and all the king's revenues due for that half-year, both certain and casual, as well as the rents of all the British throughout the kingdom, might be found ready, either in the tenants' or collectors' hands in the country; and so it would necessarily fall under their power — as they did to their great advantage.

For arms and ammunition, the stores happened to be tolerably well-furnished at this time. For besides several pieces of artillery of various sorts, most of them were fit for present service. There were arms for nearly 10,000 men, 1500 barrels of powder, with proportionate match and lead, laid in not long before by the earl of Stratford, late lord-lieutenant. It was intended for another purpose, but so opportunely reserved for this service, that the good providence of God exceedingly appeared in this. But principally it appeared in their miraculous preservation from the hands of the rebels, who made the surprisal of these provisions a main part of their design. The munitions were all within the castle of Dublin, as their common storehouse.

[1038] A.D. 1641

The old standing army consisted of only forty-one companies of foot soldiers, and fourteen horse troops. And these were so strangely dispersed, most of them into the remote parts of the kingdom, for the guard of several forts and other places, that it fell out, in a way, that it was almost impossible to draw a considerable number of them together at any time, either for the defense of the city, or for making headway against the rebels in the north. Besides, it was much to be suspected that the companies lying so remotely from each other, and ill-furnished with ammunition, could not safely march to Dublin. Yet the lords sent letters patent quickly away to require several companies of foot soldiers, and some horse troops, to immediately rise, and march up from their several garrisons, towards the city of Dublin.

And now it was high time to give an account to his majesty, who was then at Edinburgh in his kingdom of Scotland, and to the lord-lieutenant who still continued at London. The

parliament was still sitting there at the outbreak of this rebellion, the ill-condition of the kingdom, the wants of the state, and the absolutely necessary supplies for their present defense and preservation. And because the letter to the lord-lieutenant most clearly represents several particulars which may conduce much to the knowledge of these affairs, I thought it appropriate to insert a true copy of it, which follows here:

"May it please your lordship,

"On Friday, the 22nd of this month, after nine o'clock at night, this bearer, Owen Conally, servant to Sir John Clotworthy, knt.,[103] came to me, the lord-justice Parsons, to my house, and in great secrecy (as indeed the cause required) revealed to me a most wicked and damnable conspiracy, plotted, contrived, and intended to also be enacted by some evil-affected Irish papists here. The plot was then on the next morning, Saturday the 23rd of October, being St. Ignatius's day, about nine o'clock, to surprise his majesty's castle of Dublin, his majesty's chief strength of this kingdom, in which also is the principal magazine of his majesty's arms and ammunition. It was agreed among them, it seems, that at the same hour all his majesty's other forts, and magazines of arms and ammunition in this kingdom, should be surprised by others of those conspirators. And further, that all the protestants and English throughout the whole kingdom, who would not join with them, would be cut off, and so those papists would then become possessed of the government and kingdom at the same instant.

"As soon as I had that intelligence, I immediately repaired to the lord-justice Borlace, and thereupon we instantly assembled the council. And having sat all that night, and also all the next day, the 23rd of October, in regard of the short time left us for the consultation of so great and weighty a matter— although it was not possible for us upon so few hours' warning to prevent those other great mischiefs which were to be acted, even at that same hour, and at so great a distance as in all the other parts of the kingdom — yet such was our industry in this (having had the castle strengthened with armed men that night, and the city guarded), that the wicked counsels of those evil persons, by the great mercy of God to us, became defeated, so as they were not able to act out that part of their treachery. This indeed was the principal point, and which, if they could have effected it, would have rendered the rest of their purposes easier.

"Having so secured the castle, we immediately laid about to apprehend as many of the offenders as we could, many of them having come to this city only that night, intending, it seems, to act their parts in those treacherous and bloody crimes the next morning.

"The first man apprehended was one Hugh Mac-Mahon, esq., grandson to the traitor Tyrone, a gentleman of a good fortune in the county of Monaghan. With others, he was taken that morning in Dublin, having at the time of their apprehension, offered a little resistance with their swords drawn; but finding those we employed against them more in number, and better armed, he yielded. Upon his examination before us, he at first denied all; but in the end, when he saw we laid it home to him, he confessed enough to destroy himself, and impeach some others, as it may appear to your lordship, by a copy of his examination sent herewith. We then committed him until we might have further time to examine him again, our time having become more needfully employed in action for securing this place, than in examining. This Mac-Mahon had been abroad, and served the king of Spain as lieutenant-colonel.

"Upon conference with him and others, and calling to mind a letter we received the week before from Sir William Cole, a copy of which we send your lordship here enclosed, we gathered that the Lord Mac Guire was to be an actor in surprising the castle of Dublin. Therefore we held it necessary to secure him immediately, thereby also to startle and deter the rest when they found him laid fast. His lordship, observing what we had done, and the city in

[103] *Knt*: abbreviation for knight.

arms, fled from his lodging early before daylight, it seems, disguised. For we had laid a watch about his lodging, so that we thought he could not pass without disguising himself. Yet he could not get out of the city; so surely guarded were all the gates.

"There we found at his lodging, hidden, some hatchets, with the helves (handles) newly cut off close to the hatchets, and many skeans (short daggers), and some hammers.

"In the end, the sheriffs of the city, whom we employed in strict search of his lordship, found him hidden in a cock-loft, in an obscure house, far from his lodging. There they apprehended him, and brought him before us.

"He denied all, yet so as he could not deny that he heard of it in the country, though he would not tell us when, or from whom. And he confessed that he had not notified us of it, as in duty he should have done. But we were so well satisfied of his guiltiness by all the circumstances, we did not doubt that upon further examination (when we could be able to spare time for it), we would find it apparent. Therefore we held it of absolute necessity to commit him close prisoner, as we had done before to Mac Mahon, and others, where we left him on the 23rd of this month in the morning, about the same hour that they intended to have been masters of that place and this city.

"That morning we also laid in wait for all those strangers who came to town the night before. And so many were apprehended, whom we find reason to believe had hands in this conspiracy, that we were forced to disperse them into several jails. We since found that many horsemen came into the suburbs that night, who finding the plot discovered, dispersed themselves immediately.

"When the hour approached which was designed for surprising the castle, great numbers of strangers were observed coming to town in great parties, by several ways. Not finding admittance at the gates, they stayed in the suburbs, and grew numerous there, to the terror of the inhabitants. To help that, we therefore drew up instantly and signed a proclamation, commanding all men who were not dwellers in the city or suburbs, to depart within an hour, upon pain of death, and alike made it penal for those who would harbor them. The sheriffs immediately proclaimed it in all the suburbs by our commandment. This being accompanied with the example and terror of the committal of those two eminent men and others, occasioned the departure of those multitudes. And in this case — all our lives and fortunes, and above all, his majesty's power and regal authority, still being at stake — we must vary from ordinary proceedings, not only in executing martial law as we see cause, but also in putting some to the rack to find out the bottom of this treason and all its contrivers, which we foresee will not otherwise be done.

"On that 23rd of this month, we conceived that as soon as it might be known that the plot for seizing Dublin castle was disappointed, all the conspirators in the remote parts might be somewhat disheartened, and on the other side, the good subjects would be comforted, and would then stand on their guard with more confidence. We prepared to send abroad to all parts of the kingdom, this proclamation which we send to you here enclosed. And so having provided that the city and castle would be so guarded as upon a sudden we could premise, we concluded that long-continued consultation.

[1039] A.D. 1641.

"On Saturday, at twelve o'clock at night, the Lord Blaney came to town, and brought us the ill news of the rebels seizing with two hundred men, his house at Castle Blaney, in the county of Monaghan, and his wife, children, and servants; and also a house of the Earl of Essex, called Carrick macrosse, with two hundred men; and a house of Sir Henry Spotswood, in the same county, with two hundred men. There being a little plantation of British there, they plundered

the town and burnt diverse houses. And it since appears that they burnt diverse other villages, and robbed and spoiled many English, none but protestants, leaving the English papists untouched, as well as the Irish.

"On Saturday morning at three o'clock, we had intelligence from Sir Arthur Terringham, that the Irish in the town had that day also broken up the king's store of arms and ammunition at the Newry, where the store of arms has lain ever since the peace. There they found ninety barrels of powder, and armed themselves, and put them under the command of Sir Con. Mac Gennis, knt., and one Creely, a monk. They plundered the English there, and disarmed the garrison. And this, though too much, is all that we yet hear was done by them.

"However, we will stand on our guard the best we may, to defend the castle and city principally, those being the places of most importance. But if the conspiracy is so universal as Mac Mahon says in his examination — namely, 'That all the counties in the kingdom have conspired in it' — then we wonder that this should so fall out in this time of universal peace, and carried on with that secrecy, that none of the English could have any friend among them to disclose it. But if this is so, then indeed we will be in high extremity, and the kingdom in the greatest danger that ever it underwent, considering our lack of men, money, and arms to enable us to encounter such great multitudes as they can make, if all were to join against us — because we have pregnant cause to believe that the combination has taken force by the incitement of Jesuits, priests, and friars. [104]

"All the hope we have here is that the old English of the Pale and some other parts, will continue constant to the king in their fidelity, as they did in former rebellions. And now in these straits, we must under God depend on aid out of England for our present supply, with all speed — especially money (we having none) and arms, which we exceedingly lack. Without these we are very doubtful what account we will give to the king of his kingdom.

"But if the conspiracy is only of Mac Guire, and some other Irish of the kindred and friends of the rebel Tyrone, and other Irish in the counties of Down, Monaghan, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Armagh, and no general revolt is to follow, we hope then to make headway against them in a reasonable measure, if we are enabled with money from there. Without it, we can raise no forces, so great is our lack of money, as we have formerly written, and our debt is so great to the army. Nor is money to be borrowed here. For if it were, we would engage all our estates for it. Neither do we have any hope to collect his majesty's rents and subsidies in these disturbances; which adds extremely to our necessities.

"On Sunday morning, the 24th, we met again in council, and sent to all parts of the kingdom the enclosed proclamation, and issued letters to draw here seven horse-troops as a further strength to this place, and to be with us in case the rebels make headway and march here, so as we may be necessitated to give them battle. We also then sent away our letters to the presidents of both the provinces of Munster and Connaught. And we likewise then sent letters to the sheriffs of the five counties of the Pale, to consult about the best ways and means of their own preservation. That day the lord viscount Gormanstone, the lord viscount Nettervile, the lord viscount Fitz Williams, and the lord of Houth — and since then, the earls of Kildare and Fingal, and the lords of Dunsany and Slane — all noblemen of the English Pale, came to us declaring that they then heard of the matter, and not before, and professed loyalty to his majesty, and concurrence with the state. But they said they wanted arms, which they desired to be supplied by us. We told them we would willingly do this, as we were relying much on their faithfulness to the crown. But we were not yet certain whether or not we had enough to arm our strength for the guard of the city and castle. Yet we supplied those of them who lay in

[104] On p, 1045 is evidence that the Jesuits, priests, and friars were heavily involved in the rebellion. Yet on page 1048 the author doubts religion was the direct cause of it, but only used as a means to incite the people to rebel.

most danger, with a small proportion of arms and ammunition for their houses, lest they conceive we entertained any suspicions about them. And we commanded them to be very diligent in sending out watches, and making all the discoveries they could, and to advertise us of this; which they readily promised to do.

"And if it falls out that the Irish generally rise (which we have cause to suspect), then we must of necessity put arms into the hands of the English Pale at present, and to others as fast as we can, to fight for the defense of the state and themselves.

"Your lordship now sees the condition in which we stand, and how necessary it is, first, that we enjoy your presence speedily, to better guide these and other public affairs of the king and kingdom. And secondly, that the parliament there be moved immediately to advance to us a good sum of money which, now being speedily sent here, may prevent the expense of very much treasure and blood in a long-continued war. And if your lordship happens to stay on that side any longer, we must then desire your lordship to appoint a lieutenant-general to discharge the great and weighty burden of commanding the forces here.

"Amidst these confusions and discords fallen upon us, we thought of the parliament, which was formerly adjourned to November next, and the term now also at hand. These will draw a concourse of people here, and give an opportunity, under that pretense of assembling and taking new counsels (seeing that the former seem to be disappointed in some part), and will contrive further danger to this state and people. We have therefore found it of unavoidable necessity to prorogue it accordingly, and to direct the term to be adjourned till the first of Hilary term [105] — excepting the court of Exchequer, for hastening in the king's money, if it is possible. We desire, upon this occasion, that your lordship will be pleased to view our letters concerning the plantation of Connaught, dated the 24th of April last, directed to Mr. Secretary Yane, in that part of it which concerns the county of Monaghan, where now these fires first break out.

"In the first place, we must make known to your lordship, that the army we have, consisting of but 2000 foot and 1000 horse, are so dispersed in garrisons in several parts (as they have been continually since they were so reduced), that if they are all sent for to be drawn together, not only must the places from which they are to be drawn, and for whose safety they lie there, be distressed by their absence; but also the companies themselves, coming in such small numbers, may be in danger of being cut off in their march — nor indeed do we have any money to pay the soldiers to enable them to march. And so we take leave, and remain, from his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 25th of October, 1641.

"Your lordship's to be commanded,

"William Parsons,
Richard Bolton, Can.
Anthony Midensis,
R. Digbie,
Ger. Lowther,
Tho. Rotheram,
J. Ware,
Robert Meredith,
John Borlace,
R. Dillon,
John Raphoe,
Ad. Loftus,
John Temple,
Fran. Willoughbie,
G. Wentworth."

Postscript. "The said Owen Conally, who revealed the conspiracy, is worthy of very great consideration, to recompence that faith and loyalty which he has so extremely, to his own

[105] *Hilary term* is the second term of the legal year in England, running from January to March or April, during which the superior courts are open to hear cases.

danger, expressed in this business; whereby, under God, there is yet hope left to us of the deliverance of this state and kingdom, from the wicked purposes of those conspirators.

[1040] A.D. 1641.

And therefore, we beseech your lordship, that it be taken into consideration there, so that he may have a mark of his majesty's most royal bounty, which may largely extend to him and his posterity, we not being able now to do it for him here. "W. PARSONS."

"To the Right Honorable our very good Lord Robert, Earl of Leicester, Lord-Lieutenant General, and General Governor of the Kingdom of Ireland."

The dispatch sent to his majesty was addressed to Sir Henry Vane, principal secretary, and carried by Sir Henry Spotswood, who went by sea directly into Scotland; and the letters to the lord-lieutenant were sent to London by Owen O'Conally, the first discoverer of the plot.

The lords now, with all care and diligence, applied their further endeavors towards preventing, as much as possible, the destruction intended against all the British inhabitants of the kingdom, as well as the security of the city and the places round about it. This was a work of large extent, and in which they met with many difficulties because of their own lack of both men and money.

Having formerly sent away and dispersed proclamations into several parts of the country, they now sent letters by express messengers to the presidents of Munster and Connaught, and to several principal gentlemen in those two provinces; and also to others within the province of Leinster, giving them notice of the discovery of the plot, and advising them to stand upon their guard, and to make the best provision they could for the defense of the country about them.

They sent another express to the Earl of Ormond, then at his house at Caricke, with letters to the same effect; and with this, they desired his lordship to immediately repair to them at Dublin, with his troop of horse.

They likewise sent commissions to the lord viscounts of Clandebois, and of the Ardes, for raising the Scots in the northern parts, and putting them in possession of arms; as they also did soon after to Sir William Stewart, and Sir Robert Stewart, and several other gentlemen of quality in the north. And as they gave them orders to prosecute the rebels with fire and sword, so they gave them power to receive those of them in, who would submit to his majesty's grace and mercy. But they were forced to send all these dispatches by sea, the rebels having stopped up the passages, and hindered all manner of intercourse with that province by land.

The northern rebels so closely pursued their first plot, that having begun to put it into execution in most of the chief places of strength there, on the 23rd of October (the day appointed for the surprisal of the castle of Dublin), they had by the latter end of the same month, obtained possession of all the towns, forts, castles, and gentlemen's houses within the counties of Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh, Armagh, Cavan, Londonderry, Monaghan, and half the county of Down, except the cities of Londonderry and Coleraine, the town and castle of Enniskillen, and some other places and castles which were, for the present, gallantly defended by the British, though afterwards, for lack of relief, surrendered into their hands.

The chief of the northern rebels who first appeared in the execution of this plot within the province of Ulster, were Sir Phelim O'Neile; Turlogh O'Neale, his brother; Roury Mac Guire, brother to Lord Mac Guire; Philip O'Rely, Mulmore O'Rely, Sir Conne Mac Gennis, Colonel

Mac Brian; and Mac Mahon. These having closely combined together with several others of their accomplices, the chief of the several Septs [106] in the respective counties, divided their forces into several parties. And according to a general assignation made among themselves, at one and the same time, surprised by treachery the town and castle of Newry, the fort of Dungannon, fort Montjoy, Carlemont, Tonrages, Carrick, Mac Rosse, Clougheuter, Castle Blaney, and the castle of Monaghan — all of them places of considerable strength, and in several of them, companies of foot or troops of horse, belonging to the standing army.

Besides these, they took a number of other castles, houses of strength, towns, and villages, all abundantly peopled with British inhabitants, who had exceedingly enriched the country, as well as themselves, by their diligent labors. They had made for their more comfortable subsistence, handsome and pleasant habitations, and possessed corn, cattle, and all other commodities that an industrious people could draw out of a good inland soil. They lived in great plenty, and some of them were very well stored with plate and ready money. They also dwelt in great security, being quiet and careless, such as the people of Laish, little suspecting any treachery from their Irish neighbors. [107]

The English well knew they had given the Irish no manner of provocation; they had entertained them with great demonstrations of love and affection. No history can ever show that in any age since their intermixed cohabitation, they rose up secretly to do them mischief. And now of late they lived so peaceably and lovingly together, that they had just reason to believe most confidently, that the Irish would never, on any occasion, generally rise up again to their destruction. This I take to be one main and principal reason: that the English were so easily overrun within the northern counties, and so suddenly swallowed up, before they could make any manner of resistance in the very first beginnings of this rebellion. For most of the English, having either Irish tenants, servants, or landlords; and all of them having Irish neighbors whom they supposed to be their familiar friends, that as soon as this rebellion broke out, and the whole country began to rise about them, some quickly made their recourse to their friends for protection — some relying on their neighbors, others upon their landlords, others upon their tenants and servants, for preservation, or at least, present safety. And with great confidence they put their lives, their wives, their children, and all they had, into their power. But generally, these either betrayed them into the hands of other rebels, or they most perfidiously destroyed them with their own hands.

The popish priests had now so inflamed the Irish, and instigated them to such a degree against the English, that it was held, according to the maxims they had received, a mortal sin to give any manner of relief or protection to any of the English. All bonds and ties of faith and friendship were now broken. The Irish landlords made a prey of their English tenants; Irish tenants and servants made a sacrifice of their English landlords and masters; one neighbor cruelly murdered by another; even the Irish children, in the very beginning, fell to stripping and killing English children. All other relations were quite cancelled and laid aside, and it was now esteemed a most meritorious work in any of them who could, by any means or ways whatsoever, bring an Englishman to the slaughter. This was a work not very difficult to be compassed as things then stood. For living promiscuously among the

[106] *Sept*: A division of a clan.

[107] The Irish saw the English as foreign invaders who had stolen the wealth that belonged to the Irish. The English took over Northern Ireland during the Anglo-Norman invasion in the late 12th century. It began under King Henry II of England, and it was solidified by the Tudor conquest of the 16th century, under King Henry VIII, who declared Ireland a kingdom under his rule. So this was a long-term, deep-seated hatred of the Irish for the English.

English in all parts, having received from their priests the watch-word both for time and place, they rose up, as it were, actuated by one and the same spirit, in all places of those counties mentioned before, at one and the same of time. And so, in a moment, they fell upon them, murdering some, stripping others, or expelling them out of their habitations.

This spread such a general terror and astonishment among the English, that they did not know what to think, much less what to do, or which way to turn themselves. Their servants were killed as they were ploughing in the fields; husbands were cut to pieces in the presence of their wives; their children's brains were dashed out before their faces; others had all their goods and cattle seized and carried away; their houses burned; their habitations laid waste; and all of this was, as it were, in an instant, before they could suspect the Irish as their enemies, or in any way imagine that they had it in their hearts, or in their power, to offer so great a violence, or to do such mischief to them.

[1041] A.D. 1641.

Now, for those of the English who stood guard, and had gathered together, even though in small numbers, the Irish had recourse to their ancient stratagem. This, as they had done formerly, so they continued to make frequent use of it in this present rebellion. And that stratagem was,

> "to fairly offer to them good conditions of quarter, to assure them their lives, their goods, and free passage, with a safe conduct into whatever places they pleased; and to confirm these covenants, sometimes under their hands and seals, sometimes with deep oaths and protestations; and then, as soon as they had them in their power, to hold themselves discharged from their promises, and to leave their soldiers at liberty to spoil, strip, and murder them at their pleasure."

Thus were the poor English treated, who had shut themselves up in the great cathedral church at Armagh by Sir Phelim O'Neale and his brother Turlogh. Thus were those of them used by Philip O'Rely, who had retired to Belterbert, the best planted town in the county of Cavan. And in the same barbarous manner were those of the English drawn out to the slaughter, who had fled into the castle of Longford, the castle of Tullough in the county of Fermanagh; or the church of Newtown, in the same county, and several other places, as appears by several examinations taken upon oath from persons who barely escaped from there with their lives.

And besides these, they used other policies, some to distract and discourage them, others to disable them from standing and making any defense. For example, in several places the Irish came under diverse pretenses, and borrowed those weapons and arms which the English had in their houses, and no sooner got them into their hands, but they turned the English out of their own doors, as they did at Glaslough, in the county of Monaghan. And by the same means, they very gently and fairly got into their possession all the English arms in the county of Cavan. The high sheriff there (being an Irishman and a papist) pretended that he took their arms only to secure them against the violence of those Irish, whom he understood to be in arms in the next county. And that they might more easily effect the destruction of the English, and keep the Scots from giving them any assistance, they openly professed to spare (as they really did at first) the whole Scottish nation. They pretended they would allow them, and likewise all English papists, to live quietly among them — hoping thereby to induce all of the Scots to abstain from taking up arms till they had mastered all the English, and then they would be well enough enabled to deal with them.

Thus were the poor English prepared for the slaughter, and so exceedingly distracted with the tumultuous rising of the Irish on all sides about them, that they could never put themselves into any posture of defense. In many places they made small parties, and took themselves into several churches and castles, some of which were long and gallantly defended by them. Yet they did not draw together in any such considerable body, as would enable them to make good their party in the field against the numerous forces of the rebels. The truth is, they did not very readily endeavor, or dexterously attempt it, in any part of that province that I could hear of. Every man took himself, the best he could, to the care of his own house, and sought how to save his own family, his goods within, and his cattle without, And so, while they kept singly apart, and singly stood up for their own private preservation, not joining their forces together for the common safety, they gave the rebels a fair opportunity and a singular advantage to work out with great facility their common destruction.

Whereas, if they had deserted their houses upon the first notice of the Irish uprising, and in the different counties put themselves into separate bodies, under the command of the chief English gentlemen round about them, they would undoubtedly have been able (however badly they were provided with arms and ammunition) to counter the Irish, and to beat them out of many parts of the country, or at least put them to some hindrance in their enterprise. Whereas, by the course they took, they most readily, almost without resistance, exposed themselves to the merciless cruelty of the Irish, who at the first, for a few days after their breaking out, did not murder many of them in most places. But the course the Irish took was to seize all their goods and cattle, to strip them, their wives, and children naked, and in that miserable plight, the weather being most bitter, cold, and frosty, to turn them out of their houses, and to drive them to the mountains, to wander through the woods and bogs. If by any means the English procured any other clothes, or even ordinary rags to cover their nakedness, they were quickly taken from them again. None were allowed to give them any kind of shelter by the way, no relief or entertainment, without incurring the heavy displeasure of their priests and chief commanders.

And so they drove those of the English, whose lives they thought fit at that time to spare, clear out of the country. Some of them took their journey towards Carrickfergus; others towards Coleraine, Derry, and other the northern parts. Many who had assembled together and stood upon their defense, came to terms with their bloody assailants. They gave them their goods, plate, and money, for leave to come to the city of Dublin. Having bought their license at so dear a rate, they had passes and convoys assigned to them by the chief captains of the rebels, and so came upon their way in great troops of men, women, and children.

Out of the county of Cavan, as Master Creighton testifies in his examination, who by his charitable relief of great numbers of them, preserved them from perishing, 1400 persons passed by his house in one company; in another 500 from Newtown, in the county of Fermanagh; in others, lesser numbers, all without any weapons or anything else but the very clothes on their backs, which they did not allow them to carry away. Many were most barbarously stripped of them by those who undertook to give them safe conduct; or were perfidiously betrayed by them into the hands of other rebels, by whom some were killed, others wounded, and all in a manner, whatever they hid to cover their nakedness, was taken from most of them.

This may appear by the examination of Adam Clover, of Slonosy, in the county of Cavan. Being duly sworn, he deposes *inter alia* (among other things), that this deponent and his company, who were robbed, observed,

> "That 30 persons or thereabouts, were then most barbarously murdered and slain outright, and about 150 more persons were cruelly wounded; so that traces of blood issuing from their wounds, lay upon the highway for twelve miles together. Many very young children were left and perished by the way, numbering 60 or thereabouts, because the cruel pursuit of the rebels was such that their parents and friends could not carry them further."
>
> "Some of the rebels vowed that 'if any dug graves in which to bury their dead children, they would be buried in the graves themselves.' So the poor people left most of them unburied, exposed to ravenous beasts and fowls; some parents carried a few a great way to bury them."
>
> "He saw on the way a woman, left by the rebels stripped to her shift, set upon by three women and some Irish children, who miserably rent and tore the said poor Englishwoman, and stripped her of her shift in a bitter frost and snow, so that she fell into labor under their hands, and both she and her child died there." Jurat. January 4, 1641.

Thus their mercy in sparing these poor creatures in this manner, proved to be a far greater cruelty than if they had suddenly cut them off, as they did afterwards to many thousands of British who fell into their blinds. For now they starved and perished in multitudes on the way as they travelled along. And for those who outlived the misery of their journey, their limbs only served to drag their bodies to a Christian burial, that was denied to them there. For many of the men, and most of the women and children, who thus escaped either to Dublin or other places of safety in the north, did not long outlive the bitterness of their journey.

[1042] A.D. 1641.

But either overwhelmed with grief, or worn out with travel, contracted those diseases which, furthered by hunger, cold, nakedness, bad lodgings, and lack of other necessaries, struck deeply into bodies that had lived long at ease with much plenty, and soon brought them with sorrow to their graves.

These were the first fruits of this rebellion, which now began to extend into the other provinces, having covered the northern parts of the kingdom with fearful desolations. The first plotters were still undiscovered. But the great, active instruments appointed for the execution of this horrid design, fully appeared, and had already deeply imbrued their hands in the bloody massacres of the English. Sir Phelim O'Neale, being the chief of that clan, and now the person remaining of nearest alliance to the late earl of Tyrone, assumed to himself the chief power among the rebels in Ulster. By his directions, he guided the rest of his accomplices in the destruction of all the English there.

O'Neale was one of very mean parts, without courage or conduct. His education, for a great part of his youth, was in England. He was admitted a student of Lincoln's Inn, and there trained up in the protestant religion, which he changed soon after, if not before, his return to Ireland. He lived loosely. Having no considerable estate because of the great mortgage on it, he became of very little esteem in all men's opinions. Yet such was the zeal of his countrymen in this cause, their secrecy in attempting it, their suddenness in executing it, that by their forwardness to destroy the English and get their goods, he quickly overran that part of the country. He had prevailed so far within seven days after he first appealed in this rebellion, by most treacherously seizing Charlemont at the very first, where the Lord Daufield lay with his company of foot soldiers, from the forts of Dungannon and Montjoy. In his letter written to father Patrick O'Donnell, his confessor, bearing a date from Montjoy, the 30th of October, he was able to boast of great and many victories. And presently, after he had assembled such a multitude of rude fellows together, though in very ill equipage, he

marched down with great numbers of men towards Lisnagarny, near the chief plantation of the Scots. For that part of their plot "to spare them" as they did in the beginning. But they now found them too gross to take, and therefore they resolved to fall upon them without mercy. Yet he left sufficient forces to come up into the Pale, to take in Dundalk, in the county of Lowth; which was a frontier town in the last wars against Tyrone. It so well defended itself, that with all the power he had, he could never recover it into his hands. There lay now a company of foot soldiers of the old English army. But the lieutenant who commanded it, having neither his men in readiness, nor arms, nor ammunition, made little or no resistance, easily giving way to the forward affections of the inhabitants. They delivered the town into the possession of the rebels, about the beginning of November 1641.

The rebels, immediately after taking Dundalk, marched on further into the county of Lowth, and possessed themselves of Ardee, a little town within seven miles of Tredagh, anciently called Droghedah. So that it was now high time to provide for the safety of that town.

But I will now return to the consultations and means used here by the justices and council, for securing the city and castle of Dublin. Because of the present confusion, weakness, and wants, it was in very great and most apparent danger of a sudden surprise.

And first for the castle: Sir Francis Willoughby being made governor, had a company of 100 men, well-armed, assigned for the constant guard of that place, besides the ordinary warders, who gave their usual attendance there. Because the lords conceived it might be dangerous in such desperate times, to admit such a multitude of suitors of all sorts into the castle, who daily had occasion to attend the council-board, they quickly transferred the place of their meeting in council to Cork-house. There they continued to sit a good time after, notwithstanding the great danger their persons were continually exposed to by the confident resort in great numbers, of several lords, gentlemen, and others who, within a few days after, declared themselves rebels, and so went out among them.

It was God's immediate providence that preserved them, and did not allow those persons who soon after became such bloody rebels, to lay hold on that opportunity. For certainly they might, with great ease, have taken out of the way the lords-justices and council, and so have left all things in such confusion that it would have brought on their long-desired ends, without any further contention or trouble.

The next care was to provide victuals for the castle in such proportions as might enable it to endure a siege, in case the town, either through treachery within or by forces from without, should come to be surprised by the rebels. They now carried all things so clearly before them in the north, that they most confidently let it be known that they would suddenly come down and make themselves masters of the town.

The castle being thus happily provided for, the lords next took measures to secure the city in some way against any sudden attempts. And this proved to be a work not easily effected. This was not only in regard to the ruinous condition of the walls, the great extent of the suburbs, and the weakness of the place, but much more in respect to the corrupt and ill affections of the popish inhabitants within the city. For so strangely were many of them deluded with the instigations of their priests, that they would certainly (as we found afterwards by woeful experience) do all that lay in them to promote the rebellious designs then set afoot, which were undertaken (they believed) only for the re-settlement of religion, and the recovery of their liberties.

They were the instruments to privately convey away most of the chief conspirators who had undertaken to surprise the castle on the 23rd of October. They secretly entertained many of

the rebels who came out of the country. They likewise sent relief to those who were abroad by secret ways, conveying ammunition as well as intelligence of all passages from there. And they had such strong aversions to all contributions for the maintenance of his majesty's army, that in the very beginning of the rebellion, when the lords sent for the mayor and aldermen — laying before them the high necessities of the state, together with the apparent danger of the city and the whole kingdom — they desired to borrow a considerable sum of money for the present. They undertook to repay it out of the next treasure that would arrive out of England. The popish party among them was so prevalent that, after a most serious consultation and very solemn debate among themselves, they returned this answer: that they were not able to furnish above £40, and part of that was to be collected in cattle. And now the lords-justices and council — that they might show the great confidence they had in the lords and chief gentlemen of the Pale, and give them both opportunity and means to express their loyalty and affections to his majesty's service — resolved (according to what the constitution of their affairs then required) to do some acts that might clearly persuade the Irish of the great trust they really reposed in them. And therefore, first, they gave several commissions of martial law for the execution of those traitors and rebels who might be apprehended doing mischief in any parts of the country about them, without attending a proceeding according to the ordinary course of the common law. And they directed these commissions to the most active gentlemen dwelling in the several counties, though all were papists; namely, to Henry Talbot, in the county of Dublin; John Bellew, esq., in the county of Lowth; Richard Dalton and Thomas Tuit, esqrs., in the county of Westmeath; Valerian Westley, in the county of Meath; and James Talbot, in the county of Cavan.

Next they made choice of the chief persons of quality residing in the said counties of the Pale, and others adjacent to them, to govern and command those forces which might be raised by them, and armed by the state, for the defense of the country, and issued to them several commissions from the council board of government —

[1043] A.D. 1641.

such as one to the Earl of Ormond and the Lord Viscount Montgarret, for the county of Kilkenny; to Walter Bagnall, esq., for the county of Caterlagh; Sir James Dillon the elder, and Sir James Dillon the younger, for the county of Longford; Lord Viscount Costeloe, for the county of Mayo; Sir Robert Talbot and Garrat Birne, for the county of Wicklow; Sir Christopher Bellew, for the county of Lowth; Earl of Kildare, for the county of Kildare; Sir Thomas Nugent, for the county of Westmeath; Nicholas Barnewall, for the county of Dublin; Lord Viscount Gormanstone, for the county of Meath. All these were chosen without distinction of religion. The lords held it fitting at that time to put the chief persons of power in the country into those places of trust, hoping that they might prove good instruments to oppose the threatening incursions of the northern rebels (which they knew them to be well enabled to perform, if they would really join in the service). Or at least that they might be kept by this great mark of the confidence placed in them by the government, from giving any entertainment or assistance to their rebellious designs.

In these commissions, power was given to these lords and gentlemen to whom they were directed, not only to use fire and sword for the destruction of the rebels and their adherents, but also to preserve the lives of any of them, to receive them, or any of them, into his majesty's favor or mercy. This plainly shows the very great confidence the lords were pleased to repose in them; and also their desires to make them instruments, to deliver those multitudes of people who engaged themselves in this rebellion, from the power either of his majesty's arms, or civil justice. They intended nothing but the reducing of a rebellious

nation to peace and obedience. And at the first they applied lenient measures, which failing in the cure, they were afterwards forced to have recourse to more violent means.

So that these governors thus constituted might be better enabled to undertake the defense of the county, in this extremity of the near-approaching dangers, according to the authority and power given to them by their several commissions, the lords gave orders to have delivered to them a certain proportion of arms, to be employed for arming some men to be raised in each county for the common safety, besides the arms they gave them and other gentlemen, for the defense of their own private houses.

As to the Lord Gormanstone, arms were delivered for 500 men, for the county of Meath; arms were also delivered for 300 men, for the county of Kildare; arms for 300 men for the county of Lowth; arms for 300 men, for the county of Westmeath; and arms for 300 men, for the county of Dublin. At about the same time, 400 muskets were sent down to the lords of the Ardes and Clandeboys, for arming the Scots, in the county of Down. All these had powder, lead, and match, proportionate to their arms, delivered to them at the same time.

But now the poison of this rebellion, which up to now had contained itself within the northern counties and their confines, began to be diffused into other parts of the kingdom. It had already infected the counties of Leitrim, Longford, Westmeath, and Lowth, lying contiguous to them. On the 12th of November, the Irish in the county of Wicklow broke out most furiously, despoiling, robbing, and murdering all the English inhabitants within that territory. They burned all their well built-houses, drove away their cattle, and laid siege to fort Carew, in which there was a company of foot soldiers from the old English army.

The intelligence of this being brought to the lords justices, they well-considered the importance of the place, and that if it were in the hands of the rebels, and the whole county in their possession, they could expect little quietness or even safety in the city, because of their nearby neighborhood. Whereupon, they were most desirous to send down forces for the relief of it. But when they came, on the other side, to consider their lack of means for the performance of that service — that they had no money, but few men, and many of them not to be trusted; and that it would be very dangerous to divide their small forces, and so to leave the city in a manner unguarded — they were forced to lay aside that resolution, and with great grief, to sit still and allow the poor English in those parts to be exposed to the merciless cruelties of those barbarous rebels, who went on furiously about the work, and quickly cleared that whole county of the English inhabitants.

Within a few days after, the Irish, in the counties of Wexford and Carlow, began to rise likewise, and to follow the bloody examples of their neighbors. Now there were also great appearances of the disloyalty of the county of Kildare. With great protestations, under the pretense of doing service, they had gotten into their hands the arms and ammunition intended for them by the state. And so mysterious and doubtful was the carriage of the lords and chief gentlemen of the English Pale (giving no manner of intelligence to the state concerning the proceedings of the rebels, nor making any kinds of preparations against them), that their affections began to be justly suspected, even then.

So that the city of Dublin (which was the receptacle of the whole state, the magazine of all the arms, ammunition, and other provisions for the army, and the chief sanctuary of all the English and despoiled protestants), was now reduced to a very sad condition, desperately encompassed on every side. The northern rebels had come down with great forces in two separate parties, within twenty miles of it on the one side. And on the other side, the rebels of the county of Wicklow accompanied it, along with the great addition of strangers. With

continual rumors of new plots and devices to surprise the town, the protestants were possessed with extraordinary fears of the present danger.

But what made their condition appear much more formidable to them, was the daily influx of great numbers of English out of the north, who came up in troops, stripped and miserably spoiled. Many persons of good rank and quality were covered with old rags, and some without any other covering than a little twisted straw to hide their nakedness. Some reverend ministers and others who had escaped with their lives, were sorely wounded. Wives came bitterly lamenting the murder of their husbands; mothers the death of their children, barbarously destroyed before their faces; poor infants ready to perish and pour out their souls in their mothers' bosoms. Some wearied out with long travel, and so crippled that they came creeping on their knees; others were so frozen with cold that they were ready to expire in the streets; others, overwhelmed with grief and distracted with their losses, lost their senses also.

Thus the town, within a few days after the outbreak of this rebellion, was filled with these most lamentable spectacles of sorrow. They wandered in great numbers, up and down in all parts of the city, desolate, forsaken, having no place to lay their heads, no clothing to cover their nakedness, no food to fill their hungry bellies. And to add to their miseries, they found all manner of relief very disproportionate to their wants, the popish inhabitants refusing to minister the least comfort to them. So that these poor creatures appeared like living ghosts in every street.

Many empty houses in the city were, by special direction, taken up for them; barns, stables, and outhouses were filled with them. Yet many lay in the open streets; others lay under stalls, and most miserably perished there. The churches were the common receptacles of the saddest sort of them. They stood there in a most doleful posture, as objects of charity, in such great multitudes, that there was scarcely any passage through them. But those of better quality, who could not become like common beggars, crept into private places. Some of those who did not have private friends to relieve them, wasted silently away, and so they died without noise. For many of them, so bitter was the remembrance of their former condition, and so insupportable the burden of their present calamity, that they even refused to be comforted.

[1044] A.D. 1641.

I have known of some who lay almost naked, and having clothes sent to them, laid them by, refusing to put them on. Others would not stir to fetch themselves food, even though they knew where it stood ready for them; but they continued to lie in their filthy rags, not taking care to have anything clean or comfortable about them. And so, even worn out with the misery of their journey and cruel usage, having their spirits spent, their bodies wasted, and their senses failing, they lay there pitifully languishing. Soon after they had entered this town, very many of them died, leaving their bodies as monuments of the most inhuman cruelties used towards them.

The greatest part of the women and children, thus barbarously expelled out of their habitations, perished in the city of Dublin. Such great numbers of them were brought to their graves, that all the church-yards within the whole town were too narrow to contain them. So much so, that the lords-justices ordered that two large pieces of new ground, one on each side of the river, be taken in on the outer greens, and set apart for burying places.

These were the memorable spectacles of mercy, and of the great commiseration the rebels had toward those English whose lives were given for a prey. But what their sufferings were

before they could get out of the hands of these cruel papists — what strange, horrid, inventions the rebels used towards them, torturing and massacring those they murdered there — is reserved to be more fully related in its proper place. They are left on record to posterity, under the oaths of many who escaped. And they are mentioned here for no other purpose than to show the strange horror and shock that beholding them bred in all the English and protestant inhabitants of the city.

Seeing the rebels prevail so mightily, they expected to be undoubtedly exposed to the same cruelties if they continued here,. And they now understood, by those who had come up from among them, that their design was, as soon as they had taken Drogheda, to come and seize the city and castle of Dublin, and so make a general extirpation of all the English, root and branch, not leaving them name or posterity throughout the kingdom.

It is easy to conjecture what a sad confused countenance the city then had — what fears, terror, astonishment and miserable spectacles within, and the approaches of the rebels without, raised in the minds of a frightened, distracted people. The English inhabitants looked upon all the horrid cruelties exercised abroad, all the calamities and desolations fallen upon their countrymen in other parts of the kingdom, as arrived at the gates, and were now ready to enter. The avenues were all open, with neither ramparts nor trenches to keep them out. Notwithstanding the care and endeavors used by the lords-justices and council to make provision for the common safety, no money could be raised, and few men were gotten together. The papists were well furnished with arms, closely concealed, and desperately animated by their priests to all manner of mischief. There were no fortifications about the suburbs, nor any manner of defense for the city, but an old ruinous wall, part of which fell down at the very height of these distractions.

All things tended to sudden confusion. The very face of the city was now changed. It had such a fearful aspect as seemed to portend her near-approaching ruin. The means of safety appearing very slender and inconsiderable, the preparations, because of the strange aversions of the popish party, were of a very slow and weak operation. Every man began to consider for himself and for his own private preservation. Those who lived in the suburbs removed with their families into the city. The privy-counsellors and persons of quality removed into the castle, which became a common repository of all things of value. By special order, the Rolls were removed there; the records of several other offices were likewise brought in. But upon the rebels advancing somewhat nearer, and their frequent alarms, many of those who had taken sanctuary there, began to suspect the strength of those old dilapidated wails. And therefore, to make sure, they resolved to quit the kingdom, embarking themselves and their goods with all possible speed. Some who were detained with contrary winds in the harbor, chose to endure all extremities on shipboard, rather than hazard themselves on shore again.

The Scottish fishermen lay with their boats in great numbers within the bay, fishing for herrings. With much forwardness, they had made an offer to the state to bring five hundred of their men ashore to take arms, and engage in immediate service (a most acceptable proposition at that season). But they were so strangely frightened one evening with a false alarm, that in the night, they put to sea all of a sudden, and quite disappeared on these coasts till the following year.

The papists, on the other side, being most confident that the city would be taken and sacked by the rebels, and fearing that perhaps they might be mistaken in the tumult and fierce execution, removed themselves and their goods with the same speed into the country.

And what heightened the calamity of the poor English was that their flight was to be made immediately in that winter. This was such a dismal, stormy, and tempestuous season, that in the memory of man, it had never been observed to continue for so long together. Yet the terror of the rebels incomparably prevailing beyond the rage of the sea, most of those who could provide themselves with shipping, though at never so excessive rates, deserted the city. And such was the violence of the winds, such continuing, impetuous storms, that several barks [108] were cast away. Some, in three months after going from here, could not make good their way to any port in England, and almost all who then put to sea were in great danger of perishing.

The Particulars of the First Plot of the Irish Rebellion,
Together with a brief Narration of the most notorious Cruelties
and bloody Massacres, which ensued in several parts of this Kingdom.

Thus we see what a great height this rebellion had grown up to, in less than one month after the very first appearance of it — what horrid murders, cruel outrages, and fearful desolations it had already wrought in one province, and what a powerful operation the cruelties acted there, had upon other parts. But before I pass further, I hold it not amiss to look back, and trace it to the first beginnings we find of it within this country of Ireland.

Concerning the origin of this great conspiracy, and likewise the first plotters and contrivers of it, I must ingenuously confess that I am myself much dissatisfied in the first conceptions of this monstrous birth. Therefore I will not now be able clearly to resolve others in it.

And if we give credit to several examinations that were taken (many of them from those of their own party), we must believe the plot for a rebellion in Ireland to be of a very ancient date, and of a large extent. It had long been in contriving. And however first thought of in Ireland, perhaps, yet it received large contributions towards its consummation out of England and other foreign parts.

I have seen an examination of one who affirms that he heard it confidently averred by Malone, a priest (one who styled himself a chaplain-major within the Pale), that he himself had been employed seven years in bringing this plot to perfection, and that he had travelled into several parts about it.

Master Goldsmith, a minister in Connaught, told me that a full year before the rebellion broke out, he received a letter from a brother of his, residing at Brussels, in which he gave him notice of it, though so obscurely, that he did not well understand it till afterwards.

Patrick O'Bryan, of the parish of Galloom, in the county of Fermanagh, affirmed upon oath,

> "That all the nobles in the kingdom who were papists, had a hand in this plot, as well as the lord Mac Guire and Hugh Oge Mac Mahon; that they expected aid out of Spain by Owen Roe O'Ncale; and that colonel Plunket, 'one of those who was to be an actor in the surprise of the castle of Dublin), told him that he knew of this plot eight years since, and that within these past three years he has been more fully acquainted with it.'"

[1045] A.D. 1641.

Francis Sacheverel, esq., has deposed that,

> "At several times, shortly after the beginning of this rebellion, he has heard four separate popish priests — namely, Hugh Rely, of the county of Down; Edmund O'Tunnah, of the county

[108] *Or barques*: sailing ships with 3 (or more) masts.

> of Armagh; Morice Mac Credan, of the county of Tyrone; and James Hallegan, of the county of Armagh — say that the priests, Jesuits, and friars of England, Ireland, Spain, and other countries beyond the seas, were the plotters, projectors, and contrivers of this rebellion and insurrection; and that these past six years they have been in agitation and preparation of the same; and that the said priests then expressed a kind of joy that the same was brought to so good an effect."

He further deposes that,

> "At several times Ever Boy Mac Gennis, in the county of Down, gent., and Hugh O'Hagan, of the county of Armagh, gent, bragged and said that they had no doubt they would shortly conquer the English in the kingdom, and enjoy the same quietly to themselves; and that they would not rest content with that, but they would raise strong armies to invade and conquer England."

Roger Moore, one of the prime conspirators, told Master Colely, then prisoner with him, that "The plot had been in framing several years, and would have been executed several times, but they were still hindered."

By letters sent from Rome to Sir Phelim O'Neale and the lord Mac Guire, which were intercepted and brought to the lord Parsons, though the friar who wrote them does not express any certain knowledge of this very plot, yet this much appears by them, that they had long desired to hear of the rising of the Irish, that the news of Sir Phelim O'Neale's taking arms was very acceptable to the pope and his two cardinal nephews, assuring him of all assistance from there; and further desiring him to send over an agent to Rome, and to employ several persons of his own nation, whom he named there, then residing at Madrid, Paris, and with the emperor — they being fit instruments, and such that he might make use of to procure support from those princes who, he assured him, would join to give him all assistance in this action.

Besides these, we have many other presumptive proofs that the Irish (since they found their own strength, and were able to draw together such great numbers of men as their several clans, so strangely multiplied during the late peace, can now afford) have long had it in their desire to shake off the English government; to settle the whole power of the state in the hands of the natives; to repossess themselves of all the lands now enjoyed by the British throughout the kingdom; and that in this plot they but went about to actuate those confused general notions, and to put them in a way of execution. Now they supposed there could never be offered to them a fairer opportunity than this most unhappy conjuncture of the affairs of Great Britain, when the people of Scotland, recently in arms, had by their own power and wise managements drawn his majesty to condescend to their entire satisfaction in their church discipline, as well as the liberties of that kingdom. And in England the distractions had grown to such a height through the great misunderstanding between the king and his parliament, that Ireland was at this time left naked and unguarded. The government was in the hands of lords-justices; the old English army dispersed in places at so great a distance, that it could be of little advantage; most of the common soldiers were Irish; and all the old commanders and captains, except a few, were worn-out and gone. This, as the first plotters thought, was the time to work out their own ends. And masking their perfidious designs under the public pretenses of religion, and the defense of his majesty's prerogative, they let loose the reins of their own vindictive passions and irreconcilable hatred toward their British neighbors.

Now for the very first time that this great plot received its initial form:

Though I conceive it to have been of a somewhat more ancient date, yet by all the examinations I have seen up to now, I can carry it up no higher than the month of January 1640-41. The lord Mac Guire sufficiently testified then, that about that time it was communicated to some of the chief gentlemen of Ulster in the relation written with his own hand in the Tower, and delivered by him to Sir John Coniers, then lieutenant, to be presented to the lords in parliament, and also in his examination taken before the lord Lambart and Sir Robert Meredith, knt. in Ireland, March 26, 1642.

In both these he acknowledges that, being in Dublin in Candlemas term, about the time when Master John Bellew came from England with the commission for the continuance of the parliament in Ireland, Roger Moore acquainted him that if the Irish were to rise, they might make their own conditions for regaining their lands, and freedom of their religion. He further says that he had spoken with sundry persons of Leinster to that purpose, who would be ready to join with them, and likewise a good part of Connaught; and he found all of them willing to do so, if they could draw to them the gentlemen of Ulster.

Now, for the manner of putting this plot into execution, the said lord Mac Guire further testifies in his relation aforesaid, that the said Roger Moore (having the next day acquainted Philip O'Rely, Turlagh O'Neale, brother to Sir Phelim O'Neale, Master Cosloe, and Mac Mahon with this) proposed that, first, everyone should endeavor to draw his own friends into that act, at least those who lived in one county with them; and that, when they had so done, they should send to the Irish in the Low Countries and in Spain, to let them know of the day and resolution, that they might be over with them by that day, or soon after, with a supply of arms and ammunition; that there should be a set day appointed, and every one in his own quarters would rise that day, and seize upon all the arms he could get in his own country; and this day was to be near winter, so that England would be unable to send forces into Ireland before May. And by that time, no doubt was to be entertained, but that they themselves would be supplied by the Irish from beyond the seas. [109]

Then he told them further, that there was no doubt of the Irish joining with them, and that all the doubt was of the gentlemen of the English Pale. But he said that for his own part, he was really assured that, when the Irish had risen, gentlemen of the Pale would not stay long after; or at least that they would not oppose anything. And that in case they did, the Irish had men enough in the kingdom without them. Moreover, that he had spoken to a great man (who then would be nameless) who would not fail at the day appointed, to appear and to be seen in the act. But till then he was sworn not to reveal himself. Yet upon their importunity, he afterwards told them that it was the lord of Mayo, who was very powerful, and in command of men in those parts of Connaught where he lived.

He further says, that in the following Lent, Master Moore, according to his promise, came into Ulster, but that nothing was done there. All matters were put off till the following May, when they met at Dublin, it being both parliament and term-time. And he said that from there they dispatched one Tooly Conley (parish priest to Master Moore), to colonel O'Neale, in the Low Countries. Within a few months after, he arrived with this answer from the said colonel: "He desired them not to delay any time in rising up, but to let him know of the day when they intended to do it; and that he would not fail to be with them within fourteen days from that day, with good aid. Also, that he desired them, by any means, to seize the castle of Dublin, if they could."

[109] Historical records suggest that approximately 50,000 Irish Catholics had emigrated to Europe and the Americas by this time, primarily as indentured servants, rebels, or laborers.

He further says that during the time of these their private meetings, these men landed at Dublin: colonel Birne, colonel Plunket, captain Brien O'Neale, and others, who came with directions to carry men away; that these men were acquainted with the plot, and offered their service to bring it on; and that they would raise their men under color to carry them into Spain, and then seize the castle of Dublin, and with the arms found there, arm their soldiers, and have them ready for any action that would be commanded them.

[1046] A.D. 1641.

He further says that they had several private consultations about carrying on this conspiracy, not only at Dublin, but in other places in the province of Ulster, and that they had set down several days for putting it into execution. But meeting with some obstacles, they did not conclude a certain time for it, till about the beginning of September. And then they peremptorily resolved on the 23rd of October as the day to execute this long-designed plot. They took into account the day of the week, which fell on Saturday, being the market day, on which there would be the less notice taken of people wandering up and down the streets. They then settled what numbers of men should be brought up out of the several provinces to surprise the castle, and what commanders would lead them on. Seeing the castle had two gates, the Leinster-men should undertake to seize the little gate, which lay nearest to the place where the arms and ammunition were placed; the great gate should be undertaken by those of Ulster; and Sir Phelim O'Neale should be there in person. But he excused himself, because he resolved at the same time to seize Londonderry; and thereupon, by the importunity of the undertakers, it was imposed upon him, that the lord Mac Guire was to be there in person at the taking of the castle of Dublin.

It was further resolved what number of forces should be brought up out of the other provinces, to make good those places if possessed by them, and that Sir James Dillon undertook to be there with 1000 men within four days after taking the castle. And it was also resolved that everyone privy to that matter in every part of the kingdom, should rise that day, and seize all the forts and arms in the several counties; and likewise seize all the gentry, and make them prisoners, to better assure themselves against any adverse fortune; and not to kill any, unless from necessity they were forced to do so, by opposition.

These particulars, together with many other very considerable circumstances, are set down in the relation given by the lord Mac Guire, while he remained prisoner in the Tower of London. But I have thought fit to forbear to relate them at large, because I find that relation was published by authority, and so it has been presented to the common view.

We will also find that Mac Mahon, in his examination, taken when he was first apprehended by the lords-justices and council here, testifies that all the chief of the nobility and gentry in this kingdom were acquainted with the first plot; and particularly, that all the popish party knew of it, in the committee sent into England, and likewise in both houses of parliament.

In the examination of William Fitz-Gerald, it is affirmed that Sir Phelim O'Neale, sending for him five days after his rising up in arms, told him that what he did was by directions and consent of the prime nobility and gentry of the whole kingdom; and that what he had done in the northern parts, was likewise executed at Dublin, and in all other forts and towns throughout Ireland. It was a course resolved upon among the lords and gentry, for the preservation of his majesty's prerogative, and of their own religion and liberties, against the Puritan faction in England, Scotland, and Ireland. And it is testified by lieutenant-colonel Read in his examination, and also by the lord Mac Guire in his relation, that the lord of Gormanstone knew of this plot while he was in England. He says that, "Colonel Plunket told

him that he, being at London, had acquainted some of the Irish committee with this plot, and particularly the lord of Gormanstone, and that they approved it well." Colonel Plunket, in his letter to father Patrick Uarnwal, lord abbot of Mellifont (as he styles himself), seems much to glory in the means he had used to incite the lords and gentry of the Pale to appear in that blessed cause (as he terms it), and he assures him that the lord of Gormanstone (whom he there calls lord-general) will go bravely on.

And now it will be no difficult matter to resolve what were the secondary steps and motions of this great plot, as well as by what persons it was wrought in Ireland, and carried on to the very point of execution.

First, it is to be observed that Sir Phelim O'Neale, the lord Mac Guire, Philip O'Rely, colonel Mac Brian, Hugh Mac Mahon, and their adherents, chief of the Irish clans in Ulster, and other counties near adjacent, were the first to appear on the stage. And by their bloody execution, they notoriously declared themselves to be chief actors in this horrid tragedy. Yet this rebellion was neither altogether, nor originally plotted by them. But most of them had only subordinate notions of it, as they (as well as others of the chief nobility and gentry throughout the kingdom) had several parts assigned them to act at several times, in several places. And they but moved according to the first resolutions taken, and such directions as they had received from the first conspirators.

I take it to be most probable, after the general plot came to be reduced into form, that as the lord of Gormanstone was one of the first and chief movers in it, so he and the chief lords of the Pale joined together to draw in, as they had done in all former rebellions, the principal chiefs of the old Irish, to engage themselves, and to appear first in the business. And after they had joined together, and so finely ordered the matter that they had made it a general rising, as Sir Phelim O'Neale terms it, of all the catholics throughout the kingdom, with the general consent of the prime nobility and gentry of it, then, as it were, with one general voice, they sounded forth the same language from all four provinces of Ireland — they used the same remonstrances, and made the very same pretenses for their justification — they began the very self-same course, first in stripping, then banishing and murdering the British and protestants. Only, in the north they drove on somewhat more furiously, and spilled much more innocent blood, than in any of the other three provinces. They likewise agreed in recalling their commanders. All four provinces had their particular emissaries abroad. Those of Leinster brought back colonel Preston, a branch out of the house of Gormanstone, who had long lived with good reputation in Flanders; they made him general of their forces there. And those of Ulster were likewise sent into Flanders, for Owen Roe O'Neale, upon whom they conferred the same charge in that province. The Munster-men brought over Garrat Barry, whom they made general of their forces. And those in Connaught drew back one Burks, to whom they gave the chief command of those men that they were able to draw together for the advancement of the common design. All these held a due correspondence, and in all their actions had a just concurrency towards the main end.

The great instrument chiefly employed in this work of drawing the native Irish into a firm combination with the old English, as it appears by the lord Mac Guire's relation mentioned before, was Roger Moore, esq., a person of broken fortune, of Irish descent, and from the family of the O'Moores, in the county of Leax.[110] But by intermarriages, he was allied to some of the principal gentlemen of the Pale. He dealt with them about the association, and

[110] County Laois, historically known as County Leix or Queen's County, is located in the Eastern and Midland Region, and the province of Leinster.

first broke the design to the northern Irish. He was the man who made several journeys into Leinster, Ulster, and Connaught. Sundry messages were sent and returned the summer before the rebellion broke out, by his means and intercourse between them. And all things were so ordered for their agreement, that they were to go hand in hand together. Some of the principal gentlemen of the Pale, such as colonel Plunket, captain Fox, and others, were designed to join with the lord Mac Guire, Mac Mahon, Brian O'Neale, Con O'Neale, and Hugh Birne, for the surprise of his majesty's castle of Dublin.

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But I do not hold it necessary to produce further evidence in this particular. I purpose now to declare how those great instruments of mischief, who were the supreme conductors of this wicked design, moved forward so successfully in the beginning, towards the accomplishment of their long-intended extirpation of all the British protestants out of the kingdom.

[1047] A.D. 1641.

I find two sorts of persons who most eminently appeared in laying those main foundations upon which their bloody superstructures were afterwards easily reared up. And these were those of the popish lawyers who were natives of the kingdom, and those of the Romish clergy, of several degrees and orders.

For first, they had very great reputation and trust in regard for their knowledge in the laws of the land. They now began to stand up, like great patriots, for the vindication of the liberties of the subject, and the redress of their pretended grievances. And having made a great party in the house of commons then sitting, by their bold appearing in this, some of them magisterially obtruded there, as undoubted maxims of law, the pernicious speculations of their own brains. Even though plainly discerned to be full of virulence and tended to sedition, many of the protestants and well meaning men in the house were strangely blinded with an expectation of ease and redress, and so stupefied by their bold accusations of the government, that most of them thought it not fit, and others did not dare, to stand up to contradict their assertions. So that what they spoke was received with great acclamation and much applause by most of the protestant members of the house, many of whom they had inveigled into their party, under specious pretenses of public zeal toward this country.

And then it was, that having impeached Sir Richard Bolton, lord chancellor of Ireland, of high-treason, together with other prime officers and ministers of state who were of English birth, some of those great masters took it upon themselves with much confidence, to declare the law; to make new expositions of their own upon the text; to frame their queries — challenges fitter to be taken to a long, willfully overgrown, misgovernment, than to be made against an authority that had for many years struggled against the beloved irregularities of a stubborn people, and which had prevailed, far beyond former times, towards allaying the long-continued distempers of the kingdom. They disdained the moderate qualifications of the judges, who gave them modest answers, such as the law and their duty to their sovereign would admit. But those would not serve their turn. They resolved upon an alteration in the government, and drawing it wholly into the hands of the natives. They knew they could not compass this in a parliamentary way, and therefore only made preparations for it there, and delivered such desperate maxims that, being diffused abroad, would fit and dispose the people to a change. For example, they declared it to be law, "that being killed in rebellion, though found by matter of record, would give the king no forfeiture of estates;" and that, "though many thousands stood up in arms in a kingdom, working all manner of destruction,

yet if they professed not to rise against the king, then it was no rebellion;" and that, "if a man were outlawed for treason, and his land thereby vested in the crown, or given away by the king, his heir might come afterwards and be admitted to reverse the outlawry, and recover his ancestor's estate. During that session, they continued to publish many other positions of a like kind, tending to sedition and disturbance. And, by the power and strength of their party, they so far prevailed at last, that they presumed to attempt a suspension of Poyning's Act.[111] And indeed, they intended the utter abrogation of that statute, which remains as one of the greatest ties and best monuments the English have of their entire dominion over the Irish nation, and the union of that kingdom to the imperial crown of England. They further assigned the power of judicature to the Irish parliament in criminal and capital offenses, a right which no former age had left any precedent for, nor would this provide the example.

And thus carrying all things before them, they continued the session of the Irish parliament begun in May, till about two months before the first breaking out of this rebellion. It was very badly taken, even then, that the parliament was adjourned. They have since aggravated this as a high crime against the lords-justices, and one of the chief moving causes to generally taking up arms throughout the kingdom.

But however artfully these proceedings were carried on, being covered over with pretenses of zeal and public affection, they passed as genuine then, without any manner of suspicion. Yet now the eyes of all men are opened, and they are fully convinced that all these passages, together with the other high contests in parliament — such as not having the newly raised Irish army disbanded; the importunate solicitation of their agents in England, to have the old English army in Ireland cashiered (discarded), and the kingdom left to be defended by trained bands of their own nation; and likewise the commissions, procured by several of the most eminent commanders now in rebellion, for raising men to carry into Spain — all these were parts of this plot. They were prologues to this ensuing tragedy, preparation (which had been long laid) to bring on the sudden execution of this most bloody design, all at one and the same time throughout the kingdom.

Now, as for the Jesuits, priests, friars, and all the rest of the fraternity belonging to their holy orders, they lost no time. As I said, they had a main part to act, and did not fail to discharge it with great assiduity and diligence. They most dexterously applied themselves in all parts of the country to make such other dangerous impressions on the minds of the meaner sort, as well as of the chief gentlemen, as might make them ready to catch fire on the first occasion. When this plot was so surely laid that it could not well fail (as they thought), and once the day was fixed for its execution, then in their public devotions, long before the arrival of that day, they recommended by their prayers, the good success of a great design, much tending to the prosperity of the kingdom, and the advancement of the catholic cause.

And to facilitate the work, and stir up the people with greater animosity and cruelty, to undertake it at the prescribed time, they loudly declaimed in all places against the protestants — telling the people that they were heretics, and not to be suffered any longer to live among them; that it was no more sin to kill an Englishman, than to kill a dog; and that it was a most mortal and unpardonable sin to relieve or protect any of them. Then they also represented, with much acrimony, the severe courses taken by the parliament in England, for suppressing of the Romish religion in all parts of the kingdom, and the utter extirpation

[111] Poynings's Law, 1494, subjected the meetings and legislative drafts of the Irish Parliament to the control of the English king and council.

of all its professors. They told the people, that in England they had the queen's priest hanged before her own face; and that they held her majesty in her own person under a most severe discipline; that the same cruel laws against popery were ordered to be put suddenly into execution here; and a design was secretly laid for bringing and seizing all the principal noblemen and gentlemen in Ireland, on the 23d of November next ensuing, to generally massacre all who would not desert their religion and immediately become protestants. [112]

And now they also took occasion to revive their inveterate hatred and ancient animosities against the English nation, whom they represented to themselves as hard masters; under whose government, however pleasant, comfortable, and advantageous it was, they would have the world believe they had endured a most miserable captivity and vassalage. 'They looked with much envy upon their prosperity, considering all the land they possessed, though a great part was bought at high rates from the natives, as their own proper inheritance. They grudged at the great multitudes of their fair English cattle; at their goodly houses, though built by their own industry, at their own expense; at the great improvements they had made of their estates by their own labor and careful endeavors. They spoke with much scorn and contempt of those who brought little with them into Ireland, and having planted themselves there, in a short time contracted great fortunes. They were much troubled, especially in the Irish counties, to see the English live handsomely, and to have everything with much decency about them, while they lived, as it were, in mire and filthiness — the ordinary sort of people commonly bringing their cattle into their own cabin or cottages, and there delighting to lie among them.

[1048] A.D. 1641.

These considerations made them, with an envious eye, impatiently look upon all the British who had recently come over into the kingdom. Nothing less than a general extirpation would now serve their turn. They must have restitution of all the lands to the proper natives, whom they take to be the ancient proprietors and the only true owners, most unjustly despoiled by the English, whom they hold to have made undue acquisitions of all the land they possess by gift from the crown, upon the attainder [113] of any of their ancestors.

And so impetuous were the desires of the Irish to draw the whole government of the kingdom into their hands, to enjoy the public profession of their religion, and to disburden the country of all the British inhabitants settled in it, that they caused the whole body of the state to be universally disliked. They represented the several members of the government as persons altogether corrupt and ill-affected; pretended the ill moods and distempers in the kingdom had grown to such a height as to require cauterizing and deep incisions; and that indeed, nothing was able to work so great a cure but a universal rebellion. This was certainly the disease as it appears by all the symptoms, and by the joint concurrence in opinion of all the great physicians who held themselves wise enough to propose remedies and prescribe fit applications in so desperate a malady. In those instructions, privately sent over to England by the lord Dillon of Costello immediately after the rebellion broke out, was the alteration of the supreme power in the government, settling it in the hands of the earl of Ormond. They gave leave to the grand council of the kingdom to remove such officers of state as they thought fit, and to recommend natives to take their places. They positively laid down a more likely means to appease these tumults than a considerable army.

[112] That is, they accused the protestants of doing what they themselves were planning to do, in order to justify it.

[113] *Bill of attainder*: legislative forfeiture of land and civil rights of an individual or identifiable group without a trial.

The remonstrance of the county of Longford was presented about the same time to the lords-justices by the same Lord Dillon. And also the sketch of the commonwealth, found at Sir John Dungar's house, not far from Dublin, was sent there from Connaught, to be communicated to those of Leinster. Both these pieces publicly appeared soon after the rebellion broke out. The main points insisted on in them and in several others, were *1st*, the restoration of the public profession of the Romish religion; *2dly*, the restitution of all the plantation lands to the Irish; and *3dly*, the settlement of the present government in their hands. All the remonstrances from various parts, and those that came out of the several provinces of the kingdom, concur in these propositions, with very little or no difference.

And therefore, so the desires and first intentions of those who are now in rebellion may more clearly appear, I thought it fitting to insert them here, as I found them methodically digested in certain propositions which are termed,

The Means to reduce this Kingdom to Peace and Quietness.

"1. That a general and free pardon, without any exception, be granted to all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom; and that, in pursuance of that, and for strengthening it, an act of abolition may pass in the parliament here.

"2. That all marks of national distinctions between English and Irish may be abolished and taken away by act of parliament.

"3. That by several acts of parliament to be respectively passed here and in England, it be declared that the parliament of Ireland has no subordination to the parliament of England, but that the same has in itself supreme jurisdiction in this kingdom, as absolute as the parliament of England has there.

"4. That the act of 12 Henry VII,[114] commonly called *Poyning's Act*, and all other acts expounding or explaining the same, may be repealed.

"5. That as in England there passed an act for a triennial parliament (every three years), there may pass in Ireland another for a sexennial parliament (every six years).

"6. That it may be enacted by parliament, that the act of the 2nd of Queen Elizabeth in Ireland, and all other acts made against catholics or the catholic religion since the 20th year of King Henry VIII, may be repealed.

"7. That the bishoprics, deaneries, and all other spiritual promotions of this kingdom, and all friaries and nunneries, may be restored to the catholic owners, and likewise all impropriations of tithes; and that the sites, ambits, and precincts of the religious houses of the monks, may be restored to them; but as to the rest of their temporal possessions, it is not designed that they should be taken from the present proprietors, but that they should be left to them until God shall otherwise incline their own hearts.

"8. That those who are now titled catholic archbishops, bishops, abbots, or other dignitaries in this kingdom, by donation of the pope, may during their lives enjoy their spiritual promotions; with protestation, nevertheless, and other fit clauses to be laid down for preservation of his majesty's rights of patronage, first-fruits, and twentieth parts, in manner and quantity as his highness now receives benefit thereby.

"9. That all acquisitions taken since the year 1634, to entitle his majesty to Connaught, Thomond, Ormond, Eliogartie, Kilnemanagh, Duhera, Wincloe, and Idvagh, may be vacated, and their estates secured, according to his majesty's late graces.

[114] That is, the 12th act passed during King Henry VII's reign.

> "10. That an act of parliament may pass here for securing the subjects' title to their several estates against the crown, upon any title accrued to it before sixty years, or under color or pretext of the present commotions.
>
> "11. That all plantations made since the year 1610, may be voided by parliament, if the parliament holds it just, and their possessions restored to them or their heirs from whom the same were taken, they nevertheless answering to the crown the proportionate rents and services reserved upon the undertakers, etc. etc."

These and others are the means proposed by these catholic remonstrants, for reducing the kingdom to peace. These were the great obstructions they would have removed, and the constant counsel they would have followed, in settling the tranquility and present government of this land. So that we need seek no further evidence, nor make any more curious inquiries into the secret causes of their first uprising. We have enough here, out of their own mouths, to resolve the most scrupulous unbeliever of their first motives to this rebellion.

And now for the matter of *religion*. I am very confident that they ever really intended the re-establishment of the church of Rome, with all its rites and ceremonies, together with the extirpation of all persons of the reformed profession. Yet considering the large indulgence and free liberty they universally enjoyed at that time, in the full exercise of their religion throughout all the parts of the kingdom, it may be most justly suspected (however zealously they now obtrude it), that this was only a bare outward coverture. It was made use of by the principal undertakers to draw on a poor, ignorant, superstitious people, to sacrifice their lives in this quarrel. Neither can it ever be presumed by any reasonable man, that those persons who had no conscience about committing treason, and so many cruel murders, and all other kinds of abominable villainies which were not to be paralleled in any other country, could be drawn purely out of conscience towards God, to commit them in order to regain the free and public profession of their religion.

This certainly was no more the true and main cause of their taking up arms than the redress of their pretended grievances to which his majesty had condescended, and out of his inclinations for their present relief, had given much more satisfaction to their agents lately in England, than they could ever expect to receive or hope to enjoy in any other time. Yet we see how little effect those great graces had among them, which were brought over not more than two months before this rebellion broke out. For immediately after the return of their agents with them, this most detestable conspiracy, which had been long in hatching, began to work and be put into execution.

[1049] A.D. 1641.

And if we consider their main design and chief ends in this as they appear in their first principals, or if we give credit to the several speeches and writings that we meet with among the rebels at the very beginning of their outbreak, and also to several other testimonies that have since privately fallen from some particular persons among them — then we must believe that their design was clearly "to destroy and root out all the British and protestants planted within this kingdom, to cut off the sovereignty of the crown of England, and so deliver themselves from their long-continued subjection to the English nation."

But to come to one main particular taken into debate by the prime movers and chief incendiaries in this horrid rebellion, they had a most serious consultation as to what course to take with most safety to themselves, for disburdening the kingdom of the English, who were planted among them in very great numbers. Some were of the opinion that they should

spare their lives, so as not to render themselves guilty of spilling so much innocent blood; rather, they should seize their goods, expel them their habitations, and after banishing them out of the kingdom, proceed as the Spaniards did with the many thousands of Moors whom they cleared out of their dominions in a moment, as it were. There were others who much opposed this kind of lenity and moderation, remonstrating the high inconveniences which would inevitably redound to themselves by doing so.

— First, that the British were in such great numbers, that the Irish could not, either by disarming, imprisoning, or any other means possible, ever hope to secure them from mischief.
— That if they only expelled them out of the Irish kingdom, they would remain as so many fit instruments to be entertained in England, and from there return full of revengeful thoughts to recover their losses;
— That by their long experience and knowledge in the country, they would be better guides, more deeply engaged to prosecute the war; and
— That having their bodies inured to this climate, they would prove much more able soldiers than any new men who could be raised, or brought over in any other ways.

How they determined this particular, I will not undertake to declare. My intelligence fails me, and I am able to deliver no more of the result of this great council, than appears in the bloody effects and horrid executions acted out in the beginnings of their rebellion. It is most probable that they came to no positive conclusion, but left the chief actors in this particular at large, to do as seemed good to themselves. We find their first proceedings and outrages committed upon the English various, and much differing in several places. Some only stripped and expelled them; others murdered man, woman, and child, without mercy.

But this is certain, and of most unquestionable truth, that “by one means or other, they resolved universally to root all the British and protestants out of Ireland.” And that “these were the first thoughts and bitter fruits of their long-premeditated, malicious intentions,” sufficiently appears by their actions, as well as by their virulent expressions uttered upon their first rising, when they thought the kingdom was their own. They then said openly that, “they meant to destroy the English, and they made a covenant that no Englishman should set foot among them.” Some of the Irish would not endure the very sound of that language, but would have penalties inflicted upon those who spoke English, and have all the English names of places changed into the old Irish denominations. Others professed that they would not leave an English man or woman alive in the kingdom, but that all should be gone; no, nor so much as an English beast, nor any breed of them. James Hallegan, the priest, read an excommunication in the church, which he alleged came from their great Irish metropolitan, and terrifying his parishioners with it, he told them that, “from that day forth, whoever harbored or relieved any Scot, Englishman, or Welshman, or gave them alms at their doors, should be excommunicated.” By this means, Master Sacheverel testified in his examination, many were starved and died for want in those parts.

We have it from Master Creighton, a reverend minister, one long-detained prisoner within the county of Cavan, that the friars exhorted the people with tears to spare none of the English; that the Irish were resolved to destroy them out of the kingdom; that they would devour (as their very word was) the seed of the English out of Ireland; and when they had rid them there, they would go over into England, and not leave the memorial of the English name under heaven.

The Irish, in many places, killed English cows and sheep merely because they were English. In some places they cut off their legs, or took out a piece of their buttocks, and so let them

remain alive. The Lord Montgarrat, Master Edward Butler, the Baron of Logmouth, went with their forces into Munster about the beginning of the rising of the Irish there, and while they remained about Callen and Mallow, they consumed no less than 50,000 (others say 100,000) English sheep, beside a great abundance of English cattle. And what they could not eat, they yet killed and left in great multitudes, stinking, to the great annoyance of the country. This was testified by Henry Champart in his examination taken before Sir Robert Meredith, knt., etc.

James Shaw, a minister, deposes that,

> "After the cessation, diverse of the rebels confessed, that the priests had given them the sacrament on condition that they would not spare man, woman, or child who were protestants; and that he heard diverse of them say, in a bragging manner, that it did them a great deal of good to wash their hands in the blood of the protestants whom they had slain." Jurat. Jan. 7, 1641.

Thomas Johnson, vicar of Tullah, of the county of Mayo deposes that,

> "He heard Stephen Linoli, prior of Strade, being asked if it were not lawful to kill this deponent, because he would not go to mass? Answered that, 'It was as lawful for them to kill him, as to kill a sheep or a dog.' And several of the rebel soldiers told him to his face, that they would no more care to kill him, than they would a pig."

John Addis, of the county of Westmeath, deposes that,

> "Robert Magohugan, priest, said to this deponent, that it was no more pity nor conscience to take Englishmen's lives or goods from them, than to take a bone out of a dog's mouth." Jurat. July 21, 1642.

And so fond and vain were their imaginations, and they had grown to such a height of madness, that they could not terminate their thoughts in the reduction of Ireland under the power of their own nation. But, as soon as they had begun their rebellion there, they spoke confidently, in all places, of transporting their arms into England; that they would send 150,000 men over into that kingdom, and that they would draw in foreign auxiliaries there to join with them — and so, by a high hand, establish the free exercise of the Romish religion within that kingdom. This was certainly a design which the priests and Jesuits had taken up in their own thoughts, and by their correspondences abroad, they intended to powerfully bring it about as soon as they had settled their affairs in Ireland.

Thus we see what were the causes and first motives to this unnatural rebellion; and likewise who were the chief actors and the great instruments designed by the first plotters, to predispose the people to a readiness to take arms for rooting out the British inhabitants from among them. All the preparations being made, and the plot in all points being ripe for execution, it was carried on without discovery, to the very evening before the day appointed for taking the castle of Dublin. And though it pleased God to then bring it to light (as it has been declared), and so, happily to disappoint it in the main piece, yet it took effect in the northern parts, being fully executed that very day in most of the chief places of strength within the province of Ulster.

Whereas the priests long before, in their public devotions at mass, prayed for a blessing upon the great design they had in hand, so now (as I heard they did in many places the very day before this rebellion broke out) they dismissed people at mass, with free liberty to go out and take possession of all the lands which they pretended were unjustly detained from them by the English; and also to strip, rob, and despoil them of all their goods and cattle.

[1050] A.D. 1641.

Without doubt, they had determined by one means or other (either by private or public instructions), not to leave to the English anything that might afford the least comfort or hope of longer subsistence among them.

This was the main bait used to draw on the common people. And this wrought far more powerfully than all other persuasions, fictions, or wild chimeras that they infused into them. It is most apparent that the principal gentlemen in all parts, as well as their clergy, pressed them on to despoil the English of all their goods and cattle, well knowing their avaricious temperament and greedy desires to get them into their possession. And they knew they could not possibly find any other thing that would engage them more readily to undertake, or more desperately execute all manner of villainies, than the hopes of enjoying so rich a prey as was now presented to them.

The people now being set at liberty from the restraints of conscience, and prepossessed by their priests with a belief that it was lawful for them to rise up and destroy all the protestants — who they were told were worse than dogs; that they were devils, and served the devil; and were assured that killing them was a meritorious act, as well as a preservative against the pains of purgatory — gathered themselves together in great numbers. They assembled in several companies throughout the several parts of the northern counties, with staves, scythes, and pitchforks (for at first they did not have many better weapons). And so, in a most confused manner, they began tumultuously at first, only to drive away the cattle belonging to the English; but then to break into their houses and seize their goods.

John Parry of Druermosh, in the county of Armagh, deposes that,

> "O'Cullan, a priest, told his auditors at mass, that the bodies of those who died in this quarrel would not be cold before their souls ascended into heaven, and that they would be free from the pains of purgatory."

Margaret Bromley, in her examination, deposes that,

> "Some of the rebels would say, after their cruel butcheries, that they knew if they were now to die, their souls would go to heaven, and that they were glad of the revenge they had taken of the English."

It is true there were some murders committed on the very first day of their uprising, and some houses were set on fire; but these, I conceive, were for the most part out of private spleen, or where they had particular instructions to do so — as they had from the Lord Mac Guire to kill Master Arthur Champion, a justice of the peace in the county of Fermanagh. He; with several of his neighbors, were murdered at his own house on the 23rd of October, in the morning.

But certainly what which they mainly intended at first, and what they most busily employed themselves about, was driving away the Englishmen's cattle, and taking possession of their goods. The common people were not the only actors in this, but even the chief gentlemen of the Irish most openly appeared in many places, and under plausible pretenses of securing their goods from the rapine and spoil of the common people, got much goods peaceably into their hands. So confident were the English of the good dealing of the Irish at first, that many delivered their goods by retail to them, and gave them particular inventories of all they had. Indeed, they dug up the best things that they had hidden underground, to deposit in their custody. Much likewise, they received fair promises and solemn engagements to do them no further mischief, or to allow them, their wives and children, to quietly retire and leave the

country. But others, especially the meaner sort of people, fell more rudely to work at first, breaking up the houses of the English, and using all manner of force and violence to make themselves masters of their goods.

And having thus seized all their goods and cattle, ransacked their houses, and gotten their persons under their power, the next thing they did was to strip man, woman, and child, many of them naked. And so they turned them out of their own doors, not permitting them, in some places, to so much as shelter themselves under bushes, or in the woods. And they strictly prohibited all the Irish, under great penalties, to entertain them or give any kind of relief as they passed by on the highways. And certainly their design in this most manifestly appears to have been no other, than that all those whom they could not lay their hands on and cruelly murder in cold blood, might miserably perish by themselves through cold, nakedness, and want. And therefore, as fast as any of them, so stripped, got old rags to cover their nakedness, they endeavored to strip them again and again, as it appears by the examination of John Gourley. He and his wife deposed that,

> "Some were stripped twice, some thrice. As fast as they could get any old rags to cover their nakedness, the next Irishwomen, or even the children that met them, would take them off."
>
> "When their house, together with the town of Armagh, were set on fire by the rebels, she was stripped of her clothes seven separate times after she got her clothes off. At length they did not leave her so much as her smock or hair lace. She got to a place, and hid herself in a hutch for three or four days. Afterward she went to find her children, two of which had the small-pox visibly upon them." — Jurat. November 8, 1642.

How infallibly this course succeeded, and how surely they compassed their devilish ends by this, is only too well known. The English left sufficient monuments in the highways as they passed, as well as the towns in which they arrived, of the dismal mortality it bred among them. And to fuller satisfy anyone who doubts it, I thought it fit to insert the two ensuing examinations.

James Redferne, of the county of Londonderry, deposes that,

> "In the town of Coleraine, since the rebellion began, of the robbed and stripped people who fled there for succor, many hundreds died, besides those of the town who had anciently dwelt there. The mortality was such, and so great, that many thousands died in two days. And the living, though scarcely able to do it, laid the carcasses of those dead persons in great ranks, into vast and wide holes, laying them as close and thick as if they had been packing up herrings together."

Magdalen Redman, late of the Dowris in the King's county, widow, being sworn and examined, deposes and says that,

> "This deponent, and diverse other protestant neighbors, and among the rest, twenty-two widows, after they were all robbed, were also stripped naked. And then, covering themselves in a house with straw, the rebels then and there lit the straw with fire, and threw it among them, to burn them on purpose. They would have been burned or smothered there, if some of the rebels, more pitiful than the rest, had not commanded these cruel rebels to forbear, so that they escaped. Yet the rebels kept and drove them naked into the woods from Tuesday until Saturday, in frost and snow, so as the snow unmelted, lay long upon some of their skins; some of their children died in their arms. And when, as this deponent and the rest endeavored to go to the Birr for refuge, the cruel rebels turned them back again, saying they should go towards

> Dublin; [115] and when they endeavored to go towards Dublin they stopped them again, and said they should go to the Birr; and so they tossed them to and fro. Yet at length, those of these poor stripped people who did not die before they got away from the hands of the rebels, escaped to the Birr, where they were harbored and relieved by one William Parsons, esq. Yet of those stripped persons, about forty men, women, and children died there at the Birr. And this deponent, and those other stripped people who survived, lived miserably at the Birr, until with the rest, they had quarter (safe passage) to come from there to Dublin."
>
> Jur. 7th March, 1642.
> JOHN WATSON. WILLIAM ALDRIDGE."

Isabel, the widow of Christopher Porter, late of Dowris in the King's county, being sworn and examined, deposes and says in all the particulars above-mentioned, as Magdalen Redman said, previously examined, being her neighbor.

[1051] A.D. 1641.

Some of the most notorious cruelties and barbarous murders committed by the Irish Rebels, attested upon oath, as they appear in several Examinations annexed here.

In these poor people, we may behold in large letters, as it were, the miseries of all those multitudes of men, women, and children in all parts of the kingdom, who were thus inhumanly stripped, and so exposed to the same want, cold, and nakedness. "The mercies of the wicked are cruel." Pro 12.10 How bitter was their compassion toward all those British who thus suffered? How horrid, barbarous, and insupportable was the commiseration they thus expressed towards them? Yet these were, as the rebels told them at first, but the beginning of their sorrows. For when the northern rebels began to find their own strength, and that was partly by treachery and partly by force, they possessed themselves of all the chief places of strength in Ulster, disarmed the English, robbed them of their goods and cattle, stripped them of their clothes, and had their persons now under their power. And all this was without any considerable resistance made by the English. Then they could contain themselves no longer, but in a most fierce and outrageous manner, they furiously broke out, acting with most abominable cruelty in all places of that province. They committed such horrid massacres and execrable murders as would make any Christian ear tingle at the sad recital of them. Then the rebels began to appear in their own colors, and with great delight they satiated their ancient, implacable malice in their long wished-for and often plotted destruction of all the British inhabitants.

Within the county of Fermanagh, multitudes were killed in cold blood. Some were taken at the plough, others as they sat peaceably in their own houses, others travelling on the highways. All, without any manner of provocation by them given, were suddenly surprised and unexpectedly cut off.

At the castle of Lisgoole, within that county, over 150 men, women, and children were all consumed by fire. Thomas Wenstaw and John Simpson, of the county of Fermanagh, gentlemen, depose and say that,

> "In the castle of Lisgoole, 152 men, women, and children were burnt or smothered when the said castle was set on fire; not more than two or three escaped." — Jurat. Jan. 12, 1641.

[115] The Birr is in Ireland's Midlands, just south of the River Shannon. Dublin is 70 miles away.

At the castle of Moneah, nearly 100 British were slain all together there. And the same bloody company of rebels were no sooner admitted into the castle of Tullagh (which was delivered into the hands of Roury Mac Guire [116] on composition and faithful promises of fair quarter), than within the very court, they began to strip the people, and most cruelly put them to the sword, murdering them all without mercy. Thomas Wenslaw deposes that,

> "At the castle of Moneah, 90 protestants more were slain and murdered; and that the rebels marched from the castle of Moneah to the castle of Tullagh where, by their own confession, they promised those protestants who were there fair quarter. But, when the English had delivered up their arms and the castle, those rebels in the bawne [117] of the castle, first stripped them all of their clothes, and then and there most cruelly murdered them."

Richard Bourke, bachelor in divinity, of the county of Fermanagh, deposes that,

> "He heard and truly believes the burning and killing of at least 100 in the castle of Tullagh, and that the same was done after fair quarter was promised." — Jurat. Jul. 12, 1643.

At Lissenskeah they hanged, or otherwise killed, over 100 persons, most of them of the Scottish nation. For once they had gotten the English in their power, they spared none of them, but used all the Scots with as much cruelty as they did the English. This country was very well planted by the British undertakers. And all of them and their tenants, in a very short space of time, in a most horrible manner, were quite destroyed or utterly banished from their habitations. In the counties of Armagh and Tyrone, where the British were much more numerous, and Sir Phelim O'Neale, and his brother, Turlough O'Neale, were the principal actors, the murders of the British were more numerous, and committed with greater cruelty, if that were possible, than in any other place.

> "Roury Mac Guire, on the 24th of October 1641, came with his company to Lissenskeah, and desired, in a friendly manner, to speak with Master Middleton, who had the keeping of the castle. The first thing he did, as soon as he entered, was to burn the records of the county, of which Master Middleton was the keeper, being clerk of the peace. Mac Guire forced him to deliver those to him, and likewise £1000 which he had in his hands, belonging to Sir William Balfour. As soon as he had the money, Mac Guire compelled the said Middleton to hear mass, and to swear never to alter from it. Immediately after, he had Middleton, his wife, and his children hanged; and he hanged and murdered at least 100 persons besides, in that town. These particulars and several others were set down at large in a relation sent to me by Sir John Dunbarr, knt., one of the justices of the peace within the county of Fermanagh."

There were 1000 men, women, and children carried out at several times, in several companies. They were all unmercifully drowned at the bridge of Portnedown; the bridge broke down in the middle of it. And so the rebels, driving and forcing the people on, threw them into the river. This number is deposed to in Dr. Maxwell's examination, taken on the 22nd of August 1642.

As other relations give it, 4000 persons were drowned within the several parts of that county. The number of so many persons drowned within the county of Armagh is deposed to by Thomas Green and Elizabeth, his wife, as appears by their examinations, taken November 10, 1643.

The rebels, in a most barbarous manner, drove on many of those miserable stripped Christians to the place of their sufferings, like swine. And if any were slack in their pace,

[116] That is, Colonel Rory Maguire (1619-1648).

[117] *Bawne*: an enclosure or courtyard, often fortified, surrounding a castle or tower house.

they sometimes pricked them forwards with their swords and pikes, often hastening on the rest, either by killing or wounding some of their fellows on the way. William Gierke, of the county of Armagh, a tanner, says that,

> "He with 100 men, women, and children, or thereabouts, were driven by the rebels like hogs, about six miles, to a river called the Band. In this space of time, the aforesaid protestants were most barbarously used, by forcing them with swords and pikes to go fast, thrusting them into their sides. They murdered three along the way, and the rest they drove to the aforesaid river, and there forced them to go onto the bridge, which was then cut down. With their pikes, swords, and other weapons, they thrust them down headlong into the river, and immediately they perished. Those who tried to swim to the shore, the rebels stood and shot at them." — Jurat. Jan. 7, 1641.

Mary, the wife of Ralph Corne, deposes that 180 English were taken by the Irish, and driven like cattle from Castle Cumber to Athy.

Other companies they carried out under pretense of giving them safe conduct out of the country. And so they got them to go cheerfully on by virtue of Sir Phelim O'Neale's pass, until they came to some place fit for their execution. Elizabeth, the wife of Captain Rue Price, of the town and county of Armagh, deposes that,

> "Five of her children, together with 110 other protestants out of the parishes of Armagh, Laugaule, and other places, were sent away with passes from Sir Phelim O'Neale, with promise to be safely conveyed over to their friends in England. Their conductor was Capt. Manus O'Cane and his soldiers. Having brought, or rather driven them like sheep or beasts, to the bridge of Portnedown, they forced or threw all those poor prisoners into the water, together with the deponent's five children, and then and there drowned most of them."

And if they did not drown them, they had some prepared to shoot, or knock down with poles, any who could swim, or used any other means to escape out of the water.

[1052] A.D. 1641.

> "And those who could swim and came to the shore, they either knocked them on the head, and so drowned them after, or else shot them to death in the water." — Jurat. Jan. 29, 1641.

Among many others, a gentlewoman whose name was Mrs. Cambell, being forcibly brought by them to the river, and finding no means to escape their fury, she suddenly clasped her arms about one of the chief rebels who was most eager to thrust her into the water, and (as I find it credibly related upon oath) carried him to the bottom with her; and so they were both drowned together. James Shaw, of Market Hill, in the county of Armagh, deposes the manner of Mistress Cambell's pulling the rebel into the water, and how he was drowned with her. — Jurat. Aug. 14, 1642.

The cathedral church and town of Armagh were burnt, many towns were laid waste, and all the fair plantations made by the British were left desolate. In some parishes, two hundred families were murdered and destroyed. The whole county, as it were, was made a common butchery. And through all parts of it, many thousands perished in a short time, by sword, famine, fire, water, and all other cruel deaths that rage and malice could invent. Captain Parkin deposes that,

> "Sir Phelim O'Neale, fleeing from Dundalk, went to Armagh, where he began his bloody massacres, causing Manus O'Cane to get together all the protestants who were left thereabouts, to conduct them to Coleraine. But before they were scarcely a day's journey from him, they were all murdered. And so were several others, by special direction from Sir Phelim

> O'Neale and his brother Turlagh, notwithstanding that they had received promises of being protected by them. All the aged people in Armagh were carried away by the same directions, but afterwards murdered at Charlemont. And shortly after, his brother and he, with other adherents, maliciously set on fire the cathedral church and town of Armagh, and murdered and drowned 500 persons there, young and old. At the parish of Killyman, 48 families were then murdered by directions from Sir Phelim, though the families had remained protected by him for three quarters of a year." Jurat. March 8, 1643.

Jane Grace, the wife of Nicholas Grace, late of Kilmore, in the county of Armagh, deposes that,

> "There were twenty-two English protestants burned in one house, within two miles of Kilmore; and that the rebels stripped, killed, or murdered all or most of the English of that parish, which consisted of two hundred families. They set many in the stocks until they confessed where their money was concealed, and when they could get no more, the rebels then murdered them."

But before I leave this subject, I will pass a little further, and present here a brief collection of some other horrid, inhuman cruelties which I find were used in the murdering of many poor innocent souls. They are taken from some examinations under oath, which I have perused. To many, these rebels showed so much favor as to suddenly dispatch them out of their pain, by no means allowing them leave nor time to make their prayers. Fr others, they considered a sudden death too easy a punishment. Therefore they imprisoned some in filthy dungeons, full of dirt and mire, and there, clapping bolts on their heels, they allowed them to perish at leisure. Others they barbarously mangled, and left languishing on the highways, crying out only for so much mercy as to be delivered from their pain. Edward Saltinglass, of the county of Armagh, gent., deposes that,

> "George Lawlis, a rebel of the said county, resolving to kill John Cowder, told him he would kill him, but bid him first to say his prayers; whereupon the said Cowder kneeling down to pray, the said Lawlis instantly cut off his head as he was on his knees." Jurat. June 1, 1642.

Elizabeth Price deposes,

> "Then, when as diverse of the English were about to be murdered, and desired the rebels on their knees first to allow them to make their prayers to God, the rebels have often, in her, the deponent's hearing in Irish, answered and said, 'Bequeath your soul to the devil.' And at other times the rebels would say, 'Why should you pray? Your soul is with the devil already.' With those words in their mouths, they would slaughter and put them to death." Jurat, ut supra.

Edward Bankes, of Cashell, in the county of Tipperary, cleric, deposes that,

> "The rebels there, on the first day of January, killed 15 men and women, all English protestants, at Cashell; and that they entered and took the town, and having it, that they took this deponent, and other clergymen, and then and there had them put into the dungeon, where they continued twelve weeks in most miserable slavery." Jurat. April 21, 1642.

Jonn Cregge, in the county of Armagh, yeoman, deposes that,

> "In the parish of Levilegish, there were diverse Englishmen cruelly murdered; some twice, some thrice, hanged up, and others wounded and left half dead, crying out lamentably for some to come and end their miseries by killing of them." Jurat. Jan. 7, 1641.

Others they buried alive, a manner of death they used for several British in many places. William Parkinson, of Castle Cumber, in the county of Kilkenny, gent., deposes that,

> "By the credible report both of English and some Irish, who affirmed they were eye witnesses of a bloody murder committed near Kilieale, in the Queen's county, upon an Englishman, his wife, four or five children, and a maiden. All of which were hanged by the command of Sir Morgan Cavanah and Robert Harpoole, and afterwards all put in one hole. The youngest child, not being fully dead, put out his hand and cried mammy! mammy! upon which, without mercy, they buried him alive." Jurat. Feb. 11, 1642.

Some had ropes put about their necks, and so were drawn through the water; some had willows, and so were drawn up and down through woods and bogs; others were hung up, and taken down, and hung up again several times, and all to make them confess where their money was hidden, which as soon as they had told, the rebels then dispatched them out of the way. Edward Saltingstone, of the county of Armagh, gent., deposes that,

> "Manus O'Caue, Bryan O'Kelly, Shane O'Neile, Neile Oge O'Neile, gent., took William Blundell, of Grange, in the county of Armagh, yeoman, and put a rope about his neck, and threw him into the Blackwater at Charlemount, and drew him up and down the water to make him confess his money, who thereupon gave him £21. Yet, within three weeks after, he, his wife, and seven children, were drowned by the rebels."
>
> "That Samuel Law, of Grenan, in the parish of Armagh, was, by the said Neile Oge O'Neile, and others, brought to a wood, and that there they then put a willow about his neck, and so drew him up and down by the neck, until he was glad to promise them £10." Jurat. ut supra.

Margaret Ferineny, in the county of Fermanath, deposes that,

> "The rebels bound her and her husband's hands behind them, to make them confess their money, and dragged them up and down by a rope, and cut his throat in her own sight with a skain (scimitar), having first knocked him down and stripped him; and that, being an aged woman of seventy-five years old, as she came up to Dublin afterwards, she was stripped by the Irish seven times in one day; the rebels bidding them go and look for their God, and bid him give them clothes." Jurat.

Others were hung up by the arms; and with many slashes and cuts, they experimented with their swords how many blows an Englishman would endure before he died. Edward Wilson, of the county of Monaghan, deposes that,

> "Among other cruelties used by the rebels to the English, they hung up some by the arms, and then hacked them with their swords, to see how many blows they could endure before they died." Jurat.

Some they ripped up, and left them with their bowels hanging out. Anne, the wife of Mervin Madesley, lately of the city of Kilkenny, gent., sworn and examined, deposes that,

> "Some of the rebels, in Kilkenny aforesaid, struck and beat a poor English woman until she was forced into a ditch, where she died; those barbarous rebels having first ripped up her child, of about six years of age." Jurat.

[1053] A.D.1642.

James Geare, of the county of Monaghan, deposes that,

> "The rebels at Clownis murdered one James Netterville, proctor to the minister there, whom they first wounded in several parts, and then mangled his body in a most revolting manner; and thus they barbarously used him after they had induced him to go to mass with them." Jurat. April 6, 1642.

Owen Frankland, of the city of Dublin, deposes, that Michael Garray told this deponent,

> "There was a Scotchman, who, being driven by the rebels out of the Newry, and knocked on the head by the Irish, recovered himself, and came again into the town naked; whereupon the rebels carried him and his wife out of the town, cut him all to pieces; and murdered his wife, though great with child." Jurat. July 21, 1642.

But this horrid kind of cruelty was principally reserved by these inhuman monsters for women, whose sex they neither pitied nor spared, hanging up several women, many of them pregnant, whom they inhumanly mutilated; a course they ordinarily took with those they found in that condition. At Ballimcolough, within four miles of the city of Rosse, in April 1642, John Stone, of the Graige, his son, his two sons-in-law, and his two daughters, were hanged. One of his daughters then being pregnant, they treated her in such a barbarous manner, as is not fit to be mentioned.

And sometimes they gave their children to swine. Philip Taylor, late of Portnedowne, deposes that,

> "The rebels killed a dyer's wife, of Rossetrever, at the Newry, and ripped her up, she being pregnant with two children, and threw her and her children into a ditch; and that he, this deponent, drove away swine from eating one of the children." Jurat.

Some infants the dogs ate. John Montgomery, of the county of Monaghan, sworn and examined, says that,

> "One Brian Mac Erony, ringleader of the rebels in the county of Fermanagh, killed Ensign Floyd, Robert Worknum, and four of their servants, one of which being wounded, though not to death, they buried alive. As also, that he was credibly informed that the daughter-in-law of one Foard, in the parish of Clownis, being delivered of a child in the fields, the rebels, who had formerly killed her husband and father, killed her and two of her children, and allowed the dogs to eat up and devour her new-born child.' Jurat. June 26, 1641.

And some infants they cast into ditches. Katherine, the widow of William Coke, of the county of Armagh, carpenter, deposes that,

> "The rebels of the said county robbed, stripped, and murdered a great company of protestants, some by burning, some by the sword, some by hanging, and the rest by starving, and other deaths. And this deponent, to shun their rage, and save her poor life, hid herself in a ditch of water, and sat there among high rushes so long, that she was almost frozen and starved to death, and then crawled away secretly."
>
> "Some of the rebels who escaped and fled from the battle of Lisnagarnay, meeting one Mrs. Howard, and Mrs. Frankland, both great with child, and six of their children with them, those rebels then and there with their pikes killed and murdered them all. And after opening the women, took out their infants, one of them being alive, and threw them into a ditch in the sight of Jane, this deponent's daughter, who escaped because she spoke Irish, and said she was an Irishwoman." Jurat. Feb.

And as for suckling children, and others of a riper age, some had their brains knocked out. James Steven, son, cleric, of the county of Leitrim, deposes that,

> "The rebels there took Isabel Stevenson, a young child, left at Fostering, with one Hugh Mac Arran, and, inquiring whose child it was, they told him it was a Scotchman's child; whereupon they took the child by the heels, and ran and beat the brains of it out against a tree." Jurat. April 20, 1643.

Some they cut in gobbets and pieces. John Stubbs, of the county of Longford, gent., deposes that,

> "He heard, by some of the sheriff's men, that Henry Mead and his wife, John Bigel, William Stell, and Daniel Stubbs, the deponent's brother, were put to death by Lisagh Farrol's, and Oliver Fitz Gerald's men, who hung them upon a windmill, and when they were half dead, they cut them to pieces with their skains." Jurat. November 21, 1641.

Elizabeth Price, deposes that,

> "A great number of poor protestants, especially of women and children, they pricked and stabbed with their skains, pitchforks, and swords, and would slash, mangle, and cut them in their heads, breasts, faces, arms, and other parts of the body, but not kill them outright; but leave them wallowing in their blood, to languish, starve, and pine to death. And whereas, if those so mangled, desired their persecutors to kill them out of their pain, they would deny it; but sometimes, after a day or two, they would dash out their brains with stones, or by some other cruel way, which they accounted done as a favor; of which she has in many particulars been an eyewitness." Jurat. June 29, 1641.

Others they ripped up alive. William Parkinson, of Kilkenny, esq., deposes that,

> "The wife of John Harvey told him that she, being at Kilkenny, and having there turned to mass to save her life, was notwithstanding stripped again, together with her children. And one Purcell, a butcher, after he had stripped her daughter, five years of age, ripped up her body till her entrails fell out, from which she died that night. The mother complaining of this to the mayor of Kilkenny, he bid away with her and dispatch her; so that not only the butcher, but many others beat and wounded her, so as she hardly escaped with her life." Jurat, ut supra.

Some were found in the fields, sucking the breasts of their murdered mothers. Others lay stifled in vaults and cellars. Elizabeth Champion, late wife of Arthur Champion, in the county of Fermanagh, esq., deposes that,

> "When the castle of Lisgoole, was set on fire by the rebels, a woman, leaping out of a window to save herself from burning, was murdered by the rebels; next morning her child was found sucking her breast, and was also murdered by them." Jurat. April 6, 1642.

Multitudes of men, women, and children were found drowned, cast into ditches, bogs, and turf pits; the ordinary sepultures (burial grounds) of the British nation. Thousands died of cold and want in all parts of the country, being neither permitted to depart, nor relieved where they were forced to stay. John Duffield, of the county of Armagh, gent., deposes that,

> "The rebels wounded John Ward and Richard Duffield, so as they died of it, and that their wives and the said John's six children, all being stripped, died of want and cold... and that many thousands of protestants, men, women, and children, being stripped of their clothes died also, of cold and want in several parts of the country." Jurat. Aug. 9, 1642.

Multitudes were enclosed in houses, which being set on fire, they were most miserably consumed. Some were dragged out of their sick beds to the place of execution. Catherine Madeson, of the county of Fermanagh, deposes that,

> "They drew some, lying sick of fevers, out of their beds, and hanged them; and that they drove before them, 16 men, women, and children, and drowned them in a boggy pit, knocking those on the head with poles who endeavored to get out."

Jane, the wife of Gabriel Constable, late of Drumcad, in the county of Armagh, gent., sworn, and examined, says that,

> "Her husband and his mother, about eighty, eight years old, and his brother, being murdered by the rebels, in the parish of Kilmore, that a great number of protestants were, about Candlemas 1641, by the means and instigation of Joan Hamskin (formerly a protestant, but a

native Irishwoman, and lately turned to mass), and of diverse other assistants of her, forced and thrust into a thatched house, within the parish of Kilmore; and then and there (the protestants, being almost naked, covered only with rags), the same house was, by that bloody woman and her barbarous assistants, set on fire in several parts of it, the poor imprisoned parties (who were kept locked in there by armed parties) were miserably burned to death.

[1054] A.D. 1641.

"At length the house fell upon them; and the combustible part of the house being consumed, before the bodies of all those miserable wretches were burned to ashes, the bodies of many of them lay there in holes, to the great terror of the beholders who were protestants; only three escaped out of a hole of the house; and the rest who attempted to escape the flames, were then and there forced and thrown in again, and so burned to death.' Jurat. June 16, 1642.

Children were forced to carry their aged parents to the places designed for their slaughter. Thomas Green, in the parish of Dumcres, in the county of Armagh, yeoman, and Elizabeth his wife, sworn and examined, says that,

"The deponent, Thomas Green, hardly escaped with his life, but that the other deponent and six children were all left among the rebels, stripped of their clothes, and deprived of food, so that five of the children died; and she, this deponent, being put to beg among the merciless rebels, was at length rescued from them by the Scottish array."

"That the rebels drowned 17 men, women, and children in a bog, at one time, within the said parish; and she is truly persuaded that the rebels, at several times and places within the county of Armagh, drowned over 4000 protestants, forcing the sons and daughters of those very aged people who were not able to go themselves, to take them out of their beds and houses, and carry them to be drowned, especially in the river of Toll, in the parish of Logball." Jurat. November 10, 1643.

No indeed, some children were compelled most unnaturally to be the executioners of their own parents, wives to help to hang their husbands, mothers to cast their own children into the water; and yet, after these forced acts (which, no doubt, were performed out of hope and assurance to have their own lives saved), were always murdered.

John Rutledge deposes that,

"Such were the barbarous and inhuman cruelties of the rebels, that sometimes they forced the wife to kill the husband, the son to kill the father, and the daughter to kill the mother, and then they would hang or put to death the last bloodshedder."

"That, of his knowledge, the rebels in the town of Sligo, forced one Lewes the younger, to kill his father, and then hanged the son. And in Mogne, in the county of Mayo, the rebels forced one Simon Leper's wife to kill her husband, then had her son kill her, and then they hanged the son."

Dennis Kelly, of the county of Meath, deposes that,

"Garret Tallon, of Cruisetown, in the said county, gent., as it is commonly reported, hired two men to kill Ann Hagely, wife to Edward Tallon, his son, a papist, and at that time absent from home; and the said two men, in a most bloody manner, with skains, killed the said Ann Hagely and her daughter, and her daughter's two children, because they would not consent to go to mass. And after they had killed them, they would not permit them to be buried in a church or churchyard; but the four were buried in a ditch." Jurat. August 23, 1643.

A minister was stripped stark-naked, and driven like a beast through the town of Cashel:

> "At Cashel, in Munster, besides many ministers which they hanged there in a most barbarous manner, they stripped one naked, and drove him through the town, pricking him forward with darts and rapiers, and so pursuing him till he fell down dead." Jurat. February 24, 1643.

A company of men, women, and children, were put into a house, to which the rebels set fire. Christian Stanhaw, the widow of Henry Stanhaw, late of the county of Armagh, esq., deposes that,

> "A woman who formerly lived at Langoule, absolutely informed this deponent, that the rebels forced a great number of protestants, men, women, and children, into a house, which they purposely set on fire to burn them, and when any of them offered to come out, to shun the fire, the wicked rebels with scythes, which they had in their hands, cut them in pieces, and cast them into the fire, and burned them with the rest." Jurat. July 23, 1642.

Neither did these horrible tortures to which they put these poor innocent protestants, slack their fury. Their malice towards them did not terminate with their lives, But after so many separate bloody ways and cruel inventions with which they rent their souls from their wretched bodies, even to their dead carcasses in some places, they denied all manner of burial. Others they left to be devoured by dogs and swine. Thomas Green, and Elizabeth his wife, depose that,

> "The rebels at several times murdered, killed, and destroyed most of the protestants in the parish of Dumcres, being about 300; and indeed most of the protestants in all the country thereabouts they killed and destroyed by drowning, hanging, and burning; also by the sword, by starving, and other deaths, exposing their slaughtered bodies to be devoured by dogs, swine, and other ravenous creatures. And this deponent, Elizabeth, saw the dogs feed upon those dead carcasses." Jurat. November 10, 1643.

It is not possible to recollect, or express, the wickedness of their mischievous inventions, or the horror of their bloody executions of the English, accompanied with all kinds of tortures that might aggravate the height of their cruelty towards them.

Alas! who can comprehend the fears, terrors, anguish, bitterness, and perplexity of their souls, the despairing passions and consternations of their minds! What strange, amazed thoughts it must raise in their sad hearts, to find themselves so suddenly surprised without remedy, and inextricably wrapped up in all kind of outward miseries which could possibly by man be inflicted upon any human creatures! What sighs, groans, trembling, astonishment! What shrieks, cries, and bitter lamentations of wives and children, friends and servants weeping about them, all finding themselves without any manner of hope or deliverance from their present misery and pain! How inexorable were their barbarous tormentors that encompassed them on every side, without any bowels of compassion, any sense of their sufferings, or the least commiseration and pity, the common comforters of men in misery!

Whoever seriously weighs these particulars will not much wonder that such great numbers of British and protestants were destroyed in so short a time, after the rebellion first broke out, as Master Cunningham deposes in his examination. There he says that,

> "The account of the persons killed by the rebels, from the time of the beginning of the rebellion, Oct. 23, 1641, unto the month of April following was, as the priests weekly gave it in their several parishes, 105,000." Jurat. April 22, 1641.

John Shaw, a minister, deposes that,

> "After the cessation made with the Irish, diverse of them confessed the priests had given them the sacrament on condition that they would not spare man, woman, or child, who were protestants; and that he heard many of them say, in a bragging manner, that it did them much good to wash their hands in the blood of the protestants whom they had slain." Jurat. January 7, 1643.

When the castle of Lisgoole was set on fire by the rebels, and so many British were consumed in the flames, as mentioned before, those mischievous villains who had done this wicked act, cried out with much joy, 'How sweetly they fry!' —

[1055] A.D. 1641.

Elizabeth Champion deposes that,

> "When the rebels had set the castle of Lisgoole on fire, upon the protestants there enclosed, and saw the said house so burning, they said among themselves rejoicingly, oh, how sweetly they fry!" Jurat, ut supra.

How the inhabitants of Kilkenny (a city planted with old English, where civility and good manners seemed to flourish) solaced and pleased themselves in most unchristianly abusing the heads of a minister and six other protestants, brought into that town in a kind of triumph! —

William Lucas, of the city of Kilkenny, deposes that,

> "Although he lived in the town till about five or six weeks past, in which time, he is assured, many murders and cruel acts were committed, yet he dared not go abroad to see any of them. But he confidently believes that the rebels, having brought seven heads of protestants, of which one was the head of Master Bingham, a minister, they then and there, as triumphs of their victory, set them upon the market cross, on a market day, and that the rebels slashed, stabbed and mangled those heads; put a gag, or carrot in the said Master Bingham's mouth, slit up his cheeks to his ears, laying a leaf of a bible before him, and bid him preach, 'for his mouth was wide enough;' and after they had so solaced themselves, they threw those heads into a hole in St. James's Green." Jurat. August 16, 1643.

But it is no wonder that they carried themselves in this barbarous manner toward these poor innocent Christians, when they did not spare to most fearfully vent their rage against their Maker. What open, hellish, blasphemies were uttered by these wicked miscreants? With what indignation and reproach did they tear and trample under their feet the sacred word of God?

Edward Deane, of Ocram, in the county of Wicklow, tanner, deposes that,

> "The Irish rebels made a proclamation, that all English men and women who did not depart the country within twenty-four hours, would be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and that the Irish houses that kept any of the English children would be burned... The said rebels burnt two protestant bibles, and then said that it was hell-fire that burnt." Jurat. Jan. 7, 1641.

John Kerdiffe, cleric of the county of Tyrone, deposes, *inter alia*, that

> "Friar Malone, of Skerries, took the poor men's bibles which he found in the boat, and cut them in pieces, and cast them into the fire, with these words, 'That he would deal in like manner with all protestant and Puritan bibles.'" Jurat. Feb. 28, 1641.

Henry Fisher, of Powerscourt, in the county of Wicklow, deposes that,

> "The rebels entered the parish church at Powerscourt, and burned up the pews, pulpits, chests, and bibles belonging to the said church, with extreme violence and triumph, and expressing hatred toward religion." Jurat. Jan 2.5, 1641.

Adam Clover, of Slonosie, in the county of Cavan, duly sworn, deposes that,

> "James O'Rely, Hugh Brady, and other rebels, often took into their hands the protestant bibles and, wetting them in the dirty water five or six separate times, dashed the same on the face of this deponent and other protestants, saying, 'Come, I know you love a good lesson; here is an excellent one for you. Come tomorrow, and you will have as good a sermon as this;' and used other scornful and disgraceful words to them.
>
> "That, dragging many protestants by the hair of the head, and in other cruel manner, into the church, they there stripped, robbed, whipped, and most cruelly used them, saying, 'If you come tomorrow, you will hear the like sermon." Jurat. Jan. 4, 1641.

Edward Slacke, of Gusteen, in the county of Fermanagh, cleric, deposes that,

> "One of the rebels there took his bible, opened it, and, laying the open side in a puddle of water, leaped and trampled upon it, saying, 'A plague on it! This bible has bred all the quarrel; and that he hoped within a few weeks all the bibles in Ireland should be used as that was, or worse, and that none should be left in the kingdom.'" Jurat. Jan. 4, 1641.

But I will not here touch any further upon those who died thus gloriously. This will be a worthy work for some more able pen to undertake. If we take a survey of the primitive times, and look into the sufferings of the first Christians who suffered under the tyranny and cruel persecutions of those heathenish emperors, we certainly will not find any one kingdom, though of a far larger extent, where more Christians suffered, or more unparalleled cruelties were enacted in many years upon them, than were in Ireland, within the first two months after this rebellion broke out. And however some, by outward inflictions and tortures, were drawn to profess the change of their religion, and presently had their reward (for many of those who did so, were suddenly dispatched by their persecutors with great scorn, saying, "It was fit to send them out of the world in that good mood"), yet I dare say, we will find many of those who were thus cruelly put to death, to have been equal to some of those ancient worthies for their patience, constancy, courage, and magnanimity in their sufferings, not accepting deliverance, but triumphing over and insulting, with their last breath, the insolence, rage, and malice of their most inhuman and cruel persecutors.

John Glasse, of Montwrath, in the Queen's County, sworn and examined, says that,

> "Florence Fitzpatrick, of the said county, esq., having received Master John Nicholson and his wife Anne Nicholson under his protection, endeavored all he could to turn them to mass, or to the present rebellion. But they both professed that rather than either forsake their religion, or fight against their countrymen, they would die the death. The husband professing how much they abhorred it, and his wife even showing greater resolution; they would have had her burn her bible. But her answer was that, 'Before she would either burn her bible, or turn against her countrymen, she would die upon the point of the sword.' This was made good by them. For on Sabbath day in the morning, before mass, they were cruelly murdered by the command of the said Florence Fitzpatrick. The instrument employed by him to commit this cruelty was one John Harding, who has since been tormented in his conscience, beyond all expression, and with continued apparitions of them, as he conceived, in such lively manner as he murdered

them. So that even now he is consumed with the horror of it, as it is most frequently reported among the rebels." Jurat. April 8. 1642.

We find in the Roman history, during the several cruel contentions between Marius and Sulla (when their factious followers filled the whole city of Rome with streams of blood), strange and most incomparable passages of friendship. One exposed himself to all manner of dangers, for the preservation of his friend of a contrary faction; servants willingly sacrificed themselves to save the lives of their beloved masters. But here, on the contrary, what open violation of all bonds of humanity and friendship! No contracts, no promises observed. Quarter given in the most solemn manner, and with the greatest oaths and severest execrations, under hand and seal, was suddenly broken. The Irish landlords making a prey of their English tenants; the Irish servants betraying their English masters; and every one esteeming any act by which they could most declare their hatred and malice against any of the British nation, to be gallant and truly meritorious. It is not to be denied, but that the first and most bloody executions were made in the province of Ulster. And there they continued longest to execute their rage and cruelty. Yet it must also be acknowledged that all the other three provinces concurred with them, as it were, with one common consent, to extirpate all the British planted throughout the kingdom. And for this purpose they went on, not only murdering, stripping, and driving out all of them — men, women, and children — but they laid waste their habitations, burnt their residences, and defaced in many places all the monuments of civility and devotion, the courts and places of the English government. Indeed, as some of them express it themselves, they resolved not to leave them either name or posterity in Ireland.

How they proceeded on in this work, or how far they cooperated with each other, will be a task of some extent, and more proper for another place in this history. I will conclude this discourse here, concerning the cruelties exercised upon the British and protectants, with the following examinations.

[1056] A.D. 1643.

They are eight in number — two witnesses, as it were, taken out of each province, to declare their cruel proceedings. I will begin with Munster, from where we have yet had very few examinations brought up. The main ones have been most unhappily carried another way. Therefore I thought it fit, to more fully express their miseries, to insert their general remonstrance, made upon the conclusion of the late cessation, in the year 1643. The two next ensuing concern province of Connaught; then those of the province of Ulster; and lastly two examinations taken of some acts of cruelty committed within the province of Leinster. I have chiefly chosen those which have been put in by persons of good quality, of known integrity and credit. They are all upon oath, as likewise are all the examinations concerning cruelties mentioned before. I will leave the several particulars to the consideration of those who are pleased to read them over. And I may well say of them, in respect to the former cruelties inserted, as was said to the prophet Ezekiel in another case, "Turn yet again, and you will see greater abominations than these." Eze 8.6

A General Remonstrance of the Distressed Protestants, in the Province of Munster.

Setting forth, from the gasping condition of their most sad and distressed souls, that whereas the province of Munster, through the vast expense of English treasure and blood, was improved from a state of barbarism, to such a degree of civility, that the power and dignity of the English crown was much advanced and extended by the surest and noblest bonds of a

flourishing people: those of religion, civility, and profit. — Of religion, witnessed by the enlarged congregations in both cathedral and parochial churches; — of civility, by the many costly plantations, fair and strong buildings, plentiful markets, and bountiful hospitality;— and of profit, by the free trade and commerce throughout Christendom. Lands were fully improved, abounding with herds and flocks of all sorts of the best English cattle. These enabled us to advance great sums to his majesty's customs, to contribute large subsidies, and to supply the west of England with such a considerable proportion of wool and cattle, that a great part of the trade of those parts subsisted by them. And this began at the great charge of the English undertakers in the time of queen Elizabeth, of famous memory. Since that time, few parts of Christendom, in so short a space from their beginning, have had such a rise and growth, which was not beneficial to ourselves alone, but the very natives must confess that their estates were greatly augmented by our improvements.

And therefore, let it not be wondered at, that when we consider from what we have fallen, the pain of loss should strive to equal that of sense. And if the depth of our miseries have not sunk our souls to stupidity, we may compare our woes to the saddest parallel of any history. Our temples are demolished, or (what is worse) profaned by sacrifices to idols; our houses and castles have become ruinous heaps; our nation is extirpated, destroyed. No quality, age, or sex is privileged from massacres and from lingering deaths (by being robbed and stripped naked) through cold or famine — passages of a notable piece of clemency and mercy. The famished infants of murdered parents swarm in our streets; and for want of bread, they perish before our faces. And many of our still miserable remnant who lived plentifully, and relieved others, are forced to ask relief for themselves; and those they ask it of, are constrained by want to refuse them. So that, undoubtedly, our present miseries are not far short of those of the siege of Samaria; and all those miseries are cast upon us by this unparalleled rebellion, at a time when we were most confident and secure. More and greater immunities and bounties have been granted to us by his majesty who now is, than were ever granted by any of his royal progenitors. For what cause, offense, or least seeming occasion of provocation, these woes have come upon us, our souls could never imagine (sin excepted), except that we were protestants, and his majesty's loyal subjects, and could not endure their poisonous breaths to speak such profaneness, as in a deep measure pierced and wounded the sacred fame of our king. And to give a color to this cruel treatment, we must go under the notorious names *first*, of Puritans, and *latterly*, of Roundheads. For time would fail us, to allege particular instances of these; and the length of them would weary the reader.

But we are altogether confident to make it manifest, by abundant instances, that the depopulations in this province of Munster well and nearly equal those of the whole kingdom. The particulars of it, such as the multitude of inhuman cruelties, were collected and reduced to several instances, with ample proof by many months of endeavors by a reverend divine, one archdeacon Bisse, authorized to do this by virtue of a commission under the broad seal of this kingdom. He was most barbarously murdered by the Irish, expressing that to be the cause. And because it may be thought requisite to say something about the demeanors of the Irish since the cessation, as well as before, many English have been murdered as they travelled, with other expressions of that utter detestation of the English that, if any remain (which few do, nor surely, will do, who can but breathe elsewhere), then they must be in a condition worse than any known slavery. And likewise, as to other articles of the cessation, they have been totally broken, and our quarters (of large extent) universally taken from us, even to the walls of our garrisons, in which we have often called for justice to the chief of them. This being denied, or worse, delayed, lack of means to justify ourselves leaves us without remedy. For all of which we pour out our griefs and supplications, above to God alone, and here on earth to our dread sovereign.

The Examination of Anne, the late wife of John Sherring.

That about Candlemas, two years past, the said John Sherring, her then husband, going from his farm which he held from John Kennedy, Esq., near the silverworks, one Hugh Kennedy, one of the brothers of the said John Kennedy, a cruel rebel, together with a great multitude of Irish rebel soldiers, then and there fiercely assaulted and set upon her said husband, and upon one William Brock, William Laughlin, Thomas Collop, and eight more English protestant men, and about ten women, and upon some children in their company, and then and there stripped them of their clothes, and with stones, pole-axes, skains, swords, pikes, darts, and other weapons, then most barbarously murdered and massacred her said husband, and all those protestant men, women, and children. In the time of this massacre, a most loud and fearful noise and storm of thunder, lightning, wind, hail-stones, and rain began. The time being on a Sabbath-day, about an hour before night, the former part of that day being all very fair; but that thunder, lightning, and tempest, happening suddenly after the massacre had begun, much frightened and terrified this deponent and many others, so much that those murderers themselves confessed it to be a sign of God's anger, and a threatening of them for their cruelty! Yet it did not deter them, but they persisted in their bloody act, until they had murdered those said English protestants, and hacked, hewn, slashed, stabbed, and so massacred them, that many of them were cut all to pieces. And her husband, for his part, had thirty grievous wounds given to him then and there; namely. some through or near his heart, ten mortal wounds in his head, three in his belly, four in either arm, and the rest in his thighs, legs, back and neck. And that murder done, those barbarous rebels tied willows about their necks, and drew them out of the refining mill (where indeed they slew them), and threw them or most of them, into a deep hole formerly made, one upon another. So that none of those 23 men, women, and children, escaped death. However, one Thomas Ladell, a Scotchman, and one George Kelsie, who then and there endured and had many grievous wounds, and were left on the ground for dead, crawled up, after the rebels were gone away, and with much difficulty escaped with their lives.

[1057] A.D. 1641.

And she further says that such was God's judgment upon the said Hugh Kennedy for that bloody act, that he shortly fell into a most desperate madness and distraction, and could not rest day nor night. Yet coveting to do more mischief upon the English, but being prevented and denied from doing it, about a week after, he drowned himself in the river next to the silver works. But his barbarous and wicked soldiers went on with their wickedness, and afterwards boasted how they had killed a minister and his wife, and four children, near the city of Limerick. And this deponent is too well assured that those and other Irish rebels in that part of the country, exercised and committed a great number of bloody murders, robberies, and outrages upon the persons and goods of the protestants, so that very few escaped with their lives, and none at all saved their goods.

And she further says that all the popish gentry in the country thereabouts, especially all those of the clans and names of the O'Brians, the Coghlans, and the Kennedies, were all actors in the present rebellion against his majesty; and they either acted, assisted, incited, or consented to, all the murders, robberies, cruelties, and rebellious acts aforesaid. And she further says that by means of the said rebellion, her said husband and she were at Werinwood, about Candlemas, 1641, robbed and deprived of their cattle, household stuff, corn, malt, provision, ready-money, debts, the benefit of their lease, and other of their goods and chattels, of the value, and to their loss of at least £160, and that the said John Kennedy, esq., their landlord, was the man who so deprived and robbed them of it; and the other rebels stripped her naked, Jurat. Feb. 10, 1643.

Henry Jones, Anne Sherring.
Henry Brereton.

The Examination of John Goldsmith, Parson of Brashide, in the County of Mayo, sworn and examined, says:

That the lord of Mayo, about to convoy all those of Castlebar to Galway — namely, Sir Henry Bingham, with all his company, and the bishop of Killaloe, with all his company, with many of the neighboring English, being about sixty in number (of which there were some 15 ministers) — covenanted with one Edmund Bourk for the safe conduct of the same parties on a certain day. And the said lord of Mayo appointed them all to meet him at Belcarah, having first separated this deponent from them to attend his lady in the work of the ministry.

At this day, the titulary archbishop and the lord of Mayo, meeting with their whole number, went on their journey to Shreul. At this place the lord of Mayo left them in the custody of the said Edmund Bourk. But (as one Master Bringhurst told the deponent) the lord of Mayo had not gone far from them, when the said Edmund Bourk drew out his sword, directing the rest as to what they should do, and he began to massacre those Protestants. Accordingly, some were shot to death, some stabbed with skains, some run through with pikes, some cast into the water and drowned; and the women who were stripped naked, lying upon their husbands to save them, were run through with pikes. Very few of the English escaped alive; but most were murdered in the place. Among the rest, the bishop of Killaloe escaped with his life, but he was wounded in his head; and one Master Crowd, a minister, was so beaten with cudgels on his feet, that he died shortly after.

And this deponent further says that in the town of Sligo, 40 persons, English and Scotch, were stripped and locked up in a cellar by the rebels. About midnight a butcher, who was sent to them for the purpose, knocked them all on the head with his axe, and so then and there he murdered them. This butcher, coming afterwards to Castlebar, confessed his bloody act.

In Tirawly, within the county of Mayo, about 30 or 40 English (who had formerly turned papists) had their choice given to them, whether they would die by the sword, or drown themselves. Choosing drowning, they were brought to the sea-side by the rebels, who had their skains drawn in their hands, and forced them to wade into the sea. The mothers, with their children in their arms (crying for drink), having waded up to the chin, at length cast or dove themselves and their children into the sea, yielding themselves to the mastery of the waves; and so they perished.

The torments the rebels would use on the protestants to make them confess their monies, were these — namely, some they would take and wind willows around their heads, until the blood sprang out of the crowns of their heads. Others they would hang until they were half dead; then they would let them down, and do the same so often again, until they confessed their monies. And this deponent further says that a youth of about 15 years of age, the son of Master Montgomery, the minister, meeting with a bloody rebel who had been his schoolmaster, this rebel drew his skain, and began to furiously slash and cut him with it. The boy cried out to him, “Good master, do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will!” Nevertheless, the merciless and cruel rebel then and there most barbarously murdered him.

A Scotchman, travelling in the highway with his wife and children, were beset by the rebels, who wounded and stabbed him with their pikes, put him alive upon a car, brought him to a ditch, and buried him alive — as the poor wife afterwards, with great grief, told this deponent.

The vicar of Urras turned papist, and became drummer to Captain Bourk. He was afterwards murdered by the rebels for his pains. Another Scotchman, near Ballhane, was hanged by the rebels. Jurat. December 30, 1643.

Henry Jones, Henry Brereton,
John Goldsmith.

Captain Anthony Stratford, of Charlmont, in the County of Armagh, Esq., aged 60 Years, or thereabouts; sworn and examined before his Majesty's Commissioners, by virtue of a Commission in that behalf, directed under the Great Seal of Ireland: Deposes and says that,

The following protestant ministers, about the beginning of the present rebellion, were murdered by the rebels, in the counties of Tyrone and Armagh; namely, Mr. John Matthew, Mr. Blyth, Mr. Hastings, Mr. Smith, Mr. Durragh, Mr. Birge, and eight more, whose names this deponent has forgotten, none of which would the rebels permit to be buried. This examinant does not know the names of those who did the murdering; his cause of knowledge of the said murders is that some of his (the deponent's) servants, who were among the rebels, related this to him, and he truly believes them. And besides, this deponent heard the same confessed and averred by many of the rebels themselves, and by some of those protestants who had escaped. He said that he (this deponent) was a prisoner among the rebels at Castle Caulfield, near the place of those murders, where he continued for 14 months. And he further says that in Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone, or near to it, the rebels murdered 306 protestants; and between Charlmont and Dungannon, over 400 were murdered and drowned at and in the river by Benburb, the Black Water, between the counties of Armagh and Tyrone; 206 protestants; and Patrick MacCrew of Dungannon, aforesaid, murdered 31 in one morning; and two young rebels, namely, John and Brian Harie, murdered in the county of Tyrone, 140 poor women and children who could give no resistance; and the wife of Brian Kelly, of Loghall, one of the rebels' captains, in the county of Armagh, murdered 45 with her own hands.

[1058] A.D. 1641.

"And this deponent further says that one Thomas King, sometimes sergeant to the late Lord Caulfield's company, which this deponent commanded, he being forced to serve under the rebels, and was one of their provost-marshals, gave the deponent a list of every householder's name so murdered, and the number of persons so murdered. This deponent dared not keep this list. At Portadowne about 308 were drowned at separate times, who were sent away about 40 at a time, with convoys, and there drowned. There was a loch near Loghall, where over 200 were drowned. This deponent was informed of this by several persons, and particularly by the wife of Dr. Hodges, and two of her sons, who were present and intended for the same end. But by God's mercy (who gave them favor in the eyes of some of the rebels) they escaped. And the said Mrs. Hodges and her sons gave the deponent a list of the names of many of those who were so drowned, which the deponent dared not keep. He says that the said Dr. Hodges was employed by Sir Phelim O'Neile to make powder; but failing in his undertaking, he was first half-hanged, then cut down, and kept prisoner for three months. Then he was murdered, with 44 more, within a quarter of a mile of Charlmont. Having been sent as prisoners to Dungannon by Thirlogh Oge O'Neile (brother to Sir Phelim), they were murdered on the way. This deponent was shown the pit where they were all cast in.

At a mill-pond, in the parish of Killyman, in the county of Tyrone, 300 were drowned in one day; and in the same parish 1200 were murdered of English and Scotch, as this deponent was informed by Mr. Birge, the late minister of the said parish, who certified the same under his own hand, which note the deponent dared not keep. The said Mr. Birge was murdered three months later. All of these murders were in the first outbreak of the rebellion. But the deponent cannot remember the particular times, nor the persons by whom they were committed. This deponent was credibly informed by the said sergeant and others of this deponent's servants, who kept company with the rebels and saw the same, that many young children were cut into quarters by the rebels, that 18 Scotch infants were hanged on a clothier's tenter-hook, and that they murdered a young fat Scotchman, and made candles of his grease. They took another Scotchman and ripped open his belly, that they might come to his small bowels, the one end of

which they tied to a tree, and made him go round until they had drawn them all out of his body. They then said that they would test whether a dog's or a Scotchman's bowels were the longest. Deposed March 9, 1643, before us,

Henry Jones, Anthony Stratford.
Henry Brereton,

The Examination of Robert Maxwell, Cleric, Archdeacon of Downe, sworn and examined: Deposes and says, inter alia, —

That by command from Sir Phelim O'Neile, the rebels dragged the deponent's brother, lieutenant James Maxwell, out of his bed, in the rage and height of a burning fever. And lest any of his acquaintances or friends should bury him, they carried him two miles from any church, and there cruelly butchered him, when he knew neither what he did or said. And thus Sir Phelim repaid him the £260 which he owed him. His wife, Grissel Maxwell, being in child-birth, was stripped naked. They drove her about an arrow's flight to the Black-water, and drowned her. They did the like to another English woman in the same parish, in the beginning of the rebellion. This was little inferior, if not more unnatural and barbarous, than roasting Mr. Watson alive, after they had cut a collop out of his cawl.[118] And Mr. Starkey, schoolmaster at Armagh, who was a gentleman of good parentage and parts, upwards of a hundred years of age, they stripped naked. They had two of his daughters, maidens, likewise naked, support him under each arm, since he was not able to go of himself. And in that posture, they carried them a quarter of a mile to a turf-pit, and drowned them, feeding the lusts of their eyes and the cruelty of their hearts, with the self-same objects at the same time. At the siege of Augher, they would not kill any English beast, and then eat it; but they cut collops out of them, being alive, letting them roar there till they had no more flesh on their backs; so that sometimes, a beast would live two or three days together in that torment. They did the same at Armagh, when they murdered Hugh Echlin, esq. They hanged and murdered all his Irish servants who had in any way proved faithful or useful to him during this rebellion.

And regarding exemplary constancy in religion, this deponent says that Henry Cowell, esq., a gallant and well-bred gentleman, was murdered because he would not consent to marry a harlot called Mary Ny Neile, a near kinswoman of Sir Phelim's. He was proffered his life, without the blouse, if he would go to mass; but he chose rather to die than to do either. The like proffer of life was made for going to mass, to Robert Echlin, a child of eleven or twelve years of age. But he also refused it, saying that he saw nothing in their religion for which he would change his own. And this deponent further says that the rebels buried alive many of the British protestants, and took great pleasure to hear them speak to them as they buried them in old ditches. Except those whom they thus buried, they would not permit [proper rites], nor would they permit any who survived, to perform that duty for them. And he further says that the rebels would send their children abroad in great troops, especially near Kinard, armed with long wattles (flexible rods) and whips, who would beat dead men's and women's bodies with them in a manner not fit to be named, and then would return in great joy to their parents, who received them for such service, as if it were in triumph.

Many of the protestants, the rebels would not kill at once. But when they were half-dead, they would leave them. So that two or three days later, they entreated for no better favor at

[118] That is, they cut a slice of meat out of a layer of fat from his abdomen.

the rebels' hands, than that they would kill them outright. This was sometimes granted, and sometimes denied.

A young man, who had his back-bone broken, was found in a field, having like a beast, eaten all the grass round about him. The deponent could not learn if they killed him afterwards, but only that they removed him to a place of better pasture. So that, in those most bloody and execrable wretches, the saying of the Holy Spirit is clearly verified, "The very mercy of the wicked is cruelty." Pro 12.10 And he further says that the rebels themselves told him (this deponent) that they murdered 954 in one morning, in the county of Antrim; and that besides those, they supposed they killed over 1100 or 1200 more in that county. They likewise told him that Colonel Bryan O'Neile killed over 1000 in the county of Down, besides 300 killed near Killeleigh, and many hundreds both before and after in both those counties.

At Sir Phelim's return from Lesnegavy, some of the soldiers forced over 24 British into a house where they burned them alive — whose terrible cries they desired very much to imitate and express to others. And he says that he heard Sir Phelim likewise report that he killed 600 English at Garvah, in the county of Derry; and that he had left neither man, woman, nor child alive in the barony of Munterlong, in the county of Tyrone; nor between Armagh and the Kewry, in the several plantations and lands of Sir Archibald Atcheson, John Hamilton, esq., the Lord Caufield, and the Lord Mount-Norrice. He also says that there were over 2000 British murdered for the most part in their own houses. He was informed of this by a Scotchman who was in those parts with Sir Phelim, and saw their houses filled with their dead bodies. In the Glenwood towards Dromore, upwards of 12,000 in all were slaughtered there, as the rebels told the deponent. They were killed in their flight to the county of Down. The number of the people drowned at the bridge of Portadown are variously reported by men who stayed among the rebels. This deponent remained as long as any, and had better intelligence than most of the English among them, and the best reason to know the truth. He says there were, by their own rcport, 100 with Mr. Fullerton.

[1059] A.D. 1611.

At another time they threw 140 over the said bridge; at another time 36 or 37. And so they continued drowning more or fewer, for seven or eight weeks. So that the fewest that can be supposed to have perished there, must be over 1000, besides as many more who drowned between that bridge and the great Lough of Montjoy, as well as those who perished by the sword, fire, and famine in Coubrassil, and in the adjacent English plantations which must amount to many thousands; and not 300 escaped out of all those quarters.

Near the deponent's house, 36 persons were carried to the Curebridge at one time, and drowned; at another time, 56 men, women, and children, all of them taken out of the deponent's house; and at other times, several other numbers, besides those who were drowned in the Black-water at Kinnard. In that town, and the parish of Tinon, of which the deponent was rector, about 600 were drowned, slaughtered, and died of famine, and for lack of clothes. The deponent might add many thousands more to these, but the diary which this deponent wrote among the rebels, was burnt with his house, books, and all his papers. He therefore refers himself to the number in gross which the rebels themselves have, upon inquiry, found out and acknowledged. Notwithstanding, this will come short of all who have been murdered in Ireland, there being over 154,000 now wanting of the British, within the very precinct of Ulster.

Upon the view of these examinations, all taken upon oath, it may easily be conjectured how fatally the first plot was carried out; how furiously the rebels, throughout all the parts of the kingdom, proceeded in their barbarous, bloody executions; and what were the courses they held to bring about so suddenly the universal destruction of all the British and protestants planted there. It is most true that in Leinster and Munster they were not generally so bloody, nor did they begin their work so early, as in the provinces of Ulster and Connaught. And yet one would scarcely believe it, who considers the horrid particulars related in the fore-cited examinations of those two provinces.

I did not think it fit to wholly insert Dr. Maxwell's examinations, because it is of such length, and many particulars in it did not tend to that purpose for which it is formerly mentioned. But I find in one part of it, that about May 1642, when the Scottish army under the command of General-Major Monro, had marched down from Carrickfergus, they had taken Newry, and beaten the Irish out of those parts, with the slaughter of many of them. Sir Phelim O'Neale had 5000 British, whom he detained in Armagh, Tyrone, and other parts of the north, most miserably murdered in the space of three days. James Shaw, of Market-hill, in the county of Armagh, deposes and says that, "During the time this deponent was in restraint, and stayed among the rebels in the county of Armagh, they went to besiege the castle of Augher, where they were repulsed, and diverse of the rebels of the clan of O'Neales were slain. In revenge for this, the grand rebel, Sir Phelim O'Neale, gave direction and warrant to one Mulmory Macdonell, a most cruel and merciless rebel, to kill all the English and Scotch within the parishes of Mullebrack, Logilly, and Kilcluney. Whereupon the said rebel murdered 27 Scotch and English protestants within musketshot of this deponent's own house." He further says that, "In those three parishes, before that time and since, 1500 protestants have been put to death by killing, drowning, and starving; and that he observed and well knew most of the rebels."

There is much more to be said on this subject; but I will forbear to further detail many other foul circumstances which would make this rebellion appear far more odious and detestable. I will now return to take up the public affairs of the state where I left them, in the hands of the lords-justices and council. Finding the city to grow more and more pestered with strangers, because of great numbers of ill-affected persons who daily repaired there, they issued several other proclamations to prohibit the access of all strangers to the town, and to require those who remained in the city, without calling or settled habitation, to depart.

The lords-justices and council, by their letters dated about the 20th of November, gave to the lord lieutenant a more certain and full account of the state of the kingdom, than they could in any way do at the outbreak of the rebellion. Thereby they made known the very ill condition of their present affairs. They moved that the supplies of men, money, commanders, and arms, mentioned in their former letters, might be sent over to them with all speed, and that his lordship would presently repair here in his own person, to undertake the management of the war. About the 10th of November, their lordships received an answer from the lord-lieutenant to their former letters of the 25th of October; whereby he gave them to understand that he had communicated their letters to the lords of his majesty's most honorable privy council, and that by order from their lordships, he had acquainted both houses of parliament with them; that he had also sent to his majesty, who still continued at Edinburgh in Scotland, to represent the condition of their affairs; and that he understood his majesty had received some notifications out of the north of Ireland, of the present rebellion there. His lordship also further let them know that his majesty had referred the whole business of Ireland to the parliament of England; that they had undertaken the charge and management of the war; that they had declared they should be

speedily and vigorously assisted, and had designed, for their present supplies, the sum of £50,000, and had taken order for making of all further provisions necessary for the service. This may appear by the order of parliament made there at that time, and transmitted over by the lord-lieutenant, together with his said letters to the lords-justices, by whose command it was reprinted at Dublin, November 12, 1641, as follows here, entitled,

An Order of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament in England, concerning Ireland.

"The lords and commons in this present parliament, being notified of the dangerous conspiracy and rebellion in Ireland, by the treacherous and wicked instigation of Romish priests and Jesuits, for the bloody massacre and destruction of all protestants living there, and other of his majesty's loyal subjects of English blood, even if of the Romish religion (being ancient inhabitants within several counties and parts of that realm, who have always, in former rebellions, given testimony of their fidelity to this crown), and for the utter depriving of his royal majesty, and the crown of England, of the government of that kingdom, under the pretense of setting up the popish religion— have thereupon taken into their serious consideration, how those mischievous attempts might be most speedily and effectually prevented, in which the honor, safety, and interest of this kingdom are most nearly and fully concerned. Therefore they hereby declare that they intend to serve his majesty with their lives and fortunes, for suppressing this wicked rebellion in such a way as will be thought most effectual by the wisdom and authority of parliament. And thereupon we have ordered and provided for a present supply of money, and raising six thousand foot soldiers, and two thousand horsemen, to be sent from England, being the full proportion desired by the lords-justices, and his majesty's council resident in that kingdom; with a resolution to add such further succors as the necessity of those affairs requires. They have also resolved on providing arms and ammunition, not only for those men, but likewise for his majesty's faithful subjects in that kingdom, with a store of victuals and other necessaries, as there is occasion. And that these provisions may be transported there more conveniently, they have appointed three separate ports of this kingdom — that is to say, Bristol, West-Chester, and one other in Cumberland — where the magazines and storehouses will be kept for the supply of the several parts of Ireland.

[1060] A.D. 1641

"They have likewise resolved to be humble mediators to his most excellent majesty, for the encouragement of those English or Irish who will raise, at their own expense, any number of horse or foot for his service against the rebels, that they shall be honorably rewarded with lands of inheritance in Ireland, according to their merits.

"And, to better induce the rebels to repent of their wicked attempts, they hereby commend it to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, or in his absence, to the lord-deputy or lords-justices there, according to the power of the commission granted them in that behalf, to bestow his majesty's gracious pardon to all those who, within a convenient time (to be declared by the lord-lieutenant, lord-deputy, or lords-justices, and council of that kingdom) return to their due obedience; the greatest part of them, they conceive, have been seduced upon false grounds, by the cunning and subtle practices of some of the most malignant rebels, enemies to this state and to the reformed religion; and likewise, to bestow such rewards as should be thought fit, and published by the said lord-lieutenant, lord-deputy, or lords-justices and council, upon all those who arrest the persons, or bring in the heads of those traitors who will be personally named in any proclamation published by the state there. And they hereby exhort and require all his majesty's loving subjects, both in this and in that kingdom, to remember their duty and conscience to God and his religion, and the great and imminent danger which will involve this

whole kingdom in general, and themselves in particular, if this abominable treason is not timely suppressed. And therefore, with all readiness, bounty, and cheerfulness, to confer their assistance in their persons or estates, to this so important and necessary service for the common good of all.

"Jo. Browne, Cleric. Parliament."

About the same time, the lord-lieutenant, finding that he could not procure so speedy a dispatch of all things necessary for the service of Ireland, as would enable him to quickly repair there in his own person, made the earl of Ormond lieutenant-general of the forces there, and sent him over a commission for the same. And the said earl, within a few days, received a letter from his majesty, out of Scotland, in which he was graciously pleased to let him know it was his pleasure to confer upon him that charge. There was then likewise brought over the sum of £20,000 from the parliament.

Great numbers of poor distressed English continued daily to repair to the city of Dublin. They had been most barbarously stripped, robbed, and despoiled of all their goods and substance by the rebels. Now, so that it might appear what their losses were, what cruelties were acted out, what murders committed, and who were the chief actors in them throughout the several provinces, the lords-justices and council thought it fit to issue a commission under the great seal, directed certain of the clergy, to take on oath the several examinations of all those persons so that, having suffered by this present rebellion, they would think it fit to repair to them. This will appear by the commission itself, a copy of which I thought it fit to insert here:

"CHARLES, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc. To our well-beloved Henry Jones, dean of Kilmore, Roger Puttock, William Huthock, Randal Adams, John Sterne, William Aldrich, Henry Brereton, and John Watsons, clerics, greeting: Whereas diverse wicked and disloyal people have lately risen in arms in this kingdom, and robbed and spoiled many of our good subjects, British and protestants, who have been separated from their several habitations, and scattered in a most lamentable manner; and because it is needful to take due examination concerning the same, know that we, deposing special trust and confidence in your care, diligence, and provident circumspection, have nominated and appointed you to be our commissioners, and hereby give you, or any two or more of you, full power and authority, from time to time to call before you, and examine upon oath on the holy evangelists (which we hereby authorize you, or any two or more of you, to administer to all those persons who have been robbed and despoiled, as well as to all the witnesses who can give testimony in this), what robberies and spoils have been committed on them since the 22nd of October last, or will hereafter be committed on them, or any of them, what the particulars were or are, of which they were or will be so robbed or spoiled, to what value, by whom, what their names are, or where those who committed those robberies now or last dwelt; on what day or night the said robberies or spoils were committed or done; what traitorous or disloyal words, speeches, or actions were then, or at any other time, uttered or committed by those robbers, or any of them, and how often; and all other circumstances concerning the said particulars, and every of them. And you, our said commissioners, are to reduce to writing all the examinations which you, or any two or more of you, will take as aforesaid; and to return the same to our justices and council of this our realm of Ireland, under the hands and seals of any two or more of you, as aforesaid. Witness our right trusty and well-beloved counsellors, Sir William Parsons, knt. and bart. (baronet), and Sir John Borlace, knt., our justices of our said realm of Ireland. Dublin, the 23rd of December, in the seventeenth year of our reign."

The commissioners above nominated very seriously addressed themselves to this work, employing themselves in this with great diligence and faithfulness. And they have so well performed the charge imposed upon them, that by several examinations, many principal gentlemen of good estates were discovered to be the chief actors in the depredations made on the British, and to have committed many most horrid murders and other notorious cruelties which, through their industry, will now remain on record, but would otherwise have been concealed from posterity, and buried in oblivion.

The like commissions were in a short time after sent into Munster and Ulster. In the province of Munster, the commissioners took great care in the execution of it, many examinations of great importance were taken by virtue of it, though as yet they remain concealed, and not returned, as is required by the said commissioners.

Towards the latter end of November, the lord-justices and council, considering the miserable desolations brought upon the whole kingdom, and the further calamities threatened by war and famine, by a proclamation set forth in print, gave strict charge and command that on every Friday, a public fast should be devoutly and piously observed in and through the whole city and suburbs of Dublin, by all his majesty's subjects in it, and that divine service and sermons be celebrated and heard on the said day weekly, in every cathedral and other church and chapel in the said city and its suburbs: and this was to be performed as expressed in the said proclamation, to the end that the severe wrath and indignation of Almighty God may be averted from this kingdom, His divine aid and assistance implored, and that some relief in these calamitous times may better be afforded to such miserable persons, as these traitors, by their rapine and cruelty, have deprived of their fortunes, and sent naked and almost famished, up to this city.

The lord-justices and council, being notified of the near approach of the rebels to Drogheda, prepared to send down supplies of both men and ammunition, for the reinforcement of that garrison. There were already appointed 600 foot soldiers and a troop of horse for that service, and they were almost in readiness to march, when an express from Sir Henry Tichbourne came to the Earl of Ormond, to let him know the rebels had that day, the 21st of November, appeared within sight of the town.

He conceived they would quickly set down before it, but they advanced no further that day. Only, while their forces made a stand there, they sent down a party of 1300 foot soldiers to Millifond, the Lord Moore's house, which it was a their design to suddenly surprise.

[1061] A.D. 1641.

But contrary to their expectation, they found there 24 musketeers and 15 horsemen, who very stoutly defended the house as long as their powder lasted. The horsemen, when they saw themselves so beset that they could be no further serviceable to the place, opened the gate, issued out, and made their passage through the midst of the rebels. And so, notwithstanding the opposition they made, they escaped to Drogheda. The foot soldiers having refused to accept any quarter offered at first, resolved to make good the place to the last man. They endured several assaults, and slew 140 of the rebels, before their powder failed them. At last they gave up the place on a promise of quarter. This promise, however, was not kept. For some of them were killed in cold blood, all were stripped, and two old, decrepit men were slain. The house was ransacked, and all the goods carried away.

Upon receipt of Sir Henry Tichbourne's letter, the lords immediately gave orders to march away 600 men, together with a troop of horse towards Drogheda. However, they did not leave the town till the 27th of November, and such was the negligence of the captains, and

disorder of the soldiers, that notwithstanding they had been three days in readiness to march, they went no further that night than Swords, a village six miles distant from Dublin. The command of the foot soldiers was committed to sergeant-major Roper, and that of the horse to Sir Patrick Weames, who was appointed, with fifty of the Earl of Ormond's troop, to march with those six companies to Drogheda.

As they passed through Gormanstone, the major paid a visit to the lord of Gormanstone, who told him that there were a number of men lying in the way, intent to interrupt their passage. The major likewise had other information to the same purpose, which he neglected, not so much as acquainting his captains with it, as some of them afterwards affirmed. He only had three scouts out of the troop sent abroad, to discover whether the passage was clear. Two of them returned a little before he came to the bridge of Julian's-town, assuring him that all was clear. The other went on to a house within a quarter of a mile of the place where the rebels lay. And while he attended there for his breakfast, a boy belonging to the house took his horse, and riding to the rebels, gave them notice of the near approach of our forces. The horse passed the bridge, and the foot soldiers following, turned up into a field on the left hand of the lane where, because of a great mist that suddenly fell, they did not discover the rebels till they were almost within musket shot of them.

The major quickly drew his men into battle array; but the horse soldiers (as some of the foot soldiers who escaped, affirm), wheeled about without charging any part of the rebels forces, who now furiously approached with a great shout. A lieutenant giving out the unhappy word of counter-march, all the men, possessed as it were with panic, began somewhat confusedly to march back. But they were so startled by a second shout given by the rebels (who, seeing them in disorder, followed closely on), that notwithstanding they had gotten into a ground of great advantage, they could not be persuaded to withstand a charge, but took to their heels. And so the rebels fell sharply on, as their manner is, upon the execution.

Sir Patrick Weames, without the loss of one horse, passed on safely to Drogheda. The major, with two of the captains and about 100 of their men, also made their escape there. The other three captains, with the rest of the soldiers who were English, were slain. The rebels spared very few, or none, who fell into their hands, except those who were Irish, whose lives they preserved.

The rebels possessed themselves of the arms of the whole 600, and likewise all their ammunition and carriages. So highly were the rebels encouraged by this defeat given to his majesty's forces, that the whole Pale presently began to waver. They thought the kingdom their own, and that the English would, in all parts, fall before them, just as those poor, ill-conducted people had unhappily done.

And now the lords and gentlemen of the Pale thought it high time to reveal themselves and their affections to the cause. They certainly had not only long-entertained a defection in their thoughts, but they were the first contrivers and bringers in of the northern rebels into this execrable plot. They had now likewise drawn them into the Pale. And therefore they could not hope now to walk much longer under a mask, and entertain the state with further professions of their loyalty. They had obtained a competent proportion of arms and ammunition out of his majesty's store in their own possession. They now saw the northern rebels advanced within the river Boyne, with very considerable forces to strengthen their party, and by the recent encounter, and the successful victory they had in it, they pleased themselves with confident expectations of certainly prevailing if they would now declare themselves by a public conjunction in the common cause. Raising such numbers of men and

quantities of provision as the plentiful circuit of the Pale afforded, they would prosecute the war that had so happily begun, and been so successfully managed up to then.

These and several other considerations operating very powerfully among the lords and chief gentlemen of the Pale, within very few days after the recent defeat of the English, they solemnly proceeded to the actual consummation of their long-meditated revolt. For the manner, place, time, and all other circumstances, I will refer the reader to this ensuing relation, given upon oath, March 16, 1641, before Sir Robert Meredith, knight, chancellor of the exchequer, in the examination of Edward Dodwall, esq., a gentleman of the Pale — one who was very well esteemed among them; who was present at all their meetings; and who was deeply engaged in all their councils and actions.

He deposes that,

> "Four or five days after the defeat of the English soldiers, at the bridge of Gellianstown, a warrant was issued from the lord of Gormanstone to the sheriff of the county, for a general meeting of the whole county at Dulick. But the place of the meeting was afterwards changed to the hill of Crofty, where all the lords and gentry of the county met; namely, the Earl of Fingal, the Lord Viscount Gormanstone, the Lord of Slaine, the Lord of Lowth, the Lord of Dunsay, the Lord of Trimblestone, the Lord Netterville. And of the gentry, Sir Patrick Barnwall, Sir Christopher Bellew, Patrick Barnwall of Kilbrew, Nicholas Darcy of Plattin, James Bath of Acharn, Garret Ailmer, the lawyer, Cusake of Gormanstone, William Malone of Lesmullin, Sedgrave of Kileglau, Linch of the Knos, Lynam of Adamstown, Laurence Doudall of Athlumney, Nicholas Doudall of Brownstown, this examinant's brother, and him, this examinant, with a multitude of others, numbering 1000 persons at least, whose names this examinant cannot for the present call to mind. And after about two or three hours spent upon the said hill of Crofty, by the lords and gentry aforesaid, there came towards them Colonel Mahone, Philip O' Reily, Hugh Boy Reily, Roger Moore, Hugh Birne, and Captain Fox, attended with a guard of musketeers."

And this examinant says that,

> "As soon as the parties drew to the said hill, the lords and gentry of the Pale rode towards them, and the lord of Gormanstone, being one of the first, spoke to them and demanded of them why, and for what reason they came armed into the Pale? To which Roger Moore answered that the ground of their coming there and taking up arms, was for the freedom and liberty of their consciences, the maintenance of his majesty's prerogative, in which they understood he was abridged, and for making the subjects in this kingdom as free as those in England were."
>
> "Whereupon the said lord of Gormanstone, desired to understand from them, truly and faithfully, whether those were not pretenses, and not the true grounds indeed of their so doing? And likewise, whether they had not some other private ends of their own? This being denied by all upon a profession of their sincerity, his lordship then told them, 'Seeing these are your true ends, we will likewise join with you in them;' to which course all agreed. And thereupon it was publicly and generally declared that whoever would deny to join with them, or refuse to assist them in this, they would account him as an enemy, and to the utmost of their power labor for his destruction."

[1062] A.D. 1641.

And this examinant says that,

> "After the agreement was made as aforesaid, another warrant was issued to the sheriff of the county of Meath, to summon all the lords and gentry of the county of Meath, to be at the hill of

> Tara, about a week after. And accordingly, there met at the same place, the Earl of Fingal, the Lord of Gormanstone, and the rest of the lords and gentlemen aforenamed, together with Sir Thomas Nugent, Nicholas Plunket, the lawyer, Birford the lawyer, and a multitude of others. The work of that day was, first, to answer a summons made by the state, calling the lords to Dublin. This answer was brought ready-drawn by the Lord of Gormanstone, and presented by his lordship. Being perused by the said counsel at law, it was signed by the lords."

In this manner this transaction was most solemnly consummated between Leinster and Ulster. Valence and Brabant (as Sir Phelim O'Neale styles those two provinces) were now publicly united together in that great assembly. The Lord Viscount Gormanstone on the one side, and Roger Moore on the other, had both been tampering a long time about drawing up this most important work in the form it now received. At length they had brought it to perfection. They two of them had the glory of it, and they appeared to be the great public instruments of this powerful union.

The lords and chief gentlemen of the Pale, having thus far declared themselves, became so high and presuming, that they little valued what was done or commanded by the state at Dublin. They now wholly applied their endeavors to make those preparations towards the war, that might strengthen their party which (as it now stood in conjunction with the northern rebels) they beheld as invincible, and their power not to be resisted by the inconsiderable forces drawn together by the lords-justices and council at Dublin.

Several gentlemen who in the several counties of the Pale were made captains, and had received arms from the state for their companies, departed from their obedience, and addressed themselves and their companies wholly to the service of the rebels. Nicholas White, esq., son and heir to Sir Nicholas White of Lislip, was the first to give the example, about the 2nd of December. But he carried the matter so handsomely, that his company ran away to the rebels without his consent or even his knowledge (as he pretended). They took no longer time before their departure, than to give him an opportunity to come and acquaint the state with it, and with his own disability to hinder them. But before it was possible to use any means of prevention, the men were all gone, with their arms and ammunition, to the rebels. Many of the other captains desired no such pretense for their intentions. Rather, they surrendered themselves and their arms to be disposed of as the rebels would direct, without any further scruple or compliment to the state.

Whereupon the lords found out how manifestly they were abused by the very great confidence they had reposed in such gentlemen of the Pale, who being made captains, had received arms from them. And perceiving what course they now began to pursue, and how the gentlemen were resolved to employ the lords' own arms against them, they issued new orders. They did it with such dispatch and diligence that many of those arms which were delivered for the use of the Pale were stopped. So that out of the 1700 arms distributed among the several counties of the Pale, they recovered 950 into their hands.

It was now almost a full two months since the outbreak of this rebellion. In the very beginning, the lords-justices and council immediately, with much earnestness, solicited sending over assistance from England. This was done out of their deep apprehensions of a general revolt of all the Irish throughout the kingdom. As soon as they made a little further inquiry into the strength of this conspiracy, they discovered their own wants and utter disabilities to make any long or considerable opposition against the power of the whole body of the Irish. For it began to appear to them, that the Irish were firmly united with all the old English who were of the Romish profession, and incorporated into their party throughout Ireland. Then with much more earnestness, by their frequent letters and several agents, they

represented to his majesty and parliament of England, the very bad and even desperate condition they were in. And therefore they desired that supplies of both men, money, and all kinds of warlike provisions, might be sent with all speed to them. They declared that unless they received them quickly, and in great proportions, they were not able to subsist any longer, because they now stood environed on all sides with multitudes of the rebels; that they had just reason to apprehend their own present ruin, and the inevitable loss of the whole kingdom.

And because they conceived that the levies in England could not be so suddenly made, nor men so easily transported from there into the north of Ireland — where the rebels appeared in greatest numbers, and had done the most mischief by their most unparalleled cruelty towards the English — as they could out of Scotland, they proposed to the lord-lieutenant, to move both his majesty and the parliament, that 10,000 Scots might be immediately raised and sent over into those parts. This they pressed with much earnestness. They represented the very great terror the Irish had of the Scots; that the Scots' bodies would better agree with that climate, endure more hardship, and undergo with less distemper the toil and miseries of an Irish war; that the transportation would be made with much more facility and less charge, it not being more than three or four hours' sail from some parts of Scotland into the north of Ireland; that the kingdom of Scotland had recently been in arms, and so had all the provisions necessary in readiness for furnishing their men for this expedition. And lastly, having so good a foundation in the multitude of their own countrymen settled there already, the Scots would no doubt undertake the work with all alacrity, and prosecute the war with such vigor, that it might testify of their deep resentment of the horrid cruelties exercised upon so many thousands of their own nation by that barbarous people.

These letters arrived very opportunely, about the time of the king's return from Edinburgh to the parliament of England, then sitting at Westminster. And there being even then two Scottish lords who had come out of the kingdom of Scotland to deal with the parliament of England concerning sending forces from there for the relief of Ireland.

This motion was yielded to with great readiness. And it was ordered that,

> "The Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Leicester, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, the Lord Howard of Estric, nominated by the house of peers; and Nathaniel Fiennes, esq., Sir William Ermin, bart., Sir Philip Stapleton, knt., John Hampden, esq., of the house of commons, should deal with the Scottish commissioners concerning the affairs of Ireland; and that there should be a commission granted to them to this effect, under the great seal of England, together with particular instructions to regulate the manner of their proceedings."

In the propositions given in by the Scottish commissioners, in the first place, they made an offer of 10,000 men, in the name of the kingdom of Scotland. And so that they might be enabled to send them speedily, they desired an advance of £30,000 of the brotherly assistance afforded to them by England; and that whatever arms and ammunition they sent to Ireland might, in the same proportions, be returned to them with all expedition.

Next they desired, that some ships of war might be appointed to guard the seas between Scotland and Ireland, to watch over their soldiers which they intended to transport in small vessels.

And then, upon landing of their men in Ireland, there should be 100 horse ready to join with every 1,000 foot soldiers that they would send there; and that they should receive instructions and orders from, and in everything obey, the Scottish general.

These propositions, being laid before the house of commons, after they had duly considered of them, and weighing the high necessities of this kingdom — that the Scots had 2,500 men ready raised, and that they could not as suddenly make provision in any other way for the saving of Ireland as by sending those forces out of Scotland — they readily consented to them. And having voted them separately, they sent them up to the house of peers, with their desires for a speedy concurrence in them.

[1063] A.D. 1641.

These beginnings gave great hopes of the prompt relief of Ireland, and it was now generally believed, that considerable forces would be transported within a very short time out of Scotland, for the defense of the northern parts of this kingdom — especially considering with how much earnestness his majesty, in his speech made to the lords and commons in parliament on the 14th of December in this present year, had pressed them to take to heart the business of Ireland. He offered them whatever his power, pains, or industry could contribute to the good and necessary work of reducing the Irish nation to their true and customary obedience.

But, alas! these great expectations were soon dashed, and the forces designed for Ireland, out of England as well as Scotland, were strangely retarded by several obstructions which daily arose in the transaction of Irish affairs.

A Letter from the Lords-Justices and Council to the Lord-Lieutenant.

"May it please your Lordship,

"By our letters of the 3rd of December, we made known to your lordship, that Master Hawtridge had then newly arrived with the treasure sent us from there, which came to but 16,590 pounds; a supply of treasure far short of that which has now become necessary to perform any considerable service here against the rebels, whose numbers have increased wonderfully. So much so, that the forces they have about Drogheda on all sides of it, and between Drogheda and this place, reaching even within four miles of this city are, upon very credible report, estimated to be above 20,000 men, And besides those numbers who are so united between this place and Drogheda and thereabouts, there are many thousands of them dispersed over the whole kingdom. For the meaner sort of people generally rise first; and then those of better quality follow after. The fire which was first kindled in Ulster, and lay smothered awhile in other parts, now begins to break out so generally that the defection appears to be universal throughout the four provinces. So strangely rooted was the combination, and that was strengthened under the specious show of a war for religion. For, although (before and since the caution from your lordship) we have, on our part, endeavored not to give any apprehension to the Irish, that England intends to make it a war of religion, yet as we formerly made known to your lordship, the rebels labor mainly to have it so understood. Indeed, they now go so far that they call themselves generally *The Catholic Army* — a title which has drawn many thousands to their party. And yet many joined with them for no other reason than because they saw our succors deferred (expected out of England and Scotland). They rightly judged that, without those succors, we are not able to defend against them ourselves. And indeed, until those succors come, they must and will increase. But once our men and arms have arrived, the very circumstance of their coming would draw many from them to us, and give some check to their fury with which they yet carry all before them, wherever they come.

"They continue their rage and malignity against the English and protestants who, if they leave their goods and cattle with any papists for more safety, those are called out by the rebels, and the papists, goods, and cattle are left behind. Now upon some new counsels taken by them,

they have added to their former cruelty a further degree of it, even of the highest nature, which is to proclaim that if any Irish harbor or relieve any English, and allow him to escape with his life, it shall be penal to such Irish, even to death. And so they will be sure that (even if they do not actually put not those English to the sword), yet they just as certainly and with more cruelty cut them off that way, than if they had done it by the sword; and they profess they will never give up until they do not leave any seed of an Englishman in Ireland.

"Nor is their malice towards the English expressed only so, but further, even to the beasts of the fields, and the improvements of their lands. For they destroy all cattle of English breed, and openly declare that their reason is because they are English. So great is their hatred, not only toward the persons of the English, but also to everything of that nation; and so they destroy all improvements made by the English, and lay waste their habitations.

"We formerly signified to your lordship, that to take away all jealousy from the papists of the English Pale, we would furnish them with some arms; and rather because we well know that in the last great rebellion in Ireland, the English Pale stood firm with the crown of England; and that the rebel Tyrone, in the height of his power and greatness, was never able to get into the Pale with his forces while he was in rebellion. And on this occasion, the noblemen and gentlemen of the Pale made deep professions of their loyalty to his majesty, in imitation of their ancestors. With expressions seeming to abhor the contrivers of this rebellion, they offered to employ their power and strength against them if they were furnished with arms. And we, being well assured that, if we could gain their concurrence with us it would much facilitate our work, we did, at their earnest suit, issue them arms for 1700 men. With these, several companies were armed by them, and some of them were appointed governors of the forces of the counties, and captains of their companies. But so many of those companies defected to the rebels, and carried away their arms with them, that we have recovered only 950 arms. So that those whose loyalty we had reason to expect would help us, are now (through their disloyalty) turned against us, and are strengthened with our own arms. And without any question, if those of the English Pale had done their duty as became good subjects, with the arms which they had from us and those they might gather among themselves, they might with our help, not only have defended the Pale against the rebels, but might also have prevented the ruin and destruction wrought by their tenants and neighbors, on the poor English and protestants among them. For the noblemen and gentry sat still and looked on while the English and protestants were ruined before their faces. The papists, in the meantime, remained secure, without the loss of goods or anything else.

"When we saw the power and strength of the rebels still growing upon us more and more, and approaching by degrees more near to us; and the English and protestants robbed and spoiled even within two miles of this city, in disdain and defiance of this state (which are scorns of so high a nature that we could not endure them, if we had strength sufficient to suppress their insolence). And when we observed the retarding of our succors of men and arms from England and Scotland (neither of which succors having yet come, nor as we heard, so much as in view there or in Scotland), and when we found that apparently, for lack of those supplies, we became, in a way, so contemptible that we were in danger of being set upon to take this city and castle from us before our aids might come — we thought of all the means we could to gain time. We were confident that we cannot be so deserted by the state of England, that some supplies may not yet come to us. And therefore on the 3rd of December, we directed our letters to various nobility of the kingdom, who were nearest to us (most of them being of the English Pale). We requested them to be with us here on the 8th of this month, so that we might confer with them concerning the present state of the kingdom; and we hoped, by their help, to arrange the matter so that we might gain a few days' time before our surprisal here. By that time, in all likelihood, our succors might arrive. However, it is boldly reported by the rebels that we will have no succors from there. They assert this to embolden their party, and to strike

terror and discouragement into the well-affected. Among those, there are many so weak as to apprehend too much fear from these reports, for which many have fled the kingdom.

[1061] A.D. 1641.

"On the 8th of this month the earl of Kildare, the lord viscount Fitzwilliam, and the baron of Howth came to us. But the rest of the noblemen not coming, we deferred our conference. On the 11th of this month we received letters from seven of them; namely, the earl of Fingal, the lord viscount Gormanstone, the lord viscount Nettleville, and the lords of Slaine, Trimblestone, Dunsany and Lowth, dated the 7th of this month, and signed by them. They pretended fear of a massacre of those of their religion, and that therefore they are deterred from waiting on us, but rather think it fit to stand with the loyalty they profess. When we received those letters, we wondered from where their fears of coming to us might arise. But afterward we heard that they had been in consultation with the rebels. This was confirmed, as to most of them, by the examination of Christopher Hampton. And indeed we know no cause of fear they have of us, unless their own guilt begot in them the fear they pretend. And they do not spare, though unjustly, charging us with neglecting their advice. Whereas not one of them, to this hour, has offered us any advice or real assistance towards the pacification of these troubles. It then became public (nor could we keep secret what they had published to others), that those noblemen so far sided with the rebels, that they now stood upon their guard.

We therefore judge it fit, to vindicate the state from the aspersion which we found so publicly endeavored to be laid upon us, to publish the enclosed proclamation, to satisfy the world as well as those noblemen (who certainly are abundantly satisfied in their own secret thoughts), that we never intended to massacre them or any other persons. That is a thing which we, and all good protestants. much abhor, whatever the practice of their religion is, and has been found to be, by woeful experience in other parts. We confess that we are now in great danger of this, if our long-expected succors do not come sooner to us. And it may be gathered from that unexampled tyranny which the rebels have already exercised towards those of our nation and religion who fell into their hands, what we may expect from them for our parts. But the dishonor and shame which may reflect upon the English nation by exposing this state and kingdom to such apparent ruin, and with it, the extirpation of God's true religion, afflicts us more than the loss of our own lives and fortunes, when all might be saved by seasonably sending those succors.

"We recently received letters from the lady Ofaly, and a letter containing most insolent menaces enclosed with them, sent to her from one of the rebels, to which she sent a noble answer. One of the rebels, styling himself chaplain-major and overseer of the coasts and harbors, recently sent a summons in a proud and vaunting manner, to one Edward Leech, who was entrusted with keeping the island of Lambay. It required him to deliver up that island to the rebels. This being done, he gave Leech a pass, in which he styles the rebels' forces the *Catholic Army*. Leech told us that that mighty chaplain declared openly to him that, 'He was the plotter of this great rebellion; that he had spent in travel and prosecution of that design beyond seas, £4000; and that all the kings in Christendom, except the king of England and the king of Denmark, have hands in this business.' A castle in the town of Longford was held by the English (which stood out awhile against the rebels). In the end, lack of victuals necessitated it being rendered up to them upon promise of quarter. A popish priest, standing with his skain in his hand, watched for the coming out of a minister who was then among the English. By thrusting that skain into the minister's stomach, and ripping up his belly, he gave that as a signal to the rebels, to fall upon the rest of the English. They did so accordingly, as soon as the minister was murdered, killing some and hanging the rest most perfidiously.

"On the 9th of this month, we received notice that great numbers of men were gathered together in warlike manner at Swords, in the county of Dublin, within six miles of us. They had

the army of the rebels behind them, on this side of Drogheda. We immediately sent out our warrant, commanding them to disperse, whereupon we published a manifesto to vindicate this state from their aspersions also. It is observable that those gentlemen at Swords, on that very Tuesday night in which they allege they were so frightened in their houses, could assemble together 1200 men in that moment of time, to have in readiness against any attempt from the state. Whereas, for many days before, they could sit still and look on, while an army of the enemy lay behind them, between them and Drogheda — and also while some of them (who were openly declared rebels), and many of their neighbors (who doubtless held in their hands intelligence from the rebels), robbed and spoiled the English on all parts round about them. Yet those gentlemen could not, in all that time, be either so frightened by the rebels, or so compassionate about their poor English neighbors, [that they did nothing]. And certainly those gentlemen might have been as believing in this state, which has always used lenity and mildness towards them, as in the forces of the rebels, which lay so near behind them, and who, they know, have murdered many of his majesty's subjects. And for all they know (if there were not a secret intelligence between them), the rebels might have used them also, in like manner.

"But the truth is, we conceive those gentlemen had a mind to join with the rebels, and now make pretenses to cover their disloyalty, and to cast a scandal on this government.

"The rebels in the Pale, as in other parts, have had masses be said openly in the churches, expelled the ministers from officiating in their churches, and forced diverse persons (in order to save their lives and goods) to become papists. They openly profess that no protestant will be suffered to live in Ireland. And while they thus insult all the English and protestants, destroying them for no other reason than for being protestants and English, we let fall nothing against them regarding religion. And yet they feign things against us, tending that way, in order to give some color to their cruel proceedings.

"The rebels of the county of Kildare have taken the Naas and Kildare, in the county of Kildare. The rebels of Meath have taken Trim and Ashboy in the county of Meath, and diverse other places. The rebels of the county of Dublin have possessed themselves of Swords and Rathcoole, and spoiled all the English and protestants even to the gates of Dublin. And now about 1500 of the rebels of Wicklow are in and about Powerscait, and about ten miles from this city. There are also between this city and the Naas, within six or seven miles of us, 1000 rebels from Kildare and the borders of Wicklow and Dublin. So that in this city we are environed by them on all sides by land. And they have begun to stop access to us by sea. For the fishermen on the sea coasts, being all Irish and papist inhabitants in the Pale, also broke out into rebellion with the multitude, and have robbed, spoiled, and pillaged even within the bay of Dublin, several barks [119] coming here from England. And to revenge this villainy on the fishermen at Clantarfe and thereabouts, so near us, if we send forth a party of soldiers to burn and spoil those rebels' houses and corn, the gentlemen of the Pale will immediately take new offense. But we will risk that. For now there is no room for dalliance with them, for they so far declare themselves against the state, not caring what scorns are put upon the government. In this it is observable that the landlord of Clantarfe is one of those gentlemen who has risen in arms at Swords.

"Your lordship now sees not only the necessity of hastening with all possible speed, our succors of men and arms, both out of England and Scotland, but also of sending them in greater numbers than those at first designed, seeing that the breach appears to be far greater, and the defection more general, than was first conceived. Yet, so that those who are ready are not forced to wait for the rest, let those others be ordered to come after.

[119] *Bark* (or barque): a sailing ship with three or more masts.

[1065] A.D. 1641.

"For no flesh can imagine, unless they saw it as we do, the greatness of our danger, who are but a handful in comparison to the multitudes risen against us. And we desire that the 10,000 designed to come from Scotland, may be wholly sent (those intended to be left there in readiness, as well as the rest), with direction to land as near to Dublin as they may, and (wherever they land), to march to Dublin if they possibly can. And to send the ships appointed for guarding these coasts is also very necessary to be hastened; and that two or three ships of good strength follow after. Doubtless these rebels expect a very great supply of arms and ammunition from foreign parts, either Spain or France.

"Although, out of the foresight we had of this extremity since these troubles began, we have endeavored to get in some provisions of victuals and corn, yet we have not been able to provide ourselves sufficiently to withstand any long sieges. Nor can we now get in any more, our markets being almost taken away, and the forces of the rebels surrounding us in such a manner that we can fetch in no more provisions. Therefore we beseech your lordship, that the magazines of victuals designed to be settled on that side, may be settled with speed, if it is in distress of victuals for ourselves or them, or oats for our horses. Our lack of victuals is more in respect to the daily access of the English who are spoiled in the country.

"The necessity of the defense of the province of Munster required the immediate raising of a regiment of foot, consisting of 1000 men, and two troops of horse, with 60 men in each troop; we appointed the lord president to raise these 60. And for the payment and arming of them, we humbly advise (seeing that we cannot do it) that money, and arms, and ammunition for the stores in that province (now much wanting there) may be sent to us.

"And just as the rebels which beset us and this city on all sides by land, threaten to cut off our market at Dublin, which we begin to feel already, so they boldly declare that they will, within a day or two, cut off the water course which brings water to this city and castle. And when that is done, they declare that their multitudes will immediately burn our suburbs, and besiege our walls, which we confess we still lack strength to defend, and must lack till our supplies come from England, or Scotland, or both. For here we have but about 3000 men, the rest of the old English companies being dispersed in several needful garrisons in the county (except that seven companies of them were surprised and cut off by the rebels at their first rising in Ulster, and other parts) and about 200 horses by poll of the whole army, of which many are Irish. So that, considering the spaciousness of this city and suburbs, and lastly, the very great numbers of the rebels (who are so strong as to approach this city with many thousands, and yet also leave many thousands at the siege of Drogheda), we cannot expect to be able to defend this city for any long time against them, without the arrival of our expected succors.

"The earl of Castlehaven, on the 10th of this month, presented at this board the oath, tendered to him by the rebels to be sworn by him, which he says he refused to swear. And we hear they send it to all parts to be tendered to the people, pressing them to take the sacrament on it.

"In hope to gain some time until our supplies might come, we listened to an offer made by some popish priests, to go to the rebels and deal with them. But we have since found that there is little hope of it; for some of the priests have returned, nothing being wrought thereby.

"However, it is fitting that your lordship should know what we do. We must now crave leave to declare to your lordship (things having risen here to this height, threatening not only the shaking of the government, but the loss of the kingdom), that just as the supplies of men and arms, and more treasure, are of great necessity to be hastened away from here; so is it also needful that we enjoy your lordship's presence here. For the conduct, in your own person, of the great and important affairs of this state, in the martial as well as in the civil government, which necessarily require it in this time of great and imminent danger, in which so far as we

may be able to contribute any assistance with you, we will be ready to discharge our duties in it with that loyalty and uprightness of heart which we owe to his majesty, and the particular respect due from us to your lordship. But we hope you will bring that strength with you, which may befit the greatness of the king, our master, to stand with his lieutenant against such numerous enemies as these rebels had become, for the honor of his majesty, as well as for the terror of those rebels.

"By what we have represented before, and now represent humbly to your lordship, you may in part see the greatness of the public danger in which this kingdom now stands; and particularly this city and castle, the principal piece of it — that if those are lost (which we now again assure your lordship, were never in such great peril to be lost, since the first conquest in this kingdom by the crown of England) the whole kingdom must quickly follow; and the danger which must thereupon arise to the kingdom of England, is very great in many respects.

"There is no possibility to prevent those evils, with honor and safety to England, except by succors from there, or Scotland, or both; and if those succors do not come speedily, it cannot be avoided, but the kingdom must be lost. And if notwithstanding all this so often and truly made known by us to your lordship, that we will perish for lack of supplies, we will carry this comfort with us to our graves, or any other burial we will have, so that your lordship can witness for us to his royal majesty, and to all the world, that we have discharged our duties to God, to his majesty, to that nation, and to this one, in humbly representing to his majesty, by your lordship, the chief governor of the kingdom, the extremities and dangers in which his kingdom and people stand, and the necessity of hastening supplies here by all possible means, for the preservation of both. So that, whatever may become of our persons, our memory cannot be justly stained with so wretched a breach of faith and loyalty to the king our master, as to forbear representing there the extremities in which we are, whether we have credit to be believed, or not. And, 'that we write truth, and most needful truth,' will be found true, when perhaps we perish, and (which is more considerable) the kingdom also, for lack of being relieved and succored in time. And so we remain

"Your lordship's to be commanded,

William Parsons, Jo. Borlace, Ormond Ossory, R. Dillon,
Charles Lambert, Ad. Loftus, John Temple, Charles Coot,
Francis Willoughby, R. Meredith.

From his majesty's castle of Dublin, Dec. 14, 1641."

In this most miserable condition, the lords-justices and council continued shut up within the city of Dublin, struggling with all their power for a short preservation from those dismal calamities which had generally overspread the whole kingdom. Their care, travel, and endeavors, had till then in some measure extended to the most remote parts; how they might assuage the swelling distempers, or yield some relief to the lamentable complaints and bitter outcries daily brought up to them. But now the evils abroad had grown past their cure, and their own dangers so multiplied that they were forced to spend their time almost in perpetual consultation — never at rest, sometimes called up in the night by sudden intelligence, always in constant perplexity and trouble, desperately threatened on every side. So that whether through treachery within or from without, they had just reason to apprehend the loss of the city and castle in which they had enclosed themselves, and consequently, the ruin and destruction of all the British and protestants throughout the other parts of the kingdom. And thus they continued until the most happy and welcome arrival of that truly valiant gentleman and gallant commander, Sir Simon Harcourt.

[1066]

Being designed governor of the city of Dublin, he was dispatched by special order of parliament, with his regiment, for the preservation of that place, and landed here on the last day of December, 1641. This was to the great joy and comfort of all his majesty's protestant and well-affected subjects, and to the terror of those rebels now in arms, who had made themselves believe that no succors (assistance) would be sent out of England towards suppressing their notorious rebellion.

The rebels, within a very few months after the first outbreak, had so ordered their affairs, that by their sudden surprises, their sharp and bloody executions, their barbarous stripping and despoiling of all sorts that fell into their hands, they had cleared the inland counties of all the British inhabitants. Except for a few castles and other places of strength (which they held severally besieged, and most of which had afterward suddenly surrendered for lack of relief), they had in a manner made themselves absolute masters in all those parts of the kingdom. And for the maritime places, there were only some of the chief cities which held out against them, besides a few other forts and places of no great importance — such as, in the province of Leinster, the city of Dublin; and in the province of Munster, the cities of Cork, Youghall, and Kinsale; in Ulster, Londonderry, Coleraine, and Carrickfergus. And all these they held either besieged and much distressed, or their inhabitants were otherwise so over-pestered with the multitudes of poor, stripped people (who had fled to them for safety), that the rebels were confident they could not long hold out. Either open force, treachery, famine, or sickness, would within a short time, inevitably put them into their hands.

Thus it pleased God to humble his own people in this land, and for their sins to give them up to the power of their cruel enemies who now began to sacrifice to their own nets, to celebrate the memory of their victories. And upon the prosperity of their undertakings and recent success, they had become so confident of prevailing, even to the total extirpation of all the British and protestants out of this kingdom, that they proceeded to set down a certain form of government. They nominated the persons whom they intended to entrust with the management of their affairs, specified what laws they would have revoked, and what statutes would be newly enacted. In the meantime they erected a council, which they styled the *supreme council*, which they invested with absolute power and authority, to order and govern the whole kingdom. This consisted of certain noblemen, gentlemen, three or four lawyers, and one physician. Being elected to this charge, they had the place of their residence appointed to them at Kilkenny, a city, [to debate] the great and weighty affairs of their state. There they erected several courts of judicature. They made a new broad seal, appointed several great officers of state, coined money, settled an excise upon all kinds of commodities, and performed many other acts of regal power.

Soon after, a considerable number of horse as well as foot soldiers, sent over by the parliament of England, arrived at Dublin. Having in some petty encounters thereabouts, they tested the mettle of the rebels, and found their spirit of a poor and base alloy. They began to extremely disvalue them, and would no longer be abused with the fabulous report of their great strength or numbers which, with much advantage, they had long made use of. Therefore they now began to seek them out in all places. And wherever they met with them, they always prevailed, even with small numbers, very often against great multitudes of rebels, many times not sparing to pursue them into the midst of their great fastnesses. They made the very bogs and woods unsafe receptacles for their broken troops. The war was prosecuted by the English with great success, from the first landing of their forces out of England, until the treaty of that most unhappy cessation concluded in September 1643. In all the encounters they had with the rebels during that time, they never received any scorn or defeats, but went on victoriously, beating them down in all parts of the kingdom. And so

they carried on their work before them without any assistance, either from the native Irish, or the English-Irish. For I cannot myself remember any gentleman of quality throughout the whole kingdom, who was born and bred a papist there, who put himself into that service, or desired to be listed as a member of the English army. It is true, some of the common soldiers who came in there were of the English-Irish. And though they were not considerable for their number, yet they did good service, and still carried on the execution with much fury and sharpness.

APPENDIX V.

CONTAINING

The execution of justice in Elizabeth's reign, was not for religion, but for treason.

[*This Paper was written by order of Secretary Burghley.*[120]]

It has been in all ages and in all countries, a common usage of all offenders for the most part, both great and small, to make defense of their lewd and unlawful acts by untruths, and by coloring and covering their deeds (however vile) with pretenses of some other causes of contrary operations or effects — to the intent not only to avoid punishment or shame, but to continue, uphold, and prosecute their wicked attempts to the full satisfaction of their disordered and malicious appetites. And though such has been the use of all offenders, yet none with more danger than those of rebels and traitors to their lawful princes, kings, and countries. Of this sort, in recent years, are especially to be noted certain persons naturally born subjects in the realm of England and Ireland, who for some good time have outwardly professed their obedience to their sovereign lady queen Elizabeth, but have nevertheless afterward been stirred up and seduced by wicked spirits. This was first in England a number of years past, and secondly in Ireland in recent times, to enter into open rebellion, taking up arms and coming into the field against her majesty and her lieutenants, with their forces under banners displayed, inducing by notable untruths many simple people to follow and assist them in their traitorous actions.

It is very well known, that both their intentions and manifest actions were bent to depose the queen's majesty from her crown, and to traitorously set in her place some other whom they liked. By this, if they had not been speedily resisted, they would have committed great bloodshed and slaughter of her majesty's faithful subjects, and ruined their native country. Yet, by God's power given to her majesty, they were so speedily vanquished, that a few of them suffered by order of law according to their deserts; many were pardoned (and the greatest part) upon confession of their faults; the rest of the principals (but not many) escaped into foreign countries. And there — because in no places, or only a few, rebels and traitors to their natural princes and countries, dare for their treasons, to claim open comfort or succor at their first muster — these notable traitors and rebels have falsely informed many kings, princes, and states, and especially the bishop of Rome, commonly called *the pope* (from whom secretly they all had their first comfort to rebel) that the cause of their fleeing from their countries was for the religion of Rome, and to maintain the said pope's authority. Various of them, before their rebellion, lived so notoriously for most of their lives, out of all good rule (either for honest ways or for any sense in religion), that they might have been familiar with Catiline,[121] or favored Sardanapalus,[122] rather than be accounted good subjects under any Christian princes.

As for some examples of the heads of these rebellions, Charles Nevill, earl of Westmoreland, fled out of England. He was a person utterly wasted by looseness of life and by God's punishment — even in the time of his rebellion, bereaved of his children who would have succeeded him in the earldom. All his companions see how his body is now eaten with ulcers caused by his vices, so that no enemy he had can wish him a viler punishment. And out of

[120] William Cecil, 1st Baron of Burghley (1520-1598), Secretary of State under Queen Elizabeth I.

[121] *Catiline*: Lucius Catilina (c. 108-62 BC); he attempted to overthrow the republic while Cicero was a consul.

[122] According to the Greek writer Ctesias, Sardanapalus was the last king of Assyria, in the 7th century BC. He was a decadent figure who spent his life in self-indulgence, and died in an orgy of destruction.

Ireland one Thomas Stukeley ran away, a defamed person almost throughout Christendom, fleeing first out of England for notable piracies, and out of Ireland for unpardonable treacheries. These two were the first ringleaders of the rest of the rebels; the one for England, the other for Ireland. But notwithstanding the notorious evil and wicked lives of these and others of their confederates, void of all Christian religion, it pleased the bishop of Rome, as if in favor of their treasons, not to color their offenses as they themselves openly pretend to do (for avoiding the common shame of the world), but to flatly animate them to *continue* their former wicked purposes — that is, to take up arms against their lawful queen, to invade her realm with foreign forces, and to pursue all her good subjects and their native countries with fire and sword.

To maintain this, some years before, at sundry times, certain bulls, excommunications, and other public writings, had succeeded one after another in a thundering way, denouncing her majesty (being the lawful queen and God's anointed servant) as *not* being the queen of the realm — charging, and upon pain of excommunication, commanding all her subjects to depart from their natural allegiance to which they were bound by birth and by oath. They also provoked and authorized all persons of all degrees within both the realms, to rebel, and upon this antichristian warrant, being contrary to all the laws of God and man, and not at all agreeable to a pastoral officer. It provoked not only all the rabble of the foresaid traitors who had fled before, but also all other persons who had forsaken their native countries, being of diverse conditions and qualities— some not able to live at home, but in beggary; some discontented for lack of preferments which they unworthily gaped after in universities and other places; some bankrupt merchants. Some, in a way, *learned* to be contentious. Not being content to learn to obey the laws of the land, they have practiced for many years, running up and down from country to country, some in one corner, some in another; some seeking to gather forces, and gather money for forces; some instigated by princes with untruths, to make war upon their natural country; some with inward practices, to murder the greatest; some with seditious writings; and very many of late with public infamous libels, full of spiteful, vile terms and poisoned lies — altogether to uphold the aforesaid antichristian and tyrannous warrant of the pope's bull.

And yet also to further these intentions by some other means — because they could not readily prevail by way of force, finding foreign princes were of better consideration, and not readily inclined to their wicked purposes — it was devised to build up certain schools which they called *seminaries*, to nourish and bring up persons naturally disposed to sedition, to continue their race and trade, and to become seedmen in their tillage of sedition, sending them secretly into the queen's majesty's realms of England and Ireland under secret masks.

[1068]

Some were of the priesthood, some of other inferior orders, with titles of "seminaries" for some of the meaner sort, and of Jesuits for the stagers and ranker sort, and such-like. Yet they so warily crept into the land, that none brought the marks of their priesthood with them. But in diverse corners of her majesty's dominions, these seminaries, or seedmen and Jesuits, bringing with them certain Romish trash — such as their hallowed wax, their *agnus dei*,[123] many kind of beads, and such like — have, as tillage-men, labored secretly to persuade the people to allow the pope's foresaid bulls and warrants, and his absolute authority over all princes and countries, and striking many with pricks of conscience to obey the same. By these means, in the process of a small time, if this wicked and dangerous,

[123] *Agnus dei*: a figure of a lamb, emblematic of Christ.

traitorous and crafty course had not been espied and stayed by God's goodness, there would have followed imminent danger of horrible uproars in the realms, and a manifest bloody destruction of great multitudes of Christians.

For it cannot be denied that as many as might have been induced and thoroughly persuaded to obey that wicked warrant of the pope's, and its contents, were forthwith to have been secret traitors in their hearts and consciences. And to indeed be errant and open traitors, there lacked nothing but opportunity to feel their strength, and to assemble themselves in such numbers, with armor and weapons, as they might have presumed to be the greater part of the people; and so, by open civil war, they would have come to their wicked purposes. But God's goodness, by whom kings rule, and by whose blast traitors are commonly wasted and confounded, He has otherwise given to her majesty, as to his handmaid and dear servant ruling under him, the spirit of wisdom and power, whereby she has caused some of these seditious seedmen, and sowers of rebellion, to be discovered for all their secret lurkings, and to be taken and charged with these former points of high treason — *not being dealt with upon questions of religion, but justly condemned as traitors*.

At such times, notwithstanding all manner of gentle ways of persuasion used to move them to desist from such manifest traitorous courses and opinions, it was the canker of their rebellious humors, so deeply entered and graven into the hearts of many of them, that they would not be removed from their traitorous determinations. And therefore, as manifest traitors in maintaining and adhering to the capital enemy of her majesty and her crown, who has not only been the cause of two rebellions already passed in England and Ireland, but in that of Ireland, manifestly waged and maintained his own people, captains and soldiers, under the banner of Rome, against her majesty, such that no enemy could do more. These, I say, have justly suffered death, not by force or form of any new laws established either for religion or against the pope's supremacy, as the slanderous libellers would have it seem to be, but by the ancient temporal laws of the realm. And namely, by the laws of parliament made in king Edward III's time, about the year of our Lord 1330, which is over 200 years past, when the bishops of Rome, and popes, were suffered to have their ecclesiastical authority in this realm, as they had in many other countries.

Yet of this kind of offenders, after their condemnations, as many as were contented to renounce their former traitorous assertions, that many were spared from execution, and still live at this day. Such was the unwillingness in her majesty to have any blood spilled without this very just and necessary cause proceeding from themselves. Nevertheless, the rest of those traitors who remain in foreign parts, continue their rebellious minds, and craftily keep themselves aloof from dangers. They do not cease to provoke sundry other inferior seditious persons, to steal secretly into the realm, to revive the former seditious practices, and to execute the pope's foresaid bulls against her majesty and the realm. They pretend, when they are apprehended, that they only came into the realm by the command of their superiors, the heads of the Jesuits, to whom they are bound (they say) by oath, against either king or country, and are here to inform or reform men's consciences from errors in some points of religion as they think fit. Yet in very truth, the whole scope of their secret labors is manifestly proved to be, to secretly win all people with whom they dare deal, to submit to the pope's said bulls and his authority, without exception. In obeying them, they take themselves to be fully discharged of their allegiance and obedience to their lawful prince and country — even to be well-warranted to take up arms to rebel against her majesty when they are called to it, and to be ready to secretly join with any foreign force that can be procured to invade the realm. To this end, they have also given for a long time (and still do for their advantage) no small comfort of success. And so, consequently, the effect of their

labors is to bring the realm not only into a dangerous war against the forces of strangers (from which it has been free for over twenty-three or twenty-four years, a case very memorable and hard to be matched with an example of the like), but into a domestic and civil war in which usually no blood is spared, nor mercy yielded, and in which neither the vanqueror nor the vanquished have cause to triumph.

These are the most evident perils that would necessarily follow if this kind of vermin were suffered to creep by stealth into the realm, and to spread their poison within it. However, when they are taken, like hypocrites, they color and counterfeit the same with a profession of devotion in religion. It is to be yielded in reason, by all persons, that her majesty and all her governors and magistrates of justice, having care to maintain the peace of the realm (which God has given in her time, to continue longer than ever given in any time of her progenitors) should out of duty to Almighty God, the author of peace, and according to the natural love and charge due to their country, and to avoid the floods of blood which are seen to run and flow in civil wars, by all lawful means possible, by the sword as well as by law, in their several seasons, to impeach and repel these manifest and dangerous colorable practices, and works of sedition and rebellion. And though there are many subjects known in the realm, who differ in some opinions of religion from the church of England, and who also do not forbear to profess the same, yet because they also profess loyalty and obedience to her majesty, and readily offer in her majesty's defense, to impugn and resist any foreign force, even if it should come or be procured from the pope himself — none of these sorts, for their contrary opinions in religion, are prosecuted or charged with any crimes or pains of treason. Nor yet are they willingly searched in their consciences for their contrary opinions that do not savor of treason.

And of these sorts, there are a number of persons, not of such base and vulgar note as those were who were recently executed — such as those in particular who are well known by name, and not unfit to be remembered. The first and highest by office was doctor Heth, who was archbishop of York, and lord-chancellor of England in queen Mary's time. At the first coming of her majesty to the crown, he showed himself a faithful and quiet subject, who continued in both of the said offices, though then manifestly differing in religion. And yet he was not restrained from his liberty, nor deprived of his proper lands and goods, but leaving both his offices willingly, he lived in his own house, and enjoyed all his purchased lands during his entire natural life, until by age he departed this world. And then he left his house and living to his friends. It was an example of gentleness never matched in queen Mary's time! The same did one doctor Pool, who had been bishop of Peterborough, an ancient grave person, and a very quiet subject. There were others who had been bishops, and held in great estimation, such as doctor Tunstall, bishop of Durham, also a person of very quiet behavior. There were also others, such as doctor White, and doctor Oglethorpe, one of Winchester, the other of Carlisle, bishops; and doctor Thurleby and doctor Watson still living, one of Ely, the other of Lincoln, bishops. They were not pressed with any capital pain, though they maintained the pope's authority against the laws of the realm — and some abbots, such as Master Fecknam, still living, a person also of quiet and courteous behavior for a great time.

[1069]

Some also were deans, such as doctor Boxall, dean of Windsor, a person of great modesty and knowledge; doctor Cole, dean of St. Paul's, a person more earnest than wise; doctor Reynolds, dean of Exeter, and many such others having borne offices and dignities in the church, and who had made profession against the pope, which they began to change in queen Mary's time. Yet they were never to this day burdened with capital pains, nor yet

deprived of any of their goods or proper livelihoods, but only removed from their ecclesiastical offices, which they would not exercise according to the laws. And most of them, for a great time, were retained in bishops' houses, in a very civil and courteous manner, without charge to themselves or their friends, until the time that the pope began, by his bulls and messages, to offer trouble to the realm by stirring up rebellion. About this time, only some of these aforenamed being found busier, in matters of state tending to stir troubles, than was fit for the common quiet of the realm, were removed to other more private places where such other wanderers, men known to move sedition, might be restrained from commonly resorting to them to increase trouble, as the pope's bull gave manifest occasion. And yet it was without charging them in their consciences or otherwise, by any inquisition, to bring them into danger of any capital law, so that no one was called to any capital or bloody question upon matters of religion, but all have enjoyed their life as the course of nature would have it. And those of them who still remain may, if they will not be authors or instruments of rebellion or sedition, enjoy the time that God and nature will yield to them, without danger of life or member.

And yet it is worthy to be well marked, that the highest of all these, and most of them, had in the time of king Henry VIII, and of king Edward VI, either by preaching, writing, reading, or arguing, taught all people to condemn and abhor the authority of the pope. Indeed, many times they had given their oaths publicly against the pope's authority, and had also yielded to both of these kings, the title of supreme head of the church of England, next under Christ. This title the adversaries most falsely write and affirm that the queen's majesty now uses — a manifest lie and untruth. And for proof that these aforesaid bishops and learned men had for so a long time disavowed the pope's authority, many of their books and sermons against the pope's authority remain printed, to be seen in these times, to their great shame and reproof to change so often; and especially in persecuting those who, like themselves, have taught and held the contrary.

There were also, and still are, a great number of others, laymen of goodly possessions and lands, men of good credit in their countries, who manifestly in recent times were seduced to hold contrary opinions in religion under the pope's authority. Yet none of them have been sought up to now to be impeached in any point or quarrel of treason, nor suffered loss of life, member, or inheritance. So that it may plainly appear that it is not, nor has it been, for contrarious opinions in religion, or for the pope's authority, that any persons have suffered death since her majesty's reign, as the adversaries boldly and safely publish. Yet some of these sorts are well known to hold the opinion that the pope should, by authority of God's word, be the supreme and only head of the catholic church, and he alone is to rule in all ecclesiastical causes, and that the queen's majesty should not be the governor over all her subjects in her realm who are ecclesiastical persons. These opinions are nevertheless, in some part, punishable in some degrees by the laws of the realm. And yet, for none of these points have any persons been prosecuted with the charge of treason, nor are they in danger of life. And if then it is inquired for what cause these others have of late suffered death, it is truly to be answered, as is often remembered before, that none at all are impeached for treason to the danger of their life, except those who obstinately maintain the contents of the pope's bull before-mentioned, which import that her majesty is not the lawful queen of England, *the first and highest point of treason*; and that all her subjects are discharged from their oaths and obedience, *another high point of treason*; and all are warranted to disobey her and her laws, *a third and a very large point of treason*.

And to these is to be added a *fourth* point that is most manifest, in that they would not disallow the pope's hostile proceedings in open wars against her majesty in her realm of

Ireland, where one of their company, Doctor Sanders, a scholar and subject of England, a fugitive, and a principal companion and conspirator with the traitors and rebels of Rome, was a commander by the pope's special commission, as in the form of a legate, and was for some time a treasurer or paymaster for those wars. This Doctor Sanders, in his book about his Church Monarchy, before his passing into Ireland, openly, by writing, gloriously avowed that the aforesaid bull of Pius V against her majesty was lawful, and affirms that by virtue of it, one Doctor Morton, an old English fugitive and conspirator, was sent from Rome into the northern parts of England, to stir up the first rebellion there, of which Charles Nevill, the late earl of Westmoreland, was a head captain. Thereby it may manifestly appear to all men, how this bull was the ground of the rebellions in both England and Ireland. And for maintaining them, and sowing sedition by warrant and allowance of the same, these persons were justly condemned for treason, and lawfully executed by the ancient laws temporal of the realm. This was done without any matter other than their practices and conspiracies, both abroad and at home, against the queen and the realm — for maintaining the pope's aforesaid authority and bull published to deprive her majesty of her crown; for withdrawing and reconciling her subjects from their natural allegiance due to her majesty and to their country; and for moving them to sedition. And these persons were condemned for no other causes or questions and religion, although it is true that when they were charged and convicted of these points of conspiracies and treasons, they would still, in their answers, colorably pretend their actions had been for religion. But in deed and truth, they were manifest for the procurement and maintenance of the rebellions and wars against her majesty and her realm.

And in this, manifest diversity is now to be seen and well considered, between the truth of her majesty's actions, and the falsehood of the blasphemous adversaries — that where the factious party of the pope, who is the principal author of the invasions of her majesty's dominions, safely allege that a number of persons whom they term as martyrs, have died for defense of the catholic religion, the same, in very truth, manifestly appear to have died (if they will have it so) as martyrs for the pope, and traitors against their sovereign and queen in adhering to him. They were the notable and only open hostile enemy in all actions of war against her majesty, her kingdoms, and people. And that this is the meaning of all those who have so obstinately maintained the authority and contents of this bull, the very words of the bull declare in this way, as Doctor Sanders reports them: "Pius V, the greatest bishop of the fulness of the apostolic power, declared Elizabeth to be bereaved or deprived of her pretended right of her kingdom, and also of all and whatever dominion, dignity, and privilege; and also the nobles, subjects, and people of the said kingdom, and all others who had sworn to her in any manner of ways, to be absolved forever from such oath, and from all debt or duty of fealty," and so forth; with many threatening cursings for all who dared obey her or her laws. And for execution of this, to prove that the effect of the pope's bull and message was a flat rebellion, it is not amiss to hear what Doctor Sanders, the pope's firebrand in Ireland, also writes in his *Visible Church Monarchy*, which is thus:

> "Pius V, the greatest bishop, in the year of our Lord 1569, sent the reverend priest, Nicholas Morton, an Englishman, into England, that he should denounce or declare to certain noblemen, by the apostolic authority, that Elizabeth, who then was in possession, was a heretic; and for that reason she had fallen from all dominion and power, and she may be held or reputed by them as an ethnic (outside the church), and that they are not to be compelled to obey her laws or commandments," etc.

[1070]

Thus you see an ambassage of religion from the pope's holiness, the ambassador — an old doting English priest, a fugitive and conspirator — sent, as he says, to some noblemen; and those were the two earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, heads of the rebellion.

After this, he follows to declare the success of it, which I dare say he was sorry that it was so evil, with these words:

> "By this denunciation many noblemen were so induced or led, that they were emboldened to think of freeing their brethren, and they hoped certainly that all the catholics would have assisted them with all their strength. But although the matter happened otherwise than they hoped for, because all the catholics did not know that Elizabeth was declared to be a heretic, yet the councils and intents of those noblemen were to be praised."

A rebellion and a vanquishing of the rebels very smoothly described! This noble fact, here mentioned, was the rebellion in the North. The noblemen were the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland. The lack of the event, or success, was that the traitors were vanquished, and the queen's majesty and her subjects had the victory, by God's ordinance. And the reason why the rebels did not prevail was because all the catholics had not been duly informed that the queen's majesty was declared to be (as they term it) a heretic. This lack of information, with the intent to make the rebels mightier in number and power, was diligently and cunningly supplied by sending into the realm a great multitude of the seminaries and Jesuits, whose special charge it was to inform the people of it, as it has manifestly appeared by their actions.

And though Doctor Sanders has written thus, it may be said by those who favored the two notable Jesuits — one named Robert Parsons (who still hides himself in corners to continue his traitorous practice), the other named Edmond Campion (who was found out, being disguised as a royster,[124] and suffered for his treasons) — that Doctor Sanders' treason is proper treason for him, in allowing of the said bull, but it is not to be imputed to Parsons and Campion. Therefore, to make it plain that these two men, by special authority, had charge to execute the sentence of this bull, the following acts, in writing, will make it manifest. They are not feigned or imagined, but are the very writings taken about one of their accomplices, immediately after Campion's death.

Faculties granted by the two Fathers, Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion for England, the 14th of April 1580.

> "Let it be asked or required by our most holy lord, the explication or meaning of the bull declaratory made by Pius V against Elizabeth, and those who adhere or obey her. This bull the catholics desire to be understood in this manner: that the same bull shall always bind her and the heretics; but it shall by no means bind the catholics as matters or things now stand, or are, but only hereafter, when the public execution of that bull may be had or made."

Then in the end, this conclusion was added:

> "The highest pontiff or bishop granted these aforesaid graces to Father Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion, who are now to take their journeys into England, the 14th of April 1580, being present, the Father Oliver Manarke, assistant."
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> "Hereby it is manifest what authority Campion had to impart the contents of the bull against the queen's majesty, however he may himself have denied the same.

[124] *Royster*: acting the part of a rowdy drunk. In 1970 Campion was declared a saint for suffering as a Roman Catholic martyr; the supporting petition claimed he was apolitical. The evidence presented here by Foxe belies that claim.

> "And though it is manifest that these two Jesuits, Parsons and Campion, not only required to have the pope's mind declared for the bull, but also, in their own petitions, showed how they and other catholics desired to have the said bull be understood against the queen of England; yet to make the matter more plain, how all other Jesuits and seminaries, indeed, how all papists, calling themselves *catholics*, do and are warranted to interpret the said bull against her majesty and her good subjects, you will see what one of their fellows, named Hart, who was condemned with Campion, among many other things, declared his knowledge of it the last day of December, in the same year, 1580, in the following words:
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> > "The bull of Pius V (so much as it is against the queen) is held among the English catholics as a lawful sentence, and a sufficient discharge of her subjects' fidelity, and so it remains in force; but in some points, touching the subjects, it is altered by the present pope. For where in that bull, all her subjects are commanded not to obey her, and she being excommunicated and deposed, all who obey her are likewise innodate [125] and accursed. This point is perilous to the catholics; for if they obey her, they are in the pope's curse, and if they disobey her, they are in the queen's danger. Therefore the present pope, to relieve them, has altered that part of the bull, and dispensed with them, letting them obey and serve her without peril of excommunication. This dispensation is to endure only till it please the pope to determine it otherwise."

Therefore, to make some conclusion of the matters before-mentioned, all persons, both within the realm and abroad, may plainly perceive that all the infamous libels lately published abroad in sundry languages, and the slanderous reports made in other princes' courts, of a multitude of persons having been recently put to torments and death, only for profession of the catholic religion, and not for matters of state against the queen's majesty, are false and shameless, and published to maintain traitors and rebels. And to make the matter seem more horrible or lamentable, they recite the particular names of all the persons who, by their own catalogue, do not exceed sixty in number for these past twenty-five years, forgetting, or rather not regarding with their stony and senseless hearts, in what cruel way in the time of Queen Mary — which little exceeded five years, the queen's majesty's reign being five times as long — there were almost four hundred in number, by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, of men, women, maidens, and children,. Of that number, over twenty who had been archbishops, bishops, and principal prelates or officers in the church, were lamentably destroyed; of women, over sixty; of children, over forty; among the women, some were great with child, out of whose bodies the child was expelled alive, and yet was also cruelly burned by the fire. These are examples beyond all heathen cruelty. Most of the youth who then suffered cruel death, also men, women, and children (which is to be noted) were those who had never professed Christ by the sacrament of baptism or confirmation, nor were ever taught or instructed, nor had ever heard of any other kind of religion except that which they testified to as true martyrs, by their blood and death in the fire. A matter of another sort, to be lamented with simplicity of words and not with puffed eloquence, is the execution during this time of very few traitors, who also in their time, if they were over thirty years of age, had professed in their baptism, and had learned the same religion in their youth, which they now so bitterly opposed. And beside that, they greatly differ in their opinions from the martyrs of Queen Mary's time. For even if they continued in the profession of their religion in which they were christened, at their death they never denied their lawful queen, nor maintained any of her open and foreign enemies, nor procured any

[125] *Innodate*: to bind or tie in a knot. Here it is the act of anathematizing or interdicting someone—binding them under the punishment of excommunication—by metaphorically tying them with the "knot" of condemnation.

rebellion or civil war, nor sowed any sedition in secret corners, nor withdrew any subjects from their obedience, as these sworn servants of the pope have continually done.

And therefore all these things well considered, there is no doubt that all good subjects within the realm manifestly see, and all wavering persons (not being led out of the way by the seditious) will hereafter perceive, how they have been abused to go astray. And all strangers, but especially all Christian protestants, such as emperors, kings, princes, and such-like, having their sovereign estates either in hereditary succession, or by consent of their people, being acquainted with the very truth of her majesty's recent just and necessary actions —

[1071]

which were only for defense of herself, her crown, and people, against open invaders; and for eschewing civil wars stirred up by rebellion — will allow in their own like cases, as a truth and a rule (as no doubt they will), that it does not belong to a bishop of Rome, as successor of St. Peter, and a spiritual pastor in this, to depose any sovereign princes who are lawfully invested in their crowns, or by succession in blood, or by lawful election; and then to arm subjects against their natural lords, to make wars, and to dispense with their oaths in so doing, or to excommunicate faithful subjects for obeying their natural princes; and lastly, for the pope himself to make open war with his own soldiers, against princes who are moving no forces against him.

For if these powers were permitted to him to exercise, then no empire, no kingdom, no country, no city or town, would be possessed by any lawful title, longer than one such earthly man, sitting (as he says) in St. Peter's chair at Rome, might for his own will and appetite (without warrant from God or man) think fit and determinate. He would be an authority never challenged by the Lord of lords, the Son of God Jesus Christ our only Lord and Savior, and the only head of the church, while he was in his humanity upon the earth, nor delivered by any writing or certain tradition from St. Peter, from whom the pope pretends to derive all his authority, nor yet from St. Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles. But contrariwise, by all preachings, precepts, and writings contained in the gospel, and other Scriptures of the apostles, obedience is expressly commanded to all earthly princes, yes, even to kings by special name, and that is generally, so that no person is exempted from such duty of obedience, as it appears by the statement of St. Paul to the Romans, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." St. Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople, writes that even apostles, prophets, evangelists, and monks are comprehended within the compass of this law or precept. And for proof of St. Peter's mind in this, from whom these popes claim their authority, it cannot be more plainly expressed than when he writes thus: "Therefore be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it is to the king, as supreme, or to magistrates sent by him." By these two principal apostles of Christ — but chiefly by what Christ the Son of God, the only master of truth, said to Peter and his fellow apostles, "The kings of the Gentiles have rule over them, but not so with you" — these popes (the pretended successors) may learn to forsake their arrogant and tyrannous authorities in earthly and temporal causes over kings and princes, and to exercise their pastoral office, as St. Peter was charged three times at once by his Lord and Master, "Feed my sheep," and peremptorily forbidden to use a sword, in saying to him, "Put your sword into the scabbard."

All these precepts of Christ and his apostles were duly followed and observed for many hundreds of years after their death, by the faithful and godly bishops of Rome who duly followed the doctrine and humility of the apostles, and the doctrine of Christ. And thereby they dilated (expanded) the limits of Christ's church and the faith more in the compass of a

hundred years, than the latter popes have done with their swords and curses these past five hundred years. And so they continued until the time of one Pope Hildebrand, otherwise called Gregory VII, about A.D. 1074. He first began to usurp that kind of tyranny which of late the pope called Pius V has followed, and since that time, Gregory XIII. For an example, where Gregory VII in A.D. 1074 or thereabout, presumed to depose Henry IV, then a noble emperor, Gregory XIII now at this time, would attempt the same against King Henry VIII's daughter and heir, Queen Elizabeth, a sovereign queen, holding her crown immediately from God. And to the end that it may appear to princes or their good counselors in one example, what was the fortunate success that God gave to his good Christian Emperor Henry, against the proud Pope Hildebrand, it is to be noted that when Pope Gregory VIII attempted to depose this noble Emperor Henry IV, there was one Rudolph, a nobleman, named by some the count of Reenfield, that by the pope's procurement, usurped the name of the emperor. He was overcome by the said Henry, the lawful emperor, and having lost his right hand in the fight, the said Rudolph lamented his case to certain bishops who, in the pope's name, had erected him up. And he said to them, that the self-same right hand which he had lost, was the hand with which he had previously sworn obedience to his Lord and Master, the Emperor Henry; and that in following their ungodly counsels, he had brought upon himself God's heavy and just judgment. And so Henry, the emperor, prevailing by God's power, caused Gregory the pope to be deposed by a synod in Italy, as in similar times before him, his predecessor Otto the emperor, had one Pope John deposed for many heinous crimes. So also were three other popes deposed within a short time by the Emperor Henry III, about A.D. 1047; namely, Sylvester, Benedict, and Gregory VI, for their similar presumptuous attempts in temporal actions against the said emperors.

And therefore, as there is no doubt that the same violent tyrannous proceedings by any pope, in maintenance of traitors and rebels, would be withstood by every sovereign prince in Christendom, in defense of their persons and crowns, and maintenance of their subjects in peace, so at this present time there is a like just cause that the emperor's majesty, with the princes of the holy empire, and all other sovereign kings and princes in Christendom, should judge the same to be lawful for her majesty, being a queen, and holding the very place of a king and a sovereign prince over diverse kingdoms and nations. She is also most lawfully invested in her crown for the good governing of her people, with such applause and general allowance, loved and obeyed by them, except for a few ragged traitors or rebels, or discontented persons, of which no other realm is free, as continually and notably seen for these past twenty-five years. It has been so publicly marked, even by strangers repairing into this realm, that it would be no cause for disgrace to any monarchy and king in Christendom, to have her majesty's felicity compared with any of theirs whatsoever. And it may be that there are many kings and princes who could be well contented with the fruition of some proportion of her felicity. And though the pope is now suffered by the emperor, in the lands of his own peculiar patrimony, and by the two great monarchs, the French king and the king of Spain, in their dominions and territories (although not so allowed by other kings), to continue his authority in sundry cases, and his glorious title to be the universal bishop of the world, Gregory the Great, over 900 years ago, called this title profane, full of sacrilege, and a preamble of antichrist. Yet in all their dominions and kingdoms, as in the realm of England, it is well known (most notably by many ancient laws) in how many ways the tyrannous power of his excessive authority has been and still is restrained, checked, and limited by laws and pragmatiques,[126] both ancient and new. This is a very large field for the lawyers of those countries to walk in and discourse. The pope's canonists, being like his bombardiers,

[126] *Pragmatiques*: royal ordinances or legal acts that have the force of law.

make his excommunications and curses appear fearful to the multitude and simple people. Yet all great emperors and kings, in cases of their own rights and royal pre-eminences, never refrained from despising all popes' curses or forces — even if they concerned but a city or a poor town, and sometimes only the non-allowance of some unworthy person to a bishopric, or to an abbey. But they always attempted to stoutly withstand the popes' curses, even by their swords to compel them to desist from their furious actions, without any fear for themselves in body, soul, or conscience. Sometimes this was by force, sometimes by ordinances and laws. Too many ancient histories of this are repeated; and none are more frequent and ineffectual than those of the kings of France.

[1072]

But leaving those things that are ancient, we may remember how in our own present or recent age, it has been manifestly seen how the army of the late noble emperor Charles V, father to King Philip, who now reigns, was not afraid of his curses. In A.D. 1527, Rome itself was besieged and sacked, and the pope, then called Clement, and about thirty-three of his cardinals, in his Mount Adrian or Castle St. Angelo, were taken prisoners and detained seven months or more. Afterward they were ransomed by Don Ugo di Moncada, a Spaniard, and the marquess of Grasto, for about 400 ducats, besides the ransoms of his cardinals, which was very great, having not long before (notwithstanding his curses) also been besieged in the same castle by the family of the Colonesi and their supporters (his next neighbors then being imperialists), and forced to yield to all their demands. Neither did King Henry II of France, father to Henry, now king of France, about A.D. 1550, fear or regard the pope, or his court of Rome, when he made several straight edicts against many parts of the pope's claims in prejudice of the crown and clergy of France, retracting the authority of the court of Rome, greatly to the hindrance of the pope's former profits.

Neither was the army of King Philip, now of Spain, of which the duke of Alva was general, stricken with any fear of cursing, when it was brought before Rome, against the pope, in A.D. 1555. Great destruction was made there by the said army, and all the delicate buildings, gardens, and orchards next to Rome's walls, were overthrown. His holiness was more terrified by this than he was able to remove with any of his curses. Neither was Queen Mary, the queen's majesty's late sister (a person not a little devoted to the Roman religion), so afraid of the pope's cursings, that both she and her whole council, with the assent of all the judges of the realm, according to the ancient laws, acting in favor of Cardinal Pole, her kinsman, forbade the entry of his Bulls, and of a cardinal's hat at Calais, which was sent from the pope for one Friar Peyto, whom the pope had assigned to be a cardinal in disgrace of Cardinal Pole. Nor did Cardinal Pole himself, at the same time, obey the pope's commandments, nor show himself afraid (being assisted by the queen) when the pope threatened him with pain of excommunication. But he still opposed himself to the pope's commandment for the said pretended Cardinal Peyto — who notwithstanding all the threatenings of the pope, was forced to go up and down in the streets of London like a begging friar. It was a stout resistance in a queen for a poor cardinal's hat, in which she followed the example of her grandfather, King Henry VII, [127] for a matter of allum.[128]

So that Christian kings, for some respects in policy, can endure the pope to command, where no harm or disadvantage grows to themselves. Yet it is sure, and the popes are not ignorant, that where they attempt in any way to take from Christian princes any part of their

[127] Henry VII secured a papal dispensation for his son, Henry VIII, to marry Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow.

[128] Allum was used to enhance color retention and vibrancy; in this case, to enhance the red in the cardinal's hat.

dominions, or give aid to their enemies or to any other of their rebels — in those cases, their bulls, their curses, their excommunications, their sentences, and most solemn anathemas, nor even their cross keys or double-edged sword, will serve their turns to compass their intentions.

And now, where the pope has manifestly attempted as much as he could by his bulls and excommunications, to deprive her majesty of her kingdoms, to withdraw from her the obedience of her subjects, to procure rebellions in her realms, even to make both rebellions and open wars with her own captains, soldiers, banners, ensigns, and all other things belonging to war — shall this pope, or any other pope after him, think that a sovereign queen, possessed of the two realms of England and Ireland, established for so many years in her kingdoms, as three or four popes have sat in their chair at Rome, and fortified with so much duty, love, and strength of her subjects, acknowledging no superior over her realms but the mighty hand of God? Shall she forbear, or fear to withstand and make frustrate his unlawful attempts, either by her sword, or by her laws, or to put his soldiers, invaders of her realm, to the sword martially, or to execute her laws upon her own rebellious subjects civilly, who are proved to be his chief instruments for rebellion, and for his open war? This is sure: that however he renews these unlawful attempts, either sitting in his chair with a triple crown at Rome, or by any other of his proctors in any part of Christendom, Almighty God, whom her majesty honors and acknowledges to be her only Sovereign Lord and Protector, and whose laws and gospel of his Son Jesus Christ she seeks to defend, will no doubt deliver sufficient power into his maiden's hand, his servant Queen Elizabeth, to withstand and confound them all.

And where the seditious trumpeters of infamies and lies have sounded out and titled certain ones who suffered for *treason*, to be martyrs for *religion,* so they may also at this time, if they wish, add to their forged catalogue the headless body of the late miserable earl of Desmond,[129] who of late was secretly wandering without succor, as a miserable beggar. He was taken by one of the Irish in his cabin, and in an Irish way, in his own accustomed savage manner, had his head cut off from his body — an end due to such an arch-rebel.

And with this, remember the end of his chief confederates. It may be noted as an example to others, the strange manner of the death of doctor Sanders, the pope's Irish legate, who also, wandering in the mountains in Ireland without succor, died raving in a frenzy. And before him one James Fitz-Morice, the first traitor of Ireland next to Stukeley, a man not unknown in the pope's palace for a wicked crafty traitor, was slain with one blow by a noble young Irish gentleman, in defense of his father's country, which the traitor sought to burn. A fourth man of singular note was John of Desmond, brother to the earl, a very bloody and faithless traitor, and a notable murderer of his familiar friends, who also wandering to seek some prey like a wolf in the woods, was taken and beheaded in his own manner, being, he thought, sufficiently armed with the pope's bulls and certain *agnus dei*,[130] and one notable ring about his neck, sent from the pope's finger (it was said). But these he saw did not save his life. And such were the fatal ends of all these, being the principal heads of the Irish war and rebellion, so that no one person remains a known traitor at this day in Ireland.

To this number they may also add a furious young man of Warwickshire, Somervile by name, to increase their calendar of the pope's martyrs. He was recently discovered and

[129] In the Desmond Rebellions (1556-1571) there were two major uprisings in Munster led by the Fitzgerald family against English land confiscation and rule.

[130] *Agnus dei*: small round or oval tablets of wax stamped with the figure of a lamb and blessed by the Pope.

taken on his way, coming with the full intent to kill her majesty (whose life may God always have in his custody!). The attempt not denied by the traitor himself, but confessed. And he was moved to that in his wicked spirit, by enticements of certain seditious and traitorous persons, his kinsmen and allies, and also by often reading sundry seditious and vile books recently published against her majesty. But as God, of his goodness, has for a long time up to now preserved her majesty from these and like treacheries, so she has no cause to fear being under His protection, saying with king David in the psalms, My God is my helper, and I will trust in him; He is my protection, and the strength, or the power, of my salvation. And for the comfort of all good subjects against the shadows of the pope's bulls, it is manifest to the world, that from the beginning of her majesty's reign, by God's singular goodness, her kingdom has enjoyed more universal peace, her people increased in more numbers, in more strength, and with greater riches, the earth of her kingdoms has yielded more fruits, and generally all kinds of worldly felicity, has more abounded since and during the time of the pope's thunders, bulls, curses, and maledictions, than in any other long times before, when the pope's pardons and blessings came yearly into the realm. So, as his curses and maledictions have turned back upon himself and his supporters, it may be said to the fortunate queen of England and her people, as was said of Balaam in Deuteronomy, "the Lord your God would not hear Balaam, but turned his maledictions or curses into benedictions or blessings;" and the reason is, "because your God loved you." Deu 21.5

[1073]

Although these former reasons are sufficient to persuade all kinds of reasonable persons to admit her majesty's actions are good, reasonable, lawful, and necessary, yet because it may be that those who have, by frequent reading of false and artificial libels, and by giving credit to them based upon a prejudice or pre-judgment, grounded in their rooted opinions favoring the pope, they will rest unsatisfied. Therefore, to satisfy as much as possible all persons, as far as common reason may warrant, that her majesty's recent action in executing certain seditious traitors has not proceeded for holding opinions either for the pope's supremacy, or against her majesty's regality, but for the very crimes of *sedition* and *treason*, it will suffice, by repeating the former reasons, to briefly remember the following.

First, It cannot be denied that her majesty, for many years, quietly suffered the pope's bulls and excommunications without punishment of the supporters of them, accounting them but as words, or wind, or writings in parchment weighed down with lead, or as water-bubbles, commonly called *bullae* in Latin, and such-like things. Yet after some proof that courage was taken from this by some bold and bad subjects, she could only esteem them then, to be preambles or forerunners of greater danger. And therefore, with what reason could anyone dislike that her majesty, for a bare defense against them, without other action or force, revived former laws to help prohibit the publication or execution of these kinds of bulls within her realm?

Secondly, Notwithstanding the prohibition by her laws, the same bulls were plentifully (but secretly) brought into the realm, and at length arrogantly set upon the gates of the bishop of London's palace near the cathedral church of St. Paul's, the principal city of the realm, by a lewd person acting like a herald sent from the pope. Who then, in common reason, can dislike that her majesty — upon finding this kind of declaration of war, as a defiance to be made in her principal city by one of her subjects, avowing and obstinately maintaining it — would cause the offender to have the reward due to such an act, according to justice? And this was the first action of any capital punishment inflicted for material sent from Rome to promote rebellion, after her majesty had reigned about twelve years or more.

Thirdly, The pope had risen up out of his chair in his wrath, moving from words and writings to actions, contrary to the advice given by St. Bernard to his predecessor — that is, by his messages, he left *Verbum* and took to *Ferrum*, that is, he left feeding by the word, and began to strike with the sword, and directly stirred her noblemen and people to disobedience and to open rebellion. And her subjects, by his commandment, had executed the same with all the forces which they could make or bring into the field. When this was done, who with common reason can disallow that her majesty used her principal authority, and by her forces, lawfully subdued unlawful rebel forces, and punished its authors in no other way than the pope himself used to do with his own rebellious subjects in the patrimony of his church? And if any prince of people in the world would otherwise neglect his office, and allow his rebels to have their wills, no one ought to pity him if, for lack of resistance and courage, he lost both his crown, his head, his life, and his kingdom.

Fourthly, Her majesty beheld a further increase of the pope's malice, notwithstanding that the first rebellion was vanquished in her northern parts, in that he entertained abroad, outside of this realm, the traitors and rebels who fled the rebellion, and all the rabble of other fugitives of the realm. And he sent a number of these sorts, disguised, into both realms of England and Ireland, where they secretly allured her people to new rebellions. And at the same time, he did not spare his costs to also send out of Italy by sea, certain ships with captains of his own, with their bands of soldiers, furnished with treasure, munition, victuals, ensigns, banners, and all other things requisite to the war, into her realm of Ireland.. There these same forces, with other auxiliary companies out of Spain, landed, and fortified themselves very strongly in the sea-side, and proclaimed open war, erecting the pope's banner against her majesty.

May it now be asked of these persons, favorers of the Romish authority, what in reason should otherwise have been done by her majesty, than first to apprehend all such fugitives who had so stolen into the realm, and were dispersed, disguising themselves to sow sedition, as some priests do in their secret profession? But all, dressed in their apparel as roysters or ruffians, some as scholars, like the basest common people, were committed to prisons. And upon their examinations about their trades and haunts, they were convicted of their conspiracies abroad, by the testimony of their own companions; and also of sowing sedition secretly at home in the realm. What may be reasonably thought was fitting to be done with such seditious persons, if not to try, condemn, and execute them by the laws of the realm? And especially consider the dangerous time, when the pope's forces were in the realm of Ireland, and more were in preparation to follow into England, as well as into Ireland. To resist this, her majesty and her realm were forced to sustain greater expenses than she had known since she was queen. And so by God's power, which he gave to her on the one part, she suppressed by her laws the seditious stirrers of rebellion in her realm of England, and on the other she vanquished by her sword all the pope's forces in her realm of Ireland, except for certain captains of note. They were saved from the sword, as persons who renounced their quarrel, and seemed to curse or to blame those who sent them on such an unfortunate and desperate voyage.

These reasons, grounded upon rules of natural reason, may satisfy a great number of the adversaries, who will concede that by good order of civil and Christian policy and government, her majesty could not, nor can she, do any less than she has done, first to subdue with her forces, her rebels and traitors; and next, by order of her laws, to correct the aiders and abettors; and lastly, to also put to the sword those forces which the pope sent into her dominions. Yet there are certain other persons, more tightly addicted to the pope, who will still seem unsatisfied because, as they describe the matter, a number of silly poor

wretches were put to death as traitors, being but scholars or priests in their profession (under the names of seminarians, Jesuits, or simple schoolmasters), who did not come into the realm with any armor or weapon to aid the rebels and traitors by force in their rebellions or wars, either in England or in Ireland. Commiseration (pity) is made of this sort of wretches, as though for their contrary opinions in religion, or for teaching the people to disobey the laws of the realm, they might have been otherwise punished and corrected, and not with capital punishment. These kinds of defenses only tend to find fault with the severity of their punishments, rather than to acquit them as innocents or quiet subjects.

But for an answer to the better satisfaction of these nice and scrupulous favorers of traitors, it must be demanded of them with reason (if they will at least open their ears to reason) whether they think that when a king, being established in his realm, has a rebellion first secretly practiced, and afterward openly raised in his realm by his own seditious subjects, and when the same rebellion is maintained by a foreign potentate or enemy, and by messages and promises the rebels are comforted to continue, and their treasons against their natural prince are avowed — and consequently, when the same potentate and enemy, being the author of the said rebellion, invades with his own proper forces, the realm and subjects of the prince, which are so lawfully and peaceably possessed — in these cases, shall no subject who favors these rebels, and yields obedience to the enemy invader, be committed or punished as a traitor, but only those of them who are found to openly carry armor and weapon?

Shall no subject who is a spy and an explorer for the rebel or enemy, against his natural prince, be taken and punished as a traitor, because he is not found with armor or weapon, and yet he has been taken in his disguised apparel, with writings or other manifest tokens proving him to be a spy for traitors, after he has wandered secretly in his sovereign's camp, region, court, or city?

[1074]

Shall no subject be counted a traitor, who will secretly give earnest and loan money to persons to be rebels or enemies, who will attempt to poison the victual, or the fountains, or secretly set on fire the ships or munitions, or who will secretly search and sound the havens and creeks for a landing, or measure the depth of ditches, or the height of towers and walls, because these offenders are not found with armor or weapon?

The answer, I think, must be conceded (if reason and experience are to have rule with these adversaries) that all these and such-like are to be punished as traitors. And the principal reason is because the actions of all these are necessary accessaries and adherents, proper to further and continue all rebellions and wars. But if they will claim that none are traitors, who are not armed, they will make Judas no traitor, who came to Christ without armor, coloring his treason with a kiss.

Now, therefore, it remains to apply the facts of these late malefactors who are pretended to have offended only as scholars or bookmen, or at most, as persons who only in words and doctrine and not with armor, favored and helped the rebels and the enemies. For this purpose, let these persons be termed as they wish, scholars, schoolmasters, bookmen, seminarians, priests, Jesuits, friars, headmen, Romanists, pardoners, or whatever else you will, neither their titles nor their apparel makes them traitors, but their traitorous secret passions and practices. Their persons do not make the war, but their direction and counsels have set up the rebellions. The final causes of these rebellions and wars have been to depose her majesty from her crown. The instrumental causes are these kinds of seminarians and

seedmen of sedition. The fruits and effects of them are by rebellion to shed the blood of all her faithful subjects. The rewards of the invaders (if they could prevail) would be the disinheriting of all the nobility, the clergy, and the whole commonalty, who would (as they are bound by the laws of God, by their birth and oaths) defend their natural gracious queen, their native country, their wives, their children, their family, and their houses. And now examine those whom you call your unarmed scholars and priests, why they lived and were conversant in the company of the principal rebels and traitors at Rome, and in other places, where it is proved that they were partakers of their conspiracies? Let it be answered why they thus came into the realm by stealth? Why have they wandered up and down in corners in a disguised way, changing their titles, names, and manner of apparel? Examine further how these vagrant, disguised, unarmed spies have answered when they were taken, and demanded to say what they thought of the bull of pope Pius V, which was published to deprive the queen's majesty, and to warrant her subjects to disobey her?

First, Whether they thought that all subjects ought to obey the same bull, and so to rebel?

Secondly, Whether they thought her majesty to be the lawful queen of the realm, notwithstanding the said bull, or any other bull of the pope?

Thirdly, Whether the pope might give such license as he did to the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and other her majesty's subjects, to rebel as they did? Or give power to doctor Sanders, a natural born subject, but an unnatural worn priest, to take up arms and promote wars, as he did in Ireland?

Fourthly, Whether the pope may discharge the subjects of her majesty, or of any other christened princes, of their oaths of obedience?

Fifthly, Whether the said traitorous priest doctor Sanders, or one Bristow, a rebellious fugitive, wrote truly or falsely in their books, in approving the said bull of Pius V, and its contents?

Lastly, What was to be done if the pope or any other assigned by him, were to invade the realm of England, and what part should they take, or what part should any faithful subject of her majesty take?

To these questions, very apt to test the truth or falsehood of any such seditious persons having been justly condemned for their disloyalty — these unarmed traitors, I say, would in no way directly answer them, as all other faithful subjects to any Christian prince ought to.

And as they, upon refusal to answer directly to these questions only, might have been justly convicted as guilty of treason, yet they were not condemned for this, but for all their other former actions committed both abroad and in the realm, which were no less traitorous than the actions of all the other spies and traitors, and of Judas himself, remembered before, who had no armor nor weapon, and yet at all times ought to be adjudged traitors. For these disguised persons (called scholars or priests) having first been conversant for a long time with the traitors beyond the sea in all their conspiracies, came here by stealth, in time of war and rebellion, by commandment of the capital enemy, the pope or his legates, to be secret spies and explorers in the realm for the pope, and to deliver by secret Romish tokens, as if it were an earnest or loan, to those who would be in readiness to join with the rebels or open enemies, and in a like way with their hallowed baggages from Rome, to poison the senses of the subjects, pouring into their hearts malicious and pestilent opinions against her majesty and the laws of the realm; and also to kindle and set on fire the hearts of discontented subjects with the flames of rebellion; and to search and sound the depths and secrets of all

men's inward intentions, either against her majesty, or for her; and finally, to bring into a bead-roll, or as it were into a muster-roll, the names and powers, with the dwellings of all who would be ready to rebel, and to aid the foreign invasion. These kinds of seditious actions for the service of the pope, and the traitors and rebels abroad, have made them traitors — not their books, nor their beads, no, nor their cakes of wax which they call *agnus dei*, nor other relics of theirs, nor yet their opinions for the ceremonies or rites of the church of Rome. And therefore it is to be certainly concluded that these justly deserved their capital punishments as traitors, even though they were not apprehended with open armor or weapon.

Now, if this latter repetition, as it were, of all the former causes and reasons recited before, may not serve to stop the boisterous mouths and the pestiferous tongues, and venomous breaths of those who are so infected with such gross errors, as to defend seditious subjects, stirrers of rebellion against their natural prince and country, then they are to be left, without any further argument, to the judgment of Almighty God, as persons who have covered their eyes against the sun's light, stopped their ears against the sound of justice, and oppressed their hearts against the force of reason; and as the Psalmist says, "They speak lies; they are as venomous as the poison of a serpent, even like the deaf adder that stops his ears." Psa 57.5

Therefore, to conclude with charity, if these rebels and traitors, and their supporters, would yet have some remorse, and compassion for their natural country, and would consider how vain their attempts have been for so many years, and how many of their confederates are wasted by miseries and calamities, and would desist from their unnatural practices abroad — and if these seminarians, secret wanderers, and explorers in the dark, would employ their travels in the works of light and doctrine, according to the usage of their schools, and content themselves with their profession and devotion; and if the remnant of the wicked flock of the seedmen of sedition would cease from their rebellious, false, and infamous railings and libellings — there is no doubt that by God's grace (her majesty being so much given to mercy, and devoted to peace), that all color and occasion of shedding the blood of any more of her natural subjects of this land, would utterly cease. Against their malice, if they will not desist, may Almighty God continue her majesty with His spirit and power to reign long and live in his fear, and to be able to vanquish them and all God's enemies, and her rebels and traitors both at home and abroad, and to maintain and preserve all her natural good loving subjects, to the true service of the same Almighty God, according to his holy word and will.

Many other things might be remembered for defense of her majesty's other princely, honorable, and godly actions in sundry other things, in which also these and the like seditious railers have in recent times, without all shame, by feigned and false libels, sought to discredit her majesty and her government. But at this time, these former causes and reasons, alleged by way of notices, are sufficient to justify her majesty's actions to the whole world in the cases remembered.

GENERAL INDEX.

The page numbers listed here are bracketed throughout the text.

Abbeys suppressed in England, 654.
  papal bull for their restoration, 748.
  queen Mary wishes to restore them, 748.
Absolution, pope's, its form, 233.
  complained of at Diet of Nuremberg, 486.
  contrary to Scripture, 243.
  given by cardinal Pole to all England, 716.
  opposed by Wesalia, 365.
  pope's form of, 233.
  sold for money, 430.
  the form in reconciling heretics, 738.
Acre besieged by Richard I, 151.
Acton, Sir Roger, martyred, 288.
Adoration of saints contrary to Scriptures, 29.
Adrian's (pope) contest with Frederick Barbarossa, 127.
  puts his foot on the neck of the emperor, 128.
Acnor martyred, 66.
Agricola martyred, 64.
Alban martyred, 61.
Alcock, .John, martyr, 973.
Alderman H. Mummuth, his troubles, 508.
Alexander VI, pope, his infamous character, 360.
Alexandria, persecution at, 47.
Alfred, king, 93.
  his character, 94.
Allen, Edmund, martyr, 944.
  his examination, *ib*.
Allen, Rosa, her cruel treatment, 955.
Allerton, R., martyr, 959.
Alphonsus, the Spaniard, preaches against persecution, 737.
Alsatia, persecution there by the pope, 158.
Altars removed, and communion tables substituted, 656.
  this defended by Ridley, 849.
Ambrose's mass abolished, 85.
Ancient Christianity, departure of church of Rome from, 167.
  Rome different from modern Rome, 7.
Andrew, St., martyred, 36.
Anglia, Britain first so called, 89.
Anglicus, Cardinal John, his advice to the pope, 174.
Anne, queen of Richard II, her character, 256.
Anselmus, archbishop of Canterbury, 118.
  his contest with William II, 119.
  at Rome, contending against the Greek church, 120.
  his recall, 122.
  his contest with Henry I, *ib*.
  his proceedings against the marriage of the clergy, 124.
Antichrist in the papacy, 399.
Antiquity of the British churches, 74.
  their doctrines, 571.
Antoninus Pius, his clemency towards the church, 39.
  his edict on behalf of Christians, *ib*.
Apocrypha rejected in second century, 43.
Archbishops of Canterbury, 88, 108, 211, 337, 396.
Ardely, John, martyr, 760.
Arethusius martyred, 68,
Armachanus, Richard, the primate of Ireland, 216.
  his opposition to monkery, 217.
Arthur, Thomas, articles against him, 509.
Articles devised by Henry VIII, 549.
  the six, 569.
  examined, 570.
  mitigated, 607.
  a cause of great persecution, 592.
Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, 288.
Askew, Anne, martyr, 609.
  her examinations, *ib*.
  her condemnation, 612.
  her letter to the king and the chancellor, 613.
  her confessions of faith and martyrdom, 614.
Aurelian's persecution of the church. 53.
Auricular confession argued against, by Brute, 244.
  Bonner's monition requiring it, 687.
  examined, 577.
  John Denlev's declaration against it, 802.
  queen Mary's rescript to the lord mayor for the same, 688.
Austin's (or Augustine's) arrival in England, 77.
  made archbishop of Canterbury, 78.
  oak, synod of, *ib*.
  opposed by the British clergy, *ib*.
  his violent and unchristian conduct, 79.
Austoo, James and Margery, martyrs, 960.
Authority of secular princes in the church, according to the laws of England, 98.
Aventine on the marriage of priests, 575.
Aves, mandate for tolling them, 280.
Awcock, John, martyr, 749.

B.

Babylas martyred, 47.
Baden, conference there on popery, 441.
Bagster, Margaret, her troubles and courage, 842.
Bagley and Crow, martyred, 345.
Bainham, James, martyred, 522.
  his examination, *ib*.
Barbara martyred, 60.
Barbarossa Frederick. .See Emperor.
Barnes, Dr., martyred, 5vii.
Barons of England excommunicated by the pope, 157.
  complain of the papacy, 163.
  their supplication to the pope, 173.
  with the king, write to the pope, 200.
Basel, council of, 346.
  declaration against the pope, 847.
  examine the Bohemian demands, 351.
Bartholomew's day, massacre in France, 999.
Bayonne, council of, 121.
Beast of the Apocalypse is the pope, 391.
  its number examined,:.92.
Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, 129.
  contest with Henry II, 130.
  admonished by the other bishops, 132.
  flees the kingdom, 134.

resigns his see to the pope, 135.
certain letters of his, 1.37.
letter of the English bishops to him, 138.
letter of two cardinals to him 140.
Becket's return to England,
death and character, 143
miracles ascribed to him, 140
image broken in Queen Mary's days, 738
Bede, some account of, 83.
Beggars' Supplication to the king, (Henry Vlll), 514.
Belgrade, siege of, 378.
Bell, book, and candle, form of excommunication introduced, 126.
Bells, churches suspended for not ringing the, 280.
Belwood, Richard, his troubles, 3.39.
Benbridge, Thomas, martyr, 978.
Bcnden, Alice, her persecution, 945.
Benet, Thomas, his history, 523.
form of his excommunication, *ib*.
his examination, 529.
Berengarius, archdeacon, opposes transubstantiation, 572.
Beverley, his troubles, 342.
Bible translated. (See Scriptures) 563.
Bilney's conference with a friar on images, 510.
his martyrdom, 513.
Bishoprics in England, changing, 111.
Bishops of England divided in their opinions, 691.
of Rome, the first are uncertain, 37.
protestant, removed by queen Mary, 676, 684.
popish, appointed, 676, 702.
Blage, Sir George, anecdote respecting his troubles, 618.
Bland, John, martyr, 789.
his examination, written by himself, ib.,
his arguments against transubstantiation, 793.
Bohemia, origin of the controversy and troubles there, 279.
Bohemians, their history, 289.
the war to preserve the gospel, 324.
their address to all kings in behalf of the gospel, 333.
their demands, 336.
Bohemians' petition to Council of Basel, .351.
demand for the cup in the sacrament, 362.
Boleyn, queen Anne, married, 584.
executed, 546.
Bonaventure's blasphemous psalter, 770.
Boniface III, the rise of the papacy, 79.
archbishop, exposes the vices of the nuns, 84.
Boniface VII, (pope) dragged through the streets of Rome, 103.
Boniface IX, 256.
Bonner, Edmund, consecrated bishop of London, 549.
his oath against the pope's authority, *ib*.
King Edward's letter to him, 642.
the letter of the council to him, 643.
proceedings against him, 647.
ills deprivation, 655.
restored by queen Mary, 676.
monition on auricular confession, 687.
absurdly magnifies the priesthood, 689.
anecdote of his pride and folly, 708.
prohibition against Scriptures or writings on the church walls, *ib*.
absurd proceedings against Tooly when dead. 761.
Books in English, a proclamation issued against, 618.
Borthwick, Sir John, sentenced to be martyred in effigy, 621.
Bosworth, battle, 367.
Bourne's preaching occasions disturbance, 677.
Bradford and Sanders, and others in prison, make declaration of their opinions, 765.
Bradford, John, martyr, his history, 772.
his examinations, 773.
his conference with two Spanish friars, 770.
his arguments against transubstantiation, 770.
his letter, 78l.
his warning against hearing mass, 788.
Brewster, John, martyred, 411.
Brentford, six persons martyred there, 971.
Bristol, three martyrs there, 978.
Britain under Diocletian persecution, 56.
did not receive the faith from Rome, 74.
British churches' antiquity, *ib*.
church differed from Roman church, 75.
Brixia, council at, against pope Hildebrand, 116.
Brown, John, martyred, 412.
Brate, Walter, his troubles and persecution, 238.
his able defense of the truth against popery, 241.
Bucer, Martin, disputes at Cambridge, 668.
absurd proceedings against him when dead, 934.
his bones dug up and burned, 936.
his character and learning, *ib*.
Bulls, papal, prevented entering England, 172.
containing the privileges of the jubilee, 193.
of pope Boniface against the Lollards, 252.
addressed to Richard II, *ib*.
against the followers of Wycliffe, Huss, and Jerome, 328.
Bury St. Edmunds, four persons martyred there, 973.
Byfield, Richard, martyred, 519.

C.

Cajetan, cardinal, confers with Luther, 425.
Calabria, horrible massacre of protestants in, 478.
Calais, persecution there, 604.
Cambridge University write against the pope's authority, 536.
conference about the sacrament there, 666.
proposed disputation of Bradford, Sanders, and others there, 705.
visited by cardinal Pole, 932.
articles there inquired into, 938.
Campejio, the legate, a droll incident on his arrival, 503.
Canon of Scripture, by Melito, 43
Canterbury, succession of archbishops. *See* archbishop, 88.
and York contend for primacy, 110, 125, 144.
the contest finally settled, 101.
Canute, 105.
Cardmaker, John, martyr, 757.
articles objected against him, 758.
Carolostad, some account of him, 437.
Carpenter, John, martyred, 449.

Carthage, (council of, rejects papal assumption. 10.
Carver, Derick, martyr, 797.
Cassiodorus, Epistle to the Church of England, 197.
Castellan, John, martyred, 447.
Cathedrals, monks introduced into them, 97.
Catherine, legends respecting her, 66.
Causes of the ten persecutions, 30.
Causton, Thomas, martyr, 742.
Cawches, Katherine, and her daughters horribly martyred at Guernsey, 926.
Cecilia, martyred, 45.
Celibacy of priests, 90.
Changes of some sees in England, 111.
Chapel, Robert, a priest, his trouble, 321.
Chichester, Perceval, bishop of, his troubles, 356.
Charlemagne's grant to the See of Rome, 85.
proceedings against images, 86.
Charles V. elected emperor, 426.
Cause, John, martyred, 393.
Charta, Magna, the barons excommunicated for signing it, 157
Chaucer's treatise against friars, 160.
Cheeke, Sir John, martyr, 931.
Choir services, contest of the monks about them, 117.
Christianity, primitive, departure of the church of Rome from, 107.
Christians, persecution of, by the Turks, 386.
Church authority of Rome questioned, 806.
Clark, John, martyred, 447.
Claydon, John, martyred, 319.
Clement, pope, poisons Emperor Lewis, 283.
Clement VII, pope, 437.
taken prisoner by the Duke of Bourbon, 504
Clergy of England oppose the pope's demands, 164.
claim exemption from subsidies, 196.
grievances objected against in parliament, 507.
Clovesho synod, 84.
Cobham, lord, his history, 282.
his martyrdom, 323.
Colchester, the confession of the protestants persecuted there, 940.
ten martyrs there, 954.
Colet, Dr. some account of, 418.
Collins, Cowbridge, and others martyred, 505.
Commission, royal, against heresy, 253.
Common prayer, uniform order of, 641.
Communion reformed in time of Edward VI, 640.
the cup demanded by the Bohemians, 352.
the cup withheld from the laity, 332.
the question examined by the Scriptures, 373.
tables substituted for altars. 656.
Conception, the immaculate, controverted, 408.
Concubinage, complained of in the priests, 437.
licensed tor money, 436.
Conference at Cambridge about the sacrament, 600.
at London about the real presence, 678.
of religion at Westminster, 989.
Confession. *See* Auricular Confession.
Constance, council decree to dig up Wycliffe's bones, 234.
council, 292.
measures for healing the schism in the papacy, 293.
council of, proceedings against John Huss and Jerome of Prague, 299.
elect Martin as pope, 321.
Constantine the Great marches for Italy, 59.
edicts In behalf of Christianity, 60, 72.
letter to Sapor, 63.
character, 70.
death, 71.
circulation of the Scriptures, 72.
alleged donation to bishops of Rome, *ib*.
Constantinople, council of, 82.
taken by the Turks, 356. 377.
Contest about the Gregorian and Salisbury psalters, 117.
Controversy about Shoring, priest, 82.
Coo, Roger, martyr, 813.
Corruptions gradually introduced, 8.
of the church in the absence of persecution, 54
Cosin, Robert, martyred, 417.
Councils superior to popes, 347.
of Carthage against papal assumption, 10.
of Nice against the modern title of the pope, 13.
of Sinuesse, 67.
of Constantinople, 82.
of Frankfort, 86.
of Nice under Irene supports images, *ib*.
of Lateran, 107.
of Mantua. 108.
of Westminster, 109.
of London, 111.
of Worms against Hildebrand, 114.
of Brixia ditto, 116.
of Hume, 118.
of Cleremont, i*b*.
of Bayonne, 121.
of Westminster, 12.3.
of Lateran decree against all heretical persons, 157.
first decrees transubstantiation, *ib*.
of Westminster, 164.
of London, *ib*.
of Lyons complaint of the pope's exactions, *ib*.
of Constance, decree to dig up Wycliffe's bones, 234.
is convened, 292.
Council of Basel to heal the schism in the papacy, 316.
to declare popes subject to councils, 347.
of Turin opposes pope Julius IL 370.
of Mantua protested against by England, 546.
by Henry VIII, 560.
Coventry, persecutions there, 895.
martyrdom there, 500.
Coverdale, Bishop Miles completes the translation of the Scriptures. 583.
Cranmer conveyed to prison, and from there to Oxford, 689.
disputes on transubstantiation at Oxford, 690.
sentence against him, 699.
his letter to the council, 700.
vindicates himself from certain slanders, 701.
his origin of history, 894.
sent to Rome by Henry VIII. about the divorce, 895.
made archbishop of Canterbury, 896.

his protestation before the queen's commissioners, 899.
his answer to the interrogations at his trial, 900.
his degradation from the episcopal office, 902.
his recantation and retraction of the same, 903.
his exhortation before his death, 904.
his martyrdom, 905.
a letter to Queen Mary against the pope's supremacy, 906.
against Latin prayers, etc. 907.
on the sacrament, *ib*.
Crushfield, Richard, martyr, 956.
his examination, *ib*.
Cromwell, Thomas, Earl of Essex, 577.
in favor with the pope, *ib*.
his zeal for the reformation, .581,
his fall, 582.
his death, 5-3.
forwards the translation of the Bible, *ib*.
Crosses— origin of the red, white, and green crosses, 148.
Cross seen in the air, 59.
Crow and Bagley, martyred, 345.
Crusades, 118.
Crusade against Earl Raymond and the Toulousians, 105.
of the French fails, 178.
Crusaders, French, destroyed through the pope, 175.
Crusader, William Longspath's valor, 176.
Crutched Friars, origin of, 160.
Cup in the sacrament denied to the laity, 352.
Custom and Truth, a dialogue on transubstantiation, 668,
Cyprian's, letters lo the persecuted, 50.
some account of, 51.
Cyprus conquered by Richard I, 151.
Cyrus martyred, 65.

D.

Daly, Alice, troubles of, 502.
Damian and Fugan sent to Britain, 75.
Damlip, A., martyred, 604.
Danes arrive in England, 89.
oppress the English, 104.
Dangerfield, William, and his wife, their troubles, 930.
Decius, his persecution of the church, .36.
Degrading a priest, the form of, 263, 307, 447.
Denley, John, martyr, 800.
his confession of faith, 801.
on the true catholic church, *ib*.
on Latin service, *ib*.
on idolatry, *ib*.
on transubstantiation, *ib*.
on auricular confession, *ib*.
on baptism, *ib*.
Devonshire, rebellion there, 644.
Dialogue between Custom and Truth on transubstantiation, 668.
Diazins, John, martyred, 448.
Diet at Worms, Luther appears at, 428.
at Nuremberg, complaint against popery, 436.
at Spires, 442.
Diocletian's persecution of the church, 54.
Dionysius, account of, 52.
letter detailing persecution in Alexandria, 47.
Dispensations, the bishops' 51 reserved cases, 405.
Disputation at Cambridge about the sacrament, 666.
at London on the real presence, 67S.
Doctrine of Rome opposed to Scripture, 21.
Dod martyred, 607.
Dominican order, origin of. 158.
Domitian, his persecution of the church, 36.
Donation (alleged) of Constantine, 72.
of Pepin to the See of Rome, 85.
of Charlemagne, *ib*.
Driver, Alice, martyr, 974,
her examination, *ib*.
Dunstan, 98.
legends respecting him, *ib*.
banished, (6.
appointed archbishop of Canterbury, *ib*.
imposes penance on king Edgar, 101
his factious proceedings, 102.

E.

Easter controversy in second century, 44.
examined, 80.
kept in England, according to Latin custom. 82.
Eastern persecution under Sapor, 67.
church separates from the western.
See Greek,
and western churches, their differences, 120.
Edinburgh, martyrdom in, 501
Edgar, king, 98.
his character, 100.
his penance, imposed by Dunstan. 101.
his oration lo the clergy, *ib*.
Edmund, king, 97.
Ironside, king, 104.
Edward the elder, king, 96.
the martyr, king, 102.
the Confessor, king, 106.
prince, goes against the Turks, 191.
tilts in France on his return, *ib*.
Edward I, 192.
denies the pope's claim in Scotland, *ib*.
arguments for his claim to Scotland, 192.
executes William Wallace, 193.
measures against refractory priests, 196.
Edward II, 199.
troubles on account of Peter Gaveston, ib.
prohibition of Peter-pence, 201.
Edward III, 204.
war with Scotland, *ib*.
invades France, 205.
letter to the pope, 206.
his victories in France, 207.
claims the right of bestowing benefices, 209.
excludes certain papal bulls from England, 210.
certain laws against the pope's claims in this reign, 222.
Edward IV, 358.
Edward V, 366.
Edward, prince, born, 549.
Edward VI, 635.

his pious character, *ib*.
measures of reformation, 637.
letter for abolishing images, 639.
for restoring the communion in both kinds, 640.
his order of common prayer, 641.
his letter to bishop Bonner, 642.
abolishes the Latin service, 6.56.
substitutes communion tables for altars, *ib*.
letters concerning lady Mary, 657.
his death, 672.
Edwin, king, 98.
Effigy of sir John Borthwick burned for heresy, 621.
Eleutherius sends missionaries to England, 75.
Elfric's epistle on transubstantiation, 571.
Saxon homily for Easier, ib
Elizabeth, lady, charges against her, 688.
cleared by sir Thomas Wyatt, 704.
committed to the Tower, 984.
her release, 988.
Elizabeth, queen, born, 534.
her accession, 989.
appoints a commission of religion at Westminster, *ib*.
Emperors of Rome, their motives for persecution, 86.
Philip the first Christian emperor, 46.
precluded from election of popes, 92.
Henry IV. excommunicated, 124.
contests with popes, *ib*.
Frederick Barbarossa, 127.
his contest with pope Adrian, *ib*.
his letter to the pope, *ib*.
Emperor Frederick Barbarossa submits his neck to the pope's foot, 128.
Frederick II, 178.
dispute with the pope, 179.
letter to the king of England, *ib*.
makes peace with the Saracens, 180.
his letter to the prelates of the world, 181.
is excommunicated by the pope, 184.
the wars in which he became involved, *ib*.
his death and character, 185.
Louis' contest with pope Clement, 203.
poisoned at the instigation of the pope, *ib*.
Maximilian, 368.
his death, 926.
Charles V. elected, 426.
Empire of Britain, sentence of Henry II, 126.
Endowments first introduced for English churches 89.
Eneas Sylvius, 354.
elected pope, as Pius II, 857.
England's laws inconsistent with papal pretension. 12.
England opposes pope Nicholas II, 108.
pope Urban II, 118.
protestant before Luther's time, 632.
Erasmus's saying respecting Luther, 423.
Esch, John, martyred, 443.
Ethelred, king, 104.
Ethelstan, king, 97.
his law of tithes, *ib*.
Eugenius deposed from the popedom by a council, 347
Eulalia martyred, 65.
Eusebius, 54.
Everlasting Gospel, a blasphemous book so called, 186.
Evesham, battle of, 190.
Excommunication by bell, book, and candle, introduced, 126.
Exeter, a godly woman burned there, 975.
Ex-officio, the statutes so called, 267.

F.

Fasan and Damian sent to Britain, 75.
Faith and justification, errors of Rome respecting, 26.
Farrar, bishop of St. David's, martyr, 745.
his examination, *ib*.
Fathers, some caution respecting their writings, 51.
Fecknam's conversation with Lady Jane Grey, 684.
Felix V, pope, elected by Council of Basel, 851.
Ferdinand at the diet of Spires, 442.
Fish, Simon, some account of, 514.
Fisher, bishop, executed, 541.
Filmer, H., his troubles, 597.
Florence, John, his troubles and penance, 339.
Flower, William, martyr, 756.
Forest, Henry, martyred, 501.
a friar, martyred, 554.
Thomas, martyred, 621.
Formosus, pope, degraded, 95.
Fortune, John, examined, 922.
France, martyrs of, 455.
in massacre on St. Bartholomew's day, 999.
Franciscan order, origin of, 158.
Franconia, John, martyred, .364.
Frederick Barbarossa. *See* Emperor.
Frederick II. *See* Emperor.
Friars and nuns exposed by archbishop Boniface, 84.
Friars. See Monks, and Orders.
origin of the cross-bearers, or crutched, 160.
Geoffry Chaucer's treatise against, *ib*.
Frith, John, martyred, 524.
his examination, 526.
Fulco's conversation with Richard I, 152.

G.

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, intrigues against the reformation, 568.
succeeds with the six articles, 569.
his history, 660.
articles of the council against him, *ib*.
appointed chancellor, 676.
his death, 863.
Gaveston, Peter, 199.
Gerrard, martyred, 5S8.
Germany, 451.
Ghest, Lawrence, martyred, 894.
Gibson, Richard, martyred, 964.
articles objected against him, 965.
Glover, Robt., John, and William, some account of, 814.
their bodies exhumed after burial, 819.
Robt., his persecution and trouble, 817.
Goose, John, martyred, 63.
Gordius martyred, 361.
Gospel, The Everlasting, a blasphemous book so called, 186.

Gouch, Alexander, martyr, 975.

Gratwich, Stephen, martyr, 941.
his examination, 942.
Greek church first assumes the title of universal bishop, 15.
and Roman church differ respecting Easter, 44.
their differences, 120.
their separation, 168, 175.
Green, B. martyr, 891.
Gregory, (pope) the Great, denounces the title of universal bishop, 15.
sends Austin to England, 77.
his character, 79.
his mass substituted for Ambrose's, 85.
Gregory VII. *See* Hildebrand, 111.
Gregory IX, opposed by the Romans, 167.
Gregorian and Salisbury choir service.-, 117.
Grey, Lady Jane, 674.
her conversation upon popery with Fecknam, 684.
her letters, 686.
her execution, 687.
Grievances objected against the clergy in parliament, 507.
Grosthead, Robert, some account of him, 186.
Guernsey, cruel martyrdom of three women there, 926.

H.

Hamilton, Patrick, martyred, 500
Hardicanute, 105.
Harding, Thomas, martyred, 501
Harold, 105.
Harold II, 106.
Hawkes, Thomas, martyr, 762.
his examination, *ib*.
Head of the church, Henry VIII. declared to be, 535.
Heliogabalus' character, 45.
Hippolytus, character, 46
Henry I, 121.
his contest with Anselm, 122.
Henry IV, emperor, excommunicated, 124.
Henry II, 126.
extends the British empire, *ib*.
contest with Becket, 132.
letter to the pope, 130.
conquest of Ireland, 144.
performs penance for death of Becket, *ib*.
his death and character, 145.
Henry III, 157.
complaints of the nobles against the papacy in his reign, 103.
extravagant demands of the pope in his time, 104.
opposition of the clergy to the pope then, *ib*.
his complaint at Council of Lyons against the pope, 165.
his opposition to the pope, 172.
his letter to the pope, *ib*.
prevents papal bull entering England, *ib*.
letter to the prelate on his rights, 174.
absolved of his oath by the pope, 188.
his letter to bishop of Hereford on non-residence, 189.
Henry IV, 261.
articles exhibited on the church door against, 264.
beheads the archbishop of York, 266.
letter to the pope and cardinal, 279.
statute against appeals to Rome, 281.
statute on other church matters, *ib*.
Henry V, ascends the throne, 281.
his death, 337.
Henry VI, 338.
letter to arrest White and others, 340.
Henry VII, 340.
Henry VIII, 407.
his letter to the bishop of Lincoln, 420.
his book on the sacrament against Luther, 433.
his movements for a divorce, 530.
his oration about his marriage, 531.
the queen's defense, *ib*.
Henry VIII. alienated from the court of Rome, 533.
lays the popish bishops' oath before parliament, 534.
marries Anne Boleyn, *ib*.
queen Elizabeth born, *ib*.
abolishes the pope's authority in England, 535.
declared head of the church, *ib*.
executes Anne Boleyn, 546.
marries lady Jane Seymour, 548.
prince Edward born, 549.
injunctions for a reformation of the church, 550.
suppresses the monasteries, .554.
attends at the trial of Lambert, 560.
protest against the council proposed at Mantua, 560.
his injunctions against certain books, etc., 567.
suppresses idolatry, 597.
his interview with the French ambassador and Cranmer, 617.
his death, 633.
Heptarchy in England, 77.
Heresy, royal commission against, 253.
three modes of judgment against, 632.
Heretics, decrees of Lateran against them, 157.
statutes of England against them examined, 220.
Herford, his examinations for heresy, 228.
Hewet, Andrew, martyred, 527.
Higbed, Thomas, martyred, 742.
Hildebrand, (pope') poisons pope Victor, 107.
as Gregory VII, 111.
his violent proceedings, *ib*.
extravagant claims, 112.
epistle and decree against marriage of clergy, 113.
opposed by the clergy in this, *ib*.
his character by cardinal Benno, 114.
is seized, imprisoned, and rescued, *ib*.
condemned in Council of Worms, *ib*.
excommunicates the emperor, 115.
condemned by Council of Brixia, 116.
Hildegarde's prophecy, 159.
Hitten, Thomas, martyred, 508.
Holland, Roger, and many other martyrs, 970.
his examination, *ib*.
Holydays, their number complained of, 430.
Homily, Saxon, against transubstantiation, 571.
Hooper, bishop, sent to the Fleet prison, 670.

his letter of consolation to the persecuted, 710.
some account of him, 725.
his cruel treatment in prison, 727.
his martyrdom, 729.
Hoveden, Richard, martyred, 344.
Huldrike on marriage of priests, 90.
Huniades' successes against the Turks, 375.
Hunne, Robert, murdered in prison and his corpse burned, 414.
inquest on his body, *ib*.
Hunter, Thomas, martyr, 739.
his great persecution, 740.
Huss, John, his history, 279.
proceedings against him, 289.
safe-conduct given to him 294.
violated, 298.
letters concerning this fact, 309.
brought before the Council of Constance, 301.
sermon of the bishop of Londy against him, 304.
degradation and martyrdom, 308.
letters of his, 309.

I.

Idolatry. *See* Images.
Ignatius martyred, 38.
Images, controversy concerning, 85.
Council of Frankfort against them, 86.
Charlemagne against them, *ib*.
sanctioned at Nice under Irene, *ib*.
burned at Basel at the reformation, 442.
royal injunctions against them, 554.
abolished by Henry VIII, .597.
also by Edward VI, 639.
Belney's conference with a friar respecting them, 557.
Lambert's judgment on them, 657.
supplication of the Norfolk and Suffolk men against them, 914.
the smart answer of the martyr Maundrel against, 909.
Immaculate conception, the controversy on this, 408.
Injunctions of Henry VIII. for reformation, 550.
against certain books, 567.
Innovations of popery, 90, 107.
Inquest on Robert Hunne, 414.
Inquisition of Spain, 471.
Interim, the, 442.
Interdicts in England, 154.
Investitures, Anselm's proceedings on them, 123.
Invocation of saints contrary to the Scriptures, 27.
Ireland, conquest of, 144.
Irene sanctions images, 86.
Irenaeus martyred, 44.
his opposition to papal assumptions, *ib*.
Islington, four martyrs there, 959.
twenty-two persons apprehended there, 968.
articles objected against them, 969.
Italy, martyrs of, 472.

J.

Janus, St., martyred, 35.
Jerome of Prague, his history, 313.
his abjuration, 314.
his martyrdom, 317.
William, martyred, 589.
Jerusalem taken by the Saracens, 143.
Jews persecuted in England, 149.
Joan, pope, 90.
John, (St.), is banished to Patmos, 36.
John XII. (pope), deposed from the see, 103.
John XIII. (pope), imprisoned, *ib*.
John (king), 153.
threatened by the pope with an interdict, *ib*.
cause of his quarrel with the pope, 154.
his measures against the unruly clergy, *ib*.
his resistance against the pope, *ib*.
his spirited letter to the pope and his insolent reply, *ib*.
subjected to an interdict, *ib*.
takes measures against the prelates, 155.
his interview with Pandulph the legate, 155.
is excommunicated and deposed, *ib*.
punishes a false prophet, 156.
resigns his crown and receives it again, *ib*.
his letter of resignation, *ib*.
poisoned by a monk, 157.
Jubilee, the first appointed, 193.
its privileges by the bull, 193.
ordained in order to raise money, 357.
Julitta martyred, 66.
Julius II. (pope), his warlike character, 370.
Justin, the apologist and martyr, 42.
Justinius' Constitution against papal assumptions, 12.

K.

Katherine, (St.) legends respecting her, 66.
Keyser, Leonard, martyred, 450.

L.

Ladislaus, the king of Bohemia, 302.
Lambert, John, his history, .564.
on marriage of priests, 665.
on merits of works, *ib*.
on the sacrament, *ib*.
on auricular confession, *ib*.
on sufficiency of Scripture, 556.
on purgatory, *ib*.
on invocation of saints, *ib*.
on images, 557.
on the priesthood, 559.
on disputes before the king, 563.
on transubstantiation, 564.
is martyred, *ib*.
Lanfranc visits Rome for his pall, 110.
expenses of the same, *ib*.
Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, 154.
Lateran councils, 107.
decrees against heretics, 157.
first decrees transubstantiation, 572.
Latimer imprisoned, and then conveyed to Oxford, 689.
disputes on transubstantiation at Oxford, 696.
condemned, 699.
his conference with Ridley in prison, 822.
his character and life, 833.
his letters, 836.

did not see the errors of Rome so fully as others, *ib*.
his letter to Henry VIII, 839.
his examination, 847.
Latimer's condemnation, 652.
his martyrdom, 853.
Latin services, masses, etc., introduced by Theodore, 81.
abolished by Edward VI, 656.
supplications of the Norfolk and Suffolk men against them, 914.
fully examined at the conference at Westminster, 990.
Launder, John, martyr, 799.
Lawrence martyred, 52.
John, martyr, 744.
Legate, Pandulph, 155.
Legends respecting Alban, 61.
Catherine, 66.
Dunstan, 98.
Becket, 143.
Leicestershire, persecutions in, 254,
Lewes, ten martyrs there, 946.
Lewis, Mrs., martyr, 958.
emperor. *See* Emperor.
Lincoln, bishop of, Henry VIII. letter to him, 420.
Litchfield, persecution there, .395.
Lilhal, John, his troubles, 980.
Lollards, papal hull against them, 252.
addressed to Richard II, *ib*.
archbishop's constitution against them, 320.
London first permitted to choose a mayor, 157.
bridge rebuilt of stone, *ib*.
synod at, 111.
council at, 164.
Longspath, William, his gallantry, 176.
Lucius, king of Britain, sends to Eleutherius, 75.
Luther, 422.
origin of his views, *ib*.
Erasmus's saying respecting him, 423.
is cited to Rome, 424.
confers with cardinal Cajetan, 425.
disputes with Eckius, 426.
appears at the diet of Worms, 428.
agrees with Zuinglius in many points, 437.
his death, 438.
protestantism in England before his time, 632.
Lyons, letter of the church detailing the persecutions there, 41.
council at, against papal exactions, 104,

M.

Magna Carta, barons excommunicated for signing, 157.
Malmesbury, (Adelme), 82.
Man of sin in the papacy, 397.
Man, Thomas, martyred, 417.
Mantel. W. his apology, 703.
Mantua, council, 108.
a general council called at, 546.
protested against by England, *ib*.
by Henry VIII, 566,
Marbeck, John, his examination and martyrdom, 601.
Marcus Arethusius, martyred, 68.
Aurelius, persecution of the church, 89
Marriage of priests, Huldrike's Epistle on, 90.
of clergy, Hildebrand's violent measures, 113.
the clergy persevere in it, *ib*.
contest in England about it, 124.
history of the controversy on this subject, 574.
of the clergy maintained by Rowland Taylor, 733.
Marsh, George, martyr, 749.
his examination and persecution, *ib*.
his death, 752.
his letters, 753.
Martin elected pope by Council of Constance, 324.
Martyn, Peter, his wife's bones dug up from the grave, and buried in a dunghill, 937.
Martyrdom of —
Acton, Sir Roger, and others, 288.
Acnes, 66.
Agricola, 64.
Alban, 61.
Alcock, John, 973.
Allen, William, 813.
Edmund, 944.
Rose, and nine others, 954.
Allerton, Ralph. 959.
Andrew, William, 810.
Apprice, John, a blind man, 918.
Ardely, John, 760.
Askew, Anne, 609.
Austoo, James, 960
Margery, ib.
Awcock, John, 749
Martyrdom of —
Babylas, 47.
Bagley, Thos., and Paul Crow, 345.
Bainham, J , 522
Barbara, 66.
Barnes, Dr., .586.
Benbridge, Thomas, 973.
Bender, Alice, 945.
Bernard, Roger, and two others, 922.
Bilney, Thomas, 513.
Bland, John, 789.
Borthwick, Sir John, in effigy, 621.
Bradford, John, 772.
Bradford, Mr., 834.
Brewster, John, 411.
Browne, John, 412.
Byfield, R., 519.
Martyrdom of —
Cardmaker, John, 757.
Carpenter, George, 449.
Carver, Dirick, 798.
Castellane, John, 447.
Causton, Thomas, 742.
Cawches, Kath., and her two daughters, 926.
Cecilia, 45.
Chase, John, 393.
Cheeke, Sir John, 931.
Christians at Lyons and Vienna, 41.
Clarke, John, 446.
Claydon, John, 319.
Collins Cowbridge, and others, 565.
Coo, Roger, 813.

Cooper, Elizabeth, 954.
Cosin, Robert, 417.
Crushfield, Richard, 956.
Cyrus, 64.
Martyrdom of —
Damlip, Adam, 604.
Denley, John, 800.
Diazias, John, 448.
Dod, 607.
Dowry, Thomas, a blind boy, 919.
Driver, Alice, 974.
Eagles, George, 956.
Esch, John, 443.
Eulalia, 65.
Farrar, bishop, 745.
Filmer, H., 599.
Flower, William, alias Branch, 756.
Forest, friar, 554.
Forty martyrs, 64.
Forrest, Henry, 501.
Forrest, Thomas, 621.
Franconia, John, 364.
Frith, John, 524.
Martyrdom of —
Gerrard, master, 586.
Ghest, Lawrence, 394.
Gibson, Richard, and two others, 964.
Glover, Robert, 814.
Goose, John, 361.
Gordius 63.
Gouch, Alexander, 975.
Gratwich, Stephen, and two others, 941.
Green, Bartlet, 891.
Hamilton, P., 500.
Hawkes, Thomas, 762.
Harding, Thomas, 501.
Hewet, Andrew, 527.
Higbed, Thomas, 742.
Kitten, Thomas, 508.
Holland, Roger, and many others, 970.
Hooper, bishop, 725.
Horns, Joan, and two other women, 919.
Hoveden, Richard, 344.
Hudson, Thomas, and others, 967.
Hunne, Robert, murdered in prison,412.
Hunter, Thomas, 739.
Huss, John, 308.
Jackson, Ralph, and twelve more, 921.
Jerome of Prague, 317.
Jerome, William, 589.
Ignatius 38.
Irenaeus, 44.
Julitta. 66.
Justin, 42.
Keysor, Leonard, 450.
Martyrdom of —
Lambert, John, 564.
Latimer, bishop, 853.
Launcelot and Style and others, 632.
Launder, John, 799.
Laverock, Hush, an old cripple, 918.
Lawrence, John, 744.
Lewis, Mrs., 958.
Lush, Richard, and others, 954.
Man, Thomas 417.
Marbeck. J., 601.
Marcus Arethusius, 68.
Marsh, George, 749.
Maundrel, John, 909.
Mearing, Margaret, 960.
Menas, 63.
Mille, Walter, 629.
Moor, Thomas, 928.
Newman, John, 302.
Noye, John, 961.
Martyrdom of —
Oldcastle, Sir John, Lord Cobham, 323.
Ormes, Cecily, 962.
Palmer, Julius, 923.
Polycarp, 39.
Pomponius Algerius and his letter, 475.
Porter, John, 595.
Potten, Agnes, 900.
Pygot, William, 744.
Pygot, Robert, 820.
Rhedon, Thos., a Carmelite friar, 345.
Ridley, bishop, 853.
Rogers, John, 713.
Romanus, 62.
Roth, Richard, 969.
Rough, John, minister, 965.
St. Andrew, 34.
St. James, 35.
St. Lawrence, 52.
St. Peter and St. Paul, 35.
Samuel, Robert, 811.
Sanders, Lawrence, 719.
Sautre, William, 261.
Savanarola, 369.
Sharp, Richard, and others, 976.
Sheterden, Nicholas, 794.
Shoomaker, C, 418.
Simeon, 67.
Simpson, Cuthberr, 967.
Simpson, John, 760.
Smith, Robert, 805.
Smith, William, 605.
Spicer, Thomas, and two others, 920.
Spurdance, Thomas, 963.
Stillman, John, 416.
Sweeting, William, 411.
Martyrdom of —
Tankervil, George, 804.
Taylor, Dr., Rowland, 730.
Taylor, William, 338.
Testwood, Robert, 599.
Tewkesburv, J., 528.
Tyndale, William, 542.
Tomkins, Thomas, 738.
Trunchfield, Joan, 909.
Tylsworth, William, 393, 419, 502.
Tyms, William, 910.
Voes, Henry, 443.
Waid, Christopher, 798.
Wallace, Adam, 627.
Warne, John, 757.

Waste, Joan, a blind woman, 928.
Wendelmuta, 450.
White, Rawlins 746.
White, Rev. William, and two others, 840.
Whittle, Thomas, 890.
Wishart, George, 622.
Wolfgang, Schuch, 449.
Wolsey, William, 620.
Woman at Chipping Sudbury, 304.
Woodman, Richard, 947.
Yeoman, Richard, 972.
Martyrdom —
in Calabria, 478.
in Edinburgh, 501.
in France, 455.
in Germany, 451.
in the inquisition, 471.
in Italy, 472.
in Spain, 469.
Mary, the Virgin, blasphemous extracts from Bonaventure's psalter, 770.
idolatrous extracts from her psalter, 760.
idolatrously worshipped in the church of Rome, *ib*.
Psalter and rosary, 366.
immaculate conception, controversy on, 408.
Mary, Lady, her letter to King Edward VI, 657.
Mary (queen), dialogue with Ridley, 673.
her accession to the throne, 674.
removes the protestant bishops, 076.684.
prohibits preaching and printing, etc. 677.
commands a general persecution, 677.
was crowned, 678.
repeals the law of *praemunire*, *ib*.
writes to the Lord Mayor to compel the citizens to go to confession, 688.
imprisons several of the peers, 700.
executes the Duke of Suffolk, 703.
marries Philip of Spain, 707.
supposed to be pregnant, 709, 767.
wishes to restore the Abbey-lands, 748.
prohibits books against the Church of Rome, 768.
commits her sister, the Tudor Elizabeth, to the Tower, 984.
her death, 988.
Mass. *See* Priesthood.
of Gregory substituted for that of Ambrose, 85.
absurd statements of Bonner, 689.
arguments against, 247.
Bradford's warning against attending, 788.
communion tables substituted for altars, 656.
denounced by Spurdance, 963.
disproved by Philpot, 876.
examined by Woodman, 950.
judgment of Ridley respecting it, 668, 846.
the subject examined, 574.
Massacre of St. Bartholomew's day in France, 998.
Mathew Paris, writes against popery, 221.
Maundrel, John, martyr, his spirited answer to his examiners, 909.
Maximilian, emperor, 368.
his death, 426.
Maxtminus' persecution of the church, 46.
edicts in brass against Christians, 58.
Mearing, Margaret, martyr, 986.
Melitas' catalogue of the canon of Scripture, 43.
Menas, martyred, 63.
Mendicant friars opposed, 217.
Mille, Walter, martyred, 629.
Mirandula, Earl of, 396.
Miracles, fabulous ascribed to Alban, 62.
to Catherine, 66.
to Dunstan, 98.
to Becket, 143.
in recovery of the king of France, 175.
Monasteries suppressed by Henry VIII, 554.
Monkery ancient and modern compared. 99,
frivolous distribution of orders, 201
their priestcraft, 633.
Monk, poisons king John, being absolved beforehand, 157.
Monkish orders, a list of them, 159.
opposed by Armachanus, 217.
contentions among them. 407.
Monks introduced into cathedrals, 97.
increase in England, 98.
expelled from the cathedrals, 102.
Moor, Thomas, martyr, 928.
Moravian nobles' letter, in behalf of Huss and Jerome, 318.
More, Sir T. executed, 541.
wrote a reply to, "The Beggars' Supplication," 417.
Mummuth, alderman, his troubles, 508.

N.

Nero, his persecution of the church, 35.
New Testament. *See* Scriptures.
Newman, John, martyr, 802.
his examination, *ib*.
Nice, (council of) against papal pretensions, 13.
under Irene, in support of images, 86.
Nicolas, canon of Eye, his troubles, 344.
Nagareta's declaration against the pope, 194.
Non- residence, letter of Henry III. to bishop of Hereford, 189.
Norfolk and Suffolk men support queen Mary, 675.
important supplication to the queen's commissioners, 913.
Norwich, Henry Spencer, the warlike bishop of, 232.
privileges conferred on him by one pope to oppose another, *ib*.
penances enjoined by him, 342.
Novatian controversy, 49.
Novatus, some account of, *ib*.
Novelty of the doctrines and practices of Rome, 7.
Noyes, John, martyr, 961.
his scriptural letter to his wife from prison, *ib*.
Number of the beast examined, 392.
Nuns, archbishop Boniface exposes the vices of, 84.
two persecuted, 254.
Nuremberg, diet at, 433.

O.

Oaths, Henry III, absolved by the pope, 188.
of popish bishops to the pope and to the king, 534.
Oaths laid before the parliament by Henry VII, 534.
Ockham, William, writes against the popes, 210.

Oecolampadius' proceedings at Basel, 441.

Oldcastle, Sir John, lord Cobham, his history, 282.
his martyrdom, 282.
Opposition to the popes in time of Victor, 10.
at Council of Carthage, *ib*.
in the laws of England and France, 12.
to pope Nicholas in England, 108.
to Urban in England, 118.
Orders, Dominican and Franciscan, their origin, 158.
frivolous distinctions of religion, 100.
a catalogue of, 159.
of cross-bearers, or crutched friars, 100.
contentions among them. *See* Monk, 407.
Origen, some account, 44, 40.
Ormes, Cecily, martyr, 9t)2.
Otto's grant to the popes, 103.
Otto, cardinal, 164.
Owl, one appears at a council at Rome, 292.
Oxford, legate's insolence at, 166.
provisions made at, against foreigners, 187.
droll anecdote occasioned by a report of fire there, 595.
Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer condemned at, 699.

P.

Pall, expenses of obtaining one, 110.
Palmer, Julian, martyr, some account of him, 923.
his examination, 924.
his martyrdom, 926.
Pandulph, the legate's language to king John, 155.
Papacy, contests for it, 103.
schism of three popes together in it, 107.
two popes together in it, 118.
its rise under Boniface III, 79.
Papal assumption rejected in time of Victor, in second century, 10, 44.
claims inconsistent with the laws of England and France, 12.
Papists' attempt to extirpate the protestants in Ireland, in the year 1641, 1035.
Paris, Mathew, writes against popery, 221.
Parr, queen Catherine, some account of, 614.
Paternoster, schism in Scotland about it, 628.
Peacock, bishop of Chichester, his troubles, 356.
Penance opposed to Scripture, 27.
imposed on king Edgar by Dunstan, 101.
enjoined in the bishop of Norwich's letter, 342.
imposed for not providing hay for the archbishop's horse, 281.
imposed on John Beverley, 342.
John Florence, 339. '
those who abjured, 255.
rejected by the protestant martyrs, 963.
Pepin's donation to the See of Rome, 85.
Persecution by the Jews, 34.
(Ten) by the Romans, 35.
causes which led to these, 36.
four in Britain, 77
at Toulouse, 145.
against the Jews in England, 149.
in Alsatia, 158.
at Mentz and Paris, 222.
in Leicestershire, 254.
in Perth, 622.
Persecution by the Jews, 34.
of two nuns for the gospel, 254.
in London, 409.
in Provence, 478.
in Scotland, 620.
of the Waldenses, 485.
occasioned by the Six Articles, 592.
in Kent, 630, 803.
commenced by queen Mary, 677.
against the bones of the dead, 234, 701, 820, 934, 937
commanded by queen Mary and king Phillip, 939.
Persecutors' deaths, 61.
Perth,, martyrdoms there, 622.
Peter Patershull, a friar, persecuted, 255.
Peter, the apostle,
whether he was head of the church, 16.
or bishop of Rome, *ib*.
Peter, some questions touching his succession, 18.
Peter's pence introduced into England, 80.
Petrarch, Francis, speaks against the popes, 211.
Phagius, Paul, absurd proceedings against him when dead, 934.
his hones dug up and burned, 936.
Philip, emperor, baptized, 46.
king of France, his contest with the pope, 193.
his letter to the pope, 194.
his spirited appeal, 195.
Philpots, John, disputes in London on transubstantiation, 679.
martyr, his history, 864.
his fourteen examinations, 865.
asserts the novelty of popery, 869.
that Rome is not the Catholic church, *ib*.
the difficulty of protestantism, 873, 879.
denies the supremacy of the church of Rome, 873.
confutes the sacrifice of the mass, 876.
on the marks of the church, 882.
his martyrdom, 884.
his letters, *ib*.
Plaise, Mathew, his troubles, 946.
Pliny's letters to Trajan, describing the Christians, 37.
Ploughman's Lament, 213.
Pole, cardinal, absolves all England, 710.
holds visitation at Cambridge, 932.
Polycarp martyred, 39.
Pomponius Algerius, martyr, his letter to the persecuted, 475.
Pope Adrian VI. admits the Reformation necessary, 433.
Alexander III, wickedness of, 869.
Boniface III, 70.
Boniface VII. dragged through the streets of Rome, 103.
Clement VII. taken prisoner, 504.
Formesus degraded, 95.
Gregory denounces the title of universal bishop, 15.
Gregory the great, 79.
image of antichrist, .399.
Joan, 90.
John XII, his wicked character, 103.

his deposition from the popedom, *ib*.
John XIII. imprisoned, *ib*.
Pope Adrian VI.
Leo X. dies, 433.
Nicholas opposed in England, 108.
the Beast in the Apocalypse, 391.
the man of sin, 397.
Urban opposed in England, 118.
Victor poisoned by Hildebrand, 107.
Popes, ambitious assumptions of, 168.
avarice of, 364.
authority rejected by the university of Cambridge, 536.
Bonner and Tunstall, 537.
letter of Tunstall and Stokesley against it, 540.
cases reserved for their dispensation, 405.
contests with the emperors, 124.
with emperor Frederick Barbarossa, 127.
with emperor Frederick II, 180.
with king Philip of France, 193.
with emperor Louis, 203.
deposed by councils, 347.
elected by councils, 351.
exactions, parliament decrees against them, 533.
extravagant exactions in England, 104, 109.
grant England to the king of France, 155.
intrigues injured the crusades and all Christendom, 175.
opposed at the Council of Turin, 370.
by the Romans, 167.
by the nobles of England, 1.55.
persecute the Waldenses before the Reformation, 148.
after the Reformation, 485.
subject to councils, 347.
to princes, 11.
succession of, 66, 90, 92, 95, 103, 107, 118, 278, 357, 369.
questionable, 95.
their election taken from the emperors. 92.
their exaltation above emperors, 398.
their innovations, 107.
their modern titles, 92.
three all together, 107, 278.
two together, 118, 824.
Popes, uncertain who were the first at Rome, 87.
Popery, absurd controversy on the immaculate conception, 408.
absurd views respecting the priesthood, 689.
Popery, all books against it prohibited by queen Mary, 768.
as exhibited in the bull of the jubilee, 103.
checked by statutes in England, 222.
complaints against, at diet of Nuremburg, 436.
connected with the man of sin, 897.
creeping in by degrees, 84.
displayed in absurd decree to dig up and burn Wycliffe's bones, 234.
displayed in its proceedings against the dead, 234, 761, 820, 934.
exhibited in the form of the pope's absolution, 233.
exposed in the matters of monkery, 217.
foretold in the Apocalypse as the beast, 391.
identified with antichrist, 399.
illustrated by burning the Scriptures, 633.
introduces Latin sermons, 81.
its horrid and unnatural cruelty, 631.
its priestcraft displayed in France, 633.
Its blasphemy and idolatry proved, 769.
its novelty employed by Philpot, 869.
opposed to Scripture, 21.
opposed to St. Paul's writings, 25.
opposed by several authors in 13th century, 185.
by bishop Grosthead in England, 186.
by certain writers in the 14th century, 210, 213, 221.
in Germany, France, and England in the 15th century, 368.
prohibits books in the English language, 618.
supplication of the men of Suffolk and Norfolk against it, 913.
three modes of proceeding against heresy, 632.
Popish innovations in religion, 90.
Porter, John, martyred for reading the Bible. 595.
Prayer, common, uniform order of, 640.
Prayers, Latin. *See* Latin Prayers.
Praemunire, the statute, 220.
Priestcraft illustrated in France, 633.
Priesthood. *See* Mass.
Priests, controversy about shaving them, 82.
Princes have authority over popes, 11, 900.
right of. asserted in a letter of Henry III, 174.
Printing invented, 354.
Proclamation against books in the English tongue, 618.
of queen Mary against preaching, etc., 676.
Prophecy of 1260 days in Revelation, 69.
of Hildegarde's, 159.
Protest of England against a council at Mantua, .546.
Protestantism in England, before the time of Luther, 632.
Protestants, massacre of, in France, 998.
Psalter, rosary of, 366.
Virgin Mary's idolatrous, 769.
by Bonaventure, blasphemous extracts from, 770.
Purgatory unscriptural, 30.
arguments against it, 250, 556.
Purvey, John, his troubles and his doctrines, 277.
Pygot, William, martyr, 744.
Pygot, Robert, martyr, 820.

R.

Rebellion (Irish) in the year 1641, history of, 1035.
Reformation of England commences, 213.
proposed at meeting of parliament in 1395, 256.
supplication of the Norfolk and Suffolk men in favor of it, 913.
Reformation, (the), 421.
acknowledged as necessary by pope Adrian VI, 433.
demanded at the diet at Nuremberg, 437.
its commencement, 423.
tendency for it in England previously, 419.
under Edward VI, 687.
under Wycliffe, 226.
Reformation (the), urged by the nobles of the empire on the pope, 433.

Reppington, his troubles and examination, 228.
Revelation, book of, burned with the martyr Style, 633.
prophecy of 1260 days, 69.
Ch. 20.1. examined and expounded, 212.
the beast of, is the papacy, 391.
Reymond, earl of Toulouse, 165.
crusade against him, *ib*.
Rhedon, a friar, martyred, 345.
Richard I, 149.
joins with France in a crusade, 150.
conquers Cyprus, and lays siege to Acre, 151.
shipwrecked and imprisoned, 152.
conversation with Fulco, *ib*.
death and character, 153.
Richard II, 226.
writes to the pope, rebuking the schism in the papacy, 258.
deposition and death, 259.
Richard III, .367.
Ridley's judgment in the conference at Cambridge, 666.
on Transubstantiation, *ib*.
on the sacrifice of the mass, 667.
conversation with the lady Mary, 673.
removed from his see, 676.
imprisoned, and then conveyed to Oxford, 689.
disputes on transubstantiation at Oxford, 691.
sentence against him, 699.
his character and habits, 821.
his gentle treatment of Bonner, 822.
his conference with Latimer in prison, *ib*.
his letters, 829.
his examination, 842.
his denial of the pope's supremacy, 843.
his rejection of the mass, 846.
his final examination, 849.
his condemnation, 851.
his conversation on popery with Dr. Krooks, 852.
his martyrdom, 853.
his farewell letter to his godly friends, 855.
his lament for England, 861.
Rogers, John, martyr, 713.
his examination, *ib*.
his death, 718.
Roman and Greek churches, their differences, 120.
Romans quarrel with the pope, Gregory IX, 167.
Romanus martyred, 62.
Rome, ancient, different from Rome, modern, 7.
captured by the Duke of Bourbon, 704.
causes of its assumed pre-eminence, 19.
corrupted gradually, 8.
departure from primitive Christianity, 167.
(heathen), the ten persecutions, 35.
motives which led to them, 36.
not the head church of Christendom, 17.
Rosary, its origin, 366.
Roth, Richard, martyr, 960.
his letter to the persecuted, *ib*.
Rough, John, martyr, 965.

S.

Sacrament, disputation at Cambridge about it, 666.
the cup withheld from the laity, 352.
(the sacrament). *See* Transubstantiation, *ib*.
St. Bartholomew's day massacre in France, 999.
Saints, invocation of, unscriptural, 29.
Salisbury and Gregorian choir services, 117.
Samuel, Robert, martyr, 811.
a letter by him to the afflicted, *ib*.
Sapor's persecution in the east, 67.
Saunders and Bradford, at Cambridge, 705.
Lawrence, martyr, 719.
his letters. 720, 724.
his examination, 721.
Sautre, a priest, martyred, 261.
Savanarola, martyred, 369.
Saxon Heptarchy, 77.
homily against transubstantiation, 571.
Saxons arrive in Britain, 76.
persecute the British Christians, 77.
Schism among the papists about the Paternoster, 628.
in the papacy, three rival popes together, 107.
two ditto, 128
Schism in the papacy, two rival popes together again, 128.
three ditto again, 278.
two ditto again, 354.
Schuch, Wolfgang, martyred, 449.
Scotland claimed by the popes, 192.
by Edward I, *ib*.
arguments respecting same, *ib*.
persecution there, 620.
Scotus, (or Scott, John), (*Erigena*), 95.
Scourging of, several godly persons for holding the true faith, 977.
Scripture Canon, by Melito, 43.
opposed to popery, 21.
Scriptures burned with the martyr Style, 633.
circulated by Constantine, 72.
completed by Coverdale, 583.
permitted to the rich, but forbidden to the poor, 607.
prohibited in English, 517.
publicly prohibited, 837.
translated by Tyndale, 518, 543.
Sees, some in England changed. 111.
Serapion, his death, 49.
Severus' persecution of the church, 43.
Shaving priests (controversy about), 82.
Sheterden, N., martyr, 794.
his examination, *ib*.
his letter, 796.
Shoomaker, C, martyred, 418.
Shrine, an anecdote respecting one in Lancashire, 708.
Simeon, martyred, 67.
Simpson, Cuthbert, martyr, 967.
John, martyr, 700.
Sigismund violates his safe conduct to John Huss, 301.
letters concerning this, 309.
Sin, (popery opposed to Scripture concerning), 27.
the man of sin, in the papacy, 397.
Sinuesse. council of, 67.
Skilley, his troubles, 342.

Smith, Robert, martyr, 805.
examined on the authority of the church, 806.
on auricular confession, 807.
a letter by him, 808.
Smith, William, martyred, 605.
Smyrna, the churches' letter describing the martyrdom of Polycarp, 39.
Somerset, Duke of, account of him, 662.
his execution, 665.
Southwark, martyrs there, 941.
Spanish martyrs, 469.
Spanish Armada overthrown, 1013.
Spires, diet at, 442.
Spurdance, Thomas, martyr, 963.
his examination, *ib*.
Stafford, some account of, 413.
Stamford, Elizabeth, her troubles, 415.
Statutes against the papal claims, 223.
Stillman, John, martyred, 416.
Stephen crowned, 125.
reserves the right to bestow spiritual livings, 126.
Stratford le Bow, thirteen persons martyred there, 921.
their confession of faith, *ib*.
Succession of St. Peter questioned, 18.
of popes, 66, 90. 92, 95, 103, 107, 118, 278, 357, 369.
of archbishops of Canterbury, 88, 108, 211, 337, 396.
Suffolk and Norfolk men support queen Mary, 675.
their important supplication to her commissioners, 913.
duke of, executed, 703.
Superstition, arguments against it, 249.
as to white meats abolished, 557.
baptism of bells, 436.
John Denley's declaration against it in baptism, 802.
pilgrimages, relies, etc., 557.
rejected by Wesalia, 365.
rosary of Mary's psalter, 366.
spread over England, 280.
suppressed by royal injunctions, 567.
Supplication, important, of the men of Norfolk and Suffolk to the commissioners, 913.
of the Beggars to the king, 514.
Supremacy of St. Peter and the pope,
Cranmer's letter to the queen against it, 906.
disproved by Philpots, 878.
its first rise, 397.
oath of popish bishops for it, 534.
opposed by Brute, 242.
protestation of Cranmer against it, 899.
question by Ridley, 843.
Supremacy subject to councils, 347.
texts for it examined by bishop Tostal, 537.
the judgment of Lambert, 561.
Sutphen, Henry, martyred, 444.
Swinderby, a priest, his troubles, *ib*.
Sweeting, William, martyred, 411
Swithin, bishop of Winchester, 89.
Synods of Britain:
Austin's Oak, 78.
Clovesho, 84.
London, 111, 164.
Thetford, 81.
Westminster, 109, 123, 164.

T.

Taborites, their origin, wars, and history, 324.
Tancred, king of Sicily, 1.50.
Tankervil, G., martyr, 804.
Taylor, Dr. Rowland, history of him, 730.
his defense of the marriage of the clergy, 733.
his martyrdom, 735.
Taylor, William, martyred, 338.
Templars, knights, suppressed, 199.
Temple's, Sir John, history of the Irish rebellion in the year 1641, 1035
Testament. *See* Scriptures.
Testwood, B., his trouble, 598.
Tetzel, the friar, sells indulgences, 423.
Tewkesbury, John, martyred 520.
Theodore introduces Latin services, masses, etc., 81.
Thetford synod, *ib*.
Thorpe, William, his troubles and examination, 268.
Tyndale, William, his history, 542.
translates the New Testament, 543.
is martyred, 544.
his letters, *ib*.
Tithes, the law of Ethelstane, 97.
Titles (modern) of the pope, 13.
Tomkins, Thomas, martyr, some account of, 738.
Tunstall argues against the pope's supremacy, 537.
Tooley, John, ridiculous proceedings against him, 701.
Toulouse, crusade against, 165.
perjury of legate at, 166.
persecutions at, 145.
Trajan, his persecutions of the church, 87.
his letter in reply to Pliny, 88.
Transubstantiation ably examined by Philpots, 679.
answer of Lady Jane Grey, 584.
Bradford's argument against it, 780.
Cranmer's letter to queen Mary against it, 906.
defined, 573.
disproved by John Lambert, 563, 564.
disputed at Cambridge, 606.
at Oxford by Cranmer, 690.
by Latimer, 696.
by Ridley, 691.
at the convocation in London, 678.
Elfric's homily for Easter day, 571.
epistle of Elfric, the Saxon, on it, *ib*.
first decreed in Council of Lateran, 157.
fully examined in a dialogue, 668.
its novelty, 666.
its origin and progress, 572.
John Bland's opposition to it, 793.
opposed by Brute, 246.
Ridley's judgment on it, 666.
the decree of the Council of Lateran, 573.
Treason (gunpowder) discovered, and the promoters executed, 1018.

"The Execution of .Justice in England, not for Religion, but for Treason," in justification of the executions in queen Elizabeth's reign, 1067.
Turin, council of, oppose pope Julius II, 370.
Turks, history of, .371.
invade Europe, and take Constantinople, 356.
Mahomet their prophet, *ib*.
persecute the Christians, 386.
the Koran, 371.
the twelve sovereigns, some account of, 872.
their coming foretold in Scripture, 389.
Tye, Thos., a priest, his wicked letter to Bonner, 955.
Tylsworth martyred, 393.
Tyms, William, martyr, 910.
his examination, 911.
his letters, 912.

U.

Universal bishop assumed first by the Greek patriarchs, 15.
University of Cambridge rejects the pope's authority, 536.

V.

Valerius' persecution of the church, 51.
his fate, 52.
Valleys of the Waldenses invaded, 488.
Victor, (pope), opposed in his pretensions, 10.
poisoned by Hildebrand, 107.
Vienna besieged by the Turks, 381.
Visitation of Cambridge by cardinal Pole, 932
articles inquired into there, 938
Vitalis martyred, 64.
Voes, Henry, martyred, 443.

W.

Waldenses, cruelties practiced on them, 487.
persecuted after the Reformation, 485.
by the popes, 148.
their doctrines opposed to popery, 147.
their opinions on religion, 485.
their origin and history, 146.
their valleys invaded, 488.
Wallace, Adam, martyred, 627.
William, executed, 193.
Ward, Christopher, martyr, 798.
Warne, John, martyr, 757.
Warne, articles objected against him, 758.
his confession of faith, *ib*.
Waste, Joan, a blind woman, martyr, 928.
Watts, Thomas, martyr, 766.
articles against him, and his answers, *ib*.
Wendelmuta martyred, 450.
Wesalia, John, his examination, 365.
Westminster, conference of religion there, 989.
council, 104.
parliament (1395), 256.
a reformation proposed at, *ib*.
statutes of parliament against papal claims, 223.
Weston, Dr., his horrid language against Protestantism, 702.
Whipping. *See* Scourging.
White, Laurence, martyr, 746.
Richard, examined, 976.
William, martyred, 340.
Whittle, Thomas, martyr, 890.
his fall and restoration, *ib*.
Wycliffe, John, commended in the king's letter, 224.
cited before the bishops, 220.
his protestation, 227.
his letter to pope Urban VI, 232.
commended by the university of Oxford, 233.
his bones dug up by order of the Council of Constance, 234.
William, duke of Normandy, first visits England, 106.
invades England, 107.
crowned king of England, 109.
proceedings against the clergy, *ib*.
his death and character, 117.
William II. crowned, *ib*.
his contest with Anselm, 119.
pope's message to him, 121.
his death and character, *ib*.
Wilmot, Richard, his troubles, 978.
Winchester, council, 109.
Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, bishop of. *See* Gardiner.
Windsor, troubles at, 598.
Wishart, George, martyred, 622.
Wolfgang, Schuch, martyred. 449
Wolsey, Cardinal, 503.
persecution by him, 506.
brought under a praemunire, *ib*.
articles against him, 507.
death and character, 508.
Wolsey, William, martyr, 820.
Wood, William, his troubles and examination, 983.
Woodman, Richard, martyr, 947.
his examination, 948.
defends the marriage of the clergy, *ib*.
his arguments on the sacraments, 950.
Works. (Rome, contrary to Scripture, concerning), 26.
Worms, council of, against pope Hildebrand, 114.
diet of Worms, Luthier appears at it, 428.

Y.

Yeoman, Richard, martyr, 972.
York, archbishop, beheaded by Richard II, 266.
contest with Canterbury. *See* Canterbury.
Young, Elizabeth, her examination, 981.

Z.

Ziska, his history, 324.
death, 327.
Zuinglius (Zwingli), the Swiss reformer, 427.
account of him, 438.
reforms Switzerland, *ib*.
disputes at Baden, 441.
his death 443.